

vibrant

v. 15, n. 3 | September – December 2018



Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Editorial board

Alba Zaluar (UERJ), azaluar1984@gmail.com
Antonio Arantes (UNICAMP), antonioarantes@terra.com.br
Bela Feldman Bianco (UNICAMP), bfb@uol.com.br
Claudia Fonseca (UFRGS), claudialwfonseca@gmail.com
Cornélia Eckert (UFRGS), chicaeckert@gmail.com
Jane Beltrão (UFPA), janebeltao@gmail.com
João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho (UFRJ/MN), jpo.antropologia@mn.ufrj.br
Karina Kuschnir (UFRJ), karinakuschnir@gmail.com
Lux Vidal (USP), luxvidal@usp.br
Manuela C. da Cunha (Universidade de Chicago), mcarneiro@uchicago.edu
Mariza Peirano (UnB), mpeirano@uol.com.br
Omar Thomas (UNICAMP), omarr.thomaz@gmail.com
Paul Elliott Little (UnB), paulelittle@hotmail.com
Rafael M. Bastos (UFSC), rafael@cfh.ufsc.br
Ruben Oliven (UFRGS), ruben.oliven@gmail.com
Simoni Lahud Guedes (UFF), simonilahud@uol.com.br

vibrant

v. 15, n. 3
09 – 12 / 2018

Honorary Editor: Peter Henry Fry, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Editor: Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Co-editor: Andrea de Souza Lobo, Universidade de Brasília (DAN/UnB)

International relations: Gustavo Lins Ribeiro,

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (Mexico),

Carmen Sílvia de Moraes Rial, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina,

World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA)

Editorial Assistant: Roberta Ceva

Graphic Design, Typesetting & Site Maintenance: Tarcísio Osório Ferreira,

Fatto Edições Digitais (tarcisio@fattoedicoes.net)

Cover image: Omar Ribeiro Thomaz 'Bafatá, Guinéa Bissau, 2012'

Sponsors



Ministério da
Educação

Ministério da
Ciência, Tecnologia
e Inovação



V626

Vibrant : Virtual Brazilian Anthropology / Associação Brasileira de Antropologia. Vol. 1, n. 1/2 (jan./dez. 2004) - . Brasília : Associação Brasileira de Antropologia, 2004 -

v.

Quadrimestral

ISSN 1809-4341

1. Antropologia - Periódicos. I. Associação Brasileira de Antropologia.

CDD : 301



Article

Ruth Landes and the remaking of the anthropological canon

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia: identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Presentación

Adriana M. Villalón; Natalia Cabanillas

Del ahogado el sombrero, a manera de manifiesto:

esbozos para una crítica al discurso transicional

Alejandro Castillejo Cuéllar

“The sound of silenced voices”:

mobilizations, connections and demands in the investigation of slavery in Brazil

Márcia Leitão Pinheiro

Akroá-Gamella:

territorial struggles and narratives of violence in the Baixada Maranhense

Caroline Leal

Metamorfosis trágica en la Amazonia colombiana:

El cuerpo en los juegos de la guerra y la paz

Marco Tobón

Land as Home:

Women, Life and Violence in Land Conflicts

Dibe Ayoub

Deserving victimhood:

kinship, emotions and morality in contemporary politics

Virginia Vecchioli

Our dead and disappeared:

reflections on the construction of the notion of political disappearance in Brazil

Desirée de Lemos Azevedo

Los pueblos del campo y los desafíos alrededor de la justicia transicional en Brasil

Adriana Rodrigues Novais

For Human Rights:

Constructing the multinational Brčko District in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Andréa Carolina Schvartz Peres

‘Scientific torture’?

Scientism and the marks of torture inside a police station in Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Pedro Fermín Maguire; Denise Neves Batista Costa

The Guarani Farm:

indigenous narratives about removal, reclusion and escapes during the military dictatorship in Brazil

Celeste Ciccarone

Ruth Landes and the remaking of the anthropological canon

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho¹

¹ Universidade Carolina de Praga, República Tcheca

Abstract

This article analyses Ruth Landes' contributions to social anthropology based on a series of feminist, queer and postcolonial insights. Landes' academic trajectory and her biography are used to understand her unique form of writing ethnographies. I try to show that "The City of Women" (originally published in 1947) does not follow classic anthropological tropes present in ethnographies in the 1930s and 1940s. Her rejection of canonical ways of writing is not only a stylistic choice but a result of Landes' social trajectory. For this reason, "The City of Women" is an essential work in the effort to understand the ever-present challenges posed by writing ethnographic texts.

Key words: Women in Anthropology; Sexuality; Classic Ethnographies; Ruth Landes.

Ruth Landes e a reconstrução do cânone antropológico

Resumo

O presente artigo utiliza uma série de insights feministas, queer e pós-coloniais para analisar as contribuições de Ruth Landes à antropologia social. Por todo o texto, a trajetória acadêmica e a biografia de Landes são amplamente utilizadas para que se entenda o seu jeito único de escrever etnografias. Como tento mostrar, *Cidade das Mulheres* (originalmente publicado em 1947) não segue tropos antropológicos clássicos presentes nas etnografias dos anos 1930 e 1940. E a rejeição de modos canônicos de escrita etnográfica não é somente uma escolha estética, mas o resultado da trajetória social de Ruth Landes. Neste sentido, *Cidade das Mulheres* é um importante trabalho para entendermos os desafios presentes na escrita de textos etnográficos.

Palavras-chave: Mulheres na Antropologia; Sexualidade; Etnografias Clássicas; Ruth Landes.

Ruth Landes and the remaking of the anthropological canon

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho

Negro women were everywhere, in colorful skirts and turbans and white blouses reflecting the sun. Usually they were older women, powerful in appearance and self-confident, and keenly interested in the work at hand. They managed the butcher shops, the vegetable stalls, the candy and flower bars, and the stands selling spices, soaps, beads, and other specialties imported from the west coast of Africa. The trade with Africa had been going on since the loading of the first slave ship.

Ruth Landes, *The City of Women*, 1947.

1. Ruth Landes, ethnography and anthropology

In a recent debate in *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* (2017), Signe Howell, Tim Ingold, Alpa Shah, Giovanni da Col, Daniel Miller, Rita Astuti, Thorgeir Kolshus and Maurice Bloch shared their visions on the definitions and relations between participant observation, ethnography, and anthropology, and how anthropologists can effect changes in the contemporary world. This debate was sparked by Tim Ingold's (2014, p. 381) provocation that he was: "Sick and tired of equivocation, of scholarly obscurantism, and of the conceit that turns the project of anthropology into the study of its own ways of working".

Ingold has previously raised the same arguments to express his concerns (2011 [2007]) that ethnography had been turned loose within other disciplines. This use of ethnography by sociologists and political scientists, he affirmed, threaten the long-term commitment, and the generous dialogues anthropologists engage with others.

According to Ingold (2014), if we persist in using the Geertzian understanding that (1973, p. 5) "in anthropology, or anyway in social anthropology, what the practitioners do is ethnography", we risk not being able to clarify what are the specific features of anthropological fieldwork to other disciplinary traditions that are appropriating ethnography. Thus, Ingold suggests we drop "ethnography" and state that anthropologists do "participant observation". A method that is based on an exploration of the different conditions and possibilities of being human.

Participant observation, Ingold suggests, involves a practice of education of the self. By paying attention to others and what they do, anthropologists are able to construct an intersubjective form of knowledge that is not confined to what is presented in school systems. This education is based on the original sense of the Latin word *educere* to mean that apprentices are educated when they are out in the world.

Thus, more than a critique of the ways sociologists and political scientists use ethnography, Ingold seems to have an additional target: neoliberalism at universities. Without a proper definition of participant observation, ethnography and anthropology, he affirms that anthropology may fall into "irrelevance". The irony seems impressive. At the moment in which ethnography is "expanding", the ethical commitments

of anthropology seem to be lost. Other disciplines are in principle embracing a more technocratic view of ethnography in which ethnographic research is understood to mean “qualitative” research.

Anthropology, according to Ingold, could be defined as a discipline that is generous, opened-ended and comparative. Anthropology’s generosity is predicated on its ability to listen to others. While he affirms that its open-endedness and comparative nature are related to the idea that anthropology seeks no final answer to its questions, and knows that there are various ways of organising both societies and symbolic worlds. These characteristics should be analytically separated from specific ethnographies, because Ingold maintains that anthropology must find a way to participate in contemporary political debates, in which anthropologists should claim a perspective that problematizes the conditions of human life on earth. In this sense, for Ingold, anthropologists have one goal: to educate others to respect and appreciate the world’s diversity.

Here things get a bit more complicated. If all the participants in the debate seem to be tired of “scholarly obscurantism”, they have few suggestions about how to educate others beyond a Western public within neoliberal universities. In this sense, Daniel Miller’s and Thorgeir Kolshus’s contributions seem to be the only ones genuinely concerned with communicating beyond the confines of the university walls.

Miller (2017, p. 29) takes an entirely different route than Ingold. According to Miller, the goal of anthropology is not to question and compare the conditions of life on earth, but to only “do ethnography”. This view entails that anthropologists should understand that no matter how many ethnographies they produce; the world’s cultural diversity will be much wider than the discipline’s scope. This “humility” is Miller’s (2017, p. 29) way of objecting to Ingold’s definition of anthropology. In response to Ingold’s attacks on neoliberalism, Miller states:

We often criticize something called neoliberalism, which has many potential definitions. One of these would be a perspective in which the unit of value has become the isolated individual instead of some wider social or collective value. When I started anthropology, our units of value tended to be The Nuer, The Trobriand Islanders, or the Kwakiutl, but today all the discussion around me seems to be asking whether someone is aligned with Bruno Latour or Nancy Scheper-Hughes or Arjun Appadurai (or is he now too “last year”?). A world of citations and brand-like individual names.

While other participants in the debates are more conciliatory, such as Rita Astuti (2017) and Signe Howell (2017), I will try to offer support to Miller’s position. Anthropologists should not imagine that we are immune to criticism. Another aspect raised by Miller is his team of researchers’ efforts to present their ethnographies to secondary students in the British “A” levels. Since there are increasingly fewer anthropology students in the “A” levels, Miller and his team aligned with sociology teachers.

Interestingly enough, if the task of anthropologists, according to Ingold, is to educate, there are very few practical proposals on how to effectively bring anthropology to public school systems. Miller and Kolshus are the only ones who seem to be interested in turning ethnographic stories into pedagogical projects at the public school level. To avoid our decline into “irrelevance”, Miller (2017, p. 30) affirms we should ask ourselves:

¹ One of the main features of the Hau debates seems to be the fact that anthropologists seem inclined to ignore the history of participant observation and ethnography as both sociological and anthropological methodologies. For example, Becker (1999) analyses how the “Chicago school” helped to create both urban sociology and anthropology based on a series of methodological innovations. Other social sciences projects such as the CCCS Birmingham (Hall and Jefferson, 2002 [1975]) or the French sociologists working with Pierre Bourdieu (2000) are simply ignored. These historical “lapses” allow ignoring a much-blurred history of ethnography, beyond the confines of anthropology. In fact, in Shah’s (2017) contribution, we see an oscillation between a “tribal language” (such as one that affirms that anthropologists are “the inventors of ethnography”) and possible uses of ethnography to build alliances across disciplines. Shah is the only one who remembers Paul Willis or James Scott, for instance.

How many Brexits must we live through, where we know that a prime cause of the result was that so far from people gaining a wide appreciation and empathy for other peoples, we see instead a xenophobic resistance to even encountering people from elsewhere? How many Trumps must we live through, where we know this was again a primary cause of his success, before we stand up and state clearly that anthropology has greater responsibilities to the world than just its own intellectual conceit?

Miller's accusation that the field has an obsession with "its own intellectual conceit", turns Tim Ingold into the "inward-looking" anthropologist that Ingold himself rejects. However, I can't help but notice another irony in this debate. All the participants work in the Global North. And there is no attention to the possible ways anthropologists in the Global South might be facing the challenges of education and political intervention in public school systems.² It seems that the generosity of anthropologists has some limits. Simply ignoring other ways to do fieldwork (see Peirano, 1998), and insisting that other anthropologists "get the words right"³ reinstates the Eurocentrism which we sought to avoid long ago.

No one will deny that fieldwork has been the hallmark of social anthropology. However, historically, only some experiences counted as "actual fieldwork". The disputes over what is good fieldwork and ethnographic writing have shown the different ways in which anthropologists engage with the increasingly diverse contexts opened for scrutiny by social scientists.

These disputes are seen in criticisms by postcolonial thinkers⁴ (Said, 1994) of classical fieldwork methods. The power relations involved in doing fieldwork and writing ethnographies are also under careful analysis (Geertz, 1968; Ginzburg, 1989). And even the possibilities for ethnographic textual expression are challenged by contemporary globalization, with its massive immigration, global network connections and communication mediums (Abu-Lughod, 2006 [1991] Hannerz, 2003). Feminist and queer critiques of knowledge building processes (Haraway, 1988; Butler, 1999 [1990]) are also powerful tools for analysing the ethical responsibility of anthropologists in their discursive practice.

One way to apply interdisciplinary, critical postcolonial and feminist approaches to anthropology is to analyse experiences not considered to be "proper fieldwork" and that did not fit the canon of ethnographic writing (Clifford, 1980). This is the goal of my work. I will analyse the ethnographic experience and writings of Ruth Landes. My focus in this article will be primarily on how Landes conceptualized women's agency in her fieldwork in Salvador, Brazil, on Afro-Brazilian religions, in 1938 and 1939 (Landes, 1994 [1947]). However, other aspects are also important: Ruth Landes is seen today as a transitional figure (Cole, 2003), since her ethnographic writing presaged our concerns about power, agency and our own positionality.

In this sense, to justify the focus on her work, I can recall that academics are still debating how to decolonize our theories and practices (Strathern, 1987; Mohanty, 2003). And because Landes was an academic outsider, her example may help us understand why anthropologists ignored the textual expressions she explored in the 1930s and 40s. Another form of justification is directly related to the *Hau* debate. I strongly believe that anthropologists should intervene in public education systems. In doing so, we cannot forget the history of anthropological experiences. Otherwise, in trying to educate, we may produce even more *equivocation*.

2 No scholar from the Global South was either invited to the SOAS debate "Two or three things I love or hate about ethnography" in 2016 or asked to contribute to the debates published at *Hau* (Da Col, 2017).

3 Miller also states his claim against Ingold's use of ethnography, fieldwork, and participant observation. He says (2017, p. 27): "The problem is that for generations, anthropologists have been using terms such as fieldwork, ethnography, and participant observation as more or less synonymous and in effect as the terms for our method. I suggest therefore that it would be better to accept the colloquial meaning and definition of ethnography and work from there. Unlike Ingold, I will use the term ethnography in the way I think most people routinely use it."

4 Social anthropology is often accused of being a form of symbolic colonialism. This accusation neglects a Foucauldian construction: that scientific discourses not only create the realities they claim merely to be describing, but they can also be used by the subjects they address to build resistance (Foucault, 1998 [1978]). An analysis of how tribal societies used the anthropological concept of "culture" to claim their distinctiveness can be found in the work of Marshall Sahlins (1993).

2. Ruth Landes' academic trajectory

Through field work at the pleasure of the host culture one learns one's place there and that it is the only vantage point for penetrating the culture. Mistakes and mishaps in the field are great lamps of illumination; if one survives.

Ruth Landes, *A Woman Anthropologist in Brazil*, 1970.

Ruth Landes was already an experienced researcher when she arrived in Brazil. She had done fieldwork among tribal societies, such as the Ojibwa and the Potawatomi in Canada and the United States, respectively. These previous fieldwork experiences would mark her style of framing women's agency in her writing (Anderson, 2012; 2013; Cole, 2002; 2003).

Among the Ojibwa, Landes worked closely with Maggie Wilson. Wilson was Landes' "key informant." She collected over 100 women's stories and shared them with Landes. "Informants" in the history of anthropology are often seen as non-complex figures. According to recent analysis, however, the opposite is the case. Their capacity to mediate contacts and be the main translators gives them a special role in understanding the limitations and possibilities of fieldwork (Clifford, 1983). This uniqueness and complexity is illustrated by the case of Maggie Wilson. The stories Wilson and Landes collected portrayed women fighting against the commonly accepted rules among the Ojibwa, instigating Landes' decisive interest in power and agency.

Crossing gendered boundaries concerning labor (such as for hunting) and renegotiating marriage rules were vital marks of the development of women's autonomy among the Ojibwa. Landes' writing examined not only the regularities of Ojibwa society, but also its flexibility and conflicts.⁵ In this way, she escaped many essentializing features that were common in ethnographies in the 1930s. As Abu-Lughod (2006 [1991]) wrote:

Anthropologists commonly generalize about communities by saying that they are characterized by certain institutions, rules, ways of doing things like "The Bongo-Bongo are polygynous". Yet one could refuse to generalize in this way, instead asking how a particular set of individuals – for instance, a man and his three wives in a Bedouin community in Egypt whom I have known for a decade – live the "institution" that we call polygyny (Abu-Lughod, 2006 [1991], 162).

We can see that her fieldwork experience among the Ojibwa led Landes to question the capacity of anthropological fieldwork to generalize, since she focused on lived experiences of social change⁶ (see also Corrêa, 2002). The lived experiences, present in the exchanges during her fieldwork, played a deep role in Landes' view of practice, power and agency.⁷

Among the Potawatomi, Landes saw gender roles in narratives about Berdaches, "trans" women who were becoming rarer, according to the Potawatomi. This context of more rigid gender roles didn't stop Landes from understanding the dynamics of gender transitioning, forms of addressing transgender women and large social changes among the Potawatomi (Cole, 2002).⁸

5 For an interpretation of Landes' ethnography on the Ojibwa see Sally Cole's article "Women's Stories and Boasian texts: The Ojibwa ethnography of Ruth Landes and Maggie Wilson (1995a).

6 In the preface of the Brazilian edition of "The City of Women", Mariza Corrêa (2002) draws on an intense dialogue with Sally Cole to construct an analysis of Landes' ethnographic experiences in Salvador based on her previous engagements with the Ojibwa and the Potawatomi.

7 Abu-Lughod (2006 [1991]) also notes that there is a shift from "culture" as a generalizing concept to "discourse" and "practice" in contemporary fieldwork practice, both of which are more locally grounded and flexible. The basis for the use of discourse and practice (at least in anthropology) is found in the works of Michel Foucault (1998 [1978]) and Pierre Bourdieu (2000 [1997]).

8 Readers of Landes' portrait of the Potawatomi find a personal account dedicated mostly to Joe Masquat and J.S (John Smocks), the two shamans who guided Landes through their symbolic worlds (see Landes, 1970).

Landes' writing style, and her enduring interest in gender-related themes, was not only constructed through her fieldwork experiences. It was also the fruit of her personal life. Born into a Ukrainian-Russian immigrant family in 1908 in New York, Landes completed a master's degree in social work in 1929 and married Victor Landes in the same year. The marriage soon ended because of Landes' interest in pursuing her Ph.D. studies. To revolt against the destiny of a housewife, in 1931 she officially began her studies in the department of anthropology, under Ruth Benedict's supervision, at Columbia University (Cole, 1995a).

Landes' arrival in Brazil was thus conditioned by the historical context of the 1930s. The institutionalization of the social sciences was incipient, with the establishment of the University of São Paulo and stronger partnerships between North American universities and the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro (Massi, 1991; Corrêa, 2000; Salzano, 2009). Many European and North American social scientists would participate in this process. Columbia University also played an important role by hosting Brazilian scholars (such as Gilberto Freyre and Eduardo Galvão) and sending many anthropologists to do fieldwork in Brazil (Charles Wagley, Buell Quain and others) through a partnership with the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro. Landes was part of a bigger project, which focused mainly on a comparison between race relations in Brazil and the USA. To prepare her for fieldwork, she was advised by Robert E. Park to teach at Fisk University in Tennessee, a black university.

The goal of this preparatory phase, according to Park, was "to get used to Negroes" (Landes, 1994 [1947]: p. 2). In Landes' "The City of Women," she used this teaching experience to analyse herself and her ethical and political positions on racial discrimination, since she saw herself as a "northerner".⁹

In the next section, I will examine how Landes' ethnographic work on Afro-Brazilian religions was understood at the time and the consequences she faced for the way she wrote her ethnography.

3. "The City of Women" and its reception

The woman anthropologist is a professional worker, which means that she is measured by the standards attached to men since the work is in a public sphere – the sphere controlled by men in our world. But her training as "a man" did not start until her anthropology did.

Ruth Landes, "A Woman Anthropologist in Brazil", 1970.

In a review of "The City of Women," published in the *American Anthropologist* journal, Herman Melville J. Herskovits (1948) called attention to the popular style Landes used to write her ethnography. This form, he claimed, was a way to attract the general public, not only professional anthropologists. However, he based other critiques of Landes' writing on methodological grounds, alleging that she wasn't sufficiently trained to undertake fieldwork in a Brazilian city. At the beginning of her ethnography, Landes wrote:

We knew extremely little about Brazil at that time, and the general feeling among my colleagues was that I was being sent to the margins of the tableland of the world, where only luck could keep me from falling off (Landes, 1994 [1947], p. 1).

⁹ This preparatory phase was attacked by scholars such as Herskovits (1948). Scholars concerned with African-American studies would see this teaching period at Fisk University as insufficient, arguing that Landes was under prepared when she did her fieldwork in Brazil.

Landes' fear before beginning her fieldwork in Brazil, which she dared to confess in her final writing, was based, according to Herskovits, on the lack of a good preparatory phase, and compounded by Landes' lack of knowledge about Africa.¹⁰

Supported by the paradigm of acculturation, Herskovits believed that the interpretation of religious traditions among blacks in the Americas had to be constructed by making contrasts with the "original" African matrix.¹¹ Her experiences during her preparatory phase teaching at Fisk University led Landes to find this approach quite problematic. For her, the interpretation of blacks as "tribesmen" inside modern societies was a form of racial discrimination, characteristic of American society:

But in the United States, Negroes were regarded, even by liberals and scholars, as a sort of tribe—not the same as white men, but not the same as modern men (Landes, 1994 [1947]: p. 3).

The paradigm of acculturation, in vogue in U.S. anthropology in the early 20th century, believed that the advance of the West would do away with cultural diversity on the planet. As the West advanced, it would be possible to measure the distance that separated tribal societies from Western ones (Pacheco de Oliveira, 1988). This distance could be measured by anthropologists, as a way of observing social changes. Thus, Landes' ethnographic practice, in a modern city such as Salvador, could serve as a response to the "acculturation paradigm" – which became highly criticized after World War II.¹²

Ultimately, Landes was operating with another notion of social change: the problem for her was to see the Afro-Brazilian religions on their own terms. The questions were not targeted to understand how close or distant Afro-Brazilian religions are from the "original," but to comprehend how memory and history were and are recreated and reinterpreted by these religious communities in the Americas (Cole, 1995b).¹³

The debate about ethics and methodology between Landes and Herskovits, reveals the challenge that "travelling cultures" (Clifford, 1997) posed to anthropology. African-American cultural expressions compelled social anthropology into interdisciplinary inquiries. Herskovits himself would admit that in researching "accultured" societies, anthropologists had to do research in historical archives, as well as fieldwork.

The terms of debate between Landes and Herskovits were not new. Discussions about the problems involved in understanding the connections between Africa and Brazil are present in the history of Afro-Brazilian religious studies in general. There are many proposals for how to best address this issue. However, as Anne McClintock's genealogy of the concept of "fetishism" notes, the invention of the "primitive" is a hallmark of modernity and its disciplined bodies (McClintock, 1995, pp. 181-203). What anthropologists such as Herskovits understood when they identified the "African cultural matrix" as "original" and the African-related religious institutions in the Americas as "survivals", was a trope borrowed from colonial rhetoric. As a "black characteristic" that could not be erased in modern times, the "fetishism" (also present in Afro-Brazilian religions) was a form of drawing boundaries and hierarchies, based on racial and presumably psychological differences.

10 Landes indeed worked with a largely ahistorical concept of culture, in which conditions observed by ethnographic methods in the present were often generalized. However, we can see in her trajectory that her way of conducting ethnographies also caused her trouble. Her work among the Ojibwa was described as "unscientific" because it was "biased" towards a women's point of view (see Cole, 1995a).

11 For a brief definition of Afro-Brazilian Candomblé, see Allen (2008).

12 Other studies have found that Landes' "ethical deed" was born out of her romance and intellectual partnership with Edison Carneiro (see Anderson, 2012, 2013).

13 Arthur Ramos (2010 [1942]) research deeply questioned Landes' ethnographic practice. He boldly stated that "her knowledge of the bibliography on Blacks not only in Brazil but also in North America was virtually zero". Ramos's article triggered a response from Carneiro (2010 [1964]) in defense of Landes' ethnographic methods.

In this regard, Ruth Landes made interesting contributions to the ethnographic tradition of Afro-Brazilian religious studies (see also Landes 1953, 2010). One of them was a decisive non-essentialist and anti-primordialist approach. Landes did not see the Afro-Brazilian religions as museum pieces, destined to perish. That is why so many conflicts between *terreiros* (ritual sites) were very well documented. Afro-Brazilian religions were portrayed through Landes' personal encounters with priests and priestesses and the dialogical exchanges with them were exposed in such a way that the subjects studied were placed in a context of contemporary history. This made her claim not to see blacks as "child-like or tribal-minded people" an important ethical position. We can see this characteristic way of writing in her encounter with Dona Menininha, one of the most respected Candomblé priestess in Bahia at the time:

"There is a great deal I need to learn, my mother," I said, sighing to think of the tremendous imponderables of life in Bahia. "You see, we have no candomblés in North America."

"No?" She was surprised and disapproving. "Don't your people believe in God?"

"Oh, yes, but we show it in other ways. Still, we have much to learn."

"You want to learn from us?" Her tone was cold.

"Yes," I ventured.

"But there are secrets here you may not learn."

"It is not the secrets I want, my mother. I want only to understand your beliefs. I want to learn more about God, and about men because they are my brothers" (Landes, 1994 [1947]: 82-83).

Landes, however, did not construct her ethnography free from any claim of an authoritative voice. Yet, she enounces her authority with an innovative way of situating herself as an anthropologist - by constructing a contrast between herself and the American community she met in Salvador.

If at first sight it seems that Landes appeals to a long-term tradition based on contrasting Brazil and the United States, at a closer look we must acknowledge the ambiguities that her form of comparison brings. She presented a series of stereotypes that American expats in Salvador constructed about Afro-Brazilian religions, to contrast their common-sense beliefs about blacks and Landes' ethnographic experience.

By doing this, Landes showed how the borders of Afro-Brazilian religions are constantly created and maintained. The allusive reference to local press discourses and their prejudices is another part of an attentive ethnographic contribution. Landes also situates herself as a white American anthropologist in these passages. Her walks around working-class neighbourhoods in Salvador are only made possible because she is accompanied first by Jorge, a Brazilian clerk at the American consulate, and then by Edison Carneiro, a Brazilian intellectual who accompanied Landes to Candomblé religious sites.¹⁴ In her comments on these walks, we are told that a single and unaccompanied woman had very little possibility to learn about the living conditions of "poor and ignorant" blacks (1994 [1947], p. 137) in Salvador. Simply by walking around poor neighbourhoods and Candomblé *terreiros*, Landes attracted the surveillance of the Salvador police towards her fieldwork (see Landes, 1986 [1970]).

One consequence of the fact that Landes saw both the American expat community and the Afro-Brazilian religion as part of a continuum is that we can now read her as a pioneer in unmasking whiteness.

14 Landes (1986 [1970], p. 128) would later express her collaboration with Edison Carneiro as follows: "Never in the history of field work, I am confident, has anyone been more fortunate than I in the association with Edison. Apart from Edison's repute as a scholar and writer, and apart from his talents and character, the fact was that I could not have stirred a step in Bahia without his, a man's 'protection'". Carneiro was in fact much more than a "collaborator" in Landes' fieldwork. They were romantically involved. Cole (2003), in analyzing their correspondence, saw the exchange of affectionate letters between Edison and Ruth, and the plans they made, after Landes left Brazil. They tried to live together in Britain or the United States. But with the outbreak of World War II, and the economic hardships both Edison Carneiro and Ruth Landes faced, the possible marriage did not happen.

As Frankenberg (1993) showed, whiteness as a standpoint carries the implicit privilege of belonging to an “unmarked” perspective. By taking long walks with Jorge, and connecting her experiences at Afro-Brazilian ritual sites with those with the American community, Landes makes the white American gaze visible. The American community’s gaze often appealed to an essentialized racist rhetoric to maintain its boundaries from Salvador’s “natives”.

Furthermore, at the time, anthropologists tended to distance themselves from other nationals who had “untrained” contacts with the subjects they were studying.

Upon my arrival I met members of the small American colony that lived a fretful and bored existence on the handsomest and coolest heights of the city. They came from Texas, Oklahoma, Georgia, and had ironclad rules about relations with “natives,” “niggers,” “trash,” and Jews. It was my first exposure to such a group, and it found me vulnerable. The couples were torn apart by infidelities and excess leisure and idleness. On the other hand, the group as a whole was bound with the intimacies resulting from the grief, the passions and fleeting affections, and the vital protection that each individual promised against total loneliness (Landes, 1994 [1947]: p. 11).

In this sense, “The City of Women” is at the same time a pioneering ethnography concerning positionality, dialogical writing (Marcus and Fischer, 1986), deconstructions of American racial stereotypes and a line of continuity in Landes’ trajectory as an anthropologist. The characteristics of her writing are highly valued today as part of our writing methodologies (Livholts, 2012). However, as I discussed before, Landes herself had “gender troubles” in the 1930s: a Jewish, divorced, academic woman at the emergence of World War II, with scientific racism and anti-Semitic rhetoric at its highest level.¹⁵ Working with Afro-Brazilian religions, Landes constructed her ethnography through women’s narratives in “The City of Women” to give us her most valuable contribution: the focus on gender, sexuality and agency in Afro-Brazilian ritual sites. I will discuss these issues next.

4. Matriarchy, sexuality and agency in “The City of Women”

Field work serves an idiosyncrasy of perception that cannot separate the sensuousness of life from its abstractions, nor the researcher’s personality from his experiences.

Ruth Landes, *A Woman Anthropologist in Brazil*, 1970

A reader familiar with Landes’ work might object to the arguments presented so far in this paper, or some issues I have not addressed. For instance, I have not mentioned the “matriarchy debate”. After all, Landes’ interpretation of Candomblé as a “matriarchal” religion was the source of endless debates around her work (Ramos, 2010 [1942]; Carneiro 2010 [1964]; Fry, 1986, 2015; Matory, 2008; Anderson, 2012, 2013).

Nevertheless, I will concentrate on the methodological debate related to “the matriarch” discussions. The reason behind this is simple: Landes’ conclusions cannot be discussed without mentioning the idiosyncratic ways she used ethnographic methods. Whether considering the positions of her detractors, such as Arthur Ramos, or supporters such as Edison Carneiro, who worked with Landes and defended her

15 One of Landes’ enduring interests was how marriages could be constituted and dissolved. An interest that reflects her status as a divorced woman. We can see how this research interest is constructed throughout Landes’ career. It is present not only in “The City of Women”, but also in her previous works. Reflecting later on her experience among the Ojibwa, Landes wrote that she “wanted to know how different societies handled the same life situations of, for example, sexual desire and marriage, particular neuroses and psychoses, or formal recognition of success and failure in careers. [I] wanted to compare them to see where particular cultures set up different boundaries for acceptable conduct, and to see wherein all cultures behaved similarly, and to see how cultures changed” (Landes, 1965, *apud* Cole, 1995a).

“ethnographic authority”, these debates show that the path to a contemporary discussion about Landes’ work resides in seriously considering the methodological debates she has helped to spark.

Instead of focusing on the “matriarch debates”, I will concentrate on the ways in which “ethnographic authority” has changed. The increasing amount of studies on different aspects of Landes’ ethnographies proves my point (Healey, 1996; Corrêa, 2000; 2002; Matory, 2005; 2008). My central argument in this article is that the change in “ethnographic authority” is forged through the entrance of women in academia and a series of questions presented by feminist, queer and postcolonial perspectives, as I mentioned in the introduction.

James Clifford¹⁶ (2003, p. 21) also recognized the profound transformation brought by feminist epistemologies when thinking about the writing of ethnographic texts:

Anthropology, which for so long spoke for difference, is caught up in, challenged by, the process by which the academy in the U.S. – and it is an uneven process – is becoming more diverse. What’s at stake is the inclusion of people of diverse historical backgrounds, people who have been racialized differently and kept in subaltern social positions. Moreover, I would underline the major impact that women, and feminist perspectives, have had in my context. We sometimes forget how male-dominated the academy has been since the medieval university, how recent the emergence of a critical mass of women is. All of these changes, these multiplications of what my colleague Donna Haraway named “situated knowledges,” undermine the ability of disciplines to naturalize their knowledges. Authority is fundamentally contested.

In this article, I will follow Clifford’s discussion of Donna Haraway’s (1988) notion of “situated knowledges”, and try to apply it to Ruth Landes’ life and the “authority” of her writing. Furthermore, I will avoid the “matriarch debates” because, as Sally Cole’s works show (1995a; 1995b; 2002), Landes’ ethnographic authority, throughout her life, was constantly undermined. Landes’ work among the Ojibwa, for instance, was seen as a “partial” ethnography, excessively concerned about women’s point of view (a claim that could hardly be made today, precisely because of the presence of women in academia).

Moreover, different from feminist discourses on matriarchy (such as those analysed by Butler in “Gender Trouble”) which seek to forge women’s solidarity by recreating a mythical past, Landes’ matriarchy is an embedded and descriptive category used to account for the transmission of knowledge and power within Candomblé ritual sites.

However, Landes’ description of a Candomblé matriarchy is still the “empirical error” that she is most remembered for. According to Matory (2005), Landes’ claim that male priests were a minority in the 1930s was highly controversial. If, indeed, some of the *terreiros* had a certain tradition of women leaders since the second half of the 19th century (such as the Casa Branca), male priests were as numerous as female ones. To construct her argument, Landes did unite two separate and polemic issues: male priesthood and sexuality.¹⁷

In an article published in 1940 called “A cult matriarchate and male homosexuality,” Ruth Landes analysed Caboclo ritual sites¹⁸. According to Landes, these *terreiros* were created by dissidents from the

16 Clifford and the Writing Culture (1986) group of academics were criticized for not including women anthropologists in their analysis of the ethnographic canon. Critics added that Clifford and his colleagues not only failed to include women anthropologists such as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict and others, but also failed to include women of color. Clifford justifies the absence of women in the introduction of the volume stating that women who were self-consciously feminists were not engaging in innovative ways of writing ethnographies. And women anthropologists who were innovative ethnographers were not feminists (see Behar, 1993; Behar and Gordon, 1995).

17 Matory’s (2005) accusatory tone towards Landes’ work is worth mentioning. He insists that Landes’ “matriarchy” was a “partial” and “plausible” construction of tradition, but he links Landes’ work with the ways journalists today mention Candomblé’s priestesses. The fact that more public funding goes to *terreiros* led by women, seems to Matory to be a conspiracy of the “imagined community of feminism” against male Candomblé priests (especially against gay priests).

18 The Caboclo religious institutions emerged in the 1930s in Rio de Janeiro and spread throughout Brazil. These religious institutions combined Amerindian beliefs with Catholic and African imagery.

traditionalist Afro-Brazilian religions and these dissidents claimed that Caboclo priests had special contacts not only with African Gods, but also with indigenous people's deities.

However, according to Landes' interpretation, the Caboclo terreiros more easily accepted men becoming priests. These men were described by Landes as mostly gay men, who lived in poverty and were highly discriminated against. To become a priest in a Caboclo ritual site was a way of gaining access to religious secrets and be in a better position to negotiate relationships with other men and be able to wear women's clothes. Like the Potawatomi Berdaches and the Ojibwa women, Landes was facing another way in which crossing gender boundaries and negotiating social rules took shape.

Because Landes noted a trend toward a majority of woman among Candomblé priests, she would have to explain why there were also male priests in her "matriarchy". So Landes appealed to the "African tradition". She described the cross-gender practices in Candomblé as part of that "tradition". Landes, however, constructed her own view of "tradition". A view that wanted to contrast American gender relations with those present in Afro-Brazilian religions.

In this vein, women's sexuality at other ritual sites was also described by Landes. To be part of a house and take part in the hierarchies of a terreiro meant more sexual freedom for women, since women were supposed to be involved in ritual obligations and didn't necessarily have to marry. Landes also described sexual and romantic encounters between women and men from different class backgrounds. These encounters were more or less made possible by the fact that some Afro-Brazilian ritual sites were attractive to the middle classes. However, the religious duties for the higher positions involved many disciplinary measures and sometimes sexual abstinence was one of them. As Landes wrote:

Among certain American Indian tribes, the Berdache or passive homosexual was protected, encouraged to adopt the social and sexual roles of women, sometimes to assume sacred responsibilities, and less often allowed to cultivate with social approval the lewd conduct we attribute to professional prostitutes (Landes, 1940, p. 386).

Therefore, even if Landes' interpretations of her data about the linkage between religion and sexuality among the North American Indian tribes and the Afro-Brazilian ritual sites is currently seen as objectionable, since she does not question the historical process that led to a "naturalization" of "sex" as a specific Western historical development (Foucault, 1998 [1978]), we should not see her contribution to these debates only as a historical documentation of social change in the late 1940s. In fact, when placed in the specific historic context, these debates mark Landes' distinctive contribution to social anthropology: the understanding of the relationship of gender and sexuality to social change.

Discussing her use of ethnography to capture changes and reflexively understand the limitations of generalizations and essentialisms, helps to see what Abu-Lughod (2006 [1991]) called "the women's tradition in social anthropology" (Behar and Gordon, 1995; Visweswaran, 1997). This women's tradition challenged many aspects of canonic ethnography by using various discursive strategies and claiming different ethical responsibilities for the knowledge they wrote about (Haraway, 1988; Gordon, 1993). Consequentially, Landes' ethnography is also an example of a "history of intersectionality," in which identities and positions, such as race, gender, class and sexuality, are not seen as absolute. Rather, they are seen as translatable possibilities. And because there's no ending to this translation process, they can only be reconstructed again and again, through open-ended practices.

5. “No solemn conclusions”: how Landes left the field

The addicted fieldworker does not really care for ease any more than does the competitive athlete. The lure of another culture can never be discounted, for it is the lure of the self, dressed otherwise.

Ruth Landes, *A Woman Anthropologist in Brazil*, 1970.

The 1930s and 1940s represent the decades of institutionalization of the social sciences in Brazil. This process took place in an insecure world, in which many scientists sought refuge from the Nazi-fascist ideologies. Europeans and North Americans also found many of these ideas in Brazil, since the country was under a dictatorship.¹⁹ Landes' own fieldwork was interrupted because the secret police, even without any formal accusation, wanted her out of Brazil. At the end of her ethnography, Landes states that there are no “solemn conclusions (...) from my observations in Bahia” (Landes, 1994 [1947], p. 248).

However, the consequences of the pioneering contributions of social scientists' such as Roger Bastide, Florestan Fernandes, Lévi-Strauss, Buell Quain, Charles Wagley are still very much a part of contemporary history in Brazil, when considering themes such as ethnographic authority, the Black Atlantic (Gilroy, 1993), comparative race relations, religious tolerance and diversity, democracy, sexual rights and erotic justice (Allen, 2012; Epprecht, 2013).

Ruth Landes' fieldwork experience can illustrate contemporary anthropologists' positions about different forms of oppression in Brazil today. As she states at the end of *The City of Women*:

I was sent to Bahia to learn how people behave when the Negroes are not oppressed. I found that they are oppressed by political and economic tyrannies, although not by racial ones. In that sense, the Negroes were free, and at liberty to cultivate their African heritage. But they were sick, undernourished, illiterate, and uninformed, just like the other poor people among them of different racial origins. It was their complete poverty that cut them off from modern thought and obliged them to make up their own secure universe (Landes, 1994 [1947]: 248).

In commenting on this passage, in the Introduction to the Brazilian edition of “*The City of Women*”, Peter Fry (2002) evokes Landes' conclusions that there were no racial problems in Brazil, and asks a challenging question; Can we investigate the acceptance by transnational black movements that Brazil represented a “racial democracy”? For example, black leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington thought that Brazil could express positive aspects of the Black diasporic experience.

While I find this suggestion for future research fascinating and worth pursuing, I would also try to emphasise other passages in Landes' ethnography that reveal the hardship and exclusions that black people faced in Salvador. As we can see in the above quote, she highlighted that black people in Bahia suffered both hardship, illiteracy and a relative freedom to cultivate an “African heritage”.

And if Landes (1986 [1970], pp. 122-123) is most remembered today for her empirical errors, as Matory (2005) has put it, we should not forget that she, reflecting on her training as an anthropologist and her fieldwork experience in Brazil, warned us that, in the field, anthropologists would constantly face the possibility of “erring”²⁰. As she wrote:

19 Ruth Landes (1986 [1970], p. 120) commented on the Brazilian context of her fieldwork as follows: “I knew that Brazil in 1938 was governed by a severe dictatorship; that American pressure had barely forced Brazil's army to give up its Nazi-style ideology, called *integralismo*; that the so-called Axis powers were prominent in Brazilian commerce and that this was a land in the full prominence of patriarchal authority”.

20 We could try to apply here the concept of *equivocation* (the same one that Ingold is “sick and tired of”) as presented by Viveiros de Castro (2015). In building concepts and categories, anthropologists construct specific relationships with “natives”, at the same time that they are situated at crossroads, at the *intervals*, of (at least) two different language games. In fabricating their tools of objectivation, anthropologists might find themselves in recursive situations that may lead them to an infinite synthesis. Viveiros de Castro assures us that “equivocations” are not mistakes because errors presuppose a stable language game, they carry the presumption that anthropologists know the conditions of truth in advance. We can now read Landes (1986 [1970]) reflecting on her fieldwork training and experience from a different perspective.

Experience taught us (...) that in the field anything worked, even large mistakes, short of being killed. Mistakes were, conceptually, evidences of cultures or culture bearers in conflict, and, in that perspective, were instructive. (...)

Field workers situated alone often feel private panic of being stranded in the oceanic vastness of a foreign people. One's concept of self disintegrates because the accustomed responses have disappeared; one seeks restoration through letters from home addressed to the remembered personality. There are loneliness, uprooting, fears and true and marked physical hardships, diseases, lack of diversions to relieve the tensions – all of these nurture melancholics and spiritual fatigue.

We can now appreciate Landes' contributions with fresh eyes. Women anthropologists would not come to do fieldwork in Brazil until the 1960s (Cole, 2003), the same decade Weston (1993) notes the effervescence in lesbian/gay studies in anthropology and the the gay liberation movement. A decade that also saw the so-called second-wave feminist movement (Henry, 2004).

Weston called the effervescence in lesbian/gay studies in the 1960s the *ethnographic movement*. This was a movement interested in documenting the various ways societies around the world organise homosexualities and transgender experiences. Although Weston critically analyses the limitations of this early movement, she suggests that it was responsible for enlarging the contexts in which “transgendering and same-sex sexuality occur” (Weston, 1993, p. 345).

Thus, we can see that, along with Margaret Mead's and Ruth Benedict's early works on homosexuality and gender, Landes laid some foundations for scholarly works that would come decades later, fostering a shift in the anthropological canon. Furthermore, Landes was able to explore new forms of writing ethnography, building on the intersections between race, class, gender and sexuality.

Acknowledgments

The first version of this article was written in 2014 while I was studying in Sweden. I thank the Swedish Institute for awarding me a full scholarship to study at Lund University. I would also like to thank Ema Hrešánová, Jeffrey Hoff, and the three anonymous reviewers at Vibrant for their reading suggestions and comments.

Received on: November 29, 2017

Approved on: August 13, 2018

Translated by the author

Revision by Jeffrey Hoff

References

- ABU-LUGHOD, Lila. 2006. "Writing against Culture." In: *Feminist Anthropology: A Reader*. Malden: John Wiley & Sons. pp. 153-169.
- ALLEN, Andrea Stevenson. 2012. "Brides' without Husbands: Lesbians in the Afro-Brazilian Religion Candomblé". *Transforming Anthropology*, 20(1): 17-31.
- _____. 2008. "Candomblé". In: Carole Elizabeth Boyce Davies (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture [3 volumes]: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*. Vol. 1. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. pp. 256-257.
- ANDERSON, Jamie Lee. 2013. "Ruth Landes e Edison Carneiro: Matriarcado e Etnografia nos Candomblés da Bahia (1938-9)". *Revista de História Da UEG*, 2(1): 236-261.
- _____. 2012. "Edison Carneiro and Ruth Landes: Authority and Matriarchy in Candomblé Field Research, 1938-9". *Berkeley Undergraduate Journal*, 25(1): 117-145.
- ASTUTI, Rita. 2017. "On keeping up the tension between fieldwork and ethnography". *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 9-14.
- BECKER, Howard S. 1999. "The Chicago School, so-Called". *Qualitative Sociology*, 22(1): 3-12.
- BEHAR, Ruth. 1993. "Introduction: Women Writing Culture: Another Telling of the Story of American Anthropology". *Critique of Anthropology*, 13(4): 307-325.
- _____.; GORDON, Deborah (ed.). 1995. *Women Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- BUTLER, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- CARNEIRO, Edison. 2010. "Artur Ramos' Falsetto." *VIBRANT-Vibrant Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, 7(1): 20-24.
- CLIFFORD, James. 1980. "Fieldwork, Reciprocity, and the Making of Ethnographic Texts: The Example of Maurice Leenhardt". *Man*, 15(3): 518-532.
- _____. 1983. "On Ethnographic Authority". *Representations*, 2: 118-146.
- _____. 2003. *On the Edges of Anthropology: Interviews*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- _____. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- CLIFFORD, James; MARCUS, George E. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- COLE, Sally. 1995a. "Women's Stories and Boasian Texts: The Ojibwa Ethnography of Ruth Landes and Maggie Wilson". *Anthropologica*, 37(1): 3-25.
- _____. 1995b. "Ruth Landes and the early ethnography of gender and race". In: R. Behar; D. Gordon (eds.), *Women writing culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 166-185.
- _____. 2002. "Mrs. Landes Meet Mrs. Benedict': Culture Pattern and Individual Agency in the 1930s". *American Anthropologist*, 104(2): 533-543.
- _____. 2003. *Ruth Landes: A Life in Anthropology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- CORRÊA, Mariza. 2000. "O Mistério dos Orixás e das Bonecas: Raça e Gênero na Antropologia Brasileira". *Etnográfica*, 4(2): 233-265.
- _____. 2002. "Prefácio: esboços no espelho". In: *A Cidade das Mulheres*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. pp. 9-22.
- DA COL, Giovanni. 2017. "Two or three things I know about Ethnographic Theory". *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 1-8.
- EPPRECHT, Marc. 2013. *Sexuality and Social Justice in Africa: Rethinking Homophobia and Forging Resistance*. London: Zed Books.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. 1998. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

- FRANKENBURG, Ruth. 1993. *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. London: Routledge.
- FRY, Peter. 2015. "Bacamarte em Pernambuco? René Ribeiro entre 60 Xangozeiros de Recife." *Bagoas-Estudos Gays: Gêneros e Sexualidades*, 9(12): 138-150.
- _____. 2002. "Apresentação" In: *A Cidade das Mulheres*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. pp. 23-30.
- _____. 1986. "Male Homosexuality and Spirit Possession in Brazil." *Journal of Homosexuality*, 11(3-4): 137-153.
- GEERTZ, Clifford. 1968. "Thinking as a Moral Act: Ethical Dimensions of Anthropological Fieldwork in the New States". *The Antioch Review*, 28(2): 139-158.
- _____. 1973. "Thick description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture." In: *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books. pp. 3-30.
- GILROY, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- GINZBURG, Carlo. 1989. "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist." In: *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. pp. 156-164.
- GORDON, Deborah. 1993. "Worlds of Consequences: Feminist Ethnography as Social Action". *Critique of Anthropology*, 13(4): 429-443.
- HALL, Stuart; JEFFERSON, Tony (eds.). 2002. *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*. London: Routledge.
- HANNERZ, Ulf. 2003. "Being There... and There... and There! Reflections on Multi-Site Ethnography". *Ethnography*, 4(2): 201-216.
- HARAWAY, Donna. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective". *Feminist Studies*, 14(3): 575-599.
- HEALEY, Mark. 1996. "Os Desencontros da Tradição em Cidade das Mulheres: Raça e Gênero na Etnografia de Ruth Landes". *Cadernos Pagu*, 6/7: 153-199.
- HENRY, Astrid. 2004. *Not my mother's sister: Generational conflict and third-wave feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- HERSKOVITS, Melville J. 1948. "Review: The City of Women." *American Anthropologist*, 50(1): 123-125.
- HOWELL, Signe. 2017. "Two or three things I love about ethnography." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 15-20.
- INGOLD, Tim. 2011. "Anthropology is not ethnography." In: *Being alive: Essays on movement, knowledge and description*. London: Routledge. pp. 229-243.
- _____. 2014. "That's enough about ethnography!." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 4(1): 383-395.
- _____. 2017. "Anthropology contra ethnography." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 21-26.
- KOLSHUS, Thorgeir. 2017. "The power of ethnography in the public sphere". *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 61-69.
- LANDES, Ruth. 1940. "Fetish Worship in Brazil". *The Journal of American Folklore*, 53(210): 261-70.
- _____. 1953. "Negro Slavery and Female Status". *African Affairs*, 52(206): 54-57.
- _____. 1970. *The Prairie Potawatomi: Tradition and Ritual in the Twentieth Century*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- _____. 1986. "A woman anthropologist in Brazil". In: Peggy Golde (ed.), *Women in the field: Anthropological experiences*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 119-139.
- _____. 1994. *The City of Women*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- _____. 2010. "A Cult Matriarchate and Male Homosexuality". *VIBRANT-Vibrant Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, 7(1): 386-397.

- LIVHOLTS, Mona. 2012. *Emergent Writing Methodologies in Feminist Studies*. London: Routledge.
- MARCUS, George; FISCHER, Michael. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MASSI, Fernanda P. 1991. *Estrangeiros no Brasil: a missão francesa na Universidade de São Paulo*. Master Thesis, State University of Campinas, UNICAMP - Campinas.
- MATORY, J. Lorand. 2005. *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 2008. "Feminismo, Nacionalismo e a Luta pelo Significado do Adé no Candomblé: ou, como Edison Carneiro e Ruth Landes inverteram o curso da história". *Revista de Antropologia*, 51(1): 107-121.
- MCCLINTOCK, Anne. 1995. "Psychoanalysis, Race and Female Fetishism." In: *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge. pp. 181-203.
- MILLER, Daniel. 2017. "Anthropology is the discipline but the goal is ethnography". *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 27-31.
- MOHANTY, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- PACHECO DE OLIVEIRA, João. 1988. *Nosso Governo: Os Ticunas e o Regime Tutelar*. São Paulo: Marco Zero.
- PEIRANO, Mariza G. S. 1998. "When anthropology is at home: the different contexts of a single discipline". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27(1): 105-128.
- RAMOS, Artur. 2010. "Foreign Research on Brazilian Blacks". *VIBRANT-Vibrant Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, 7(1): 11-19.
- SAHLINS, Marshall. 1993. "Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History". *Journal of Modern History*, 65(1): 1-25.
- SAID, Edward. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage.
- SALZANO, Francisco M. 2009. "A Antropologia no Brasil: é a Interdisciplinaridade Possível?". *Amazônica-Revista de Antropologia*, 1(1): 14-27.
- SHAH, Alpa. 2017. "Ethnography? Participant observation, a potentially revolutionary praxis." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(1): 45-59.
- STRATHERN, Marilyn. 1987. "An awkward relationship: The case of feminism and anthropology". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12(2): 276-292.
- VISWESWARAN, Kamala. 1997 "Histories of Feminist Ethnography". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26(1): 591-621.
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo Batalha. 2015. *The relative native: Essays on Indigenous conceptual worlds*. London: Hau Books.
- WESTON, Kath. 1993. "Lesbian/gay studies in the house of anthropology". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 22(1): 339-367.

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho

CAPES scholarship holder, Process number 88881.171699/2018-01.

PhD Candidate, Charles University in Prague, CUNI, Czech Republic

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8774-1447>

E-mail: 79411295@fsv.cuni.cz

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Presentación

Adriana M. Villalón¹

Natalia Cabanillas²

¹ Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas/SP, Brasil

² Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira (Unilab), CE, Brasil

Este *dossier* presenta once artículos sobre diversos procesos de violencias políticas, y el complejo entramado de agentes y dispositivos a ellos asociados. Violencias que involucran a estados nacionales (dictatoriales, democráticos, de tipo colonial), agentes paramilitares, empresas madereras, organizaciones civiles o armadas, pistoleros, vecinos/as comunes, movimientos sociales y de familiares, población negra, indígena, campesina. Los/as autores/as abordan las narrativas estatales que se despliegan para explicar, justificar, categorizar, disculpar y/o recomponer esas experiencias, desde lenguajes de la unidad nacional, de la compasión, de la seguridad nacional, del parentesco. También son parte del análisis las voces que las cuestionan, disputan o reapropian, desde movimientos sociales y otros actores. Estos últimos, plantean sus lecturas a través de metáforas de lazos de sangre, éticas locales, y/o normativas humanitarias, para fortalecer sus demandas por los crímenes sufridos, por reparaciones, etc.

Los diversos textos que componen este *dossier* remiten a escenarios nacionales específicos y disímiles entre sí, como Brasil, Colombia, Argentina y Bosnia-Herzegovina. En algunos de ellos, las problemáticas analizadas tienen una marca muy local; en otros, se hacen eco de las narrativas internacionalizadas de transición y *post* conflicto, como resuenan en Sudáfrica y España -áreas de investigación transitadas por quienes coordinamos el *dossier* (Cabanillas, 2011; Villalón, 2016). De esta forma, las “*Gramáticas da [pós?] violências: identidades, guerras, corpos e fronteiras*” remiten a un extendido y protocolizado campo de actuación, dentro del cual se han naturalizado y consolidado prácticas, desde órganos y/o agentes internacionales.¹ En este sentido, es un gran espacio de identificación e (in)visibilización de ciertos tipos de violencias en tanto crímenes; y de temporalidades que funden presentes en supuestos pasados y prometen un *¿post?* que nunca llega.

¹ Este campo de actuación suele englobarse en el concepto de *Justicia Transicional* (JT), instituido por expertos con alto capital académico e institucional, como los juristas. Sobre este concepto existen diversos análisis que marcan el momento de su irrupción, las críticas a su aplicación a-histórica, su reemplazo de la justicia punitiva (por ser más demorada), y su difusión actual como supuesta solución universal para atender atrocidades masivas, entre otros (Le Franc & Mouralis, 2014).

Todo este gran campo de gestión de conflictos violentos tiene como antecedente la actuación de los tribunales internacionales de Nüremberg (1945-46) y de Tokio (1946-48). La Segunda Post Guerra inauguró una nueva normativa de injerencia internacional: la emergencia de la noción de crímenes contra la humanidad, con la proclamación en 1948 de la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos y de la Convención de Ginebra (1949). Entre tres y cuatro décadas más tarde, con la caída del mundo bipolar, emerge lo que hoy se llama de *campo transicional*. Algunos de los instrumentos jurídicos relativos a ese campo son la Declaración sobre Desaparición Forzada (1992), el Estatuto de Roma (1998) y otras normas, en las que se fueron precisando, ampliando y perfeccionando aspectos de protección y sanción ante crímenes (Hinton, 2010, 2012).

A partir de esa cadena de eventos, categorías y leyes, sumada a las demandas de movimientos sociales que cobran fuerza en los 80s y 90s, se fueron construyendo y difundiendo demandas de derechos y garantías, y responsabilización ante crímenes vinculada a las nociones de Derechos Humanos.² Desde entonces, se difunde más ampliamente la aplicación de dispositivos de verificación de violencias ocurridas y diversas variantes de reparación, siendo las Comisiones de Verdad el dispositivo más aplicado –y más criticado, por no dar cuenta de todas las dimensiones, de víctimas y de violencia ocurridas.

En esta matriz de pensamiento, la condena a los “crímenes de lesa humanidad”, inicialmente, está asociada a la condena al nazismo: atrocidades que ocurrieron en el corazón de Europa y contra poblaciones *blancas* (Cesaire, 2006). Sin embargo, la construcción de instrumentos jurídicos nacionales o internacionales de revisión de ese tipo de violencias se desarrolla varias décadas después, a partir de los años 80s y se difundirá en los 90s-2000s. Cuando este tipo de dispositivos emerge como “legítimo” y “efectivo”, otros grupos, previamente no contemplados, inician el planteo de sus demandas de reconocimiento por crímenes de raíz colonial, como los genocidios negros e indígenas en América Latina.

En su texto “Del ahogado el sombrero, a manera de manifiesto: esbozos para una crítica al discurso transicional”, en este *dossier*, Castillejo presenta un buen repaso de estos temas –de la noción restringida de humanidad contenida en la Justicia transicional– analizando cómo este discurso normativiza las formas de recordar el pasado y reestructurar la experiencia en tiempos llamados de “paz”. Desde luego, las temporalidades de estos procesos de registro y gestión son realizadas post-facto o “post-violencias”. Articulan, por tanto, el tiempo en que la denuncia era políticamente inviable, o inaudible, y un tiempo en el que se crean algunas condiciones que abrirían una esperanza de justicia y reconocimiento para algunos actores sociales.

Pensando las gramáticas del *post*

Como se mencionó, actualmente ese gran campo de gramáticas de gestión e institucionalización de post-violencias constituye un entramado de eventos, escenarios y protagonistas que se constituyen y retroalimentan mutuamente, en diversos territorios y naciones. Un complejo *kit* de dispositivos simultáneos se despliega para montar el escenario. Primero, para empezar a registrar hechos sucedidos, ajustar narrativas, identificar y enmarcar *víctimas*, –figuras internacionalizadas que encarnan, en palabra y cuerpo, lo ocurrido (Dodier, 2009). Luego, para producir leyes y comisiones específicas de gestión del *pathos*³, sostenidas por conceptos del humanitarismo, justicias *ad hoc* (Fassin, 2003).

2 Uno de los casos paradigmáticos es Argentina, que de la mano de un activismo incansable de los organismos de DDHH, instaló un proceso endógeno que va desde el Juicio a las Juntas Militares, entre los años 1984-85 (con condenas de los altos mandos militares) a la condena por genocidio de Miguel Etchecolatz en 2006, instalando la noción de que los crímenes de la dictadura serían imprescriptibles.

3 *Pathos*, como fuera definida por Fassin (2003:2), la lectura de procesos históricos, desigualdades sociales en términos de sufrimiento, ha generado “[...] una *patetización del mundo*, es decir, una representación patética de las desigualdades sociales y la introducción del *pathos* en lo político”. La entrada de una política del sufrimiento focalizada en la psique, el individuo, que usa la escucha como herramienta”, tan común en el marco de los dispositivos transicionales.

Y más tarde, para designar *especialistas*, que se destacan en sostener (y ser sostenidos por) la gestión de esos procesos, en su transitar internacional de aplicación de categorías y tecnologías de transición (Castillejo, 2009; Madlingozi, 2010; Irazusta et al., 2017), y en el ejercicio de los “oficios de la desgracia” (Gatti, 2017). Por último, para presentar a algunos de los *victimarios*, que entran en escena desde espacios de confesión y revelación de datos, como en Sudáfrica y Colombia (Castillejo, 2013).

Sin embargo, esa gran narrativa transicional no logra cerrarse, y la marca post (sociedades postviolentas, postdictatoriales) permanece *ad aeternum*, como muchos de los ejemplos presentados en este *dossier*. Aun así, crea un *locus* de enunciación que promete la posibilidad de *reconstruir la nación*, abrir un tiempo fundante (Cejas, 2008), un nuevo orden social ideal (Hinton, 2010), desde prácticas que se tornaron lecciones universalizables (Le Franc, 2009; Fassin et al., 2009) y –hasta cierto punto– a-históricas, colocadas como “*casos nacionales*” intercambiables entre sí.

Una cuidada tarea de execración del *pasado* –de las violencias políticas, estatales, coloniales, estructurales– y tránsito acelerado a la vida democrática sintetiza complejos procesos sociales. De ese modo, suele producirse una descontextualización de los eventos, que quedan reducidos a la posibilidad de encajar en las categorías de dolor contempladas (Mamdani, 2002; Ross, 2003). La nota común de estas gramáticas es la consagración de versiones institucionales que se enfrentan a narrativas *otras*, siendo una constante la discrepancia entre requerimientos políticos, demandas sociales, tiempos y resultados jurídicos.

Junto a la movilización social y militancia (de familiares, organizaciones de DDHH y ONGs), la consagración y objetivación de los *derechos humanos*, fue avanzando la consolidación de las ciencias expertas (criminología, antropología forense, entre otras) en rastrear, exhumar e intentar identificar cuerpos (desaparecidos, asesinados, enterrados en fosas clandestinas). Así, a partir de los 80s y 90s, entran en escena esas ciencias –sobre todo aquellas creadas en respuesta a las violencias desplegadas por las diversas dictaduras del Cono Sur en los 80s (Zarankin & Salerno 2008)–. Un amplio campo de experiencias se desenvuelve por fuera de esos registros y dispositivos, por ejemplo, la masacre contra población indígena, ocurrida en 2017 y analizada por Caroline Leal en su artículo “*Akroá-Gamella: territorial struggles and narratives of violence in the Lowlands of Maranhão*”. La autora evidencia una sucesión sistemática de crímenes de lesa humanidad contra la comunidad *Akroá-Gamella* en la Baixada Maranhense; tales violencias, encuadradas por Leal como etnocidio, preceden la temporalidad de los gobiernos dictatoriales en Brasil y los sobreviven. La propia existencia de la violencia etnocida para-estatal contra pueblos originarios denuncia la insuficiencia de los dispositivos transicionales y sus marcos temporales; evidencia también la colonialidad del poder en el Brasil rural y latifundista.

Las fronteras de la violencia y la frontera como violencia

En este proceso de gestión de las experiencias, se consagra qué tipo de violencias son legítimamente “cosa juzgable”/revisable”: se busca restablecer la frontera entre lo tolerable y lo intolerable (Wieviorka, 2003; Agier, 2008). En dichos períodos asistimos a nuevas formas de configuración de poderes, de la administración de las narrativas y memorias sobre violencia; y con ellas, de los sentidos y símbolos atribuidos: a la muerte (Castillejo, 2009, y a los cuerpos, construidos como descartables (Butler 2010; Blair, 2005). En el caso sudafricano, por ejemplo, autores/as como Fiona Ross (2003) y Mahmood Mamdani (1996; 2002; 2003) han puntualizado que la Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación de Sudáfrica (TRC-1995-2001) dejó de nombrar el *apartheid* y el racismo, para desagregar las violencias sistemáticas y sistémicas en hechos particulares, clasificados como “graves violaciones a los derechos humanos”; en esos eventos específicos era posible delimitar individuos particulares que actuaron como perpetradores y como víctimas.

De esta forma, las narrativas sobre el *apartheid* y sus violencias iban transformándose a medida que pasaban los filtros de la Comisión. Las Audiencias Públicas y el Informe Final pasaron a ser la versión canonizada sobre el pasado reciente, una versión profundamente cuestionada (Grunebaum & Ralph, 2001; Castillejo, 2009; Cabanillas, 2013).

En estos marcos, la víctima ha adquirido una centralidad social que se consolida como tipo subjetivo, en su demanda de reconocimiento de su dolor, como bien describe Gatti (2017:39) “[...] La víctima ya no está fuera, ya no reside en el borde exterior del vínculo social para posibilitarlo, habita en el centro mismo”. En otros contextos, como el Cono Sur, las (asociaciones de) víctimas que salieron al ruedo público hacia 1980 demandando al Estado, hoy lo trascienden, interpelando a organismos internacionales. Actualmente, el campo victimal (2017:38) admite diversas situaciones que ya no se restringen a violaciones de derechos humanos, sino que nuclea problemáticas sumamente diversas.

La negación del carácter político de determinadas violencias durante los escenarios o períodos de revisión de lo ocurrido, y su persistencia concomitante en tiempos asumidos como “post”, nos lleva, como mínimo, a preguntarnos por la relación entre ambas. La articulación entre las violencias consideradas políticas (Cabanillas, 2011) y aquellas que son des-politizadas desdibujan la misma temporalidad pasado-post instaurada por la gestión institucional. Así, ciertos cuerpos continúan viviendo en *estado de excepción permanente* (Calveiro, 1995); amontonados en lo que Achille Mbembe (2011) llamó “campos de muerte”, y gobernados por principios necropolíticos.⁴ Un ejemplo de estas situaciones de “excepción permanente” representa el trabajo histórico arqueológico de Pedro Maguire y Denise Costa, “*Scientific torture? Scientism and the marks of torture inside a police station in Belo Horizonte, Brazil*”. La descripción que los autores realizan sobre la articulación entre gobierno, ciencia, tortura, espacio y arqueología, trae las lógicas que sustentaron esas prácticas durante la dictadura brasilera. Lógicas aplicadas por diversos países, que involucran a la CIA y a entidades gubernamentales desde mediados del siglo XX. Así, el espacio de las instalaciones del DOPS (Departamento de Ordem Política e Social), en Belo Horizonte, contó con prácticas trasladadas desde manuales, diseñados para interrogar detenidos por medio de una “tortura científica”, que además incluían recomendaciones arquitectónicas. Los autores muestran que un análisis de la infraestructura de espacios concentracionarios permitiría comprender otros aspectos de las relaciones de poder, jerarquías y vivencias ocurridas en ellos.

El texto de Desirée Azevedo, “*Our Dead and Disappeared. Reflections on the construction of the notion of political disappearance in Brazil*”, reflexiona sobre la construcción social de la desaparición política en Brasil. La autora muestra de qué forma ocurre la comprensión y atención de casos de desaparición en el escenario brasileño, desde la tensión entre tipo de víctimas y tipo de violencia. Hablar de desaparecidos no connota una figura única.⁵ Brasil destaca por algunas ambivalencias en el traslado jurídico de esas categorías, así como en la aplicación de convenciones internacionales sobre el delito de desaparición forzada. Al tiempo que se limita a crímenes cometidos durante la dictadura, excluye varios casos que afectan vidas y familiares a la espera de noticias. Así, Azevedo describe una diversidad de situaciones de desaparición, mezclando la tensión entre la categoría ser aplicable al caso, o el caso encajar en la categoría ¿Qué es y que no es un desaparecido en Brasil? ¿Cómo se tensiona, en Brasil, la concepción jurídica de “desaparición forzada de personas” de la ONU (2006)?

Igual que en otras naciones, el movimiento de familiares confluye en torno a las figuras de muertos y desaparecidos políticos. Los casos son discriminados según el tipo de violencia, política o sistémica. Violencias sustentadas en narrativas de *seguridad* quedan no abordadas; así, la violencia policial sobre

4 En nuestro contexto, los campos de muerte pueden ser asimilados a los campos de refugiados, cracolândia, villas miseria, población de calle.

5 En cambio, en Argentina, la categoría “desaparecido” se instaura e institucionaliza para explicar y dar nombre a una práctica de la violencia genocida (Gatti, 2010) que emerge durante la última dictadura militar (1976-1983).

espacios y poblaciones concretas se normaliza como legítima (por ejemplo contra la juventud negra en las periferias, o población indígena, entre otras). La violencia estatal y policial marcan continuidades con la dictadura, vistiéndolo de otros ropajes el “enemigo interno”. O en palabras de Berenice Bento (2018:3), analizando lo que la autora llama de bionecropolítica brasileña: “*a governabilidade, para existir precisa produzir ininterruptamente zonas de morte*”.

Desde movimientos y activistas

Estudiar el proceso de transnacionalización de los procesos de gestión y administración de violencias políticas, con la profesionalización y especialización de los procedimientos, nos permite percibir la complejidad de las implicaciones de la construcción y aplicación de dichos dispositivos. En este sentido, interesa analizar qué estrategias desarrollan las/os actoras/es para participar de los diseños institucionales, y qué lugar ocupan las víctimas -y su palabra/silencio- en la creación de un espacio de enunciación, de creación de regímenes de visibilización, y de existencia.

En el contexto argentino, movimientos consolidados de derechos humanos y, en particular organizaciones de familiares de víctimas, se tornaron activos participantes de los procesos de *verdad y justicia*, en disputas ininterrumpidas, desde el momento en que la última dictadura militar (1976-1983) comienza la *desaparición forzada de personas*. Estas disputas están atravesadas por grandes matices, algunos de los cuales describe Virginia Vecchioli en su texto, “*Deserving Victimhood. Kinship, Emotions and Morality in Contemporary Politics*”. La articulación de apreciaciones políticas sobre valores adecuados e inadecuados, lazos de sangre y familiares, pone el dedo en la llaga sobre construcción de formas de gubernamentalidad. La lectura de la autora tensiona la legitimidad que habría entre las víctimas de la dictadura argentina, merecedoras de más o menos compasión y reconocimiento. En esta línea de pensamiento, dialoga con Veena Das (1999; 2008) y su propuesta de cruzar metáforas de parentesco y de política, entre estado y familiares, y de entender cómo el Estado contribuye en la construcción de sentimientos colectivos que pueden interpelar a la compasión.

Las incongruencias entre tipos de violencia y dimensiones temporales pueden leerse en el trabajo de Adriana Novais: “Los pueblos del campo y los desafíos alrededor de la justicia transicional en Brasil”. La autora analiza memorias y narrativas de asociaciones de campesinos e indígenas que interpelan las nociones de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad - CNV en Brasil (2012 y 2014). Tanto la dimensión temporal (1962-1985) como la conceptual no son aceptadas por las entidades militantes. Novais destaca principalmente los desacuerdos entre las definiciones de violencia, el concepto de “violación de Derechos Humanos” que utiliza la CNV y los conceptos más amplios utilizados por asociaciones de militantes y comisiones de verdad regionales, como la paulista “Rubens Paiva”. La definición de la CNV de qué serían “graves violaciones de derechos humanos” no necesariamente condice con la realidad campesina. En cambio, apelan a la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, que contempla otros tipos de violencia.

El trabajo de Novais dialoga, desde un ángulo diferente, con el de Azevedo, en las tensiones en torno a la categoría de desaparición política y su ambigüedad. En tanto Azevedo mostraba su fuerte conexión con el movimiento de familiares de muertos y desaparecidos políticos, excluyendo otras violencias, Novais, agrega el caso de otras comunidades: las poblaciones indígena y campesina; que son menos reconocidas en el imaginario local y político, y que disputan desde el espacio rural también su lugar en esas categorías.

Dibe Ayoub trae a este *dossier*, con *Land as Home: Women, Life and Violence in Land Conflicts*, otra dimensión de conflictos, aquellos que se desenvuelven alejados de grandes dispositivos de gestión, y que desarrollan sus dinámicas propias. La autora aborda el conflicto por la tierra en una pequeña comunidad rural del sur brasileño. Se trata de una disputa que involucra a grandes empresas y sus representantes

locales, quienes mantienen relaciones de vecindad y parentesco con la población local amenazada por éstos. La autora analiza las formas en que las mujeres locales desenvuelven estrategias de vida y éticas de la autoridad, de las relaciones de género y de la pertenencia a la tierra. Todo ello entre tensos enfrentamientos, atravesados por incendios, desalojos y muertes.

Celeste Ciccarone, en su texto “*Guarani Farm: indigenous narratives about removal, reclusion and escapes in the period of the military dictatorship in Brazil*”, recupera las formas específicas de violencias contra la población indígena durante el período dictatorial brasileño, centradas en torno a la desposesión de la tierra, mentiras organizadas para el traslado forzado de población y su aislamiento en campos de reclusión (Fazenda Guarani) estilo “reservas nativas”, destinados a “dejar languidecer” vidas indígenas. Ciccarone, Leal y Ayoub muestran dinámicas rurales de la violencia en Brasil, que exceden el binarismo “democracia-dictadura” y que permanecen fuera de los marcos de la CNV; dinámicas que, a su vez, demandan nuevas formas de conceptualización de la violencia y del ejercicio del poder en el Brasil contemporáneo.

Siguiendo la reflexión y genealogía establecidas por Marcia Leitão Pinheiro en su artículo “*The sound of silenced voices: mobilizations, connections, and demands in the investigation of slavery in Brazil*”, la autora se enfoca en argumentar las continuidades de la violencia contra la población negra y de la lucha antirracista, en un tejido temporal de larga duración. La memoria de la esclavitud y las consecuencias de este período, su falta de reconocimiento como crimen de lesa humanidad y parcialidad de las políticas correctivas de restitución de derechos, amalgaman la continuidad de la violencia racial y racista en el Brasil contemporáneo. La autora coloca en primer plano el activismo negro de la Organización de Abogados Brasileños, para reclamar las deudas históricas del Estado y la aplicación del dispositivo “Comisión de la Verdad” al proceso de esclavitud en el Brasil, mostrando que tales dispositivos no son prerrogativa de organismos internacionales o estatales.

Inventando y evitando formas de convivir

En torno de las políticas reales de *reconciliación*, reparación del daño o, simplemente, aceptación de la convivencia forzada, Andréa Schvartz Peres, en su artículo “*For Human Rights: The construction of multinational Brčko District (Bosnia and Herzegovina)*”, analiza las políticas educativas y patrimoniales con base en una detallada etnografía en el escenario post etnocidio. Estas políticas, en realidad, colocan el futuro del distrito multirracial de Brčko en una nube de dudas y tensiones, donde el pasado se niega a diluirse en el presente de segregación de experiencias: cómo reconocer cada versión de la historia-memoria sin que los caminos narrativos refuercen las dinámicas de separación dentro de cada espacio educativo y de la ciudad. La autora muestra la complejidad laberíntica de las políticas de reconciliación en el ámbito escolar y patrimonial.

En el escenario colombiano, Marco Tobón retrata, en “*Metamorfosis trágica en la Amazonia colombiana. El cuerpo en los juegos de la guerra y la paz*”, una etnografía de los procedimientos de *reconciliación* en clave local. En ella, encuentra que las formas de restituir el tejido social rasgado es desplazar el poder de matar de ciertos integrantes de la comunidad durante los conflictos armados en una otredad animal o animalizante. Así, escapa a las dinámicas judicializadoras y estandarizadoras de los Estados modernos, así como de los dispositivos internacionalizados de justicia transicional. Las comunidades del Amazonas colombiano encuentran formas de cura rituales para restituir las transformaciones de cuerpos y el tránsito de espíritus de animales a humanos, y viceversa. Éstas resultan no sólo una fuente epistemológica para hacer inteligible la violencia; sino también la posibilidad de la paz, en contextos sociales donde el punitivismo o la expulsión no son una opción.

Tanto estos casos como los otros permiten pensar las complejas dimensiones de los procesos ¿post? –en los cuales no funcionan fórmulas de reconciliación (Theidon, 2004), ni es posible recuperar lazos previos– por lo que, en algunos casos, se imponen las “coexistencias contenciosas” (Payne, 2009). En esta era de víctimas, disculpas y demandas (Wieviorka, 2003; Brooks, 1999; Blatz et al., 2009; Fassin et al., 2009), la dimensión de repliegues jurídicos que esgrimen los Estados nacionales, para evitar efectivizar reparaciones reales, limitándose a disculpas públicas gubernamentales y memoriales (Bessone, 2013), es una constante.

En la cartografía de las formas de matar, dejar vivir y controlar a través del terror en tiempos “pos-violencia”, durante la preparación de este *dossier* (2017-2018) asistimos en Brasil a una escalada de asesinatos y masacres en pueblos indígenas y jóvenes negros/as, así como líderes de los pueblos del campo. Es imposible no preguntarnos sobre esta reestructuración o profundización de las formas para-estatales de la guerra, en una América Latina que día a día se posiciona como el continente más violento del mundo.⁶ Estos procesos emergieron en la agenda pública internacional con el asesinato de la edil de Rio de Janeiro Marielle Franco, activista negra y lesbiana contra la militarización de las comunidades negras y contra la violencia, policial y para-policial. *Las gramáticas de la ¿post? violencia* nos plantea, como problema teórico, social, político y humano, las macabras formas de asociación –de existencia simbiótica– entre el Estado y diversas formas de para-estado (Segato, 2016); la interconexiones y superposiciones entre funcionarios públicos, y las organizaciones nacionales e internacionales del tráfico de drogas ilegales y de personas.⁷

Tal proceso, sin embargo, ya estaba en curso mucho antes de 2018, y está marcado por la normalización del estado de excepción para determinados grupos: de qué formas y con qué gramáticas las prácticas genocidas, el terrorismo racial y de género, se perpetúan. Repensar estas cuestiones implica también considerar qué significan la paz y la guerra en el quehacer etnográfico, y cuáles son nuestras responsabilidades y debates antropológicos, en tiempos en que muchos profesionales trabajan/trabajamos en áreas construidas como “zonas de muerte”. Las gramáticas de las violencias racializadas y/o políticas no sólo invisibilizan socialmente las cartografías de la muerte; también procuran aislar a los sujetos marcados como “matables” de posibles aliadas/os.

Si la pregunta de Castillejo Cuellar para Colombia es qué antropología necesitamos para la paz, qué alianzas y colaboraciones establecemos más allá de los palcos analíticos, localizadas en el campo de la antropología brasileña cabe preguntarse qué antropología –y en definitiva, qué ciencias humanas– necesitamos para un estado de excepción permanente, y territorialmente fragmentario. ¿Cómo pensamos el trabajo de campo con sujetos que habitamos un mundo desdoblado, entre cuerpos que merecen vivir y cuerpos cuyo derecho a la vida pende cotidianamente de un hilo? ¿Qué alianzas, qué palabras, qué lenguajes? ¿Qué etnografías merecen los días de hoy, en que la “zona del no ser” (Dussel, 1979; Grosfoguel, 2012) está cada vez más, poblada de cadáveres?

En definitiva, investigar y escribir sobre políticas, conceptos y agentes que abordan y gestionan efectos de violencias internas, debería también generar propuestas y herramientas para abordar escenarios de violencia.

6 Con base en el último informe del Consejo Ciudadano para la Seguridad Pública y Justicia Penal (CCSPJP, 2018), que todos los años elabora el ranking. De las 50 ciudades más violentas, 17 están en Brasil, 12 en México y 5 en Venezuela. En términos metodológicos, el informe establece la comparación midiendo la tasa de asesinatos cada 100 mil habitantes.

7 Como señala Berenice Bento, los rituales y ritos de la eliminación del Otro pueden variar en diversos universos de población (trans, carcelaria, indígena). Sin embargo, con responsabilidad directa por acción, o indirecta por omisión estatal, es necesario desarrollar formas de teorizar que permitan hacer inteligible la dinámica de la gobernabilidad, la construcción de la soberanía y el ejercicio de dar la vida y dar la muerte (Bento, 2018).

References

- AGIER, Michel. 2008. *Managing the Undesirables*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- BENTO, Berenice. 2018. "Necrobiopoder: Quem pode habitar o Estado Nação". *Cadernos Pagu*, 53:1-16.
- BESSONE Magali. 2013. *Sans distinction de race? Une analyse critique du concept de race et de ses effets pratiques*. París: Librairie Philosophique.
- BLAIR, Elsa. 2005. *Muertes Violentas. La Teatralización del Exceso*. Medellín: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia
- BLATZ, Craig; SCHUMANN, Karina; ROSS Michael. 2009. "Government Apologies for Historical Injustices" *Political Psychology*, 30(2): 219-241.
- BROOKS, Roy. 1999. *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*. New York University Press: New York and London
- BUTLER, Judith. 2010. *Marcos de Guerra. Las Vidas lloradas*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- CABANILLAS, Natalia. 2013. "Incorporando La Nación: Mujeres Africanas Ante la Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación". *NÓMADAS*, 38: 98-113.
- _____. 2011. *Género y memoria en Sudáfrica post Apartheid. La noción de víctima y la Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación (1995-1998)*. México: El Colegio de México.
- CALVEIRO, Pilar. 1995. *Poder y desaparición: los campos de concentración en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Colihue.
- CASTILLEJO-CUÉLLAR, Alejandro. 2013. "Voces [en la cabeza]: espacialidad, mediaciones teletecnológicas y las verdades caleidoscópicas en el proceso de Justicia y Paz en Colombia". *Papeles del CEIC*, 92(1):1-40.
- _____. 2009. *Los archivos del dolor. Ensayos sobre la violencia y el recuerdo en la Sudáfrica contemporánea*. Colombia: Uniandes.
- CEJAS, Mónica. 2008. "Retro-ilusiones en tiempos inestables: comisionando la memorias para la (re) inscripción da nación post apartheid". En: C. de la Peza (coord.), *Memórias y política: Experiencia, poéticas y construcciones de nación*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo. pp.123-171.
- CESAIRE, Aimé. 2006. *Discurso sobre el colonialismo*. México: Ediciones Akal.
- CONSEJO CIUDADANO PARA LA SEGURIDAD PÚBLICA Y JUSTICIA PENAL (CCSPJP). 2018. "Las 50 ciudades más violentas del mundo 2017 + Metodología". Disponible en: <https://www.seguridadjusticiaypaz.org.mx/biblioteca/download/6-prensa/242-las-50-ciudades-mas-violentas-del-mundo-2017-metodologia>. Acceso: 01/04/2018.
- DAS, Veena. 1999. "Fronteiras, violência e o trabalho do tempo: alguns temas wittgensteinianos". *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 14(40): 31-42. Disponible en: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbcsoc/v14n40/1706.pdf>. Acceso: 20/01/2018.
- _____. 2008. "La antropología del dolor". En: V. Das et al. *Sujetos del dolor, agentes de dignidad*. Bogotá: Fco Ortega Editor, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. pp. 409-435
- DODIER, Nicolas. 2009. «Experts et victimes face à face», in Sandrine Lefranc et Lilian Mathieu (dir.), *Mobilisation des victimes*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. pp. 29-36.
- DUSSEL, Enrique. 1979 [1976]. *Filosofía da Liberación Latinoamericana*. Bogotá: Editorial Nueva América.
- FASSIN, Didier. 2003. *La patetización del mundo. Ensayo de antropología política del sufrimiento*. <http://132.248.35.1/cultura/2003/ponencias-2/wpon4.html>. Acceso en 20/01/2018.
- _____.; RECHTMAN, Richard. 2009. *The empire of Trauma: an inquiry into the condition of victimhood*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- GATTI, Gabriel (org.). 2017. *Un mundo de víctimas*. Barcelona: Antrophos.
- _____. 2010. "O detido-desaparecido: catástrofe civilizacional, desmoronamento da identidade e linguagem". *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais [Online]*, 88. <https://rccs.revues.org/77>. Acceso: 15/01/2018.

- GROSGUÉL, Ramón. 2012. "El concepto de 'racismo' en Michel Foucault y Frantz Fanon: ¿teorizar desde la zona del ser o desde la zona del no-ser?". *Tabula Rasa* (Enero-Junio). Disponible en: <<http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=39624572006>> Acceso: 20/03/2018.
- GRUNEBaum-RALPH, Heidi. 2001. "Re-Placing Pasts, Forgetting Presents: Narrative, Place, and Memory in the Time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Research in African Literatures*, 32(3): 198-212. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/29592>. Acceso: 01/06/2018.
- HINTON, Alexander. 2010. *Transitional Justice: Global Mechanisms Local Realities after Genocide and Mass Violence*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- _____. 2012. "Violence". In: D. Fassin (org.), *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*. MA, Oxford: John Wiley & Sons. pp. 500-518.
- IRAZUZTA, Ignacio; RODRÍGUEZ MAESO, Silvia; VILLALÓN, Adriana M. 2017. "Victimas Educators. Sentimental Education in a Peace-Building Context". *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 9(1): 50-67. issn 1757-9619. <https://academic.oup.com/jhrp/issue/9/3>.
- LEFRANC, Sandrine. 2009. "La professionnalisation d'un militantisme réformateur du droit: l'invention de la justice transitionnelle". *Droit et Société*, 3(73): 561-589.
- _____.; MOURALIS, Guillaume. 2014. "De quel(s) droit(s) la justice internationale est-elle faite?". *Socio*, 03: 209-245. <http://socio.revues.org>. Acceso: 20/04/2018.
- PAYNE, Leigh. 2009. *Testimonios perturbadores. Ni verdad ni reconciliación en las confesiones de violencia de Estado*. Bogotá: Uniandes.
- MADLINGOZI, Tshepo. 2010. "On Transitional Justice Entrepreneurs and the Production of Victims". *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 2(2): 208-228.
- MAMDANI, Mahmood. 2003. "Darle Sentido Histórico a la violencia política en el África". *ISTOR*, IV(14): 48-68. <http://aleph.academica.mx/jspui/handle/56789/11424>. Acceso: 01/06/2018.
- _____. 2002. "Amnesty or impunity? A preliminary critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC)". *Diacritics*, 32(3): 33-59.
- _____. 1996. "Reconciliation without Justice". *Southern African Review of Books*, 46: 3-5.
- MBEMBE, Achille. 2011. *Necropolítica*. Tenerife: Melusina.
- _____. 2002. "The power of the archives and its limits". In: Hamilton (ed.), *Refiguring the archive*. Cape Town: David Phillip. pp.19-20.
- ROSS, Fiona. 2003. *Bearing witness. Women and the truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa*. Londres: Pluto Press.
- SEGATO, Rita. 2016. *La Guerra contra las mujeres*. Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.
- THEIDON, Kimberley. 2004. *Entre-prójimos. El conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación en el Perú*. IEP: Lima.
- VILLALÓN, Adriana M. 2016. "Construyendo la vasquidad: de estímulos, convivencias y límites lingüísticos". *Mana. Estudios de Antropología Social*, 22(2): 519-550. DOI <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1678-49442016v22n2p519>.
- ZARANKIN, Andrés; SALERNO, Melisa A. 2008. "Después de la tormenta. Arqueología de la represión en América Latina". *Complutum*, 19(2): 21-32.
- WIEVIORKA, Michel. 2003. "L'émergence des victimes". *Sphera Publica*, 3: 19-38

Adriana M. Villalón

Universidad Estadual de Campinas – UNICAMP

He contado, para este trabajo, con financiación de la Fundación de Amparo a la Pesquisa del Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP), a quien agradezco.

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5133-0921>

E-mail: adriana.villalon@gmail.com

Natalia Cabanillas

Univ. de la Integración Internacional de la Lusofonía Afro-Brasileña – UNILAB, Ceará, Brasil

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3607-715X>

E-mail: nataliacabanillas@gmail.com

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Del ahogado el sombrero, a manera de *manifiesto*: esbozos para una crítica al discurso transicional

*Alejandro Castillejo Cuéllar*¹

¹ Universidad de los Andes, Colombia

Resumen

Este texto-manifiesto es producto de mi trabajo de investigación y mi vinculación de largo aliento con organizaciones de víctimas de violencia en diversos lugares en el mundo. Plantea la necesidad de leer los “escenarios transicionales”, sus discursos, presupuestos subyacentes y prácticas concretas, como parte de modelos globales de administración de los efectos de la violencia en contextos concretos: una intersección entre el dominio de lo global (los derechos humanos o los estándares internacionales de justicia, verdad y reparación) y su metamorfosis con teorías locales del daño. Este texto es entonces un destilado histórico, teórico y etnográfico sobre la noción de “transición”, y sobre la experiencia de sociedades que aplican prácticas que buscan hacer un tránsito de la violencia (entendida de muchas maneras) a la llamada post-violencia.

Palabras claves: Estudios Críticos; Transiciones Políticas; Etnografía; Manifiesto; América Latina.

Del ahogado el sombrero, sob a forma de de *manifiesto*: esboços para uma crítica ao discurso transicional

Resumo

Este texto-manifesto é o produto de meu trabalho de pesquisa e de meu vínculo de muitos anos com organizações de vítimas de violência em diversos lugares no mundo. Reivindica a necessidade de ler os “cenários de transição”, seus discursos, pressupostos subjacentes e práticas concretas como parte de modelos globais de administração dos efeitos da violência em contextos concretos: uma interseção entre o domínio do global (os direitos humanos ou os padrões internacionais de justiça, verdade e reparação) e suas metamorfoses com teorias locais do dano. Este texto é assim um destilado histórico, teórico e etnográfico sobre a noção de “transição” e sobre a experiência de sociedades que aplicam práticas que buscam fazer um trânsito entre a violência (entendida de muitas maneiras) à chamada pós-violência.

Palabras-chave: estudos críticos; transições políticas; etnografia; manifesto; América Latina.

Del ahogado el sombrero, a manera de *manifiesto*: esbozos para una crítica al discurso transicional

Alejandro Castillejo Cuéllar

Este texto es producto de mi trabajo de investigación y mi vinculación de largo aliento con organizaciones de víctimas de violencia en diversos lugares en el mundo.¹ Plantea la necesidad de leer los “escenarios transicionales”, sus discursos, presupuestos subyacentes y prácticas concretas, como parte de modelos globales de administración de los efectos de la violencia en contextos concretos: una intersección entre el dominio de lo global (los derechos humanos o los estándares internacionales de justicia, verdad y reparación) y su metamorfosis con teorías locales del daño. Este texto es, entonces, un destilado histórico, teórico y etnográfico, sobre la noción de “transición” y sobre la experiencia de sociedades que aplican prácticas que buscan hacer un tránsito, de la violencia (entendida de muchas maneras) a la llamada post-violencia.

Comienzo este breve escrito con una viñeta de mis diarios de campo sobre las continuidades históricas de la violencia y sus actuales lugares del terror en el puerto de Buenaventura, recabados durante los últimos años 4 años en paralelo al Proceso de Paz que se gestó en La Habana.² En ese contexto, desarrollo, en las siguientes dos secciones, una crítica general al concepto de transición. En el primer apartado, a manera de “manifiesto,” intento plantear una pregunta en voz alta, teniendo como centro de reflexión indirecto el contexto latinoamericano. A renglón seguido, en el segundo apartado, desarrollo las implicaciones de esta crítica y aclaro algunos de sus elementos. En el apartado tercero, planteo la manera cómo esta mirada interpela las ciencias sociales y la antropología como disciplina. Y finalmente, en una última viñeta, retorno a las paradójicas concreciones de la transición, y de la *promesa de una nueva sociedad imaginada* incrustada en el sueño desarrollista de un gran puerto en Urabá antioqueño, en Colombia. Las dos viñetas están íntimamente conectadas.

Primera viñeta: el terror como forma de gubernamentalidad (...)

Esta región en Colombia inevitablemente me recuerda el Chocó (la Serranía del Baudó, donde hice mi primer trabajo de campo como estudiante), mi paso de unos años por el *Southern Africa*, la vida en la Cape Town de Gugulethu y Grassy Park, y las conversaciones con mis amigos refugiados del genocidio en Ruanda con quienes vivía en un pueblito cerca de la imperial Viena. Me recuerda la Maison d’Esclaves en Dakar, la inexplicable nostalgia que siento por el Congo y por Angola (lugares donde nunca he estado físicamente pero que he leído y oído a través de otros), y claro, La Habana, siempre presente con su ausencia. Siempre llego a esta misma idea: ¿cómo se puede retornar a aquellos lugares donde nunca se ha estado, pero que se conocen íntimamente?

1 Algunas de estas ideas fueron expuestas como parte de una de las conferencias centrales en el Foro Central “Guerra y Academia”, Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Antropología (ALA), Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, Junio 5 de 2017. La metáfora del título es un dicho popular en Colombia que hace referencia al ideal según el cual frente a la catástrofe (en hecho de que alguien se ahogue) hay que conformarse (en una mezcla entre resignación y humor) con lo que quede, pues al menos ha sobrevivido algo (el sombrero). Nos ha quedado pues un rastro de algo, de lo que ya no está. El sombrero metafórica el cuerpo, la persona, o en el caso de este ensayo, lo que nos queda de la promesa de la transición es un sombrero.

2 Al momento de escritura de este artículo el Acuerdo pactado en La Habana se ha convertido en una compleja transmutación, pasando por la derrota del plebiscito que buscaba referendarlo y por su casi fracasado paso por el Congreso de la República. A ese acuerdo le llamo el Acuerdo de La Habana-Cartagena-Teatro Colón.

Todos estos lugares están interconectados en el tiempo: descendientes de seres humanos esclavizados, todos herederos del tráfico de cuerpos, llenos de historias de destitución que cohabitan con grandes sagas de resistencia y sobrevivencia. Mar turbio, el Pacífico, potente, e intransigente.

Notas de Campo (modificadas), mayo del 2016



Hace un tiempo asistí a la presentación de una obra de teatro organizada por grupos de jóvenes de las barriadas de Buenaventura. Era en el marco de un encuentro de organizaciones de desplazados provenientes de las zonas rurales. Querían discutir el impacto del proceso de negociación de La Habana en esa región. Yo, a la vez, aproveché también para visitar de nuevo el Espacio Humanitario en Buenaventura, Puerto Nayero³, donde había estado en varias ocasiones. La obra me conmovió profundamente. Los veía en medio de la oscuridad deslizándose sus historias esa noche. Era como una especie de testimonio colectivo, puesto en escena, realizado con su cuerpo, *en su cuerpo*. ¿Quién ha dicho que el testimonio es solamente esa articulación de la experiencia que se realiza oralmente? Aquí la marimba se entretrejea con su cadencia nostálgica y con las voces de esas mujeres que arrastraban los *alabaos* desde el mismo Chocó.⁴ Elogio a la supervivencia y la creatividad de la vida.

Como siempre, me encontré, de nuevo, con historias pequeñas de grandes heroísmos, de mujeres que le han puesto el pecho a la violencia. Fue escalofriante escucharlas: la crítica constante al “modelo de desarrollo” se realizaba desde su experiencia vital (con la profundidad personal e histórica que eso implica para un hombre o una mujer *afro*) pero con superficialidad repetitiva, aunque claramente disonante del discurso oficial de la “construcción de paz” y sus filiales académicas: las mismas que jamás dejan las oficinas de las universidades y presumen que el trabajo de campo se asimila a una forma de turismo humanitario. Fue escalofriante porque la paz parecía otro planeta. Fue escalofriante por la vulnerabilidad de esta gente ante el argumento estatal en el que el desarrollo se concebía como consecuencia *sine qua non*

3 Buenaventura (Departamento del Valle del Cauca) es el puerto marítimo más grande de Colombia, localizado en el Océano Pacífico. A través de él pasa la mayoría de las importaciones marítimas del país. Una región de selva tropical húmeda y biológica que atesora kilómetros de bosques, maderas finas y minerales estratégicos. Territorios colectivos de comunidades negras y resguardos indígenas. Históricamente, región de esclavos liberados, y ciudadanos excluidos. El Espacio Humanitario es una calle en esta ciudad que ha sido retomada por la población, expulsando de ella actores armados a través de una demarcación social y espacial.

4 Departamento de Colombia, capital Quibdó. “Alabaos” hace referencia a la música y coros populares de la región, cantados durante novenarios y velorios: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NX49kxCYG6M>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uenxrgg1BPM>

de la paz (lo que eso quiera decir). Los proyectos de desarrollo y sus efectos conformaban el precio que se debía pagar por la paz. Y efectivamente, allá están las empresas, disfrutando de las mieles. Y en la mitad, estas personas, habitando lugares en los que no deberían estar, “obstaculizando”, como se escucha con frecuencia, el porvenir. Cuántas veces he escuchado a la Colombia mestiza, la misma que era detenida en los aeropuertos del mundo por traficante, decir que los mundos indígena y negro eran obstáculos para el desarrollo.

Esta zona de Colombia es la intersección de múltiples violencias: la del conflicto armado, al que después de décadas del desplazamiento de cientos de familias se le suma la indiferencia estatal militarizada y la miseria que transmuta desde los tiempos de la colonia, la de los acumuladores de riqueza crónicos, politiqueros corruptos, taladores de bosques (legales e ilegales) y traficantes de todos los pelambres (legales e ilegales). Traficantes de niños y jóvenes, de cuerpos de mujeres que, de Panamá a Chile⁵ son vistos como reminiscencias de las Venus extraídas del África en el siglo XIX, como Sara Bartmann, destinadas a ser vistas como “putas” o parte de *freak shows* ambulantes. Traficantes de objetos, de armas, de sustancias, de animales, de plantas (es más, de la selva tropical húmeda en su totalidad), de ideas, de patentes, de influencias y hasta de sueños: todo polizón es un soñador secuestrado por su sueño. En ese momento, evidencí lo que llamaría *la violencia de la post-violencia*, la del llamado “desarrollo”, que viene acompañada de una larga historia de desapariciones forzadas, donde los ríos y la costas mismas son grandes fosas comunes, cementerios acuáticos de restos sin nombre. La violencia que la transición hace invisible y que las legislaciones en la era de las víctimas considera superada. Los chicos que vi me recordaron ese palimpsesto que es el daño. A mi modo de ver, la Costa Pacífica es el laboratorio de la llamada transición colombiana: la que se vende rimbombante en camino “hacia un nuevo futuro”, la del polo de desarrollo hotelero y turístico (no obstante sus contaminadas aguas), la de la “biodiversidad” (raponeada o arrebatada a la fuerza), la de la “diversidad cultural” (abandonada), la de la globalización contemporánea. Para estas organizaciones, la promesa transicional no es una ruptura con la violencia, sino más bien una continuidad histórica.

En medio de todo esto emerge, hace unos pocos años, un Espacio Humanitario, construido poco a poco por desplazados que salieron de Puerto Naya, en Nariño, un lugar lastimosamente conocido por una masacre. El lugar, asimismo, constituía un territorio “rescatado al mar” a punta de rellenos de rocas, escombros y basuras, una pequeña extensión del continente que engulló el mar para recrear una extensión de las “territorios colectivos” afrocolombianos reconocidos por la Ley 70 y de donde muchos habitantes provenían.⁶ Puerto Nayero representa la venida del monte a la ciudad, a una costa ahora en disputa con constructores y sus proyectos hoteleros. El sector se extiende por una sola calle, rodeada de secciones llenas de pequeñas moradas en madera y levantadas a la manera de palafitos, una construcción tradicional en zonas acuíferas. No hay sistemas sanitarios ni aguas potables y la insalubridad es rampante. Un amigo camerunés me contó (quizás exagerando para mostrar su asombro) que cuando pasó por Buenaventura había pensado que ni en el África había visto semejante destitución. Claro, excepto los países en guerra, como el Congo o Liberia, o algunos *shanty towns* o tugurios en Lagos o Johannesburgo. Exageraba. Puerto Nayero está rodeado de barrios atestados de grupos armados: neo-paramilitares, micro-traficantes de droga, mercenarios o sicarios, fronteras imaginarias entre combos o pandillas configurando una verdadera cartografía del miedo. Algunos hasta dicen que las maras salvatruchas han estado entrando con dificultad. Jóvenes deambulando por todas partes, chicos sin otro destino que las economías ilegales.

5 Esta referencia se la debo a mi colega Margarita Echeverri.

6 LEY 70 DE 1993 (agosto 27) Diario Oficial No. 41.013, de 31 de agosto de 1993, por la cual se desarrolla el artículo transitorio 55 de la Constitución Política, que “tiene por objeto reconocer a las comunidades negras que han venido ocupando tierras baldías en las zonas rurales ribereñas de los ríos de la Cuenca del Pacífico, de acuerdo con sus prácticas tradicionales de producción, el derecho a la propiedad colectiva, de conformidad con lo dispuesto en los artículos (...)”.

En este mundo, las historias de horror se multiplican: el océano pacífico, turbulento y oscuro, es una gran fosa común, donde las gentes se amarraban muertas y vivas en travesaños enterrados en el piso del mar, durante marea baja, para que luego la subida los hundiera en el olvido. Sabemos del impacto en la identificación de cuerpos podridos en el agua.



En medio del proceso de La Habana, se dio una racha de violencia sobre las gentes que vivían en esas costas. La indiferencia del Estado en todo eso fue total hasta el extremo. Al final, la respuesta institucional ante la presión social fue la militarización de la ciudad, y en particular, de algunos sectores. La estabilización de esa zona del país era indispensable para el Presidente, quien había basado su política económica en las industrias de extracción y en las agriculturas industrializadas, y por supuesto, la colonización de las zonas antes dominadas por las FARC-EP. Era inevitable para mí conectar eso con la expoliación europea del África a finales del siglo XIX, y por supuesto, imaginar una conexión costera con México o América Central y los grandes cinturones de Maquilas. Por eso existe, en este escenario de transición, una terrible contradicción entre el proyecto económico y lo que con frecuencia el Estado llama la “financiación de la paz” (lo que eso quiera decir). Estamos sembrando la semilla de viejas nuevas guerras. La necesidad de vender la región, de mostrar a través de videos propagandísticos que “Colombia, Magia Salvaje” esta “open for business”, en la Amazonía, la Serranía de la Macarena, en la misma región del Chocó, o en el Guainía. Lo último que se necesitaba era hacer público que había regiones que podían poner en peligro la llamada “confianza inversionista”.⁷

En este contexto, el terror se convirtió en el principio rector de orden social; el terror como forma de organización. Cuando hablo de terror, me refiero a la colonización de la vida cotidiana por la incertidumbre y la muerte, administrada incluso aleatoriamente; a la fractura de las “estructuras del mundo de la vida”; a sus corporalidades, espacialidades y formas de enunciación (Schutz & Luckmann, 2003). El mundo se convierte esencialmente en *alteridad* radical. El discurso de la transición es, no una forma de gobierno codificada en los términos “justicia, verdad y la reparación”, sino una administración de la frontera entre la

7 Colombia, Magia Salvaje: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YfFe1H7OnoQ>

vida y la muerte, una forma de “gubernamentalidad” centrada en la desprotección estructural (mi término) e indiferencia estratégica. Fue en el seno de la instauración de un “escenario transicional”, como lo definiré más adelante, a través del cual el terror, por indiferencia, se incrustó en esas vidas de nuevo.

La figura más macabra de ese terror transicional (que es distinto al terror de la violencia política), de su banalidad y de su gratuidad aparente (en sí misma una forma de mensaje, de contenido densificando en la forma) es *la casa de pique*.⁸ Había recolectado historias de estas “casas” en alguna otra ocasión, en el Espacio Humanitario, precisamente. Esta Zona lleva su nombre porque, centímetro a centímetro, fue rescatada de los violentos, sacando a todos de sus alrededores. Una especie de circunspección espacial, un cerramiento zonal, con la entrada a un lado, demarcando el acceso con una gran puerta vigilada 24 horas por un policía adormilado y el mar, en el extremo opuesto. Junto con algunas organizaciones que acompañaron los primeros momentos del proceso, en el período de dos años, lograron establecer esta isla en medio de un archipiélago de desesperanza. En este lugar, no obstante las enormes limitaciones, los niños corretean de arriba a abajo, fuera del control y la vigilancia de las pandillas que presionan y amenazan todos los días. Recuerdo cuando Oscar, uno de sus líderes, me cuenta que tenía encima más de veintiséis amenazas de muerte.

El evento centrípeto que, como un agujero negro, dio origen a este experimento humanitario fue, precisamente, una *casa de pique* (porque ha habido muchas). Se le llaman así porque eran lugares donde, en la noche, se descuartizaban o se picaban a las personas (como cuando se “pica” un tomate o una cebolla, en trozos pequeños antes de cocinarlos) y cuyos restos, a veces ahí mismo desde el palafito, eran botados al mar. “Mataderos”, “botaderos”, “escombreras” o “asustaderos” (el término es mío), cuerpos violentados en medio de la transición, en medio de la instauración de mecanismos de “post-violencia”: esa era la cara más evidente de la violencia de la post-violencia.⁹ No voy a negarlo: ninguno de estos eventos capturaba seriamente la imaginación antropológica (ni de las ciencias sociales). Todo lo contrario. Si hay una disciplina particularmente ausente de las decisiones nacionales, de los debates sobre el porvenir era –y sigue siendo– la antropología.

Podría sumar los fragmentos de entrevistas, diálogos y conversaciones que tuvimos con diferentes personas allá, durante los últimos años. Pero quizás el momento más iluminador, que conecta las geopolíticas de la expropiación (es decir, la rapiña global de tierras) y las micro-políticas de la muerte, fue la percepción de *la casa de pique* misma. En ese viaje mi intención, entre otras, era realizar una serie de grabaciones en audio del lugar, parte de un esfuerzo creativo (por ponerle un nombre a esa necesidad de convergencia entre las artes de la supervivencia, las ciencias sociales, y la denuncia) de leer la violencia y sus rastros desde lo sonoro, una especie de historia y etnografía sonora de la guerra y la memoria, con miras además a una casa de la cultura que queríamos ayudar a construir en un lote-basurero. Al final, los tiempos de la muerte y la pobreza, aunados al robo literal de las entrevistas, lo truncan todo o lo hacen aplazar.

8 Mi intención, con estas salidas de campo, era triple: además de medirle la temperatura al Proceso de Paz (cuestión que llevaba haciendo por casi tres años en diversas regiones del país) quería conformar un laboratorio de seguimiento a la transición desde allí, desde el punto de vista de la región. Además, quería colaborar en procesos comunitarios con el conocimiento que tenía de otros procesos de transición. Esto, bajo la convicción de que las críticas más sólidas al proyecto transicional y su gubernamentalidad neoliberal provenían de organizaciones y comunidades indígenas y negras. Por último, tenía un interés concreto en estudiar las formas contemporáneas de la desaparición, que no son necesariamente forzadas, en el sentido tradicional de la palabra.

9 Unos meses después estaría recorriendo esa montaña de cuerpos (haciendo una paráfrasis de Walter Benjamin) conocida como La Escombrera, en Medellín. Otro “botadero” de las violencias entre bandas de criminales, paramilitares, y agentes del Estado.

Esto hacía parte también de un estudio que continuó realizando, sobre la *figura del desaparecido* en medio de una transición. A ese seguimiento, a esta erupción analítica de las dimensiones sociales de ausencia, le he llamado “la vida social de la búsqueda”.¹⁰

Saqué esa tarde la grabadora. Llovía mucho, muchísimo, como suele llover en una de las zonas de mayor pluviosidad del mundo: 22 mil milímetros de agua al año. Mientras mi colega hablaba con doña Lidia, yo me encargaba de escuchar las gotas cayendo sobre la tierra y la fiereza de ese invierno sobre los tejados de zinc. Pegado al micrófono y a unos pequeños audífonos, mi oído pendulaba entre la lluvia y la conversación sobre Puente Nayero. Me moví unos metros y ante la *casa de pique* no pude más que imaginar lo que serían los sonidos de la muerte, pero no de cualquier muerte. No era precisamente el sonido de la última bocanada de aire antes de dejar este mundo. Pensé, de nuevo, en esa dimensión sonora del horror. Si hay una intuición, que emergió durante mi trabajo de campo en los asentamientos de desplazados en los años 90s, fue la dimensión sensorial de ese horror. Escuché decenas de historias y testimonios con gritos, risas, palabras, pájaros, vientos, tarareos de balas, gemidos animales, expresiones de sentimientos y onomatopeyas orales. Las entrevistas son textualizaciones del fenómeno sónico. También son textualizaciones del fenómeno táctil o háptico. Recuerdo oyendo (en medio de la Cartagena paramilitar de aquella época) sensaciones de calor, de frío, de miedo hecho vómito y heces, que avasallaban el cuerpo de Don Jorge sobre el piso (haciéndose el muerto), mientras los verdugos, en plena plaza pública, asesinaban a sus vecinos y su sangre tibia corría por su brazo. Pensé, de manera irresponsable, cuáles serían los sonidos de *la casa* (ambos, el lugar de la muerte y el lugar de la familia), cuáles los gritos en ese lugar de cambuches de madera donde la filtración del sonido era inevitable y hasta amplificable. Una especie de morbosidad sacrílega capturó mi imaginación. Estaba en ese espacio microscópico habitando los tiempos de la reconciliación, a la vez que caminando entre los lugares de la violencia de la post-violencia. La pregunta que me queda es ¿dónde trazamos la línea entre el pasado, el presente liminal, y el futuro por venir? Qué distinta se lee o se advierte esta línea imaginaria desde diferentes lugares. En el Pacífico, pareciera que la transición fuera simplemente otro capítulo más de terrores ancestrales.

I. La reinscripción del Estado sobre sí mismo

Diversos autores han planteado que la idea de “promoción de la democracia”, y sus corolarios, y el establecimiento de un “paradigma transicional” hacia la democracia, son artefactos propios de las configuraciones políticas e intelectuales, producto del derrumbe del *imperium* soviético y la hegemonía de la llamada paz del vencedor (Carrothers, 2002; Bhta, 2008; Guilhot, 2005:29; Castillejo, 2016b; Letham, 2003). El fin de la guerra fría y el realineamiento estratégico vino incluso de la mano de la conformación de lo que podríamos llamar las “ciencias” del Estado, o la Ciencia Política, en singular: programas académicos

¹⁰ En la medida en que el estudio de los “escenarios transicionales”, como lo plantearé más adelante, se centre en los dispositivos que constituyen este paquete tecnológico que llamamos transición-a-la-post-violencia, la expresión *la vida social de la búsqueda* hace referencia a la serie de espacios sociales, sus interrelaciones humanas y no-humanas concretas, sus prácticas cotidianas, sus mundos-de-la-vida, y las formas de producir saberes expertos que entran a formar parte del proceso de búsqueda, localización e identificación de un desaparecido. Son complejos archipiélagos de conocimientos (el de los familiares, el de los arqueólogos y antropólogos forenses, los abogados, los biólogos, etc.) donde la ausencia misma emerge como “objeto” legal, técnico-científico (a través intervenciones, como de bases de datos o laboratorios), onírico, estético y sujeto de duelo, entre otros. El término *búsqueda*, pues, indica la manera en que la ausencia es encuadrada por todos estos modos de hacer y modos de enunciar. Las preguntas más obvias pierden naturalidad, con el objeto de entender no sólo las tensiones entre pasado, presente liminal, y porvenir, sino los recursos que una sociedad tiene para hacer inteligible lo que de otra forma parecería ininteligible: ¿qué es buscar, en qué espacios se busca: oníricos, científicos, geográficos, discursivos? ¿Qué es encontrar? ¿Qué se encuentra y qué se busca exactamente? ¿Cómo quedan, se recogen y se leen rastros en tanto rastros? ¿Qué es un rastro? ¿Quién busca y quién encuentra, y quién acoge lo encontrado? ¿A través de qué tecnologías, de qué lenguajes, de qué objetos, de qué sensorialidades? ¿Cuándo se deja de buscar? Y, ¿si nunca se deja de buscar lo ya encontrado? En el libro “*Tras los rastros del cuerpo: etnfonías, (in)materialidades, y la vida sensible de la desaparición en Colombia*” me embarco en esta “*etnografía de la ausencia*” estudiando los espacios habitados por ella, pero vertebrando la investigación a través de sus disensiones sónicas (ante la sensación abismal que las palabras en ocasiones me producen). Para más elementos sobre la vida social de la búsqueda, puede verse sobre las apropiaciones estatales de apropiación del daño, Castillejo (2017b); sobre los grupos de búsqueda, Castillejo (2014); y sobre las lógicas legales y las confesiones, Castillejo (2013).

en política pública (en inglés también *public policy* o *policy studies*) centrados en las administraciones del poder estatal y los diseños de las sociedades, casi a la manera de la “expertocracia” (hoy llamaríamos “gobernanza” y “buenas prácticas”) propias del período colonial en el África del siglo XIX (Demmers, Fernandez, Hogenboom, 2006; Chandler, 2006). Todo esto, presentado como parte del pináculo de la ciencia y la civilización (Gilman, 2003; Abrahamsen, 2000; Anghie, 2004; Keene, 2004).¹¹

Adobado con la institucionalización de “las multinacionales de lo humanitario”, algunas veces llamadas organizaciones no gubernamentales, y el discurso redentor y globalizado de los derechos humanos (y la multiplicidad de agendas que se le injertan), las ideas de democracia y de paz se sitúan como una teleología en sí misma, como figura mesiánica y emancipadora del sujeto libre y soberano para delegar su capacidad de decisión (Guilhot, 2005:166; Parekh, 1993). No obstante, para nadie es un secreto que, de cara al poder establecido y a la guerra indefinida, de cara a la desolación y al abuso, la defensa de los “derechos humanos”, parte de los lenguajes de la Estatalidad, son el elemento central de “nuestras” formas de acción, para mal o para bien. Ante la dictadura, el conflicto armado, o el racismo institucionalizado, la “promesa” de una nueva nación parece encarnar una revolución.¹² Ante el hambre, un grifo de agua potable y un “salario” básico, que permita una ingesta mínima calórica, parecen una revolución. Ante la destitución crónica, una migaja es supervivencia.

Tomando en cuenta el anterior descargo de responsabilidades, me atrevería a decir que en este momento, producto del desprestigio de utopías fracturadas, liquidadas y desaparecidas, desprestigiadas o mediocres, comunitaristas o individualistas, tecnológicas o sacralizantes, hemos canjeado el sueño de *una otra sociedad* por una “promesa” tecnocrática y domesticada que llamamos “transición a la post-violencia”. Sabemos que esta “tecno-política” implanta una imagen futura de la sociedad y sus sujetos, creando “una línea imaginaria entre el pasado, el presente liminal y el futuro porvenir” (Mitchell, 2002; Castillejo, 2017a). Hace hincapié, en su arquitectura conceptual y en los valores que persigue a través de sus instituciones, en una ruptura con las violencias pasadas (las que son legibles o nominables), antes que en sus *continuidades*. Es a través de la implantación de lo que llamo el “evangelio global del perdón y la reconciliación”, que emerge el futuro como posibilidad, una relación con el pasado, una concepción del daño y su transmutación social: un intento por “remendar” la sociedad.¹³ En otras palabras, la transición instaaura una epistemología particular.

11 Este párrafo, en cierta forma derivado de Foucault, evidentemente invita a una relectura de la relación entre geopolítica (es decir, entre el espacio y el poder) y las ciencias sociales (Ó Tualhail, & Dalby, 1998). Más que un decantado propio de la evolución del pensamiento (donde unas teorías, pensadores y comunidades de sentido son superadas por otras más avanzadas), el origen de conceptos (tal y como el concepto de “promoción de la democracia”, “estudios de área” o “modernización política” en el inmediato período postcolonial en el África) obedecen a conversaciones situadas en complejos campos de poder. Quizás en antropología es más emblemático el concepto de “tribu” y su centralidad en el proceso de dominación británica en África. La pregunta por las transiciones y por la democracia neoliberal como teleología invita a pensar esos campos de poder que instauran –desde la academia, los fondos de investigación, y la llamada incidencia política de ONGs– una visión de la sociedad, del futuro y del pasado como legítimos (González, 2010; Nugent, 2010; Doornbos, 2006).

12 Para ponerlo en otras palabras: en qué momento “promover” la democracia se cristalizó en el lenguaje de la defensa de los derechos humanos. Dicha defensa, como lo muestran la historia de las transiciones a la democracia en América Latina, constituye el lenguaje de la sociedad contra la dictadura. Sin embargo, viene la pregunta compleja: ¿en qué momento y cómo, de cara al paradigma de las transiciones (que instaaura una forma de estatalidad), dicha defensa y dicho discurso se hace instrumental a un poder establecido (el de los beneficiarios de la violencia), haciéndolo incluso retardatario y conservador? La transición sudafricana, por ejemplo, fue a la vez un salto monumental (acabar con el racismo legalizado y la indignancia social que promovía) y la solidificación de los beneficiarios del mismo racismo legalizado.

13 Aquí, como en otros textos, retomo la genealogía que conecta las palabras “enmendar”, “remendar”, o incluso “enmienda”: el verbo *Emendare* del latín (“corregir las faltas”), se traduce también como “remediar”, “mejorar” o “perfeccionar”. Derivado de *menda* y *mendum* (falta, error, o defecto) de donde provienen términos como “mendigo”. Del diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española, *emendar* en sus densidades semánticas significa: 1. arreglar, quitar defectos, 2. resarcir o subsanar daños, y 3. variar el rumbo (según la necesidad). Cuando se habla de los efectos de la violencia y de lo que requerimos para sobreponernos se usa, en español, una variedad de términos y metáforas médicas, mecánicas o textiles subyacentes: reconstruir (algo roto o dañado), sanar, curar o suturar (una enfermedad o una herida), tejer algo desanudado (la trama y la urdimbre) o restituir (el lazo o tejido social), etc. Aquí quisiera usar una más local, si se quiere: *remendar* (la sociedad) es *mendar de nuevo los lazos en espíritu de futuro*. Una metáfora textil, que junta lo desjuntado, que no se queda en la cicatriz, sino que la lleva consigo, donde se le nota la costura, el tejido, el hilo (en toda la obviedad del término “remendar”) pero que no se queda en ese momento sino que, como “enmendar”, fragua el cambio de rumbo, un nuevo destino, y un nuevo porvenir.

Las críticas más acérrimas a la paz liberal, del tipo Banco Mundial, no provienen de la academia, que por lo general es más bien sumisa u orgánica a la racionalidad del diseño (Munarriz, 2008). En últimas, en el tsunami transicional, todos buscan trabajo, la financiación de sus proyectos de intervención, figuración política, o conversión al circuito internacional de consultores bien pagos que extraen la receta de las “lecciones aprendidas” en alguna esquina del sur global para aplicarla a otra, aún en “estado de barbarie”. De hecho, la crítica proviene de los más desposeídos, de los que recuperan territorios del mar a punta de sacos de basura y escombros, de los que buscan a sus seres queridos, de los que se preguntan por “la violencia de la post-violencia”. De aquellos para quienes los ríos o las maderas no son bienes canjeables en el mercado internacional; que han padecido incluso el llamado “desarrollo” en función de la unidad imaginaria de la nación. De allí provienen las expectativas y las esperanzas, no de las comodidades teóricas y empíricas. De cara a esto, el reto del futuro no recae en la reinscripción del Estado sobre sí mismo, ni en los combates mezquinos (que algunos llaman “política” y que se dedican a modelar el disenso aceptable) sobre su propiedad. Otros lugares y otras voces me permiten dudar de este presupuesto organizativo. En últimas, como dijera Walter Benjamin, “todo documento de la civilización es también un documento de la barbarie”. De esas otras voces, me queda la paz como el proyecto de “restitución de la proximidad del otro”.¹⁴

Finalmente (para matizar esto con relación a Colombia), hay que diferenciar la crítica a la paz (y por ende, a la idea de transición) hecha desde aquellos que, contrario a lo pensado, son nostálgicos del Estado policial que se encarga de militarizar la frontera entre el mal y el bien absolutos. Esa llamada “crítica” no es “crítica”; son variaciones sobre un tema del poder y los privilegios concretos.¹⁵ La “crítica”, por otro lado, implica no sólo la creación de otras discursividades, por extrañas que parezcan, sino una suerte de “activismo teórico” aunado, indeleblemente (y para que quede bien claro), a una suerte de *epistemología colaborativa e itinerante* que pone a prueba sus presupuestos al moverse. La crítica es adquirir una voz, en toda la complejidad de este término, y asumir un riesgo: es una mirada al fondo del abismo. Lo paradójico, sin embargo, es que la presencia del *otro* es la condición *sine qua non* para la articulación de una voz propia. Esto es, precisamente, lo que implica pensar en una “crítica” a los discursos de las transiciones.

II. *Deshilachando* las Transiciones

Una crítica al discurso y a las prácticas asociadas a las transiciones, y su imaginario de la ruptura, tendría que comenzar reconociendo que, en el contexto del mundo contemporáneo, estamos abocados a coexistir con múltiples formas de violencia y diversos modos de *habitar* la “academia”. Para ponerlo en otras palabras, pareciera que asistimos a un momento donde el terror, como *forma de gubernamentalidad* (y aquí pienso en la metástasis que recorre medio continente, desde los botaderos y “asustaderos” de Buenaventura en Colombia hasta los vertederos de Tijuana en México) coexiste con diversos modos institucionalizados de la administración del dolor colectivo (paradójicamente constitutivos del discurso de la transición) a través de leyes de víctimas, programas de reparación del “daño”, y comisiones de verdad incrustadas en “democracias” neo-liberales.

¹⁴ La frase hace referencia al debate en torno a dónde se sitúa el prospecto de la construcción de la paz, particularmente después de conflictos armados. Diversos autores lo ubican en la instauración de la llamada institucionalidad (o instituciones del Estado), una perspectiva “de arriba hacia abajo”. Otros, por el contrario, adoptan una perspectiva menos jerarquizada, “de abajo hacia arriba”. Desde mi perspectiva, la *restitución de la proximidad del otro* plantea que los grandes retos de la paz van a localizarse en las interacciones cotidianas, que permiten la reproducción de lo social. En su seno, se configuran nuevas relaciones cara a cara que fracturen el orden militarizado de la guerra y la violencia, en el centro de lo que llamo la paz a pequeña escala, o la paz en plural (Richmond, 2010; Sriram, 2007).

¹⁵ Aquí la referencia está directamente relacionada con el plebiscito por la paz en Colombia, donde los “críticos” del proceso de Cuba lograron frenar su referendación (Castillejo, 2016a).

En este sentido, con esto como telón de fondo, quisiera plantear que la labor de la crítica puede girar en torno a las socialidades que emergen en lo que llamo “escenarios transicionales”, es decir, “la serie de espacios sociales (y sus dispositivos legales, geográficos, productivos, imaginarios, epistemológicos, y sensoriales) que se gestan como producto de la aplicación de *leyes de unidad nacional y reconciliación*. Estos “escenarios” se caracterizan por una serie de ensambles de prácticas institucionales, conocimientos expertos y discursos globales, que se entrecruzan en un contexto histórico concreto, con el objeto de enfrentar graves violaciones a los derechos humanos y otras modalidades de violencia” (Castillejo, 2015:13) En otras palabras, son las socialidades que emergen de la tecnocracia transicional y las que emparentan contextos muy diversos susceptibles de indagación etnográfica.

Quiero entonces proponer una lectura particular de estas socialidades. La idea de una justicia transicional (un término altamente codificado) y la compleja red de mecanismos legales y extra-legales responsables de ocuparse de las causas y los efectos de graves violaciones a los derechos humanos, está basada en al menos dos presupuestos básicos. Por un lado, está fundamentada en la “promesa” salvífica o el “prospecto” de una nueva nación imaginada. La propaganda institucional en Colombia, “todos por una nueva nación”, es evidente en este sentido. En segundo lugar, en una inflexión simultánea, está también fundamentada en la posibilidad misma de asignar a la violencia (definida de un modo técnico) un lugar “atrás”, en la reclusión (a veces aséptica) del “pasado”. En otras palabras, en la medida en que las sociedades se mueven hacia adelante, la violencia va quedando confinada al atrás. Un “movimiento” que se presenta bajo la idea de una fractura imaginaria con un pasado violento y que instaura un momento de liminalidad colectiva. Me atrevería a decir que parte de los conceptos recibidos, y que estructuran nuestra vida cotidiana, se derrumban. Este “antes” y este “después”, que definen en cierta medida el fundamento de diversas iniciativas enmarcadas como transicionales, son la esencia de lo que podríamos llamar la “promesa transicional”. Este presupuesto fundacional es traducido a la sociedad través de una serie de dispositivos de fractura, que trazan, por decirlo así, dicha línea imaginaria. Los pilares de justicia, verdad, y reparación son los modos de codificación de esta idea. Como toda liminalidad, no nos jugamos el pasado, sino el porvenir: el futuro no habita adelante, sino en las condiciones de posibilidad del pasado como pasado.

Así, la noción de países en “transición” (porque sabemos que el proyecto transicional es un proyecto estado-centrista), instaura un movimiento teleológico, desde un estado de violencia a un estado de post-violencia, de la mano de los derechos humanos: es decir, una democracia liberal indefectible y paradójicamente insertada en las contradicciones del capitalismo contemporáneo. Es en esta teleología que acudimos al evangelio global del perdón y la reconciliación donde, en teoría, la enunciación pública de la verdad -a la manera de un evangelista, un confesionario o un psicoanalista de diván- nos libera. Lo que este modelo de relación con el pasado instaura -y valga decir que cuando sucede, lo hace a través de balances de poder muy complejos- es hacer inteligibles ciertas formas de violencia. Sin embargo, el problema no es lo inteligible (si indizamos numéricamente, por ejemplo) sino lo ininteligible, lo que no se logra (por razones epistemológicas y por razones políticas) leer como violencia, pero que está en el seno de nuestras violencias.

Sin embargo, en países donde desigualdades y diferencias se entrecruzan palpablemente, donde violencias crónicas de largas temporalidades (las que producen lo que llamo “daños históricos”) han estructurado la vida cotidiana, esta “promesa” plantea una serie de preguntas importantes. Por cierto, sólo hay que ver los paros masivos en Buenaventura hace menos de dos años para vislumbrar lo que sería el derrumbe de la “promesa”: el estado transicional, “reconciliatorio” y “perdonante” re-inscribiéndose (para usar una imagen típicamente kafkiana) a sí mismo a través de la violencia, entendida como el establecimiento del orden. Pero volvamos a las preguntas centrales: ¿es posible identificar en los escenarios transicionales una serie de “continuidades” más que de “rupturas”? ¿No deberíamos más bien hablar de una dialéctica entre fracturas y continuidades de la violencia? ¿Dónde y cómo tendríamos que situar la

mirada para percibir esta dialéctica? Diversos autores han señalado las dificultades en aplicar, o incluso, de imaginar el prospecto de un futuro (post-violencia) en escenarios donde hegemonías políticas y económicas son, y continúan estando, enraizadas históricamente: Sudáfrica, Guatemala, Colombia, Salvador, e incluso el llamado “cuarto mundo,” el del ser humano “aboriginalizado”, incrustado en las opulencias del primero en Canadá, Australia, Nueva Zelanda, entre otros. A mi modo de ver, identificar estas tensiones en contextos concretos de aplicación tecnocrática es esencial, no sólo para comprender las posibilidades de la sostenibilidad de la paz (un término más diverso de lo que a veces se reconoce) sino para entender cómo individuos específicos y comunidades más amplias conectan el presente con procesos históricos de mayor profundidad, en un esfuerzo por recrear el futuro. Si no hacemos esto, ¿no estaremos entonces sembrando las semillas de futuras guerras? A veces me pregunto (en voz muy, muy baja) si la promesa transicional no es más que la utopía venida a menos, secuestrada por tecnicismos, acaso necesarios. Habitar la academia es tener un pie en estos dos mundos.

La reflexión sobre la naturaleza del “campo de estudios” sobre lo transicional, que constituye el centro de lo que he tratado de exponer, permite realizar una serie de cuestionamientos y hacer evidente la necesidad de entender la multiplicidad de dinámicas sociales que se gestan en momentos en que emerge la posibilidad de imaginar una *otra* sociedad (Gready, y Robins, 2014). Cuando digo “campo” llamo la atención de una superposición compleja: “campos académicos”, “campos de fuerzas”, y “campo”, en sentido “antropológico”. Por eso hablo de geo-políticas de la paz y lo transicional, de las relaciones entre el poder, el espacio y el conocimiento que llamamos “construcción de paz” o “promoción de la democracia”, un “campo” creado, producto de la caída del llamado “campo socialista” y el muro de Berlín. Así, en medio de las múltiples transicionalidades que vive Colombia, -en donde simultáneamente vivimos la post-violencia paramilitar (con todo y sus continuidades), el post-conflicto con las FARC, y el conflicto armado con el ELN (por no mencionar las violencias crónicas e históricas)- la antropología tiene al menos un reto particular: imprimir una sensibilidad distinta a los procesos que emanan del Acuerdo de Paz, y lo que en la práctica significan. En otras palabras, tenemos que sumar al engranaje institucional (en todo caso, algo que por lo general los antropólogos añoran), y a su pluralización, a la vez que acompañar iniciativas y procesos sociales de largo aliento, más allá del dinero de la cooperación internacional y las culturas de la auditoria universitaria.

III. ¿Y la antropología, qué?

El otro reto, para mí el más importante, es crítico: desnaturalizar la “promesa” y “la teleología” transicional, atender a las continuidades de las viejas nuevas violencias, y problematizar el “evangelio global del perdón y la reconciliación”, que insta modelos del tiempo y del recuerdo (y hasta del olvido), formas de nominar la violencia, de performar la verdad públicamente y concepciones del daño a través de epistemologías legales, en tanto teorías del dolor colectivo. De cara a esto, creo que la antropología en Colombia (y me atrevería a decir, aunque de manera retrospectiva, que en América Latina también) está ante la tarea analítica de entender estos momentos complejos y sus trayectorias, en donde el “reconocimiento del dolor del otro” (lo que podría llamar la “víctima oficializada”) cohabita con una tecnopolítica que, de alguna manera, lo domestica. Este reto viene de la mano, obviamente, de una indagación seria por ciertos aspectos del dispositivo transicional (aquí me distancio del discurso hegemónico de la justicia transicional): por ejemplo, las relaciones entre la “*segurocracia* (o el sector seguridad, como dicen algunos), la re-incorporación de combatientes y las nuevas subjetividades”; las “etnografías de la ley”; las conexiones entre la idea del “desarrollo, la transición y el capitalismo global”, de donde emanan

una plétora de contradicciones sociales que han dado al traste, en otros lugares, con la ilusión de la transición; los “estudios sobre la producción y la administración del pasado” y sus modos de indizar el tiempo; las “etnografías de las ruinas de lo social y su reconstitución”. Y, finalmente, una reflexión sobre “las materialidades, los residuos y los desechos tecnológicos de la Guerra”. En pocas palabras, atención a la historicidad del dispositivo transicional y sus modos globales de circulación de teorías, conceptos, prácticas asociadas y expertos.

Termino con una reflexión sobre la relación de lo político y lo sensible (Castillejo, 2016c). Creo que situarse en esta tensión, entre fracturas y continuidades, requiere una cierta integralidad, como parte de nuestras formas de habitar la academia y de entender su geopolítica; del oficio artesanal de hacer antropología. Lo digo sin querer herir susceptibilidades, porque de alguna manera todos lo hacemos. En general, pero sobretodo en la liminalidad de la transición, el trabajo intelectual implica *saber escuchar* (por autoevidente que suene): es decir, atender a los silencios y a sus contextos de enunciación, a la relación entre lo audible y lo inaudible como frontera de lo político. Debe, así mismo, *saber escribir*. Es decir, navegar entre el texto académico, el ensayo o la narrativa, a través de los sonidos o las imágenes visuales, sin perder el rigor, pero permitiendo la creatividad. Aquí se pone de presente nuestra capacidad para transmitir a otros, desde niños de escuela hasta super-expertos. Y finalmente, *saber hablar* en diferentes lenguas disciplinarias, en una suerte de poliglosia humanista.

Una iniciativa con espíritu colaborativo, transversal (incluso disciplinariamente) e integrativo, como valores centrales de nuestros modos otros de habitar el conocimiento, más preocupada por proponer una concepción plural de la paz, una “paz en pequeño”, como le digo, y dispuesta a ser parte de la Imaginación Social del Porvenir. No sea que, frente al momento que nos ha tocado vivir, nos quedemos viendo, como dice el título de esta corta presentación, del ahogado, el sombrero.

Segunda viñeta: (...) En la era de la administración de las víctimas

Me llegó una tarde por correo electrónico, en el Urabá, la región más noroccidental del Departamento de Antioquia, cuna de muchas violencias. Acompañaba a un colega a realizar, con campesinos y diversos líderes, talleres sobre los acuerdos de Cuba (lo que se había negociado hasta ese momento), una especie de medida impromptu del establecimiento ante la indiferencia y la ignorancia generalizada del texto. La debacle del plebiscito del año siguiente, octubre del 2016, se sentía ya en los aromas del ambiente. Chigorodó, Mutatá, Apartadó, y Turbo (el lugar más ruidoso del mundo, posiblemente), entre residentes y resguardos indígenas, anduvimos (junto a los guardaespaldas) lo que pudimos en mi corta visita. Además de la belleza de la región, de su consabida historia paramilitar, sus movimientos políticos y de obreros sepultados a plomo limpio, Urabá es la dimensión desconocida cuando se le compara con el resto del departamento de Antioquia, caracterizado (en general) por una mentalidad de colonos “civilizadores”, emprendedores y rezanderos de camándula. Urabá es como un patio trasero. Zona estratégica de tránsito entre el Pacífico chochoano y el Caribe colombianos, colindando a la vez con la frontera con Panamá en el Tapón del Darién, Urabá, como Buenaventura, se lee como otro polo de desarrollo. Sin embargo, éste era distinto.

A mi casillero de correo electrónico llega, a través de un contacto, el *Power Point* completo del proyecto de transformación radical de la región. Documento de circulación tan restringida que parecía un secreto de Estado. Del jardín trasero de Antioquia al prospecto de un puerto de alta tecnología. El llamado “Diamante Caribe: Apartadó, Turbo, Urabá Antioqueño. Proyecto Ciudad Territorio”. Con 194 diapositivas y mapas, el documento puntualiza el “desarrollo” potencial de la región y su conexión con la globalización contemporánea, como lo hacen evidente las referencias a São Paulo, Ámsterdam, Menorca, Croacia,

Barbados, entre otros. Con una sofisticada edición digital, lo que se muestra es la articulación de un concepto de riqueza e intercambio transnacional. La cara de la transición colombiana, sin que (al momento de recibirlo) se haya firmado un acuerdo definitivo.

Para tal efecto, los encargados se sientan a investigar, explorar y diseñar, hasta el más mínimo detalle, esta “ciudad-región”. Fotografías aéreas actuales de cada ciudad, imágenes y *renders* elegantísimos de los posibles aeropuertos, puertos marítimos, grillas de carreteras primarias de futura construcción, sistemas de alcantarillado, conectividad digital, ambiental, y hasta prospectos poblacionales, se presentan en este complejo texto.

Aspectos demográficos, culturales, salubres, escolares, así como mapas de parcelas agrícolas debidamente clasificadas por área cultivable, proyectos de eco-canales, parques industriales, logísticos, aduanas, zonas francas, estructuras del transporte público, elementos del paisaje, hotelería, turismo, hacen parte de este doble ejercicio de leer lo que hay para construir lo que, parece, será la otra Urabá. Se nos vende un proyecto ecológico turístico “auto-sostenible”, con fotografías idílicas de vacacionistas remando por los canales y las zonas acuíferas. Imágenes de palmeras, y atardeceres golpeando nostálgicamente con su luz sobre el agua, nos invitan a la nueva Colombia. Así mismo, fotografías de jóvenes madres blancas transitando en su pequeño ciclo-coche llevando a sus hijos sonrientes, presentan los senderos de caminata, evocando una libertad imaginaria y los contornos de la Colombia post-conflicto. Siempre, en mis escritos, he insistido mucho en que una transición es el momento en el cual una país moldea “una nueva sociedad imaginada”. Pues las imágenes de este texto son una versión radical de esta imaginación. Se imagina la familia, el ocio, el intercambio, y se pinta una especie de Miami bananero o palmero (también por la presencia de grandes cultivos de palma africana y banano). Imágenes al mejor estilo de Dubái, con embarcaderos de botes y yates elegantes, como los que en alguna ocasión conocí en el puerto de aquel país del Golfo Pérsico. Imágenes en tres dimensiones, fotos satelitales, estudios de corrientes marinas, de vientos, y fotos de la actual Urabá: al respecto de los “paisajes del agua”, la fotografía muestra una niña negra de trenzas remando una chalupa en medio de un río negruzco y un embarcadero en el fondo, con todo y su basura flotante. El del presente es un Urabá oscuro, negro, racializado, sucio, indio, violento. El del futuro es iluminado, claro, cristalino, esperanzador. Tal es el juego de oposiciones que opera como presupuesto semiótico, sobre el que se sitúan las fotos. El proyecto ciudad-territorio nos habla de la Agrópolis Urabá, en conexión con una ficcional Agrópolis Montería y la Agrópolis Sincelejo (ambas ciudades capitales), polos de la nueva “civilización”. Centros de actividad paramilitar, de grandes latifundios y ganadería extensiva. En fin, podría seguir casi indefinidamente describiendo los mapas de conexiones regionales, el relieve, la hidrografía, las llamadas Metrópolis del Mar, los territorios intermedios, los estudios de isócronas, las ciudades y territorios diamante (cuyo nombre me recuerda la operación tipo “club campestre” de la medicina privada en Colombia y sus estratos socioeconómicos).

Dos cosas llamaron mi atención de este documento. Por una lado, el obvio nivel de detalle, a medio camino del proceso de paz. Pareciera que llevaran pensando esto por mucho tiempo. Como si la transición colombiana, la reincorporación de las FARC y el lenguaje de la reconciliación se hubieran convertido en un buen negocio. De nuevo, lo que la transición promete se le endosa al desarrollismo. Lo segundo es Buenaventura. A pesar de la violencia del Urabá (al punto que una de las mayores bandas de hampones heredados del paramilitarismo se llama los Urabeños) la de Buenaventura se ve infinitamente peor. Las casas de pique son epítomes del terror como forma de gubernamentalidad, como estructura de organización y extracción. La violencia de la post-violencia se demarca con esas casas (y hasta donde sé, con la ausencia de un proyecto de semejante envergadura como el Diamante) en una compleja tensión con esta otra transición, la de la Urabá soñada e imaginada. La violencia es, en cierta forma, epistemológica.

El trazo de la línea imaginaria entre el pasado violento, el presente liminal, y el porvenir, se realiza con esa violencia epistemológica, acompañada de la literal, justo en el momento en que se erigen las administraciones de las víctimas como paradigma moral.

Recibido: 18 de agosto de 2017

Aprobado: 16 de enero de 2018

Revisión: Federico Lavezzo

Referencias bibliográficas

- ABRAHAMSEN, Rita. 2000. *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- ANGHIE, Anthony. 2004. *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BHTA, Nehal. 2008. "State-Building, Democratization and 'politics as technology'". *Social Science Research Network*, (December). https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1574349
- CARROTHERS, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm". *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1): 5-21.
- CASTILLEJO CUÉLLAR, Alejandro. 2017a. "Introducción. Dialécticas de la Fractura y la Continuidad: elementos para una lectura crítica de las transiciones" En: _____. (editor académico y compilador), *La ilusión de la justicia transicional: perspectivas críticas desde el Sur Global*. Bogotá: Editorial Universidad de los Andes, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. pp. 1-58
- _____. 2017b. "La Escala Humana de la Herida: Apropiaciones y traducciones del daño en Colombia". En: Mauricio Nieto (ed.), *Colombia Contemporánea: Miradas Disciplinarias Diversas*. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes. pp. 151-168
- _____. 2016a. *Poética de lo Otro: Hacia una Antropología de la Guerra, la Soledad y el Exilio interno en Colombia*. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes
- _____. 2016b. "El plebiscito como problema moral". En: E. Rueda, S.V. Alvarado; P. Gentilli (eds.), *Paz en Colombia: Perspectivas, Desafíos, Opciones*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO. pp. 121-126.
- _____. 2016c. "La Biblioteca familiar". *Revista Cronopio* (Medellín), 68 (Abril 29), Sección Cronopio y Sociedad. <http://www.revistacronopio.com/?p=17999>. Acceso: octubre 30 del 2018.
- _____. 2015. "La Imaginación Social del Porvenir: reflexiones sobre Colombia y el prospecto de una Comisión de Verdad" En: Alejandro Castillejo Cuéllar et al., *Proceso de paz y perspectivas democráticas en Colombia* (1ª ed.). Buenos Aires: CLACSO. pp. 13-73
- _____. 2014. "La Localización del daño: etnografía, espacio y confesión en el escenario transicional Colombiano". *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 20(43): 213-236.
- _____. 2013. "Voces [en la cabeza]: espacialidad, confesión y las mediaciones tele-tecnológicas de la Verdad". *Papeles del Centro de Estudios de la Identidad Colectiva CEIC*, Universidad del País Vasco, 92(1): 1-42.
- CHANDLER, David. 2006. *Empire Denial: the Politics of State Building*. London and Ann Arbor (MI): Pluto Press.
- DEMMERS, Jolle; FERNÁNDEZ JILBERTO, Alex; HOGENBOOM, Barbara. 2005. *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- DOORNBOS, Martin. 2006. *Global Forces and State Restructuring: Dynamics of State Formation and Collapse*. London and New York: Palgrave.

- GILMAN, Nils. 2003. *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- GONZÁLEZ, Roberto. 2010. "Indirect rule and embedded anthropology: practical, theoretical and ethical concerns". En: J. Helly, S. Mitchell, Jauregui, J. Walton (eds.) *Anthropology and global counterinsurgency*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. pp. 231-243
- GREADY, Paul; ROBINS, Simon. 2014. "From Transitional Justice to Transformative Justice: a new agenda for practice". *The University of York, Center for Applied Human Rights*, Briefing Note TF-01, (June): 1-5. <http://www.simonrobins.com/Transformative%20Justice%20Briefing%20Paper.pdf>. Acceso em: octubre 30 del 2018.
- GUILHOT, Nicolas. 2005. *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and the Politics of Global Order*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- KEENE, Edward. 2004. *Beyond the Anarchic Society. Grotius, Colonialism, and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LEY 70 DE 1993 (agosto 27) Diario Oficial No. 41.013, de 31 de agosto de 1993.
- LETHAM, Michael. 2003. *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
- MITCHELL, Timothy. 2002. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press.
- MUNARRIZ, Gerardo. 2008 "Rhetoric and Reality: The World Bank Development Policies, Mining Corporations, and Indigenous Communities in Latin America". *International Community Law Journal*, 10: 431-443.
- NUGENT, David. 2010. "Social Science Knowledge and Military Intelligence: Global Conflict, Territorial Control and the Birth of Area Studies during WWII". *Journal of World Anthropology Network*, 1(3): 31-58.
- Ó TUATHAIL, Gearóid; DALBY, Simon. 1998. *Rethinking Geopolitics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- PAREKH, Bhikhu. 1993. "The cultural particularity of Liberal Democracy". En: David Held (ed.), *Prospects of Democracy: North, South, East, West*. London: Polity Press. pp. 156-175.
- RICHMOND, Oliver (ed.). 2010. *Peace Building: Critical Developments and Approaches*. London and New York: Palgrave.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred; LUCKMANN, Thomas. 2003. *Las estructuras del mundo de la vida*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- SRIRAM, Chandra. 2007. "Justice as Peace? Liberal Peace Building and Strategies of Transitional Justice". *Global Society*, 21(4): 579-591.

Alejandro Castillejo Cuéllar

Profesor Asociado, Departamento de Antropología, Director del Programa de Estudios Críticos de las Transiciones (PECT) https://curlinea.uniandes.edu.co/alejo_castillejo/antropografias/index.php/esdt de la Universidad de los Andes, Colombia. Actualmente es co-investigador en los proyectos internacionales: Changing the Story: Building Inclusive Societies with Young People in 5 Post-Conflict Countries <https://changingthestory.leeds.ac.uk/profiles> financiado por el Arts and Humanities Research Council (Inglaterra) y Desapariciones: Estudio en perspectiva transnacional de una categoría para gestionar, habitar y analizar la catástrofe social y la pérdida (España). <http://identidadcolectiva.es/victimas-desapariciones/que-es-mundos-de-victimas/proyecto-desapariciones/#> <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6441-6609>
E-mail: acastill@uniandes.edu.co

“The sound of silenced voices”: mobilizations, connections and demands in the investigation of slavery in Brazil

Márcia Leitão Pinheiro ¹

¹ Universidade Estadual do Norte Fluminense Darcy Ribeiro,
Laboratório de Estudos da Sociedade Civil e do Estado, Rio de Janeiro/RJ, Brasil

Abstract

The Truth Commission (CV), a mechanism created to help manage the political transition from dictatorship to democracy in Brazil, has been appropriated by lawyers and Black movement organizations in Brazil. This appropriation has allowed them to criticize *slavery* and question Brazilian society about the long-term effects of forced labor and about the persistence of racism towards Afro-Brazilians. In the present article, I seek to highlight how Black scholars connect personal knowledge and experience to theory for the purpose of reshaping the concept of *slavery*. I focus on documents and videos related to this scenario, as well as data taken from interviews and the direct observation of the activities I have researched. Slavery is defined as a *crime*. It thus emerges as a power that is capable of endangering the present and future of Brazilian society. The specialists I analyze here ascribe to a conception of time related to the tension established with the historiography of slavery, as well as situations related to the disappearance of individuals. In this way, they seek to construct a memory of slavery and demand historical reparations.

Keywords: Truth Commission, Slavery, Crime, Historical Reparations.

“O som das vozes silenciadas”: mobilizações, articulações e reivindicações na investigação da escravidão no Brasil

Resumo

A Comissão da Verdade (CV), dispositivo de gestão de transição política, tem sido apropriada por advogadas/os e organizações do Movimento Negro no Brasil. Com isso, eles formam um cenário voltado a criticar a *escravidão* e a interrogar a sociedade brasileira acerca de seus efeitos e do racismo entre a população afro-brasileira. Ao focalizar documentos e vídeos relacionados a esse cenário, assim como material proveniente de entrevistas e observação direta das atividades pesquisadas, busco ressaltar como especialistas negros articulam conhecimentos e experiências pessoais e coletivas com o propósito de reelaborar a *escravidão*, redefinida como *crime*, e que aparece como força comprometedora do presente e do futuro da sociedade brasileira. Esses especialistas inscrevem uma concepção de tempo que tem a ver com a tensão estabelecida com a historiografia da escravidão e as situações relacionadas com o desaparecimento de pessoas de modo a construir uma memória da escravidão e reivindicar reparação histórica.

Palavras-chave: Comissão da Verdade, Escravidão, Crime, Reparação Histórica.

“The sound of silenced voices”: mobilizations, connections and demands in the investigation of slavery in Brazil

Márcia Leitão Pinheiro

One night in July 2015, the auditorium of the Rio de Janeiro section of the Brazilian Bar Association (*Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil: OAB*) hosted “Mothers of Acari – 25 years,” an event that brought together a group of women and their family members in order to recall the struggle for justice that took place around the disappearance of several young men in 1990. The activity was organized by the Commission for Racial Equality and the Commission for Human Rights (both part of the OAB/RJ), the Network of Communities and Movements Against Violence, the Palmarino Circle, and the Unified Black Movement. The State Truth Commission on Black Slavery (connected to the OAB/RJ) also took part in the event.

The line of analysis around which the present article is structured focuses on the connections between legal specialists, the Black movement, and the appropriation these two groups have made of the Truth Commission (TC). This alliance has sought to investigate how the practice of repressing humans has, over the long term, affected Black populations in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil more widely. The alliance also seeks to create reparations for slavery and, in this context, attempts to construct a direct linkage between the past and the present.

The TC is a mechanism used to ease the political transition between dictatorship and democracy. It has been around since the 1980s, created and maintained in relation to a set of subjects, practices, values, concepts, knowledges, categories, and discussions that belong to this historical context. These elements characterize the associations (such as commissions dedicated to reparations or reconciliations) that seek to confront violations of human rights and other forms (Hayner 2006; González Cueva 2011).

In general, the social scenario is directed towards promoting memory and combating the silencing and forgetting associated with political violence, civil war and dictatorships. In the face of accusations of abuse, of the use of excessive force, of suffering, of damage and of trauma – categories laid out in the TC’s mandate –, symbolic and/or material reparative measures are demanded. These express questions about the past and offer up possibilities for the future. They can also promote connections between the involved parties, as well as corroborate demands for reparation (Jimeno 2010; Jelin 2014).

Given the existence of black associations that seek to investigate slavery and its consequences in the present and future, I use the notion of a “conflict management scenario” (hereafter referred to as the ‘scenario’) to refer to the actions and proposals of these groups (Castillejo 2014). These associations promote mobilizations, articulations and questioning in order to encourage the attainment of rights by non-hegemonic groups. In the scenario explored in the present article, they seek to denounce the forces that reinforce and sustain inequalities, while also highlighting how actions, feelings and values have current validity in social life. Ceremonies such as the homage cited above, speeches and practices are created by Black associations, which establish connections with those who have experienced cultural attacks, as well as human and material losses.

In the article which follows, we shall see how the scenario in question was developed in order to demonstrate the persistence of the effects of slavery on Brazilian society and to explain how slavery still impacts on our conditions of existence today. We shall also look at the discursive texture of this scenario, which includes links between history and memory that make it possible to question the former by contrasting images of the latter, thus legitimizing the struggle for reparation rights.

This article is structured around an introduction, four subsections, and a conclusion. In the first part, I look at the formation of the National Truth Commission (NTC), which intensified the national debate regarding the investigation of abusive violence in Brazil. I also address the formation of the *Black slavery* research scene and its inclusion of Black movement organizations, as well as its transnational references. In the second section, I try to explain how Black slavery is elaborated as a *crime*, situating the composition of a narrative that questions official history. In the third part, I describe the “mothers of Acari, 25 years” event, looking at how its conception expresses an attempt to exceed the subjective and private by making connections between today’s *forced disappearance*¹ and the past of slavery. In the fourth section, I address how the homage to the mothers is concerned with ways of using the past as an intersection between history and memory in order to mark claims for reparation and an alternative future. In conclusion, I reflect on how the investigation of *the truth of Black slavery* marks the imagination of social life. This is linked to the exercise of technical knowledge and also to the work of remembrance of misfortunes, explaining how both of these things favor emotional closeness, as well as a specific conception of time.

In writing this article, I have employed documents, interviews and material from direct observation of the activities of the scenario under investigation, as well as videos of meetings. This makes it possible for me to dialogue with the formulations under investigation, especially those not defined by academic rules, such as ideas, values and actions (re)produced and lived by those who are part of the universe under investigation (Velho 2009). The challenge here is to understand how the CV device and its elements (which have obtained international and global media coverage) are appropriate as applied to the Brazilian reality. The complexity here, however, is not only in the intertwining of the global, national and local. Other dimensions are also intertwined (such as structural and subjective, impersonal and personal), especially in the participation of women and men who expose how they face situations that affect their everyday emotional conditions of existence. Verbal, written, video and artistic manifestations contribute to the understanding of actions as social and historical elements, which are elaborated, lived, felt and exposed by subjects who think about and confront hierarchies and what these produce in their lives (Jimeno 2012).

Formation of the ‘Black Slavery’ Scenario

The Truth Commission (TC) is a mechanism that has been adopted by countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and South Africa, among others. It is generally set up to mobilize the *truth* regarding the facts of authoritarian and profoundly unequal political regimes. Brazil joined the CT movement with the establishment of the National Truth Commission (NTC), created in 2011 and inaugurated in 2012, with the purpose of clarifying human rights violations and promoting the reconstruction of *truth* regarding the period stretching from 1946 to 1988.

The NTC is part of the movement to promote the right to historical truth and memory by unveiling the violence practiced by the nation state. It expresses an atmosphere informed by the recognition of torture conducted by State agents. It removes this from its former unspeakable condition by highlighting

¹ Forced disappearance is understood by the United Nations as an act that occurs with the aid or by order of a state employee. This has been a recurring practice in the world, motivating the creation, in 1992, of the Declaration Regarding the Protection of All People from Forced Disappearance (available at <http://acnudh.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/Carta-desaparecimentos-PORTUGUES-FINAL.pdf> consulted July 2017).

testimony and documents making explicit the “structures, locations, institutions and circumstances related to the practice of human rights violations” as stated by Law 12.528 /11. Before this initiative, the country maintained the “Dossier of Political Dead and Disappeared Since 1964.” This was a list of those who had been politically assassinated or disappeared, the result of a non-state initiative including organizations such as the “Brazil: Never Again” movement, linked to the work of the Archdiocese of the State of São Paulo. There was also the “Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances,” created by Law 9.140/95, aimed at identifying those declared as disappeared and presumed dead in police records between 1961 and 1979 (Brasil 2014).

Following the birth of the NTC, the *Black slavery* research scenario was formed at the end of 2014. It had no connection to the National Executive Branch, but it quickly gained the support of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB), founded in 1930. Different Brazilian states and municipalities started to employ some formation of this TC,² generally linked to their sections of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) and guided by a methodology approved by the Federal Council of the Brazilian Bar Association (Cfoab) in November 2014. These various TC formations were thus committed to exposing the *crime* of Black slavery, pointing out its effects today, and holding the Brazilian State *responsible*.

In 2017, the Commission for Historical Reparations for Black People was created, also composed of Black lawyers (some of them former members of the Cvenb/RJ,) and counting on the participation of Black movement organizations operating in the state of Rio de Janeiro and in the country at large.³ This commission has the support of the Front of Black Jurists and the Lawyers’ Assistance Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Caarj), founded in 1942. In general, the two commissions seek *redress* and to instigate discussions in society about the excessive use of force directed against the country’s Black population.

The understanding that *racism* in Brazil is the result of the persistence of *slavery* is widespread in the scenario under investigation. The belief is that the impact of both on human lives, both in the past and now, must be revealed. It is also asserted that humanity in Brazil is differentiated into different social sectors according to skin color.⁴ At the center of this initiative is a confrontation with the myth of *racial democracy*, which presents Brazilian society as undivided and without conflicts based on race/color (Schwarcz 2012). It is widely argued and denounced in the scenario that this myth has effectively masked racism in Brazil and contributed to its harmful effects. To accomplish these goals, individual and collective knowledge and experiences have been linked together by Black organizations in order to compose activities and arguments.

Regarding the Black Slavery Truth Commission, Marcelo Dias, former president of the Rio de Janeiro branch, explained that its foundation occurred due to the mobilization of Black lawyers who had come together for a law conference in October 2014. These professionals spoke with the President of the National OAB at that time about the organization’s support for the “Truth About the Dictatorship Commission,” created in 2012 by the OAB to reveal the procedures of military justice during the dictatorship. They pointed out that the OAB had still said nothing about Black slavery. According to my interviewee, the lawyers

2 Since 2015, some states and cities have created their own branches of the Cvenb: Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Bahia, Pará, São Paulo, Amazonas, Paraná and, finally, the cities of Santos, Campinas and Sorocaba.

3 Some organizations work at a national level while others are active on a state level. These include: the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), Movimento Nacional Quilombo Raça e Classe, Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores do Ramo Financeiro (Contrafcut), Coletivo de Entidades Negras (CEN), Agentes da Pastoral Negra (APNs), and Defensoria Pública do Estado do Rio de Janeiro.

4 Racism is a recurring category in the scenario under analysis and is often applied within the scenario to substantiate actions and claims. Racism can be understood as a form of thought or, even better, as a mechanism of population management, as Foucault points out (Mbembe 2003). Since the fifteenth century, racism has been based upon the creation of differences rooted in attributed characteristics and applied to create and sustain hierarchies of societies, groups and individuals. The “structure of Brazilian society” does not break with the “racial hierarchy” created by enslavement, being guided by a conception of human biological difference that organizes individuals into occupations and social places according to the color of their skin (Figueiredo & Grosfoguel 2009: 224). The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), for example, has presented a series of statistics for the years between 1995 and 2015 which show that those entering the formal labor market who identify themselves as black (men and women) earn lower wages than self-declared whites (also both men and women). With regards to unemployment, the rate is higher among Blacks (women and men) than among Whites. Available at http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=29526. Consulted October 2017.

then emphasized the validity of a commission to look into the matter. In that same year, the proposal was approved by Cfoab and, shortly thereafter, the National Commission on the Truth of Black Slavery in Brazil (Cvenb/Nacional) was created, being inaugurated in the following year. Subsequently, members of the OAB Equality Commission/RJ called for the creation of a Cvenb in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

With the emergence of the Cvenb/Nacional, the president of Cfoab sent an official letter to President Dilma Rousseff suggesting the creation of a committee dedicated to the topic within the scope of the National Executive. Despite the establishment of the NTC, Rousseff did not follow the letter's suggestion, even though the federal government was expected to adopt the bill, given that it took a new perspective on human rights abuses. According to a pronouncement made by Humberto Adami (president of the Cvenb/Nacional) at a hearing of the Human Rights and Minorities Commission of the Federal House of Representatives in October 2015,⁵ a committee attached to the Executive or Legislative Branches would be able to raise questions that have historically been very little discussed. According to Adami, the work carried out would be aimed at understanding the "need for actions for the benefit of the afro-descendant population" in Brazil, such as "affirmative action as a principle of historical reparations." He noted that "the Afro-descendant population in Brazil lived and lives a horror story that has been on-going for more than 350 years" and that there is a "collective silence about this trauma within Brazilian society, which has translated into everyday racism. This has become so naturalized that a segment of the population cannot even see it." It could be said that Adami's proposal was an educational initiative, because the interpretations made, as well as the findings and actions regarding the past, would be aimed at expanding the sphere of debate and understanding about the effects of social and historical differences related to skin color (lighter or darker).

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, aside from the lawyers, several local organizations of the Black movement and others more oriented towards national affairs were integrated into the state commission, forming a *strategic alliance* (in the words of Marcelo Dias). These organizations promoted affirmative actions in higher education, the recognition of Afro-Brazilian religiosity and traditions, the defense of Quilombola territorial rights, and the production of research pertinent to the living conditions of the Black population. This diversified alliance could also count on unions, nuclei, and superintendencies linked to the Executive branches of certain municipalities, as well as class-based organizations involved in the promotion of racial equality and the fight against racism.⁶

With regards to the atmosphere in Brazil concerning the investigation of the truth, I asked Marcelo Dias about the formation of the research scenario related to slavery, as well as claims for reparations. He said that inspiration for this went well beyond the NTC, taking in the experiences of Caribbean countries which seek redress from the European nations that benefitted from slavery. Another model was eventually followed, however.

In the case of Cvenb, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) established in South Africa in 1995 was the inspiration for the work carried out in Brazil. According to Dias, the peculiarity of the TRC lies in the negotiated transition from minority to majority rule in a country strained by race relations.

5 Available at <http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/comissoes/comissoes-permanentes/cdhm/videoArquivo?codSessao=54281&codReuniao=41296#videoTitulo>. Consulted July 2017.

6 The organizations of the Black movement involved with the Cvenb/RJ were: Quilombo Raça e Classe, Confederação Nacional Quilombola (Conaq), Agentes da Pastoral Negra (APNs), Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), União de Negros e Negras pela Igualdade (Unegro), Centro de Tradições Afro-Brasileiras (Cetrab), Associação das Comunidades Quilombolas do Rio de Janeiro (Acquilerj), Instituto Pretos Novos (IPN), Conselho Municipal de Defesa dos Direitos do Negro (Comdedine), Renascença Clube, Sindicato dos Metroviários do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Simerj), Agbara Dudu, Movimento Afro-Brasileiro de Cultura de Teresópolis (Mocabte), Associação Quilombola da Rasa, Superintendência de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial de São João de Meriti (Suppir-Meriti), Comissão da Igualdade Racial (OAB/RJ), Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil de Magé, Comissão da Igualdade Racial da OAB/ Cabo Frio), Núcleo contra a Desigualdade Racial da Defensoria Pública (Nucora), Instituto Federal do Rio de Janeiro de Paulo de Frontin, Faculdades Paraíso /Grupo Lusófono and Viva Rio.

With respect to this point of reference, the Cvenb/RJ partial report highlights the importance of the TRC in South Africa's "reconstruction process," which was conducted without *revenge*. It is presented as an example of "overcoming the past and rebuilding society." Its model, values, categories, procedures and knowledge have been central to the elaboration of slavery as an element in the formation of the commission that emerged in Brazil.

How the Black slavery research landscape links its concepts to the South African experience is demonstrated by the constant mentions of Nelson Mandela and his contribution to the process of rebuilding society. Desmond Tutu's cooperation has also been singled out as central to the promotion of social *aggregation*, in that he is understood to have created a way of facing the past of South African society without investing in *reprisals*.

The influence of the TRC can be seen when the partial report comments that the investigation of the *truth of Black slavery* must be related to *brotherhood*, to the recognition of the other, and to *love*, which is different from *race and class hatred*, widespread in Brazil since colonial times. Connecting the investigation of Black slavery with other values and emotions is part of an exercise in revealing the *crimes* that were practiced and the *suffering* imposed on the enslaved without individualizing accountability. The document and my conversations with the members of the scenario show the possibility of exposing and breaking with values, sensitivities and past practices. In order for this to occur, caution must be observed. Actions seen to be oriented by *revenge* or *hatred* cannot be encouraged. Above all, it is affirmed that knowledge about the practices of slavery can change coexistence by contributing to a "future of racial relations based upon love and friendship" (OAB/RJ 2015: 198).

The TRC model has been identified as successful. It has been followed in several countries as a means of promoting social security and as a way of overcoming the conflicts of the past. Reconciliation is tied to forgiveness, and both appear as elements supporting an argument about the future of society. It has been observed that, faced with the possibilities of revenge or social integration, the scenario of South African conflict management has favored a "global gospel of forgiveness and reconciliation," which has reached out to other locations around the globe. It is a discursive plot with strong religious and psychological references that establishes a remedial therapy for the violent damage caused in societies marked by racial divisions (Castillejo 2015). This has been a major inspiration for the initiatives created in Brazil.

Reworking Slavery

An interest in explaining the actions that shaped slavery and what made it possible to become such an effective force in Brazil has been part of the activities of those involved in the scenario under discussion here. Slavery is understood to be a criminal practice and, to this end, legal and historical knowledge is understood as important for the struggle against its effects. This can be seen in the documents the Cvenb cites.

The documents produced in the scenario under analysis highlight national and international anti-racist measures: the Federal Constitution of Brazil (1988), which laid the groundwork for affirmative action, and the Racial Equality Statute (law 12.288/2010), aimed at defending individual, collective and diffuse ethnic rights. Both measures were created in Brazil as part of the struggle against discrimination and different forms of ethnic intolerance, both endemic in Brazil. At the international level, the selected documents emphasize the prevention and punishment of crimes, such as international conventions dealing with combating racism and xenophobia, or the declaration resulting from the Durban conference. Documents dealing with the "repression of the crime of genocide," "war crimes" and the "suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid" are also listed. Another source is the statute that defines crimes that can be dealt

with through the International Criminal Court: “Crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.” There is also the Report of the UN Expert Working Group which recognizes the “persistence of institutional racism in our country [Brazil]” (OAB 2015: 8).

The mobilization of several different organizations of the Black movement in a scenario that presumes to investigate *the truth of Black slavery* shows (as has been the case in other countries with Black populations) the proximity to and articulation with transnational questions and rhetorical/legal devices (Igreja & Agudelo 2014) in the defense of local social and political rights. In this case, the Durban meeting can be understood as significant for the struggle for equality undertaken by the Black movements in defense of reparations for the Afro-descendant populations of the Caribbean and South America (Lao-Montes 2007, 2015). The use of national and international legal documents and rhetoric is a tactic forged for the interpretation of Black slavery, which is linked to the category *genocide*, as we shall see further on. Aside from laws, historical studies are also referenced, particularly those dealing with the slave trade in the Atlantic world and human submission to labor. From this perspective, the documents cited can be seen as basic references for the treatment of race relations as a field for intervention, for confronting racial hierarchies, and for the struggle against social and historical inequalities.

The scenario also criticizes what it calls *legal and cordial slavery*. This corresponds to a historiographical perspective which emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century and which portrayed slavery as a practice characterized by the harmonious coexistence of whites and blacks, slaves and enslavers. This view of history was heavily contested during the 1960s and 1970s by a view that emphasized the cruelty of slavery, the transformation of the captive into a ‘thing,’ and the portrayal of slave rebellions as a subjective expression of the denial of slavery itself. Later interpretations continued to challenge early twentieth century elaborations of slavery, but they also created other images of the enslaved, shifting the latter from the position of a ‘thing’ to that of a ‘rebel captive’ in opposition to the ‘cruel master’ who enslaved him, thus affirming the slave’s humanity. From the 1980s on, new explanations focused on the experiences and sociability of the enslaved, emphasizing their resistance and agency in the struggle for freedom. Finally, recent perspectives point to the creation of communities, strategies and the “reconstruction of autonomy” as ways of coping with slavocracy (Proença 2006).

In disagreement with the first two explanations, the scenario understands the enslaved as a *subject of law*, in view of the status of legal personhood⁷ recognized by the colonial secular and religious courts and which appears in the Cvenb/RJ’s partial report. Allying itself with more recent historiographical interpretations, *resistance* has become the prominent ideal within the scenario, with revolts and the creation of social life in free spaces such as the quilombos being emphasized. Punished rebels appear as *victims* of practices of repression carried out by public authorities and by private individuals, both of which are seen to have been supported by the law of the times.

In addition to the anti-racist texts that criticize official history, there are studies on human trafficking and on the procedures of punishment – and execution – of the enslaved, especially those slaves involved in rebellions. *Black slavery* is thus redefined as a *crime* woven from a set of practices named as *persecution*, *kidnapping*, *rape*, *homicide* and *extermination*. In this way, the categories so framed allow one to point

⁷ I am grateful to John Burdick (Syracuse University) for pointing out the legal personhood category in American law, which makes it possible to understand the ambiguity of the condition of enslaved. On the one hand, slaves could be understood as property and merchandise but on the other hand, they could also receive legal treatment. Kopytoff’s (2010) reflection on the cultural biography of things makes it possible to understand this peculiarity. The author observes that when captured, the slave is made into a non-person and transformed into merchandise. This condition does not wholly define the slave, however. The enslaved person also experiences new social relations that rehumanize him and thereby acquires another status, another condition that brings him closer to the status of a private individual – although one that can be traded. This understanding of the non-fixity of the status of the enslaved corroborates the understanding of the peculiarity of enslavement under the law.

out how, over time, the submission of Africans and Blacks produced *victims* – the dead, the punished, those forcibly removed from their lands –, *damage*, and *suffering*, especially as experienced by children and young people.

In the speech of the members of the scenario, as well as in the texts produced within it, these acts that are seen as criminal are mobilized to elaborate the image of a Black body whipped across the Atlantic and into slavery. They contribute to emphasizing *suffering* as a relevant category in talking about the impact of such practices and how they expose the social forces that affect individual and collective experiences (Das 2008). The Brazilian State (in the form of its bureaucratic, political, juridical and police apparatus) is thus defined as being *responsible* for *slavery* and its effects – with the Catholic Church and the Portuguese Government seen as aiding and abetting parties. The State is always indicated and understood to be involved in the criminal and dehumanizing practices, and this is linked to the formulation of legal instruments or to non-compliance with them, and also to the receipt of taxes raised from the trafficking in human beings, who are then elevated to the condition of *victims*.

In looking at the scenario and the documents it highlights, it can be observed that there is a skillful articulation between anti-racist documents and international laws and acts related to the Atlantic traffic, enslavement and repression. The activities that constituted and sustained Black slavery (as a certain sort of historiography illustrates) are treated as genocide and as crimes against humanity. These categories are mobilized within an interpretation of a chain of practices and ideas. They are currently used to dramatically compose a view of what structurally molds Brazilian society, as well as various actions being carried out at the present time.

It should be emphasized that the category genocide has recurred in different configurations in order to reflect on state policies characterized by measures aimed at eliminating one group or another (Delrio & Ramos 2011). Understood as an expression of colonialism, genocide is seen as the accentuation of the *cogito*: a world characterized by the elimination of or super-vigilance towards the Other: in this case, people of color (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 138).

This category has been historically present in the organizations of the Black movement, having been employed by Abdias do Nascimento – a critical thinker regarding racism and Brazilian society who is frequently referenced in the scenario – since the 1970s. It has been employed to expose and denounce the physical and cultural destruction of Brazil's Black population. Along with the category, however, Abdias do Nascimento also presented a road map of actions that is currently being followed when talking about another future for the country (Nascimento 1978), as often happens in the scenario being described here.

In order to formulate *slavery* as *genocide*, the Black slavery research scenario is made up of members from diverse backgrounds: law, pedagogy/education, history, computer systems, political science, psycho-pedagogy, and the social sciences, for example. Possessed of specialized knowledge, these people may be considered Black specialists or 'Black intellectuals' (Santos 2011: 108), especially given that they are committed to the work of (re)interpreting Brazilian society and its racial specificities.

It is these members who place legal knowledge in dialogue with historical and sociological interpretations, as well as with local experiences and conflict management devices (such as the Truth Commission) and the categories all of these things produce. In this way, they seek to confront the practices of human submission, which are now (re)configured as *criminal* and not located in any given time period. The past and present practices of Brazilian society are thus woven together in a master narrative of injustice, linked to what is understood to be historical injury. This redefinition legitimizes the claims to rights.

A Homage to the Mothers: A Description

Violence directed at Afro-Brazilian populations, especially against the young, is an issue that mobilizes organizations of the Black movement. It appears in tangible and explicit form in a homage addressed to a group of mothers whose children were victims of violence. The homage can be seen as related to the prevailing thoughts of the investigation of the Black slavery scenario, this time translated into an affirmation regarding Black youth, as we shall see further on.

One night during the winter of 2015, the “Mothers of Acari, 25 years” event, which recounted the struggle of a group of women, took place in Rio de Janeiro. Few members of the original group, made up of seven mothers, were able to attend (due to illness or death) and report on what had happened in 1990. In that year, 11 young people were kidnapped and disappeared while they were visiting a place some kilometers from their homes in Acari, a district north of the city of Rio de Janeiro whose most notable claim to fame is its very low human development index (HDI). According to Amnesty International, members of the Military Police of the State of Rio de Janeiro were involved in the case. In 1993, one of the members of the group of mothers investigating the case was killed while collecting information about her son’s whereabouts. The representative of Amnesty International, present at the event in 2015, highlighted the State’s non-investigation of the occurrence, the lack of protection provided to the mothers of missing youths, and also how police “impunity in these cases” aided “police violence.”

In the hall in front of the auditorium where the event took place, there was a clothesline from which hung photos and reports of the mothers activities. At one end, a sheet of cloth was used as a canvas on which the group’s picture was hung and, below it, the names of the mothers and their children.



In the auditorium, another clothesline was used to display documents, photos of the youths, and their objects. This was an assemblage that spoke of life and its absence in such a way that each family's memory of the event was represented. It was a dense, emotional construction denouncing the acts of the State and its agents.



Present at the ceremony were the mothers and relatives of young people from other communities in Rio de Janeiro and cities such as Santos, in the state of São Paulo, who also experienced the disappearance of relatives. These people took part in the discussion table, in the center of which was a stylized Brazilian flag displaying the words *Memory and Truth, Justice and Freedom*. These categories go beyond the issues and actions of the local groups, taking into consideration initiatives that denounce torture and the *disappearance of people*⁸ involved in political activities, as the NTC report points out (Brazil 2014).

The places of the mothers who could not come to the event were taken by other relatives – often sons or daughters – who demonstrated that the group's mobilization would not end with the death or disabling of its original members. These relatives explained that they continued to gather information concerning the whereabouts of their sisters and brothers who had been subjected to the practice of *forced disappearance*. The family presence highlighted the movement of the mothers as something dynamic (Araújo 2007), affecting different generations who also develop and share tactics to denounce the absence of loved ones from their families and neighborhoods. Death certificates have still not been issued for these young men, a demand that the movement highlights even today and a problem often encountered by relatives who deal with *disappearances*.

Exposed to the suffering attendant upon the loss of children and siblings, the relatives reported that they constantly have to make these disappearances a subject of interest to the justice system and the police (Ferreira 2013). The event explicitly denounced State actions, highlighting family members' claims to rights. It also positioned itself in the face of policies that act on human lives and allow intolerable situations to be understood as adequate and necessary in the maintenance of the moral order (Fassin 2014). The families' testimony contributed evidence that State officials can act in a twilight zone between legality and non-legality, making the rule of law uncertain (Das & Poole 2008).

⁸ International Law treats the forced disappearance of people as a violation of human rights and a crime against humanity for which the State can be held responsible. The State is obligated to investigate these disappearances and pay indemnities to victims, as well as establish measures that prevent new cases from occurring (Citroni 2015). Forced disappearances have been a recurring feature throughout Latin American history and a particularly relevant element of the dictatorships that have been established in the region. Many Latin American regimes have even had specific branches of government whose purpose was to remove from social life those people understood as harmful to public order (Gatti 2011). In Brazil, forced disappearance of people by the police has taken place as part of a goal of "political repression." It persists as a "practice of urban violence," together with "police violence" (Araújo 2016:47).

The poster announcing the ceremony expresses a connection between color and violence, containing the photo of a Black woman related to the group of mothers. As a composition, its elaboration is not restricted to the singular nature of one face or one person's experience. On the contrary: the image calls out to other situations of loss allied to color; other faces, other women and mothers. Here we see something like a “simultaneity of faces” linked together by the power of expressing that which is common to all (Agamben 2015: 93).



The link between the event and the issues surrounding the Black slavery research scenario was best expressed by the lawyers who spoke during the ceremony. In citing the killings that take place in the favelas of the city of Rio de Janeiro and in the country at large, Marcelo Dias, president of Cvenb/RJ at the time, said that the “history of our country is a history of violence, of extermination of our black youth.” According to Dias, it is a “history of violence: 30,000 young people killed a year; 50,000 murders in the country.” A lawyer who is also a member of the Human Rights Commission of the AOB/RJ noted that:

People forget that the crime of forced disappearance is not something that takes place or took place or only occurred in dictatorial states of exception. For those who are Black, for those who are Black in this country, this state of exception is a permanent thing. It is in your way in practically all spheres of life.

Both of these lawyers, faced with the question of the elimination of life as an expression of an entrenched hierarchy of color that is prevalent in Brazil, ended up by emphasizing the history of the nation as one characterized by the systematic deprivation of rights. Color and place of residence were identified by both as central elements in the definition of those most affected by the political practice of eliminating the Other. These two elements make up what can be understood as a “zone of indistinction” in which

there is a lack of “legal protection” and the constant questioning of the right to life with the maintenance of procedures and apparatuses that are systematically geared to depriving people of this right. This is not something exclusive to “concentration camps”: it exists in any place where laws and ordinances are suspended in order to control political life and the very existence of certain people. In such spaces, the police act in the interstices between violence and law, ignoring rules and turning Others into criminals (Agamben 2015: 44, 98, 99).

By recourse to the paradigm of the state of exception, the lawyers thus explained what is happening in the investigation of slavery scenario: references to the *disappearance* and *extermination* of young people, attributed to police forces, are constant and related to trafficking of humans for slavery. The members of the scenario constantly emphasize that younger men were preferred for slavery because they could better resist the Atlantic crossing and fetched higher prices when put up for sale.

History, Memory and Reparations

The arguments of the Black slavery research scenario are based on a defense of the reconstruction of the “relationship between the old and the new,” which depends on the present confronting the past in order for the harmonization of diversity and pluralism to take place. This task is to be achieved by opening ourselves to “the sound of the voices that have been silenced throughout history,” according to the Cvenb/RJ partial report (OAB/RJ 2015: 130). As Wilson Prudente (prosecutor of the Public Labor Ministry and member of the Cvenb/RJ) stressed during a public hearing, Brazilian society “lives with a past a mentality... lives still under the haunting [presence] of the slave regime... Brazilian society has never faced the problem of its past.”⁹

Prudente’s words refer to the current debate in the scenario, which emphasizes history and memory as two necessary factors for the explanation and confrontation of situations that affect the physical and cultural existence of Black Brazilians. This view permeates the partial report, public hearings, meetings and seminars held by Black associations, public bodies and universities. At these moments, many topics that are considered to be relevant are highlighted, especially in the public hearings that have been held in different cities throughout the Metropolitan Region and the state of Rio de Janeiro (OAB/RJ 2015).

In addition to violence against Black families and youth, the theme of *territorial exclusion* has also appeared at these moments, referring to the quilombola communities that have for struggled years to obtain recognition and the rights to the land they occupy. Another recurrent theme has been *religious intolerance*: the verbal, physical and symbolic violence that has been part of the historical treatment given by political and scientific institutions to cultural manifestations of African origin. The religious issue has recurred in public hearings and has resulted in a meeting of representatives of African-origin religions (held at the Center for Afro-Brazilian Traditions in October 2015) in order to discuss statutes related to the rights of these religious practices (OAB/RJ 2015).

With these questions, the scenario’s confrontation between history and memory adds its central arguments to local struggles. This position is disseminated through texts, transmitted by social networks, evidenced in testimonies given to the written press, demonstrated by participation in television programs and public hearings. In all of these forums, the tension between history and memory is constantly stressed by the members of the commissions.

The reflection on slavery contained in the Cvenb/RJ’s partial report shows a particular understanding of written history, understood as a *falsification* given that it has caused the “oppressed Afro-descendants to have their eyes clouded by stories told to them in the school, at all levels, and in the cultural industry,

⁹ Available at <https://www.youtube.com/user/tvcamarario>. Consulted July 2017.

everywhere” (p.129). This critical view understands history as the reconstruction of an event – often related to power – as an exercise of knowing-in-order-to-say, which keeps the Other at arm’s length as history speaks for him, especially when defining what should be “‘understood’ and what must be forgotten in order to obtain the representation of present intelligibility” (Certeau 2011: 13,14,15).

As a counterpoint to the sort of historiography that speaks about and for Blacks, the members of the scenario propose the *rescue of memory*. They argue that much needs to be *recovered* with the statements and information that people can provide and that places can contain in order to elaborate and expose another interpretation of the past and present. In 2015, therefore, visits were made to the quilombola communities and conversations were held with their residents. A tour of old plantations was also conducted to collect *evidence or material evidence*, as Humberto Adami, president of the Cvenb/Nacional, remarks in his talks about the objects used in the *punishment* of slaves and the conditions of existence in the slave barracks. The Cvenb/RJ also paid a visit to the archives of the diocese of the city of Nova Iguaçu in the Baixada Fluminense, a region of Rio de Janeiro state. Here, books recording the baptism, marriage and death of slaves and free Blacks were found, as well as records regarding instruments intended for use in the *torture* of slaves. A visit was also paid to the Black Museum, an institution under the care of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict of the Black Men, located in Rio de Janeiro’s city center. Here, instruments used to force the submission of human beings were examined and recorded. A meeting was also held with the General Command of the Military Police of the State of Rio de Janeiro and also with the Museum of the Military Police in order to obtain access to the police archives and to carry out research for the Cvenb/RJ (OAB/RJ 2015).

The issues central to the scenario, especially in the cities that hosted public hearings and visits, are part of a set of activities related to the findings on the theme of slavery and aimed to build greater coherence between information and materials that carry traces of the past (Halbwachs 2006). How this is linked to specialized knowledge corroborates a past use that operates in two planes: showing how historical interpretation conceals tensions and, at the same time, composing an elaboration of the past that explains the violence and the racial inequality that we find today embedded in Brazilian society. This use of the past is not only intended to highlight the memory of conflict (which has to do with the elaboration of some given event), but also the conflict of memories (which involves oppositions and disputes between interpretations of the past) when one speaks about the practice of forced submission (N’Garoné 2012). The conflict of memories thus established relates to the combativeness of groups that position themselves in society in order to question history, the consensus surrounding it and the present democracy in the struggle for their rights (Macé 2012).

Memory is closely related to political action and the Truth Commission (TC) also takes advantage of this fact, employing voices that deal with the ‘outrages’ and ‘suffering’ experienced in the past. In this way, the past is located as close to the present moment and this gives sustenance to the policies of reparations (Bevernage 2016, 2012). This is a situation that involves the admission of the abuses that were practiced and their effects. It can result in material and/or symbolic indemnities that express the recognition of the damage done and that aim to promote the restoration of social relations. Reparation can thus be seen as a corrective mechanism related to a group’s ‘self-consciousness,’ producing rites that are conducive to integration or social reconciliation. Such a moment obviously contains critiques of the elements that led to the state of crisis – the symbolic dimension in this sense– and, as a corollary, reconciliation measures must be evaluated to see if they have indeed been successful and how success was forged (Turner 2008).

The practice of linking events located in different moments in time has characterized the demands and struggles of the Black population of Brazil; it is enough to mention the mobilization in favor of affirmative action and, as emphasized above, the struggle for *reparations*. In this case, the focus is not on financial

support as compensation for slavery, but on the elaboration and consolidation of public policies that are understood as resources which can transform the material and living conditions of the favelas, for example. This is the main point raised when members of the scenario talk about “overcoming the past and projecting a future.” For the members of this movement, society must become aware of the effects of what was once practiced in order to establish a less unequal and more diversity-oriented country in the future, as is stated in the partial report (OAB/RJ 2015: 1, 130, 198).

The challenge of looking to the past for the promotion of *equality* and *justice* should be undertaken in a spirit of *love and friendship*. In this way, the perspective of a new Brazilian society will win out, configured by values and feelings that do not trigger instability but that can compose another sort of democracy, one which is understood as not yet widespread in our society, although it has long been imagined as a racial democracy.

The projection of a new society has been part of the activities of the TC and this has also occurred in Colombia, a society characterized by armed conflict that pervades daily life and citizenship. In the latter country, the commission for “truth and reconciliation” has reflected on the differentiation and inequalities within Colombian society. Claims for reparations are part of a field of tensions that involves technical, political and social knowledge and that results in effective measures considered able to transform everyday life and the way in which this and society are imagined. The Colombian case shows how the TC device is connected to thinking about the nation in the context of expectations of a ‘new reality.’ This implies ways of relating past and future (Castillejo 2015: 17, 19).

Conclusion

In the present article, I have sought to approach a scenario that is based on a critique of the conflicts in Brazilian society, pointing to the participation of organizations of the Black movement and Black lawyers in this scenario and their creation of a legal basis for the redefinition of slavery. We have seen how this scenario was formed and how the National Truth Commission (NTC) reinforced a local climate regarding the treatment of history and memory in order to reveal conflicts and human rights violations that have occurred in institutional spaces. The South African commission was also identified as a reference for action in a society marked by racial tensions, presenting procedures and perspectives for the closer integration of the said society.

We verified that the analyzed scenario aims to create an approach to Brazilian reality that emphasizes historical reparations. This is done by denouncing temporal links between practices of violence directed against the country’s Black population. Characteristically, this asserts that the current form of democracy in Brazil is limited and also limits life. These claims, in turn, challenge the self-image of Brazilian society, since they affirm that multiracialism and multiculturalism are not yet widespread in the nation.

The central point of this scenario is based on the explication of the longevity of *Black slavery* and the strength of *racism* as structural elements in Brazilian society. As we have seen, this scenario references the CTR developed in South Africa, which ended up revealing a set of violations that affected individuals and their bodies. The individualist cut of this approach has, however, led to criticisms, as has the Commission on Human Rights, created in 2005. For this commission (CHR), the CTR did not emphasize the links between violations, colonialism and apartheid – related to practices, values and political dispositions – and thus contributing little to exposing the structural relations that guided racialized violations (Ross 2006).

In order to fulfill its objective, the work carried out in the Brazilian scenario has, in turn, gone through stages consisting of tasks, questions and concepts that are closely linked in order to compose images about the past, emphasizing practices, values and feelings that situate *Black slavery* as something harmful. Slavery and its temporal effects are, however, set beyond individual reach, since it is argued that the present and the future are tied together when it comes to racism and the inequalities affecting Brazil's Black population.

One of the stages of this process consists in resorting to historiography and memory and relates to the criticism directed against historiography, given that, for members of the scenario, history can hide or mute voices in its efforts to affirm a certain narrative. Black experts have emphasized memory over history and seek to create coherence between the arguments, statements, locations, objects and documents that they have collected in aid of this project. Memory is thus woven into politics and seen as a motivator of reflection and willingness to act (N'Garoné 2012, Jelin 2014). Memory makes explicit another understanding of facts and of how they influence daily existence.

This appeal to memory contributes to stripping away the idea of *cordial slavery* (which underpins Brazil's *racial democracy* narrative), pointing out that slavery was full of dehumanizing practices and episodes of cruelty. Confronting history with memory – while simultaneously relying on historiography to chart out black resistance – members of the scenario indicate that these cruel practices cannot be considered to be an individual or private affair, given that they were not the product of one or a few masters' decisions. The practices that characterized the slavery system in Brazil are linked to State policy based on the annihilation of Otherness.

Not surprisingly, considering the 'social sensitivity' regarding blackness in Brazilian society (Schwarcz 2012: 54) and which marks the actions highlighted here, racism and genocide have been central elements in the scenario's discourses regarding slavery. The questions raised strongly refer to State practices, since the State manifestly does not protect all lives and its discrimination in this sense can be understood as related to the incorporation of race in the policies developed by the State. It is thus the application of technique, bureaucracy and State mechanisms that mark the State's institutional performance, which is characterized by the destitution of the Other of rights and basic humanity (Mbembe 2003).

Another step linked to this work of historical criticism can be seen in the ceremony honoring the mothers of the young people who were disappeared in Acari more than two decades ago. The clothes, photos and documents on display during this event emphasize that these youths once had a bodily existence whose continuity is uncertain (Gatti 2011).

This event also showed how the scenario situates the damage of slavery in time, linking the past to damaged or missing bodies today. Here the personal (silences, crying, testimonies and personal objects, which are all part of another way of being in public (Gatti 2017) merged with the collective in exposing the social disorder that disappearance introduces, particularly in the daily lives of Black families who have lamented human loss over time. During the ceremony, it was explained how groups can process that which is lived as misfortune, as pain that reaches into their existence (Das 2008).

The cases exposed during the ceremony gave density to the legal arguments made by members of the scenario. How these two things were related contributed to connecting together the mothers, other relatives of the disappeared, and those present at the ceremony. This group then exposed and reflected upon the brutality of State practices, confronting the imaginary of the State as protector and guarantor of rights and life (Das & Poole 2008). We can thus say that this arrangement reaffirms a sense of 'emotional community,' given that such a community can be seen as aimed at denouncing the effects of violence and mobilizing for recognition of affronts to life, in favor of dignity and claims for reparations (Jimeno 2010; Jimeno, Varela & Castillo 2011).

Finally, the work carried out in the scenario analyzed here cooperates in creating a public space shared by subaltern groups. It points to a conception of time not based on unrepeatable and linear phases, but rather on the contact between the past and the present with the reflection on the persistence of social inequalities and their effects. With this understanding of temporality, the reflection on crises, dramas, feelings and accusations, as well as agendas for action, can be understood as a process of correction and reconciliation (Turner 2008), contributing to our imagination of the future. This, however, also seems to rupture with time, with sensitivities, with past values and practices, pointing towards a very common tension in truth commissions. Taking into consideration the scenario researched here, one might ask what initiatives will be designed in Brazil in order to change the set of inequalities and violence currently reigning in our society, creating instead an image of a future characterized by non-violence? Here the South African and Colombian cases may again contribute to our understanding of what is happening in Brazil. It has been pointed out that non-repetition – a basic element necessary for the success of reconciliation and reparation – does not only include a move to interrupting violence and injustice. It is also something much more complex. It must contain a dialectic between rupture and continuity and it is therefore important to observe when both situations can be presented. That is, we need to evaluate the implemented actions, what they affect or fail to do, and what they do or do not expose in terms of the structure of inequality. Only in this way can we understand when and how rupture and continuity manifest themselves (Castillejo 2015: 19).

Received: September 29th, 2017

Approved: January 6th, 2018

Translation: Thaddeus Gregory Blanchette

Revision: David Rodgers

* This article is a result of the research project “Tempo da ‘verdade’: categorias e articulações na investigação da escravidão e seus efeitos na atualidade no estado do Rio de Janeiro” (Time and Truth: Categories and Connections in the Investigation of Slavery and its Effects on Current Life in the State of Rio de Janeiro), begun in 2015. I would like to thank the Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Políticos (IESP) of the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) for the support given to me during my research for this article. I am also grateful to the anonymous evaluators for their valuable suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank Fátima Cecchetto (Fiocruz) and Patrícia Farias (UFRJ) for their comments on the first version of this article.

References

- AGAMBEM, Giorgio. 2015. *Meios sem fim: notas sobre a política*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica Editora.
- ARAÚJO, Fábio Alves. 2016. “Não tem corpo, não tem crime’: notas socioantropológicas sobre o ato de fazer desaparecer corpos.” *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 22(46): 37-64.
- _____. 2007. *Do luto à luta: a experiência das Mães de Acari*. Master’s Dissertation, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia e Antropologia – Rio de Janeiro.
- BEVERNAGE, Berber. 2016. “Un pasado desde el presente. La historia y la política del tiempo en la justicia transicional.” 2016. *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, 71: 25-52.
- _____. 2012. *History, memory and state-sponsored violence: time and justice*. New York: Routledge.
- BRASIL. 2014. *Relatório da Comissão Nacional da Verdade*. Brasília: CNV.
- _____. 2010. Lei nº 12.288, publicada no Diário Oficial da União, 20 jul. 2010, p.01.
- _____. 1988. Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil, publicado no Diário Oficial da União, 05 out. 1988, nº 191 - A.
- CASTILLEJO, Alejandro. 2015. *La imaginación social del porvenir: reflexiones sobre Colombia y el prospecto de una Comisión de la Verdad*. Buenos Aires: Clacso.
- _____. 2014. “La localización del daño: etnografía, espacio y confesión en el escenario colombiano”. *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 20(42): 213-236.
- CERTEAU, Michel de. 2011. *A escrita da história*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Forense.
- CITRONI, Gabriella. 2015. “La Desaparición Forzada en México: Entre Avances y Retos Pendientes.” *FICHL Policy Brief Series*, 39: 1-4.
- DAS, Veena. 2008. “Lenguaje y cuerpo: transacciones en la construcción del dolor.” In: Francisco A. Ortega (ed.), *Veena Das: sujetos del dolor, agentes de dignidad*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Facultad de Ciencias Humanas: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. Instituto Pensar. pp. 343-374.
- _____.; POOLE, Deborah. 2008. “El estado y sus márgenes: etnografías comparadas”. *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, 27: 19-52.
- DELRIO, Walter; RAMOS, Ana. 2011. “Genocidio como categoría analítica: memoria social y marcos analíticos.” *CORPUS. Archivos Virtuales de la Alteridad Americana*, 1(2): 1-7.
- FASSIN, Didier. 2014. “Compaixão e repressão: a economia moral das políticas de imigração na França.” *Ponto Urbe*, 15: 1-22.
- FERREIRA, Letícia. 2013. “Pesquisar e participar da formulação de uma causa pública: notas etnográficas sobre o desaparecimento de pessoas no Brasil.” *Campos - Revista de Antropologia Social*, 14(1/2):195-2015.
- FIGUEIREDO, Ângela; GROSFUGUEL, Ramón. 2009. “Racismo à brasileira ou racismo sem racistas: colonialidade e a negação do racismo no espaço universitário.” *Sociedade e Cultura*, 12(2): 223-234.
- GATTI, Gabriel. 2017. “Presentación: um mundo de vítimas”. In: Gabriel Gatti (ed.), *Um mundo de vítimas*. Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial. pp. 5-23.
- _____. 2011. “El lenguaje de las víctimas: silencios (ruidosos) y parodias (serias) para hablar (sin hacerlo) de la desaparición forzada de personas.” *Universitas humanística*, 72: 89-109.
- GONZÁLEZ CUEVA, Eduardo. 2011. “Até onde vão as Comissões da Verdade”. In: Félix Reátegui (ed.), *Justiça de transição: manual para a América Latina*. Brasília: Comissão de Anistia, Ministério da Justiça; New York: International Center for Transitional Justice. pp. 339-355.
- HALBWACHS, Maurice. 2006. *A memória coletiva*. São Paulo: Centauro.
- HAYNER, Priscila B. 2006. “Truth commissions: an schematic overview.” *International Review of the Red Cross*, 88(862): 295-310.
- IGREJA, Rebecca; AGUDELO, Carlos. 2014. “Afrodescendentes na América Latina e Caribe: novos caminhos, novas perspectivas em um contexto global multicultural.” *Revista de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre as Américas*, 08(01): 13-28.

- JELIN, Elizabeth. 2014. "Memoria y democracia. Una relación incierta." *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, LIX(221): 225-242.
- JIMENO, Myriam. 2012. "Introducción: el método antropológico en el contexto local." In: Myriam Jimeno; Sandra Liliana Murillo; Marco Julián Martínez (eds.), *Etnografías contemporáneas: trabajo de campo*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Facultad de Ciencias Humanas. Centro de Estudios Sociales (CES), pp.9-18.
- _____. 2010. "Emoções e política: a vítima e a construção de comunidades emocionais." *Mana. Estudos de Antropologia Social*, 16(1): 99-121.
- JIMENO, Myriam; VARELA, Daniel; CASTILLO, Ángela. 2011. "Experiencias de violencia: etnografía e recomposición social en Colombia." *Sociedade e Cultura*, 14(2): 275-285.
- KOPYTOFF, Igor. 2010. "A biografia cultural das coisas: a mercantilização como processo." In: Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *A vida social das coisas: as mercadorias sob uma perspectiva cultural*. Niterói: EDUFF. pp. 89-121.
- LAO-MONTES, Agustín. 2015. "Movimientos sociales afrolatinoamericanos". *América Latina en Movimiento*, 501:5-8.
- _____. 2007. "Sin justicia étnico-racial no hay paz: las afro-reparaciones en perspectiva histórico-mundial." In: Claudia Mosquera; Luiz Cláudio Barcelos (eds.), *Afro-reparaciones: memorias de la esclavitud y justicia reparativa para negros, afrocolombianos e raizales*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. pp.132-153.
- MACÉ, Jean-François. 2012. "Los conflictos de memoria en la España postfranquista (1976-2010) entre políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política." *Bulletin hispanique*, 114(2): 749-774.
- MALDONADO-TORRES, Nelson. 2007. "Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto." In: Santiago Castro-Gómez; Ramón Grosfoguel (eds.), *El giro decolonial: reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores; Universidad Central, Instituto de Estudios Sociales Contemporáneos y Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Instituto Pensar. pp. 127-168.
- MBEMBE, Achille. 2003. "Necropolitics." *Public Culture*, 15(1): 11-40.
- NASCIMENTO, Abdias. 1978. *O genocídio do negro brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- N'GARONÉ, Rémadjie. 2012. "Mémoires et conflits en Guadeloupe. Formes anthropologiques du conflit". *Revue Internationale d'Anthropologie Culturelle & Sociale*, 1: 33-55.
- OAB. 2015. *Metodologia da Comissão Nacional da Verdade sobre a Escravidão Negra no Brasil*. Brasília/ DF.
- OAB/RJ. 2015. *Relatório da Comissão Estadual da Verdade da Escravidão Negra*. Rio de Janeiro: OAB/RJ.
- PROENÇA, Wander de Lara. 2006. "Escravidão no Brasil: Debates Historiográficos Contemporâneos." *Anais eletrônicos da XXIV Semana de História: "Pensando o Brasil no Centenário de Caio Prado Júnior."*
- ROSS, Fiona. 2006. "La elaboración de una Memoria Nacional: la Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación de Sudáfrica." *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, 24: 51-68.
- SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos. 2011. "A metamorfose em militantes negros em negros intelectuais." *Revista Mosaico*, 5(III):102-125.
- SCHWARCZ, Lilia. 2012. "Do preto, do branco e do amarelo: sobre o mito nacional de um Brasil (bem) mestiçado." *Ciência e Cultura*, 64(1): 48-55.
- TURNER, Victor. 2008. *Dramas, campos e metáforas: ação simbólica na sociedade humana*. Niterói: Editora da Universidade Federal Fluminense.
- VELHO, Gilberto. 2009. "Antropologia urbana: encontro de tradições e novas perspectivas." *Sociologia, problemas e práticas*, 59: 11-18.

Websites consulted

<http://acnudh.org>

<https://anistia.org.br>

www2.camara.leg.br

<http://www.cnv.gov.br>

<http://www.ipea.gov.br>

<https://www.youtube.com>

Márcia Leitão Pinheiro

Associate Professor at the Laboratório de Estudos da Sociedade Civil e do Estado of the Universidade Estadual do Norte Fluminense Darcy Ribeiro- Lesce/UENF, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil.

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6695-4585>

E-mail: marcialpx@hotmail.com

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Akroá-Gamella: territorial struggles and narratives of violence in the Baixada Maranhense

*Caroline Leal*¹

¹ Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira,
Faculdade de Antropologia, Ceará, Brasil

Abstract

The Akroá-Gamella people reside in the State of Maranhão, in the northeast region of Brazil. They began to experience broad visibility, on national and international levels, as victims of a genocidal action contrived by agribusiness sectors, following an event named “Movement for Peace” in April 2017. This article sets forth an ethnography of patterns of violence that serve to maintain power inequalities between indigenous peoples and political organisations that control work and private property in the Baixada Maranhense. The text begins with a brief historical overview of the territorialisation process set in motion by the Akroá-Gamella in the last decade, followed by an analytical description of the cartography of conflicts derived from this people’s political insurgence. The text also focuses on implicit and objective contents in practices that sustain symbolic and physical violence from the Indians’ perspective, emphasising struggles undertaken in defence of territory and the right to existence.

Keywords: Akroá-Gamella; territory; genocide; Baixada Maranhense; Brazil.

Akroá-Gamella: luta territorial e narrativas de violência na Baixada Maranhense

Resumo

O povo Akroá-Gamella vive no estado do Maranhão, nordeste do Brasil, e passa a ter ampla visibilidade no cenário nacional e internacional como vítimas de um ação genocida planejada por setores do agronegócio durante evento denominado “Movimento pela Paz”, em abril de 2017. Este artigo propõe uma etnografia dos padrões de violência que operam para a manutenção da desigualdade no poder dos indígenas em relação às organizações políticas que controlam o trabalho e a propriedade privada na Baixada Maranhense. O texto inicia com um breve histórico do processo de territorialização desencadeado pelos Akroá-Gamella na última década, seguido de uma descrição analítica da cartografia dos conflitos decorrentes da insurgência política deste povo. Focaliza ainda os conteúdos implícitos e de ordem objetiva nas práticas que sustentam as violências físicas e simbólicas a partir da perspectiva indígena, dando ênfase às lutas empreendidas na defesa do território e do direito a existir.

Palavras-chave: Akroá-Gamella; território; genocídio; Baixada Maranhense; Brasil.

Akroá-Gamella: territorial struggles and narratives of violence in the Baixada Maranhense

Caroline Leal

Introduction

The Akroá-Gamella¹ people are based in the State of Maranhão, a transition zone between the North and Northeast regions of the country, with an estimated population of 1.130 people (FUNAI 2015)² spatially organised into six communities formed according to kinship criteria. Eleven ethnicities reside in this state, in 22 Indigenous Lands³, with a total population of 35.272 individuals (IBGE 2010).

The traditional disputed territory is home to not only the Gamella communities, but also other non-indigenous populational hubs, which, from the mid-twentieth century onwards, have illegally taken residence in the aforementioned lands. This occupation was only possible owing to the flux of colonisation that has seized ample areas under the pretext of regional productive development, based on fraud and the falsification of land-deeds – what is commonly known as “*grilagem de terras*” [“land grabbing”]. This disputed area encompasses three municipalities, Viana, Matinha and Peralva⁴, which are located in the microregion known as the Baixada Maranhense. The microregion extends for 18,000 square kilometres of unique environments and includes a wealth of hydric resources, most notably the Mearim, Pindaré and Pericumã rivers, which comprise the Northeast’s largest series of lacustrine bays (Martins & Oliveira 2011).

Paradoxically, the environmental wealth of this region is transformed into a vector for socio-economic contradictions, since it is not manifested in the quality of life of the general population. Current research shows that the Baixada Maranhense has low social indicators and high population vulnerability regarding access to public policies related to basic services, such as education, healthcare and sanitation (UFMA 2015)⁵. These structural deficits derive from the land-grabbing process: a powerful political mechanism – one among several used by the rural elite – to maximise land ownership and income concentration throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The practice of land grabbing and its inherent violence forms the basis of the establishment of a new model of land appropriation that extends to the present day (Costa 2006; Asselin 2009).

1 This ethnonym is a self-attribution referenced by two peoples who affirm the Akroá and Gamella are their historical ancestors. In the literature on the colonial period, they are cited both as enemies and as allies in relation to the “expeditions” in the *sertões* of the Piauí and Maranhão captaincies. (Apolinário 2005). Their oral history affirms that the present social formation stems from these two peoples, who resisted colonisation through being skilful in war strategies. Therefore, the conjoining of the Akroá and Gamella names expresses a connection between the past resistance movement and the present to conserve their collective territory, regardless of the fact that the origins of these ethnonyms are designations external to the group, since they derive as from colonial agents. Throughout the text, we will use both the compound name and Gamella, based on redaction criteria and in consideration of the fact that the latter form is the most commonly used by the Indians colloquially.

2 Census conducted for the Technical Qualification Report on the Akroá-Gamella’s Territorial Demand, 2015.

3 In reference to Indigenous Lands with ongoing administrative regularisation procedures implemented by the official organ for Indian affairs, the National Indian Foundation (*Fundação Nacional do Índio*, FUNAI), an institution linked to the Ministry of Justice.

4 According to the 2010 census of the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, IBGE), the population in each municipality is 49.496 in Viana, 21.885 in Matinha and 34.267 in Penalva.

5 Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas Ambientais (NEPA) [Centre for Environmental Studies and Research] of the Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA).

Recent data offers parameters for analysing the contemporary effects of this historical process. The State of Maranhão occupies prominent positions in the national ranking of the occurrences of slave labour (Ministério Público do Trabalho 2015)⁶ and land conflicts. According to the last report on violence published by the Pastoral Commission of the Land (*Comissão Pastoral da Terra, CPT*) (2016)⁷, 194 land ownership conflicts have been recorded, as well as 13 deaths and over 31 thousand affected families. Violence against indigenous peoples continues to increase. In 2016, the number of homicides related to territorial disputes peaked at 12, surpassing indicators from previous years (CIMI 2017)⁸.

While remaining invisible to the State's selective gaze, the Akroá-Gamella, became tragically well-known on April 30th, 2017, as the victims of an genocidal action by a group known as "Movimento pela Paz" ["Movement for Peace"]. The largest concentration of the movement originated in a settlement in the municipality of Viana, Maranhão, on the margins of MA-014, a road that goes several kilometres into the territory claimed by the people. The event, broadcast by local radio stations, was organised by the local agrarian elite, members of evangelical churches and members of both federal and municipal legislative powers linked to ruralist interests. Characterised by the Indians as an arbitrary attempt to silence their people's existence and later reported as "ethnocide" and a "massacre" by both national and international medias, the so-called "Movement for Peace" and its outcome in victims, entered the calendar of historical obliterations of Brazilian indigenous peoples' fundamental rights.

A group of 30 Akroá-Gamella Indians organised the retaking, carried out a few hours earlier, of an area of their traditional territory when they were ambushed and savagely attacked by approximately 250 demonstrators armed with knives and firearms. The mob headed for the retaken area once the speeches of the "Movement for Peace" speakers had ended. The Gamella were shot and beaten, and not even the women and children were spared. Two Indians had their knees sliced open and hands cut off – details common to this kind of violence in the State of Maranhão. The Military Police garrison that proceeded to the location stood inert as the episode unfolded. The brutal attack, from which the Gamella were in no condition to defend themselves, achieved worldwide repercussion.

The Brazilian State and the government of the State of Maranhão could no longer evade recognition of this violent historical conflict involving the Akroá-Gamella, even though, as Judith Butler has stated, "to avow injurability does not in any way guarantee a politics of non-violence"(2017:250). The fact is that the State implemented an administrative procedure to initiate the process of regularisation of the Indigenous Land⁹. Certainly, there are belated decisions to be made, particularly regarding the powers of the Executive and Judiciary, given that ongoing investigations have failed to prove conclusive regarding who was responsible for inciting the attack and who the perpetrators of the violence were. However, the beginning of the work of demarcation creates possibilities for these people to collectively overcome a painful chapter in their history, which is interwoven by permanent strategies of territorial defence.

This article proposes an ethnography of the patterns of violence that operate to maintain inequalities of power between the Indians and the political organisations that control work and private property in the Baixada Maranhense. Why are violations in the lives of these people allowed? Why are they not worthy of

6 For more detailed information, see <<http://observatorioescravo.mpt.mp.br/>>. Accessed in December 2017.

7 Conflicts entail several modalities of violence, such as murder attempts, death threats, arrests, attacks, generally directed towards leaders of agrarian social movements. The report shows that Maranhão surpasses states nationally known for agrarian conflict, such as Rondônia (172 cases), Bahia (164 cases), Pará (143 cases) and Minas Gerais (116 cases).

8 Data gathered by the Indigenous Missionary Council (*Conselho Indigenista Missionário, CIMI*) (2017) shows the murder of six Guajajara, five Tenetehar/ Guajajara from the Arariboia Indigenous Land, and one Gamella. About a dozen reports on death threats, mainly among the Ka'apor and the Gamella and, among other modalities of violence, there are 14 additional reports from indigenous lands all over the state relative to territory (invasions with intent to claim the land and illegal exploitation of natural resources).

9 Creation of the multidisciplinary Technical Group through Decree no. 1.171 of the Presidency of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), dated November 10th 2017, published in the Official Gazette of the Union, no. 218, November 14th 2017, Section 2, p.35.

state protection? How do we comprehend this stark increase in violence against the Gamella? With these questions in mind, we presume that there a selective power mechanism exists in which vulnerability, pain and death become effective resources to weaken and exert control over social belonging, the land and claims to collective rights.

Supported by the literature on Brazilian anthropology concerning indigenous peoples – with an analytical focus that articulates categories such as territory, history and resistance – and the theoretical perspective of the coloniality of power, formulated by Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano, this article analyses the characteristics and implications of such material and symbolic violence to reflect on continuities between colonial ideology and its contemporary manifestations. In times of neoliberal multiculturalism, which propagates the recognition of cultural differences even if only to appropriate them according to the logic of the global market, in Brazil, indigenous peoples witness, feel and resist the reactualisation of genocidal values and practices. The case of the Akroá-Gamella is highlighted within this context.

Territorialisation Process

The regrouping of the Gamella as an indigenous people in the last decade is more easily understood when considering the territorialisation process¹⁰ that has been taking place since 2012. The political context was directly related to the process of land grabbing within the territory, initiated in the 1960s, which engendered the conditions for the consolidation of more complex power relations in the daily lives of the communities. The increasing presence of private projects, such as the felling of extractive areas to cultivate grasslands and the construction of fish-tanks in water springs, accelerated the collective decision to formulate a project for retaking the traditional territory. In the words of the indigenous leaders, “to fight for the territory so the people can live freely and reforest sacred nature, to ensure the freedom of the waters, the *guarimã*, the *babaçu*, the *buriti*, the *juçara*” (Leadership Council 2017)¹¹.

The previous movement for official recognition, active in the 1970s and 80s, yielded no results, since at that time, the political power of the indigenous movement in relation to the State was still in the making. The period following the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 bespoke a significant shift in this scenario, up to then characterised by categorical disadvantage. In several regions of the country, indigenous peoples began mobilising, triggering processes of ethical emergence, particularly in the Northeast. In the field of indigenous ethnology, there is a large collection of research depicting territorial disputes as vectors of ethnic mobilisation on the part of peoples deemed extinct in official literature and documentation¹².

Since the nineteenth century, the Gamella people have continuously witnessed the looting and environmental degradation of their territory. The elite view this as development, but from the perspective of the Indians, who have a much more intimate relationship with the environment, it is understood as violence, exploitation and the silencing of nature. For this people, it is about uncontrolled capitalist exploitation and the irresponsible use of high-impact technologies that render biological reproduction unfeasible. The kind of conflict that is established between these two points of view lies in the impossibility

10 The concept, approached according to João Pacheco de Oliveira, is a process of social reorganisation that implies: 1) the creation of a new sociocultural unit by establishing a differentiating ethnic identity; 2) the constitution of specialised political mechanisms; 3) the redefining of social control over environmental resources; 4) the re-elaboration of culture and relations with the past (OLIVEIRA 1999:20).

11 In compliance with requests from the Gamella Leadership Council, interviewees will not be identified directly by name, in order to preserve them, given their current situation of extreme vulnerability. Statements used in this text have been recorded in collective meetings with leaders from the council, during fieldwork in the indigenous territory, in March 2017.

12 Emphasis on investigations conducted by the projects “Levantamento de Terras Indígenas no Estado da Bahia [Mapping of Indigenous Territory in the State of Bahia]” (PINEB/UFBA) and “Ethnical Frontiers, Territory and Cultural Tradition” (Museu Nacional/UFRJ).

of the coexistence of such antagonistic projects. The life the Gamella yearn for in the reclaimed territory, in all its senses – epistemological, spiritual, economic, social, cultural, cosmological –, cannot be achieved under the subjugation of agribusiness in the Baixada Maranhense. Amid the innumerable contingent tensions, I'd like to highlight the most emblematic cases that help characterise the cartography of conflicts, as well as the reaction of part of the Gamella communities to review the historical course in the face of threats to the future of the people and the territory itself.

First, the Gamella territory was expropriated during the twentieth century due to land grabs – one of the most effective illegal mechanisms of domination and property concentration in rural Brazil, particularly in the Legal Amazon area. In the 1960s, there was a notary fraud involving land deeds pertaining to the area known locally as Indian Land (Andrade 2008). Ever since, the buying and selling of indigenous territory has intensified. The consequences of this cannot be reduced to the mere loss of land, because land grabbing is a phenomenon that demands physical violence in order to become effective, as has been confirmed in some situations. Indigenous leaders who denounced the situation became the victims of hired thugs, and the memory of such violence transformed into a continual threat still felt today. There is also reference to the emergence of internal conflicts, since indigenous families sold plots of land adhering to the promises of economic emancipation, which then favoured the occupation of the territory by farmers and small peasants. Thus, a complex network of inter-social relations was instituted.

Maristela Andrade's (2008) research informs us that the 1970s is marked by the advance of farmers in the territory. Legal actions initiated by the Gamella yielded nothing, since Brazil was going through a military dictatorship which defended the development of the interior, together with the tutelage of indigenous peoples. During the 1980s, the Gamella gained the support and the advertising services of pastoral organisations and began to politically engage with the Rural Workers' Union (Sindicato de Trabalhadores Rurais) in pursuit of institutional conditions to reverse, or at least hinder, the advance of land-grabbing. This search for a solution with farm workers was primarily due to the denial of assistance by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). The indigenist organ was actually summoned in 1982, but failed to institutionalise the process of indigenous land recognition.

In their oral history, the last decade of the twentieth century are referred to as a period of protagonism among Gamella women concerning their actions in retaking the territory. As stated by one of the leaders of the *movimento de quebradeira de coco babaçu* [babaçu coconut breaker movement]: “the women use their very bodies to defend our way of life”. This experience of struggle embodied in women is evidenced in a statement given by a Gamella woman who actively took part in the retakings of the period:

It was a women's struggle against Roseana Sarney, though as squatters and not as Indians, because, at the time, FUNAI did not accept our land claim. It was the biggest farm around here and it was horribly devastated to raise cattle. Everything was ruined! The bunital, the guarimã, the fibre used in our craftwork, not to mention polluting the river. Here, Gamella women live off the extraction of fibre and the babaçu coconut, as well as the juçara. We couldn't stand to see all that nature being destroyed, the hired hands wouldn't let us in to collect fibres and fruit. So, we gathered all the women and headed over there, the hired hands thought the men were coming, but it was the women. Them on one side, us on the other. (Gamella elder 2017)

The felling of native forests for the expansion of grasslands destined for cattle and buffalo farming constitute the second aspect of rising conflict. The invasions of areas closer to lakes and rivers are directly related to reports of fires and deforestation affecting plant species of extreme importance for the spiritual and economic practices of the Gamella people. Currently, Maranhão's Energy Company is also the target of

reports on the part of Indians due to the devastation of sacred woods and environmental crimes perpetrated to install energy transmission lines across the territory, without prior consultation of the people, as determined by Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (CIMI 2017).

In light of these offensives, in 2014, the Akroá-Gamella¹³ organised their first assembly in the village of Taquaritiua, during which they declare themselves an indigenous people and proceed to demand from the State recognition of their territorial rights and access to public policies specific to indigenous peoples. For the municipality of Viana and the surrounding region, the Gamella insurgence proved an unpleasant experience, since it questioned dominant structures and brought with it the political power of the indigenous movement. The territory, up to that moment situated within an agrarian system controlled by the local elite, became a target for land retakings and was partly recuperated and integrated into the people's autonomous governance.

The tensions established, therefore, have to do with the question of recognition of the Gamella as an indigenous people and territorial conduct framed by knowledges, cosmologies, historicity and collective ethics that diverged from the territorial ideology of the nation-state, which is geared towards the structural systemic interests of capital accumulation. Consequently, questioning the identity of the Akroá-Gamella takes on strategic characteristics of delegitimisation of the struggle for land. Amid the region's population, racist judgement is disseminated according to which being a Gamella is a euphemism for "land thief". Numerous inhabitants developed a mannerism of negating the local indigenous presence, which, in itself, contradicts the fact that Taquaritiua¹⁴ is often referred to by them as "Indian land" and their own acknowledgement of kinship ties with these Taquaritiua Indians. These abiding interactions, however, do not prevent acts of excessive hostility against the Gamella.

Racialisation of difference and the question of recognition

According to Judith Butler's (2017) perspective, the implications of acts of recognition must be understood as a dynamic and historical field, since it is primarily about discussing how certain notions of people and social groups determine the condition of being recognised. It implies thinking how recognition of the other is determined by a normative ideal and "how such norms operate to produce certain subjects as *recognizable* persons and to make others decidedly more difficult to recognize" (2017:20. emphasis in the original). In our case, what norms determine the indigenous condition?

The good and bad savages of European chroniclers are not outmoded visions. On the contrary, this is an imaginary that is constantly renewed and continually produced by Maranhão's political and agrarian elite to foment a debate that involves notions of "people" and "territory" limited by the nation-state. As argued by theorists affiliated with the coloniality of power, modernity/coloniality is a duo that functions by (re) accommodating itself to local structures in different ways, based on power patterns instituted since the time of colonisation.

The logic of coloniality in force in the Baixada Maranhense has an effective meaning and is translated in the racism and racialisation of sociocultural differences as founding elements of dominance and violence against the Indians, the *quilombolas* and women coconut breakers. Aníbal Quijano theorises on an idea of race as a historical movement in order to establish "a new system of social dominance and a new system of social exploitation" (2005:17). It is the intentional production of a violence that operates both in the material

¹³ According to the minutes, human rights organisations of national reach, such as the Pastoral Commission of the Land (CPT) and the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) took part in this assembly, together with other indigenous peoples, such as the Krenyê, Krepum Kateje and the Tremembé.

¹⁴ Taquaritiua is a historically important village for the Gamella, because it represents a place of the people's resistance since the late nineteenth century.

and subjective realms. Subjectivities are affected, relocated, subsumed to this pattern of power that Santiago Castro-Gomez (2005) calls epistemic violence, since it is about power/knowledge devices that serve as starting points for the construction of negative representations.

From this analytical perspective, we understand that racism is a type of hierarchisation that operates, in this context, to invalidate the notion of indigenous peoples of power – a notion that, in turn, is linked to the constitutional right to lands they have traditionally occupied (article 231 of the 1988 Federal Constitution).

In the case of the Akroá-Gamella, the racism that is perpetrated distorts their historical situation of lengthy contact with Brazilian society and “mixtures”¹⁵ with black people and individuals born in the *Sertão* in order to disqualify their claims of being indigenous. Negative representations borrow from evolutionist thought the stereotype of the naked Indian, phenotypically alike and speakers of a “dialect”. An example of this evolutionary thought finds agreement in institutional state racism, which imposes itself on the daily lives of this people; the system of inequality employed is the recurrent denial of Gamella existence.

In the federal executive branch, one fact that had broad repercussions in the media was a statement from then Minister of Justice, Osmar Serraglio (PMDB-PR), a member of the rural caucus, on the days following the April 30th massacre. Serraglio referred to the Gamella as “alleged Indians”. The negative repercussion of the official statement embarrassed the Ministry of Justice. The solution drummed up by the Minister’s cabinet members, in their statement, was to substitute “alleged Indians” with the generic “agrarian conflict”¹⁶, thus maintaining their lack of acknowledgement of the indigenous character in the scenario of this episode of unquestionable violence.

Within the judicial system, according to the complaint registered in the Report on Violence against Indigenous Peoples (CIMI 2017), the state district judge granted an eviction injunction against the Indians on the grounds that “they were no longer forest people”. Despite the fact that national and international legislation (Convention 169 of the OIT) does not allow the State to determine who is indigenous or not, it is important to note the strategy of the State Judicial Power in handling Gamella matters. In Brazil, indigenous issues are within the jurisdiction of the federal judiciary. Thus, the state judiciary has no bearing on such matters, the repossession of land, unless the fact that the case deals with indigenous people is disregarded.

In the legislative branch, the federal congressman from Maranhão, Aluísio Mendes (PTN/Podemos), together with allied councillors, has been indicted for his direct links to the public manifestation that led the Viana population to attack the Akroá-Gamella¹⁷. The congressman’s participation in a programme on a local radio, Maracu AM¹⁸ only days before the genocidal act, also reinforces the racist stance and incitement of hate that engendered a general state of warfare against the Indians, working from the idea that they were the enemies of progress and of small landowners.

15 The term “mixtures”, used here, situates the theoretical perspective developed by some anthropologists who devote themselves to studies on indigenous peoples of the Northeast region, such as DANTAS et al. 1992 and OLIVEIRA 1999. These authors theorise on the construction of the object “Northeastern Indians” based on an ethnology of the so-called “mixed Indians” (OLIVEIRA 1999:11). Such studies proceed from the problematisation of stigmatised idioms used to refer to peoples from the region, such as “mixed Indians”, as opposed to “pure Indians”. Thus, the use of “mixtures” testifies to the distorted ideological fabrication that lies behind the name and underpins the historical situation of several indigenous peoples in Brazil.

16 The statement has since been taken down from the official website, but public repercussion will not let the event slide. See: <www.brasil247.com/pt/247/brasil/293219/Serraglio-chama-índios-atacados-de-“supostos-indígenas”.htm>; <http://www.cimi.org.br/pub/Porantim/2017/Porantim395_Mai2017.pdf>; <<http://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/politica/república/5-polemicas-que-marcaram-osmar-serraglio-no-ministerio-da-justica-atwimr8hzg3ozlu2z26s4dl19>>.

17 Among news pieces detailing the congressman’s participation, we highlight the following, featured in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (edition 122) <<http://diplomatique.org.br/novo-massacre-indigena-no-maranhao>>. Accessed in September 2017.

18 Leased by one of the farmers who had their lands reposessed by the Gamella on August 2016, whose ownership reintegration case has yet to go on trial. This radio broadcast can be accessed at the following address: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-AkvCfPEgH4>>.

During the “Manifestation for Peace”, on stage, the congressman made reference to “pseudo-Indians” and summoned demonstrators to act with the following speech: “Here, no one’s blood is cheap. No one is going to tolerate this provocation any longer”¹⁹. According to Gamella narratives on the massacre, part of the crowd present at the act went on to ambush the Indians.

Another mechanism of institutional power to consign indigenous people to the zone of non-being operates through the city’s registry offices, which refuse to register children under their indigenous names.²⁰ The use of slander against the Gamella, the accusations of land-theft, is propagated with ample creativity, rife with appended offenses. The effect of these attacks is a wounded, mortified collective morale. At all times, in the presence of outside interlocutors, they explain: “We don’t want anything that isn’t ours. We’re not thieves”. The Gamella are also commonly and pejoratively compared to animals that suggest filth and bestiality. In this regard, I am reminded of an analysis by Fanon: “in fact, the terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms” (2010:59).

A sociological comprehension of this generalised racism implies establishing a historical-conceptual relationship between the experience of colonialism, coloniality and the production of colonial difference in the region studied. Regarding the notion of colonial difference, Quijano (2005) explains that the coding of differences between colonisers and colonised became decisive in determining the historical process and the intentional permanence of such differences as a pronounced domination mechanism.

Why must the indigenous being, the Akroá-Gamella being, undergo the scrutiny of those who seek to dominate? I believe an understanding of this is possible once we reflect on Fanon’s statement that “any ontology is made impossible in a colonized and acculturated society” (2008:103). Fanonian critique draws our attention to the fact that the Being cannot be comprehended if we ignore the metaphysical, historical, social and political existence of the colonised subject and admonishes that, between the body of the colonised subject and the world, an effective dialectics is established.

Empirical experience, aided by the ability to both see and hear ethnographically, makes it possible for me to perceive that the road to the insurgent Gamella movement is constructed from a very strategic place: historical memory. It is the collective memory of violence suffered since the colonising process that has compelled them to want to remain a people. More than a desire to publicly show themselves as Indians, of defending their own culture, they want to resume something that has been violently interrupted, that is, their condition as a people. As Rita Segato (2012:25) questions, “what is a people? A people is a project to be history”.

Breaking with the imposed order of silence and submission to local farmers and resuming a political process of ethnical identification has meant reclaiming collective ownership of the territory and their self-determination, through the constitution of an autonomous social organisation. It has also meant decolonising relations of subjugation of Being and Power by transgressing the condition of a diffuse, subaltern population among the locals in order to declare themselves an autonomous people, even when threatened with political, social and physical violence. The Gamella people disobey and destabilise imposed patterns of power, as analysis shows in one of the texts authored by the Gamella leaders, in which we find an interpretation of State violence perpetrated against the people even before the massacre:

19 Speech excerpted from news stories; emphasis on a news item titled “Eles são mesmo índios?, a pergunta por trás do ataque aos Gamella” [“Are they really Indians? The question behind the attacks on the Gamella”], published on Repórter Brasil on June, 2017. Available at <<http://www.ihu.unisinos.br/78-noticias/569124-eles-sao-mesmo-indios-a-pergunta-por-tras-do-ataque-aos-gamela>>. Accessed in December 2017.

20 The right to a certificate for an indigenous birth at the Civil Registry of Individuals is ensured by the Joint Resolution of the National Council for Justice (CNJ) and the Public Ministry’s National Council (CNMP), no. 3, 2012.

Good afternoon! Today we march, as our ancestors did, over the city of Viana, MA, in defence of the right to Existence and to our Territory. We have been summoned by the chief of the civil police to appear at the police station in order to testify on the cutting of barbed wire fences put up by a farmer-land grabber. The fences were being put up on the path to one of our villages. We then proceeded to the Viana County Hall to discuss the matter of the Registry of Indigenous Births. The notary of the registry office of Viana's 2nd Office has been refusing to fulfil Resolution no. 3/2012 from the National Council for Justice and the Public Ministry's National Council, which addresses the matter. We have a right to a name in our language, to have our ethnicities as last surnames and the inclusion of the parents' village on the Birth Certificate. We would like to seize the opportunity also to protest the closing of our only school for reasons not presented by the Municipal Secretary of Education. On March 31st, the secretary of education is on record stating classes would begin on March 3rd, which did not occur. Our rights are non-negotiable. Education is a right, but it has to be on our terms! Today, we decided to go to the State's Public Ministry to register the accusation. On the hearing held at the civil police station, there were about 150 of us Indians –, against the police chief's wishes, we all occupied the internal premises of the police station. There were contradictions between police officers. One of them said he had no idea this was an indigenous community, which was kindly rebuffed by the other officer. We sang, we sang and left, leaving farmers and police officers behind. However, a Gamella is a Gamella. A fence that was penning the *bacurizeiro* and the *piquizeiro* was taken down, and now, forever free, they show their appreciation by giving us delightful shade to soften the heat of the day. (Gamella Leadership Council 2017)²¹

Collective narratives centred on recent political insurgency often resort to words such as *territory*, *freedom*, *nature*. In the arid context of the Baixada Maranhense, these reveal epistemic contents that gain new dimensions when analysed from the perspective of the Gamella's colonial difference. Despite the inequality in power and attempts at delocalisation and deterritorialisation throughout the twentieth century, collective memory informs the maintenance of numerous practices that are local, embodied and rife with significance for the social existence and daily elaboration of Akroá-Gamella identity. It is in this sense that I place the process geared towards territorial reconquest, causing it to emerge as indigenous and in defence of an insurgent ethical-political project as a strategy for overcoming a condition of historical subjugation.

The radicalisation of this people's struggle has taken the form of "retakings", an organisational practice with a broad capacity for internal mobilisation and external partnerships in the field of human rights fields. Between 2015 and 2017, the Gamella retook five areas, following criteria that determined regions of the territory that were most vulnerable with regard to environmental degradation perpetrated by others. The retakings have yielded political results that have exposed the intimate relations between the coloniality of power, the dehumanisation of Indians and the proliferation of genocidal values, particularly against – to it is worth emphasising – subaltern social groups, such as Indians, *quilombolas* and *babaçu* coconut breakers, whose historical territories are a threat to privatising, homogenising forms of territorial organisation (Little 2002).

As I will demonstrate, actions against the struggle for autonomy in the Baixada Maranhense are translated into a re-actualisation of the "just wars", meaning they are deemed to be morally acceptable for the standards of racist thought, and economically necessary for colonial capitalism, which persists in the innermost regions of this Brazilian state.

²¹ This letter is unpublished, since it was written by the leadership to share with organisations offering support and advice on the course of their resistance strategies. My position as a researcher allowed me access to this document on April 6, 2017.

Scenes of April: a genocidal movement for peace

The “Movement for Peace” is interpreted in this article from the perspective of the Akroá-Gamella people and the characterisation of their contemporary process of territorialisation. Not as a situational genocidal act, but as processual, premeditated and justified in accordance to a salvationist mission with regard to private property in the Baixada Maranhense,

We were in the middle of a retaking and when we saw the demonstrators coming, some of us managed to run while others didn't. I was one of those who couldn't escape because I was caught off guard by a shot in the back and soon after someone came over to slice me up, and I recognised it was one of the gunmen hired by a farmer who has lands on our territory. I looked around and saw a relative also being cut up and he couldn't move due to the cuts on his legs and hands. At that moment, I was taken over by an Encantado [spiritual entity] and lost my eyesight; I could hear everything but I couldn't see, and my Encantados told me I was going to be rescued and I shouldn't worry. They didn't try to finish me off because they thought I was already dead. Early in the evening, three policemen came by and one of them asked me whether I knew why I was going through all that and I just answered that I wanted to be rescued. Then, another man from the village came and told me: if we had found you far from the policemen, we would have set you on fire. But, since I am a believer in Our Father and the Encantados, in the fact that they protect our people everyday, it so happened that I escaped alive. What the white man does to the Gamella people and other relations also isn't fair, because the Encantados live where we live, in the woods, which are being destroyed (Gamella Leadership 2017)²²

The above statement reveals an important aspect for this analysis, the fact that there were gunmen infiltrated among the demonstrators incited against the Gamella retaking, and suggests that they were aware who the principal leaderships were, since these were the Indians most hunted and brutalised. According to the bulletin of the hearing at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR)²³, the State knew that gunmen were present in the area:

Episodes of invasion in Gamella villages by armed men and gunshots fired against the Indians were becoming commonplace and have been widely reported. In December 2015, an attack had already taken place involving gunshots against the Gamella. On August 2016, three armed men, claiming to be police officers, invaded a retaken Gamella region, and, on another occasion, armed men on two motorcycles fired shots at the Indians. The people reported to Brazilian State authorities that the farmers were organising a large indigenous massacre. However, the State failed to properly investigate these prior violent incidents, which contributed to the perpetuation of the tense situation (IACHR 2017:26)

Another piece of information which further delineates this cartography of violence and reveals the multiplicity of agents involved is related to the Military Police:

The major states that nothing could be done because all available officers – four officers plus a police vehicle – were scheduled to cover an event that was taking place in town: precisely the “Manifestation for Peace”. At any rate, the car proceeded to the region retaken by the Gamella. “The police did go there, maybe four of them.

²² Interview conducted on November 10th, 2017, during the occupation of FUNAI in São Luis, the state capital of Maranhão, integrally granted by the Indigenous Missionary Counsel and still unpublished.

²³ Public Hearing: Human Rights Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Brazil, 165th Period of Sessions of October 23rd 2017, Montevideo – Uruguay. IACHR is a leading autonomous organ and of the Organization of American States (OAS). Report available at: <http://www.dpu.def.br/images/stories/pdf_noticias/2017/informe_cidh_indigenas.pdf>. Accessed in November, 2017.

But not to talk to us. They came in, and had a word with the caretaker, whispering”, says Maria das Dores Gabão Gamela. The Indians recount that no sooner had the police left their place at the farm’s entrance than the attackers gathered together.²⁴

In the above news item, it is evident that the Military Police were present at the site of the massacre not long before the arrival of the mob – but did not inform the Indians of the dangers they were up against. For all intents and purposes, the Military Police Chief sought to exempt the corporation, justifying his inability to prevent the violence on the fact his personnel had been reduced to four officers, who were providing public safety at the widely publicised, aforementioned “Movement for Peace”.

It seems paradoxical to me that this “Movement for Peace” would attract the institutional attention of the Military Police in its duty to secure public safety and order, as well as involving other State representatives, only to end up in a massacre. It so happens that the image of a raging mob bearing firearms, stones, sticks and knives, acting against a small group with no power to defend themselves from this type of violence, could compose the scenario for a faceless revolt against yet another “crime” perpetrated by the “land thieves”. Conveniently allied with this narrative are repeated calumnies against the Indians. However, from details of the Akroá-Gamella’s accusations, it is possible to discern that a premeditated inter-institutional articulation was taking place.

The Gamella narratives and news reports²⁵ that circulated widely after the episode account for the fact that the discourse of political leaders at the movement’s rally continually reference to a protest of “good people”, “orderly folk” that “had never seen Indians in Viana and the surrounding region”, and therefore could not accept “invaders on their lands”. Ideological contents are explicit in the fabrication of an alterity that is dangerous and threatening to social order, as explained by João Pacheco de Oliveira,

Violence accompanied by acts of “conversion” (the “*descimentos*”, “rescue brigades”, “just wars”) can only be minimised and forgotten because it follows – narratively – accounts of anthropophagy, prisoners destined for death, attacks, the death of settlers and the description of the martyrdom of missionaries. To be forgotten, genocide must be depicted as a simple, warranted reaction to acts of unspeakable, unexplained evil that legitimates the hypothesis of the evil nature of those autochthonous populations, who thus had to be defeated and subjugated, so they could then be domesticated and transformed. (Oliveira 2016: 19)

April 30th, 2017, was characterised as the height of the climate of war established since the assembly of self-declaration by the Gamella, but it cannot be understood in isolation. The dynamics that were active prior to the genocidal attack constitute descriptive elements of a pattern of power that operates on the same logic of domination of past centuries: hired gunmen, land deed fraud, dehumanisation and denial of indigenous identity as recourses for the interdiction of social territories. These are contemporary forms that subjugate life to the power of death, and death may take on several forms, whether in its material dimension or in an apparently more “indulgent” guise, which result in the destruction of a culture (Mbembe 2016).

I base my argument on the studies of Monica Espinosa (2007) on patterns of violence against the indigenous peoples of Colombia. The author broadens the concept of genocide by linking it to the racialisation of difference and, consequently, an act of elimination directed at the existence of a people and the silencing of its cosmology, its social world:

²⁴ Excerpt from the news story featured in *Le Monde Diplomatique Brasil* (edition 122), on August 7th. Available at: <<http://diplomatie.org.br/novo-massacre-indigena-no-maranhao>>. Accessed in September 2017.

²⁵ The same sources indicated throughout the article.

Genocide involves different physical strategies, such as massacre, mutilation, deprivation of a way of life, territorial invasion and slavery; biological strategies that include the separation of families, sterilisation, displacement and forced marches, exposure to illness, the murder of children and pregnant women; and, lastly, cultural strategies, such as the depredation of historical heritage, the chain of leadership and authority, the denial of legal rights, the prohibition of languages, oppression and demoralisation. The denial of memory is perhaps one of the most extreme forms of symbolic violence. The victims are forced to leave the human order, and are condemned to live in a place of non-memory and non-existence. (Espinosa 2007:274).

Even though there is the criticism of Manichean analyses in the field of anthropology, we cannot discard Fanon's statement (2010:62) in *The Wretched of the Earth* that the colonial context is characterised by a dichotomy between the zone of being and the zone of nonbeing. The insults heaped upon Gamella existence attest to this Manicheism, better put by Fanon (2010: 59) when he said, "at times this Manicheism goes to its logical conclusion and dehumanizes the native, or to speak plainly, it turns him into an animal". This experience prompts us to re-examine the logic of violence in the construction of senses of otherisation that are designed to trigger war and to perceive how the type of manifestation of power that exerts control over life and death is materialised.

The maintenance of colonial difference for the Gamella does not (hinge) depend on random criteria. The context of the production of hate speech against this indigenous people is essentially political, based on a hegemonic interest in protecting private property in the Baixada Maranhense. Thus, arbitrating on the identity of a people necessarily implicates the interests of the arbitrator(s), or as the anthropologist Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1987) said in another context, the idea of legitimation in a class-divided society presupposes that legitimating ideas favour class interests.

Maranhão is a state of historical struggles for the indigenous movement. The retaking of land is one of its main strategies, that is to say, conservative political and economic sectors are not unaware of the material consequences of this people's struggle: retaking and/or conservation of their traditional territories and the ensuing decolonisation of power relations. Since the first half of the twentieth century, the anthropological literature demonstrates how ethnic groups are indeed effective forms of cultural and socio-political organisation for reclaiming and conserving their territorial spaces.

Violence against indigenous peoples in the interior of Maranhão shows the close association between a colonial past and the current hegemonic thought:

The transformation of an autochthonous population, previously free and autonomous, into one that is subaltern, an indissociably violent and arbitrary process, responded to the dominant economic interests, such as the appropriation of land and the acquisition of labour, articulated with the consolidation of the ruling class and a structure of government. It was never done without a genocidal process – euphemistically termed "pacification" – that corresponded to the fabrication of a permanent state of warfare which, in practice, justified the complete denial of any rights to the autochthonous population. (Oliveira 2016:17)

The preservation of a state of war in the context of the Gamella, as it is referred to by Oliveira in the above quotation, gains contemporary features in the absence of protective measures from public authorities, for instance. The State's inertia is intentional and tends to shift its responsibility as co-author in the crimes to that of mere spectator. It so happens that the events of April 30th had worldwide repercussions and the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights proceeded to formally address the State in the following terms:

This case is evidence of the State's utter inoperability when faced with a premeditated attempt at genocide by farmers, politicians and evangelical groups. The organisation of this attack had already been reported by the indigenous people over three years before, without the State adopting measures to protect the Indians to any degree. [...] The people reported to Brazilian State authorities that the farmers were organising a large indigenous massacre. However, the State failed to properly investigate any of these prior violent incidents, which contributed to the perpetuation of the tense situation (IACHR 2017:26)

The current situation remains unstable and insecure: the possibility of new attacks has been reported within the strategies of publicizing the conflict, as confirmed in the bulletins of the Inter-American Court:

There have been recent reports that, in one of the town's settlements, the same farmers and politicians –who should have already been at least indicted for their participation in the April 30th massacre – are again articulating a new genocidal attempt, this time with gunmen hired from local municipalities and armed training of other people in the town to attack the Akroá-Gamella indigenous people (2017:29)

Lastly, it is pertinent to reflect on the interpretation of the world that the Gamella defend in their relationships with the territory, with nature and with that part of the surrounding society that feels so bothered and threatened as to promote acts of extreme violence. When asked why they carry out the retaking of land, in the conception of the Leadership Council (2017):

This is fundamental to free the land and for us to feel free. It is a necessary act, for us to take down the fence. A fence is a violence that destroys relationships not only between people and the forest, the woods, the water, it also destroys relationships among people [...]. We're reforesting, planting... all the retakings free the babaçus. They also serve women who are not active in the retakings, which is a very local thing. We don't let anyone go hungry or be in need. One day everyone, men and women, will understand what we are doing and support us. When there is coconut, and juçara, we have everything. We are not that miserable. We have enough to eat without having to go into town, to the supermarket to buy bad food. We have smallholdings, we raise chickens, there are fruits... we're consuming city junk because we don't have a space of our own. That's changing, though, and it seems to bother a lot of people. We have an orchard here, even if gunmen come after us.

The Struggle in Perspective

The organisational dynamics of these Indians have a long historical trajectory. However, my approach focuses on those that played a prominent role in more recent territorialisation processes, set in motion from August 2014 onwards. The observation of these dynamics enabled the identification of two courses of action, one internal and the other external, that are interrelated.

The course that is internally constructed passes through paths of secrecy and sacredness, and therefore, it is only approachable by virtue of that which we are allowed to know. These are the transmission of knowledge and the history of resistance through orality; the resumption of spirituality in relation to the Encantados; and socio-political reorganisation. Processes that may be perceived as important dimensions of knowledge, being and power. Strategies pertaining to the external course include permanent articulation with human rights organisations, researchers, universities and social movements. In this field, they formally address the State repeatedly to report violations and demand public policies specific to indigenous people, such as health and education.

Oral history updates the collective memory of the territory as being the "land of the Indians" and the narratives of these elders, men and women, have enabled young leaders to become acquainted with the process of the social formation of the territory and the several strategic modalities used by previous

generations, so that the people could remain in their place to this day. The contents present in orality are converted into recourses of legitimacy regarding traditional modes of occupation, which connects periods of occupation to particular forms of social relations *with* and *within* the territory.

The values that govern community life are captured in the narratives and orient conceptions of socio-political organisation, as was explained to me:

“We have no chieftain or medicine man, our political organisation is collective, we have envisioned it as a counsel because this is more representative and responsibilities are allocated more fairly. If there’s only one representative of the people, things get centred on that individual and leadership may turn into privilege. We don’t like privilege, it’s not one of the people’s strengths.” (Gamella Leadership Counsel 2017)

The Leadership Council acts on collective deliberations made during gatherings and community assemblies. The court has been responsible for arranging legal and administrative reports on violations directly affecting the group. While denial of indigenous identity persists in local and official discourse, the Counsel has opted to end the silence and uses written, documented records to make their presence known in the indigenous scene. In doing so, the Gamella have undertaken volumes of claims and reports by means of official letters, reports, statements to the Office of the Public Defender addressed to FUNAI, to the Federal Public Prosecutor and to Federal and State public administrative organs²⁶. After the April 30th incident, they appealed to international human rights organs.

The first documents were sent to the official indigenist state organ, FUNAI, requiring the official recognition and commencement of the land regularisation process. The Leadership Council articulates legal and political advice from two non-governmental organisations with ties to the Catholic Church (CIMI and CPT). Aided by these entities, they are able to make advances in their requests to other state agencies and international organs. During 2015 and 2016, these reports focused on land grabbing and the intensification of environmental devastation. Among the agencies contacted, the Secretary of State for Human Rights and Popular Participation (*Secretaria de Estado dos Direitos Humanos e Participação Popular*, SEDIHPOP) visited the territory on October 6th, 2015, attested to the veracity of facts alleged by the community, recommending that other organs responsible should take immediate action. The following is an excerpt from the descriptive report:

An extensive area has been devastated by bulldozers, in all likelihood, for the purpose of building weirs for the cultivation of fish (fish farming). In the devastated area, the Indians point to the existence of river springs, babaçu and juçara groves and sacred areas, that is, areas that have some kind of spiritual/religious reference for the group. These areas had been destroyed by the actions currently reported. We verified that an excessive amount of juçara palm trees and babaçu coconut palm trees have been torn down, thus harming the extraction of the babaçu coconut and juçara, respectively. (SEDIHPOP 2015:1)

The Gamella live off agriculture, gathering practices, fishing and the cultivation of babaçu coconut, therefore the nefarious consequences of these practices are twofold: one in relation to physical reproduction and the other of symbolic order. They are bound to the rivers and forest areas through their cosmologies; the Encantados are beings that dwell in these places and depend on them to exist and to communicate with the Indians during rituals.

Due to the spiritual importance of these areas, the Gamella no longer wait for the sluggish response of the authorities. The most effective actions are those taken by the communities, who formed human barricades to stop tractors from felling the trees. Women are the principal protagonists in these actions,

26 Compiled in case no. 08620.098509/2015-83, Vol.1, Ministry of Justice/National Indian Foundation, which deals with Gamella land claims.

because the *guarimãs* and the babaçu palm trees are directly linked to the female universe. These actions of direct confrontation have the political support of an important social movement native to the state, the Babaçu Coconut Breakers' Movement (MQCB).

The actions of the Leadership Council are likewise oriented by collective organisation, aimed at access to indigenist policies ensured by the Brazilian Constitution. Among their claims is the creation of the Indigenous School²⁷, with the perspective of formulating a cross-cultural syllabus based on specific knowledges that have been preserved and transmitted through oral history. Since education is fundamental to overcoming epistemic racism and the formation of subjectivities, the Municipal government of Viana not only refused to acknowledge requests for a specific school, at the beginning of the 2017 school year, but also closed the regular school that catered to children in primary school on the grounds of lack of resources. This act by the Secretary of Education is perceived by the Gamella as a strategy to make the collective project for education unfeasible and to maintain the people in a vulnerable situation regarding the hatred proliferating amid the local population. Gamella children are prevented from entering municipal schools when they are painted with *urucum* or *jenipapo*, as recalled by a Gamella mother: "they told my son he couldn't come to school looking dirty, that he should go home and clean himself up". The Inter-American Commission for Human Rights (Cidh) emphasises this point:

If that was not enough, the "hatred in relation to Indians" continues to be propagated in town, even by means of the radio programme referred to previously. At the local school, Gamella children are threatened by other children from the town: "Are you an Indian? My dad says he's gonna kill you all". This structure of insecurity is reinforced by the absence of specific public policies. (2017:29. Emphasis in the original).

Other forms of organisation are developed in articulations with social movements. The Gamella form important relationships with quilombola communities as well as the babaçu coconut breakers. This pluritechnical field mobilises networks of resistance and territorial defence both locally and regionally, with joint agendas decided on in specific forums, much like the movement called *Teia dos Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais do Maranhão* [Web of Traditional Peoples and Communities in Maranhão], formed by communities, social movements, non-governmental organisations and scholars.

The Gamella's involvement in this space has provided the opportunity for a re-actualisation of hope after the violence. A little less than a month after the genocidal attack on April 30th, the Indians took part in the Sixth Meeting of the Web, which took place at the *quilombola* territory of Alto Bonito, from May 25th to 27th in 2017. The meeting's final document is a pact in favour of an agenda of territorial struggle, combat against agribusiness and the pursuit of *Bem Viver* [lit: good living]²⁸:

We, the indigenous peoples Akroá-Gamella, Krenyê, Krikati, Gavião, Krepym Katejê, Pataxó Hã Hã Hãe of Bahia, *quilombola* communities, coconut breakers, *sertanejos*, *geraizeiros*, artisanal fishermen, riparian peoples, peasants and rubber extractors from Acre [...] We denounce the development model that has been disseminated across Brazil, which is exploitative and concentrates wealth, and that must, in order to achieve

27 In Brazil, indigenous peoples were ensured the right to a bilingual and inter-cultural school education in the Constitution of 1988. From a formal standpoint, the indigenous and indigenist movements consider the current legislation to adequately address the greater majority of the peoples' aspirations; however, barriers can occur in the operationalisation of the right. The offer is decentralised for municipalities and states – in the Gamella's case, responsibility for offers falls on the Viana municipality. However, representatives with executive powers are among those involved in territorial disputes against the Indians.

28 Final document: "Não estamos extintos. Estamos de pé, em luta. Esta terra é nossa!" [We are not extinct. We stand, we struggle. This land is ours!] Available at: < <https://www.miqcb.org/single-post/2017/05/31/Carta-final-do-VI-Encontro-C3%A3o-da-TEIA-de-Povos-e-Comunidades-Tradicionalis-do-Maranh%C3%A3o>>. Accessed in December 2017.

29 [...] with the solidarity and militant support of the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), the Missionary Indigenist Counsel (CIMI), the Interstate Coconut Breakers Movement (MIQCB), the Sisters of Notre Dame, the Popular Peasant Movement (MCP), The Peoples' Network of Bahia, the Brejo Dioceses, The Centre for Studies, Research and Projects on Agrarian Reform (NERA), CSP-Conlutas, the Nódua Collective, the Açailândia Defence Centre, The Group for Development, Modernity and Environmental Studies (GEDMMA), The Centre for Geographical Studies (NEGO-UFMA), The Federal Institute for Education, Science and Technology (Pinheiro Campus), the Agroecology Network of Maranhão (RAMA).

maximum natural exploitation, deny our existence, culture and ways of life, by violently taking part in the extermination of peoples and communities, like that which happened to the rural workers in Colniza, Mato Grosso, with the Akroá-Gamella people in Maranhão, and the rural workers of Pau D'arco in Pará. We reaffirm our struggle in standing up against agri-hydro-mining-business [...]. We reaffirm the principles of *Bem Viver*, which implies the retaking of our territories, of our autonomy. [...] Our strength is derived from the Encantados, it comes from our forefathers. [...] It is a strength that will never be silenced, that remains forever alive when we meet and feel one another. This land has owners! (Sepé Tiaraju).

Within the space of the Web, they build a political agenda of autonomy mirrored “*casa adentro*” [lit: inside the home; within], that is to say, based on knowledges native to the communities. This harkens back to a reflection of Fanon’s (2010), when he states that the colonised individual, as they arrive at an understanding of themselves and begin to conceive the world in a distinct fashion, gives birth to hope, which imposes a setback on the colonial/racist universe.

Final Considerations

The Akroá-Gamella rebel against a historical experience of social hierarchisation, violence and oppression, to such an extent that we understand the “Movement for Peace” as a euphemism fabricated to mask an issue of genocide.

Since May 30th, 2017, this people carry out a daily struggle for life (in all its representations) and transgress threats of death (in all its manifestations), because the violent acts analysed throughout this article are not conjectural; on the contrary, they are empirically observable in the practices and racist discourse that operates in this reality.

In view of this, the political insurgency of the Akroá-Gamella people develops as a project to confront their historical antagonists directed towards the retaking of their territory and the reversal of environmental damage caused in the last few decades. It has to do with the collective reflection on the intents, purposes and desires formulated in terms of community actions aimed at decolonising power relations.

Because it is a project, it demands the construction of strategic partnerships, the capacity for mobilisation among the people themselves, and the permanent exercise of addressing both the State and its agencies so they will return their territory and ensure collective safety, under the clear understanding that the State itself is one of the main violators of their rights.

Their organisational forms reinforce the power located in the community. It transgresses the principals of individualism, accumulation and private property. This point of view has been a way of living in disobedience to the principle of death that has pursued them throughout history and that still threatens them. Their traits point to the idea of a historical pluralism, that is, “it harkens back to the possibility that projects of continuity and reproduction of peoples may be oriented discordantly with the goals of capitalist, Eurocentric-racist modernity” (Segato 2012:15).

A plural history is a history that reflects the angle of those who are subjugated and who, despite the mechanisms of domination, in this context, exist as a people that asserts itself as a radical critique.

Received: September 30, 2017

Approved: January 06, 2018

Translated by: Philip Badiz

References

- ANDRADE, Maristela de Paula. 2008. *Terra de Índio: identidade étnica e conflito em terras de uso comum*. São Luís: Edufma.
- APOLINÁRIO, Juciene Ricarte. 2005. *Os Akroá e outros povos indígenas nas Fronteiras do Sertão-As práticas das políticas indígena e indigenistas no norte da capitania de Goiás-Século XVIII*. Tese de Doutorado, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História – UFPE.
- ARAÚJO, Helciane. 2010. *Estado/Movimentos Sociais no campo: a trama da construção conjunta de uma política pública no Maranhão*. Tese de Doutorado, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia – UFC.
- ASSELIN, V. 2009. *Grilagem: corrupção e violência em terras do Carajás*. Imperatriz, MA: Ética.
- BUTLER, Judith. 2017. *Quadros de Guerra: quando a vida é passível de luto?* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- CARNEIRO DA CUNHA, Manuela. 1987. *Antropologia do Brasil. Mito, História, Etnicidade*. São Paulo: Brasiliense.
- CASTRO-GÓMEZ, Santiago. 2005. “Ciências sociais, violência epistêmica e o problema da invenção do outro”. In: LANDER, Edgardo (Org.). *A colonialidade do saber: eurocentrismo e ciências sociais. Perspectivas latino-americanas*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO (Colección Sur Sur). pp 80-88.
- COMISSÃO PASTORAL DA TERRA [CPT]. 2016. *Conflitos no Campo Brasil*. Goiania: Comissão Pastoral da Terra. Disponível em: < <https://www.cptnacional.org.br> >. Acesso em: nov.2017.
- COMISSÃO INTERAMERICANA DE DIREITOS HUMANOS. 2017. *A Situação de Direitos Humanos dos Povos Indígenas no Brasil- Informe dos Solicitantes*. Audiência Pública, 23 de outubro de 2017. Montevideu: CIDH. Disponível em: < http://www.dpu.def.br/images/stories/pdf_noticias/2017/informe_cidh_indigenas.pdf >. Acesso em: nov.2017.
- CONSELHO INDIGENISTA MISSIONÁRIO [CIMI]. 2017. *Relatório de Violências contra os Povos Indígenas*. Brasília: Conselho Indígenista Missionário. Disponível em: < <https://www.cimi.org.br/> >. Acesso em: ago.2017.
- COSTA, Wagner Cabral da. 2006. “Do ‘Maranhão Novo’ ao ‘Novo Tempo’: trajetória da oligarquia Sarney no Maranhão”. *Observadordeste: FUNDAJ*. Disponível em <<http://www.fundaj.gov.br/geral/observadordeste/cabral2.pdf>>. Acesso em: set. 2017.
- DANTAS, Beatriz Gois; SAMPAIO, José Augusto Laranjeiras; CARVALHO, Maria do Rosário de. 1992. “Os povos indígenas do nordeste brasileiro, um esboço histórico”. In: CARNEIRO DA CUNHA (Org.). *História dos Índios no Brasil*. São Paulo: FAESP/SMC/Companhia das Letras. pp 431-456.
- ESPINOSA, Monica. 2007. “Ese indiscreto asunto de la violencia. Modernidad, colonialidad y genocidio en Colombia”. In: CASTRO-GÓMEZ, Santiago; GROSFUGUEL, Ramon (Org.). *El giro decolonial: reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores; Universidad Central, Instituto de Estudios Sociales Contemporáneos e Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Instituto Pensar. pp 267-288.
- FANON, Frantz. 2008. *Pele Negra, Máscaras Brancas*. Salvador: Edufba.
- FANON, Frantz. 2010. *Os Condenados da Terra*. Juiz de Fora: UFJF.
- LITTLE, Paul. 2002. “Territórios Sociais e Povos Tradicionais no Brasil: por uma antropologia da territorialidade”. *Série Antropologia*, n. 322, Brasília: UNB.
- MARTINS, Marlúcia Bonifácio; OLIVEIRA, Tadeu Gomes de (Orgs.). 2011. *Amazônia Maranhense: Diversidade e Conservação*. Belém: MPEG.
- MBEMBE, Achille. 2016. “Necropolítica”. *Arte & Ensaios*, n. 32. Disponível em: <<https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/ae/article/view/8993/7169>>. Acesso em: dez. 2017.

- OLIVEIRA, João Pacheco de. 1999. “Uma etnologia dos “índios misturados”? Situação colonial, territorialização e fluxos culturais”. In: OLIVEIRA, João Pacheco de. (Org.). *A viagem da volta: etnicidade, política e reelaboração cultural no Nordeste Indígena*. Rio de Janeiro: Contracapa. pp 11-40.
- OLIVEIRA, João Pacheco de. 2016. *O nascimento do Brasil e outros ensaios: “pacificação”, regime tutelar e formação de alteridades*. Rio de Janeiro: Contra Capa.
- QUIJANO, Anibal. 2005. “Colonialidade do poder, eurocentrismo e América Latina”. In: LANDER, Edgardo (Org.). *A colonialidade do saber: eurocentrismo e ciências sociais. Perspectivas latino-americanas*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO (Colección Sur Sur). pp 107-130.
- SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS E PARTICIPAÇÃO POPULAR. 2015. *Relatório Descritivo de Visita: denúncia de crime ambiental no Território Indígena Gamela no município de Viana-MA*. São Luís: SEDIHPOP.
- SEGATO, Rita. 2012. “Gênero e colonialidade: em busca de chaves de leitura e de um vocabulário estratégico descolonial”. *E-cadernos ces* [Online], 18(2012):106-131.

Caroline Leal

Faculty of Anthropology of the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony, Ceará, Brazil.

<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6303-7984>

E-mail: carolineleal@unilab.edu.br

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Metamorfosis trágica en la Amazonia colombiana: El cuerpo en los juegos de la guerra y la paz

*Marco Tobón*¹

¹ Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas,
Programa de Pós-graduação em Antropologia Social, Campinas/SP, Brasil

Resumen

En noviembre de 2016, después de más de 53 años de enfrentamiento armado, la guerrilla de las FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) y el Estado colombiano pactaron el fin de una de las guerras más dolorosas de América Latina. Entre los cuerpos que combatieron en la guerra se encontraban cuerpos indígenas, y entre estos, indígenas de la Amazonia colombiana, algunos pertenecientes a los pueblos murui-muina, nonuya, muinane y andoke. Desde la perspectiva de estos pueblos, hacer la guerra supone admitir la transformación del cuerpo, tornarse otro, dejar de ser, perderse o metamorfosearse. Siguiendo esta perspectiva, este artículo busca responder, invocando los métodos etnográficos, dos interrogantes: el primero, ¿cuál es el tratamiento social dado a algunos jóvenes indígenas que, por diferentes razones, ingresaron a los grupos armados, guerrilla o ejército? Y el segundo: luego del acuerdo de paz, ¿cómo son recibidos los jóvenes indígenas guerreros que vuelven al territorio sin armas?

Palabras clave: Pueblos indígenas amazónicos; metamorfosis trágica; guerra; paz; curación.

Metamorphose trágica na Amazônia colombiana: O corpo nos jogos da guerra e da paz

Resumo

Em novembro de 2016, depois de mais de 53 anos de confronto armado, a guerrilha das FARC e o Estado colombiano pactuaram o fim de uma das guerras mais dolorosas da América Latina. Entre os corpos que combateram na guerra se encontravam corpos indígenas, entre eles, indígenas da Amazônia colombiana, alguns pertencentes aos povos murui-muina, nonuya, muinane e andoke. Desde a perspectiva destes povos, fazer a guerra implica admitir a transformação do corpo, tornar-se outro, deixar de ser, perder-se ou metamorfosear-se. Seres submetidos às tiranias da predação. Retomando esta perspectiva, este artigo responderá, invocando os métodos etnográficos, duas perguntas: qual é o tratamento social dado a alguns jovens indígenas que, por alguma razão, ingressaram em algum grupo armado, guerrilha ou exército? E, depois do acordo de paz, como são recebidos de volta aos territórios indígenas os jovens guerreiros que se desarmaram?

Palavras-chave: Povos indígenas amazônicos; metamorphose trágica; guerra; paz; cura.

Tragic Metamorphosis in the Colombian Amazon: The Body in the Games of War and Peace

Abstract

In november 2016, after more than 53 years of armed confrontation, the FARC guerrillas and the Colombian State agreed on the end of one of the most painful wars in Latin America. Among the bodies that fought in the war were indigenous bodies, among them, indigenous people from the colombian Amazon, such as some belonging to the murui-muina, nonuya, muinane and andoke. From the perspective of them, making war supposes to admit the transformation of the body, to become another, to stop being, to lose or to metamorphose. They are submitted to the tyranny of predation. Taking this perspective, this article will answer, by invoking ethnographic methods, two questions: what is the social treatment given to some young indians who, by some reason, joined an armed group, guerrilla or army? And, after the peace agreement, how these young indigenous are going to be receive at their territory when they return unarmed?

Keywords: Amazonian indigenous peoples; tragic metamorphosis; war; peace; healing.

Metamorfosis trágica en la Amazonia colombiana: El cuerpo en los juegos de la guerra y la paz

Marco Tobón

Introducción

Compadre, la guerra es un vértigo, una locura, una insensatez, y los hombres más benévolos se vuelven bestias feroces.
Carta de Luis Lleras a Rufino J. Cuervo, 11 de julio de 1884, seis días antes de la batalla de La Humareda.

Para los pueblos murui-muina, andoque, muinane y nonuya, habitantes del medio río Caquetá, en la Amazonia colombiana, los grupos armados son vistos como “gente de monte”, jatiki imaki, “animales de monte”, que visten camuflado, tienen un olor y unos rasgos físicos y morales específicos. Esta idea es coherente con la concepción, presente en muchos pueblos amazónicos, de que los cuerpos constituyen instrumentos diferenciadores, lo que supone a su vez la posibilidad de su transformación, de tornarse otro, dejar de ser, perderse o metamorfosearse. En últimas, animalizarse incorporando los atributos, o las “ropas”, en palabras de Viveiros de Castro (1996), que caracterizan las otras exterioridades animales. El cuerpo se torna así lugar de enunciación desde el cual se nombra y se interpreta el mundo, campo en el que se construyen los significados del “yo” y el “nosotros”. En esta perspectiva es válido preguntarse por el tratamiento social dado a algunos jóvenes indígenas que, por diferentes razones, ingresaron a algún grupo armado, guerrilla o ejército, metamorfoseándose en animales, vistiendo camuflado, asumiendo otros comportamientos, consumiendo otras sustancias, otros trabajos, otras reglas colectivas y simbólicas. Y, luego del acuerdo de paz entre la guerrilla y el Estado, ¿cómo son recibidos los jóvenes indígenas guerreros que vuelven al territorio indígena, que se desarmen? La respuesta a estos interrogantes adquieren especial interés ahora que el Acuerdo de Paz transita una tortuosa y difícil implementación,¹ no sólo por la hostilidad creciente de un sector político, que se opone al contenido político de lo pactado, sino por las alteraciones, los ataques y dilaciones que el acuerdo de paz sufrió en el Congreso de la República.

Para otorgarle respuesta a los interrogantes formulados mostraré, inicialmente, cómo el cuerpo, en tanto territorio de la subjetividad y la emocionalidad, mediador de la construcción de relaciones sociales, es campo de disputa en la guerra y, a su vez, disputado por la red de afectos y desafíos colectivos indígenas.

¹ El Acuerdo de Paz entre el gobierno de Juan Manuel Santos y las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – FARC–, fue firmado inicialmente el 23 de septiembre de 2016. Por insistencia del gobierno y sus delegados en la mesa de conversaciones de paz en La Habana, Cuba, el Acuerdo de Paz fue sometido a un plebiscito, que tuvo como resultado, por una mínima diferencia, la victoria del NO al Acuerdo. Luego de reuniones con algunos representantes de la campaña por el NO y algunas modificaciones al contenido de lo pactado, el presidente Juan Manuel Santos y el comandante de las FARC, Rodrigo Londoño, firman el nuevo acuerdo el 24 de noviembre de 2016, enviado ese mismo día al Congreso para ser ratificado. Luego de casi dos años de ratificado el Acuerdo de Paz, éste ha sido sometido a una serie de cambios ajenos a lo pactado, obstrucciones a las reformas consagradas e incumplimientos, que han hecho sentirse, a las bases guerrilleras y algunos comandantes insurgentes, totalmente engañados. El 17 de junio de 2018 se realizó la segunda vuelta para las elecciones presidenciales, disputadas entre Iván Duque –representante de la extrema derecha impulsada por el ex-presidente y senador Álvaro Uribe Vélez, abiertos enemigos de los acuerdos de paz– y Gustavo Petro, representante del movimiento Colombia Humana, quien recibió el apoyo masivo de movimientos sociales, iniciativas populares y otras agrupaciones políticas. El resultado arrojó la victoria de Iván Duque, lo que anuncia nuevos desafíos para los desenlaces de la implementación de la paz en Colombia.

La guerra necesita cuerpos (sujetos) para ponerse en marcha, así como la vida social indígena necesita de cuerpos que la reproduzcan y la defiendan. En consecuencia, el cuerpo, en tanto condición necesaria para la manifestación histórica de cualquier movilización colectiva, se torna en sí mismo un escenario de conflicto. Luego expondré la existencia de formas de reintegración cultural con los jóvenes indígenas que fueron a la guerra, las cuales, a mi modo de ver, forman parte de un proceso autónomo de humanización. Esto supone admitir que la reincorporación de la guerra es entendida como un proceso de liberación de los atributos animales, una suerte de des-animalización mediante procedimientos culturales. Esta discusión, finalmente, me conduce a pensar en los modos cómo se construye la idea de paz en lo local, en los territorios indígenas, de cara al agitado contexto político nacional de post-acuerdo.

El cuerpo en los dramas de la Historia

Las dificultades logísticas y de seguridad para ir hasta los jóvenes que estuvieron militando en algún grupo armado,² especialmente quienes vivieron bajo condiciones de clandestinidad en las FARC, me condujeron a dialogar exclusivamente con quienes experimentaron en el pasado algún vínculo de militancia con alguno de los bandos de la guerra. Además, el trabajo de campo etnográfico, dividido en dos fases, se realizó inicialmente entre julio y diciembre de 2013 en la región del medio río Caquetá (momento en el que no se había decretado un cese al fuego entre los protagonistas de la guerra); y la segunda fase, entre enero y marzo de 2016 (cuando la firma del acuerdo de paz era irreversible), no sólo en los territorios indígenas, también en la ciudad de Leticia-Amazonas. La gestación de este artículo, por lo tanto, caminó simultáneamente con las experiencias del proceso de paz (2012-2017). Puedo afirmar, en consecuencia, que la idea de este manuscrito nació en tiempos de guerra y concluye en los tiempos de la implementación tortuosa del Acuerdo de Paz.

Por lo tanto, la dificultad de no lograr hablar con algunos de los combatientes indígenas que dejan la guerra, no quiere decir que no compartiéramos ideas y reflexiones con los familiares, parientes y amigos de aquellos ex-militantes que se encuentran en las llamadas zonas transitorias de normalización, territorios de concentración y desarme de las tropas guerrilleras. Esta dificultad reveló que ingresar a uno de los bandos en confrontación es una experiencia multidimensional. Es decir, la guerra, como lo expone Theidon (2004), entre indígenas quechua-hablantes peruanos que vivieron los crueles enfrentamientos entre la guerrilla de Sendero Luminoso y las fuerzas militares estatales, es una experiencia que envuelve la vida de un sujeto consigo mismo, la de su familia, la vida de la comunidad, las relaciones con los seres creadores o espirituales; la vida regional y entre la sociedad y el Estado (2004:254). Meterse a hacer la guerra, por decirlo de algún modo, nos habla de la relación entre las vivencias de los sujetos y su sociedad, o bien, entre los dramas históricos con los que se deparan los sujetos y, por implicación, la sociedad a la que pertenecen. Por lo tanto, el enfoque que he decidido privilegiar es el que se pregunta por los tratamientos culturales, los interrogantes compartidos sobre el hecho de ver a los hijos, sobrinos, nietos, amigos, participar directamente en los desenlaces de la guerra en los propios territorios amazónicos. En consecuencia he optado por dialogar con el enfoque adoptado por Castellanos (2011:26) en su análisis de las formas de movilización armada. Esto es, pensar el espacio de las relaciones sociales, simbólicas e histórico-culturales en el que se hallan inmersas las experiencias individuales -y a las que me he aproximado etnográficamente-, de tal modo que pueda hacerse comprensible la mirada estructural-macro de la guerra con la narración y la experiencia subjetiva.

² En este trabajo, se entiende a los “jóvenes”, de acuerdo a algunas nociones locales indígenas, como aquellas personas que, más allá de una clasificación etaria, aún no han construido su propia casa junto a un cónyuge, que aún no han realizado su propia chagra, que no disponen de su propio mameadero o que no siembran su propia coca ni su propio tabaco.

El reclutamiento indígena en la guerra sostenida entre las FARC y el Ejército es una realidad inocultable. Del total de guerrilleros de las FARC (10.015), el 18% se reconoce como indígena (CARACTERIZACIÓN COMUNIDAD FARC-EP, 2017). En la región del medio río Caquetá, específicamente, según advierte el Plan de Salvaguarda del Pueblo Uitoto, capítulo Araracuara,³ uno de los hechos que más impacta y debilita la vida cultural indígena es el ingreso de jóvenes a los grupos armados, legales o ilegales. Dicho documento señala que, de un total aproximado de más de 1.700 personas, entre los años 1980-2012 se registraron 30 ingresos de jóvenes a las FARC y 19 a las Fuerzas Armadas oficiales (Plan de Salvaguarda Pueblo Uitoto, 2012:48).

Hablar sobre estos jóvenes indígenas que participaron en la guerra requiere admitir, inicialmente, una condición inexorable: la corporalidad de la memoria en la guerra. Esto supone admitir que la guerra, en tanto experiencia social, se inscribe en el cuerpo, es decir, en las relaciones sociales. La guerra requiere, consume y produce cuerpos, que son inevitablemente afectados, moldeados, preparados para ser expuestos ante dramas mediados por hechos violentos que, finalmente, son determinantes en las experiencias que orientan el ser y el sentir en el mundo. Pero la guerra no sólo se inscribe en los cuerpos de quienes la ponen en marcha; por nuestra condición de criaturas sociales, la guerra también afecta los cuerpos de aquellos con los que sostenemos redes de afectos y vínculos culturales. De ahí que los cuerpos que hacen la guerra, volcados a vivir junto a la amenaza permanente de muerte o, de hecho, muertos en combate, o aquellos desaparecidos y sepultados anónimamente, constituyan dolores y lutos vivos en los otros (familiares, amigos, colegas) que aún los sienten y los recuerden. Aquí queda al descubierto una disputa por los cuerpos entre dos proyectos histórico-políticos diferentes: el proyecto bélico de quienes necesitaron de cuerpos para hacer la guerra, y el proyecto indígena, que requiere de cuerpos que participen de movilizaciones colectivas, libres de los juegos luctuosos armados, como por ejemplo, el hecho de reproducir la vida cultural en los territorios.

El cuerpo -los cuerpos- por lo tanto, condición necesaria de todo ejército, se torna en las guerras un campo en el que no sólo se inscriben diferentes referentes sociales, afectivos, culturales; también un campo en el que son producidos nuevos vínculos colectivos, en el que se despliegan capacidades, se crean nuevas concepciones sobre su historia vital, sobre su lugar en el mundo. Los ejércitos en confrontación, vale afirmarlo, están formados por cuerpos guerreros multidimensionales, por sujetos atravesados por experiencias diferentes, entre ellas, las experiencias de la guerra, capaces de repercutir en las emociones, en la memoria, en los otros cuerpos que participan de su multidimensional red cultural de afectos.

El conflicto armado colombiano, extendido desde el año 2000 hacia el medio río Caquetá, ha expuesto a una generación de jóvenes indígenas amazónicos al riesgo de involucrarse en nuevos dramas históricos. La dinámica de la confrontación armada entre guerrilla y ejército en la región amazónica creó las posibilidades objetivas para la participación de los cuerpos indígenas en la guerra. No obstante, para ello también es necesario la existencia de disposiciones guerreras en dichos cuerpos, de posibilidades de realización de una libido agonística, es decir, de disposiciones subjetivas para la guerra (Castellanos, 2011:25).

Es un arduo desafío entender cómo se forman o consolidan estas disposiciones subjetivas para la guerra. Aun reconociendo las dificultades de esclarecer estas circunstancias, me aventuraré a una explicación tentativa. Es innegable el hecho de que los jóvenes indígenas fueron invitados o seducidos por los grupos armados para enlistarse en la vida guerrera, esto pese a que las mismas organizaciones indígenas, en cabeza de la organización indígena CRIMA⁴, solicitaron oficialmente a las FARC y al ejército no realizar

³ Los Planes de Salvaguarda son documentos de política pública elaborados por las organizaciones indígenas que han sufrido la violación de sus derechos, producto de las acciones derivadas del conflicto armado. Estos Planes de Salvaguarda son respuesta a la orden dada por la Corte Constitucional de Colombia, mediante el auto 004 de 2010, al gobierno nacional con el propósito de formular planes de garantía y defensa de derechos en más de 34 pueblos indígenas víctimas de desplazamiento armado y riesgo a su existencia, física y cultural.

⁴ CRIMA: Consejo Regional del Medio Amazonas.

reclutamientos en sus territorios⁵. Sin embargo, estas solicitudes explícitas no tuvieron el poder disuasivo esperado, ante la existencia fáctica de un “mercado de la violencia” y de la guerra, que valoriza y reclama el capital agonístico (la valentía, la capacidad de acción, la agilidad física, la intrepidez) de la “mano de obra juvenil (Kalulambi, 2003; Dowdney 2002 apud Castellanos, 2011:31).

La participación política armada -más allá de las diferencias ideológicas- y la construcción de enemigos a los cuales enfrentar exhiben marcos morales comunes a la masculinidad, la heroicidad, el servicio, la osadía, la autonomía; estas cualidades son altamente valoradas en el ejercicio de la guerra. La incorporación del territorio indígena en la geografía del conflicto ha creado nuevos factores de valoración de los sujetos, de sus cualidades y de los lugares donde éstas pueden ser capitalizadas. De esta forma, las capacidades de los sujetos son reclamadas en un “mercado laboral” u ocupacional competitivo, en este caso, en un contexto de conflicto armado y disputas políticas localizadas, en una geografía de la guerra con efectos sobre diferentes escalas: la guerra en la vida local, la guerra en el escenario regional y sus consecuencias en el plano nacional. Estos espacios geográficos de la guerra arrastran consigo dinámicas y disputas por capitales específicos (económicos, militares, políticos, ideológicos y humanos: cuerpos). Estos hechos exponen la existencia de un “mercado de la guerra y la violencia”, que fue particularmente activo en la Colombia de finales del siglo XX e inicios del siglo XXI. Esta realidad permite inferir que vivir al alcance de dicho mercado de la guerra propicia las condiciones objetivas disponibles para la movilización, en la cual la militancia armada aparece como una opción vital a seguir.

Las preguntas que saltan a la vista son: Si admitimos que los jóvenes indígenas no tienen vocación militar, ¿cómo se legitima esta movilización hacia la vida en la guerra? ¿Cuándo se elige ir a un grupo armado, por qué se hace? ¿En qué espacio de relaciones históricas? y ¿qué valores entran en juego?

Las respuestas a estas preguntas, a mi modo de ver, hunden sus raíces en las relaciones de dominación que ha construido una historia de colonialidad (Mignolo, 2015) con los pueblos amazónicos. Es decir, desde finales del siglo XIX, con el régimen de explotación del caucho en sus territorios, no sólo se implantaron agresivas formas de control económico y político. También se instauró un régimen de representación, mediado por conceptos racistas que consideraban a los indígenas en un estado de inferioridad y cuyo camino de redención ofrecido sería el tránsito hacia el proyecto civilizatorio cristiano. Esto nos habla de la existencia de fuerzas dirigidas a moldear subjetividades funcionales a la relación colonial, cuerpos disponibles para ser usados políticamente y hacer efectivo el ejercicio del poder colonial. La dominación colonial de estos cuerpos se caracteriza, entre otras cosas, por su uso político como mercancías. Y cuando los cuerpos son tratados como mercancías, es decir, utilizados por su valor para cumplir determinadas funciones y luego desechados, se pone al descubierto un proceso de deshumanización. Cuerpos descartables, conquistables, concepción que percibe como justificable el uso de la violencia sobre tales cuerpos. Esta realidad nos expone la existencia de lo que Achille Mbembe (2011) llama la “necropolítica”, la manifestación de fuerzas sociales dirigidas a transformar a los seres humanos en mercancías intercambiables o desechables, según las necesidades de los mercados.

Pero no sólo los caucheros fueron sádicos, irracionales e inescrupulosos; más tarde también lo fueron los religiosos evangelizadores, que se arrogaron el derecho de controlar almas ajenas y reproducir formas de dominación simbólica, que intervinieron en la formación histórica de tales sujetos

5 Durante las audiencias públicas de los diálogos de paz entre las FARC y el gobierno de Andrés Pastrana (1998-2002) en la región de Los Pozos - Caquetá, algunos representantes del CRIMA presentaron sus consideraciones ante Joaquín Gómez, comandante del Bloque Sur de las FARC, en la audiencia pública sobre “reforma agraria” del 22 de septiembre de 2001. En ese encuentro, las autoridades indígenas reiteraron la importancia de sostener su manejo autónomo sobre los siguientes campos: *Manejo del territorio, Vida Social, Economía y modalidades productivas, Gobierno propio, Recursos Naturales, Reclutamiento Forzado, Solución de Conflictos*. En la ocasión se acordó un no al reclutamiento, siendo reiterado directamente en el territorio ante la presencia del comandante insurgente Perdomo, quien, en respuesta a la petición de las autoridades indígenas, afirmó: “Les pido a los jóvenes que no se vayan a meter a la guerrilla, esa es una vida muy dura. Mejor se quedan aquí con su gente, trabajando” (Diálogo con un hombre murui-muina que reconstruyó las palabras del comandante Perdomo. Araracuara. 2007).

(Bonilla 2006 [1986]). La relación colonial siempre trató -y trata- a los indígenas como músculos disponibles, mano de obra, utilizando en su propio beneficio sus conocimientos sobre los ecosistemas y territorios amazónicos habitados. Así lo hicieron los patrones explotadores de pieles, los explotadores de madera, los narcotraficantes, los mineros y, también, los protagonistas de la guerra.

Todos estos procesos de dominación llevan aparejada una retórica de redención; crean auto-justificaciones dirigidas a hacer creer que este es “el curso natural de las cosas”, lo que se debe hacer: salvación religiosa, civilización, desarrollo, avance económico, ciudadanos en la democracia de mercado. Estas formas de colonización subjetiva, llamadas por Mignolo (2015) colonialidad del saber, condiciona los proyectos políticos, las formas de imaginar el futuro, los deseos colectivos, las identidades, además de reproducir formas patriarcales de infravalorar el trabajo de la mujer y sus conocimientos, acorralando otras posibles alternativas autónomas de construcción cultural. Es dentro de esta colonialidad que se moviliza a los sujetos por diferentes caminos considerados válidos, aceptables, deseables y no necesariamente excluyentes. De ahí los diferentes grados de legitimidad en tornarse enfermero, profesor, minero, raspachín de coca, guerrillero, disputando al mismo tiempo las posibilidades objetivas y las disposiciones subjetivas de ser curandero, cantor, líder comunitario, maloquero, chagrera, partera u otras alternativas históricas locales en las que se puedan encauzar las vidas.

Cabe anotar que, en la historia de los pueblos amazónicos, estas fuerzas de dominación han creado una desigual situación de dependencia del mercado y, al mismo tiempo, un relato político que insiste en que, para “ser alguien”, para constituirse ontológicamente, se requiere vincularse al mercado laboral. Pero, ¿qué mercado laboral en la selva amazónica? El que ofrecen los auges extractivos, algunos trabajos con fundaciones ambientales, el turismo, algunas oportunidades de estudio. Y la guerra. De esta manera, el mercado no sólo constriñe a los indígenas a adquirir mercancías que se tornan indispensables; la colonialidad también ha perfilado una ruta epistémica y ética, en que la construcción del ser se vincula al tener, al mejoramiento de la vida social y al ascenso vislumbrado en el consumo, el prestigio y el acceso a algún tipo de estatus de autoridad. Lo que quiero decir es que los procesos en los que se manifiesta la colonialidad han creado *habitus*: conjuntos de relaciones y disposiciones históricas, depositadas en los cuerpos bajo la forma de esquemas mentales de percepción, apreciación y acción (Bourdieu, 1991).

Este *habitus* ha permitido que los caminos ofrecidos por el mercado, las actividades extractivas y la guerra se conciben como caminos deseables, como opciones vitales legítimas. En otras palabras, las disposiciones subjetivas para entrar a la guerra han sido legitimadas por una larga historia de intervención política, económica, simbólica (racismo, patriarcado, clasismo, machismo), en la que tal opción se ofrece como la posibilidad de modificar las limitaciones sociales existentes, o bien, presentarse como una alternativa de realización individual. En esta perspectiva, la guerra y su mercado de cuerpos guerreros actúa, por lo tanto, como una expectativa abierta, disponible, como una oportunidad objetiva en la que guerrear aparece como la manera de ejercer capacidades y méritos que por otras vías, seguramente, serían negados o discriminados. El camino trágico de la guerra se torna así opción histórica para sujetos indígenas “escasamente dotados para el mercado laboral, pero suficientemente proveídos de capital agonístico y guerrero” (Castellanos, 2011:231)

Esta concepción de la colonialidad nos habla de conflictos, de relaciones de fuerza y poder; lo que no quiere decir que los procesos de inculcación y formación cultural indígena se encuentren aplastados o liquidados por los procesos de dominación. Estoy apenas afirmando que la formación cultural autónoma es puesta en entredicho, amenazada, disputada por otros campos de fuerza e intervención social. La existencia de mercados de fuerza de trabajo indígena local (minería, pesca intensiva, guerra, etc.) habilita la posibilidad histórica de que los jóvenes indígenas apuesten sus inversiones y proyecciones vitales en tales mercados, entre ellos, el que ofrecieron las rutas fatales del conflicto.

Desde otra mirada, alguien podría replicar diciendo que el ingreso de jóvenes indígenas a las FARC fue la elección por un camino de resistencia y lucha revolucionaria. Este enfoque oculta, primero, comprender que la vinculación armada es una forma de integración social que reacciona contra, que resiste y, a la vez, que afirma la dominación social, justamente porque aquellos jóvenes luchan en función -y a partir- de posiciones marginales, vulnerables, en el espacio social (Castellanos, 2011:216-217). En segundo lugar, se pierde de vista, como muchos líderes insisten, que la lucha por los derechos indígenas amazónicos no se formula en el escenario de la guerra, de la revuelta, la insurrección o la confrontación directa. Existe una memoria dolorosa de hechos violentos pasados con la resistencia cauchera, que han llevado a clausurar las vías armadas como alternativa de acción política. Se demuestra así, por lo tanto, que en los pueblos murui-muina, nonuya, andoque y muinane no existen fuertes estructuras de movilización previas ligadas a experiencias políticas armadas. Más allá de la existencia de posibles móviles altruistas para vincularse a la subversión, en medio de una desigual vinculación al mercado, limitación de derechos y contradicciones sociales, intervienen más bien móviles simbólicos, económicos y estéticos, relativos a la búsqueda por la realización vital de cada sujeto.

Desde otra perspectiva, y como suele suceder en la historia de los pueblos indígenas -o de aquellos que padecen relaciones de dominación histórica- existen concepciones disidentes en los marcos culturales, que desconfían o rechazan las rutas de realización económica, política y cultural ofrecidas por la colonialidad del mercado y de la guerra. De este modo, muchos hombres y mujeres indígenas aún crean, y ejercen, las rutas de realización cultural, de formación colectiva y defensa común de sus derechos como sujetos culturalmente diferentes. De ahí que se escuche a algunos líderes espirituales, mujeres y otros adultos concebir el ingreso de parientes a los grupos armados como un equivocado camino de animalización, alejado de las rutas ofrecidas por la vida cultural, rutas que humanizan su corporeidad. Aun cuando en cada pueblo en su conjunto se pone énfasis en los procedimientos de cuidado mutuo y en las prácticas culturales, cada sujeto se encuentra expuesto a trayectorias vitales diferentes, bien sea de protección cultural en la red de afectos, o bien de búsqueda de fugas asociadas a conflictos previos en su entorno familiar y social. Esta, a mi manera de ver, es una reflexión sobre un problema político, sobre el poder, porque habla de cómo los hechos de la historia afectan sus cuerpos, sus formas de sentir y actuar, y también, de cómo ven su lugar en esa historia de contradicciones y conflictos.

Cuando se habla con las personas del medio río Caquetá sobre la participación de algunos individuos indígenas a la guerra, se hacen legibles, por tanto, dos proyectos político-culturales antagónicos. De un lado, el de los protagonistas de la guerra, que requirieron de cuerpos (sujetos) para su movilización armada; y de otro, el de los pueblos indígenas, que requieren de cuerpos, que son sus cuerpos (sujetos), los de sus hijos y nietos, para la movilización de sus luchas colectivas. La corporalidad de estos sujetos, en consecuencia, en tanto territorio de la subjetividad y la emocionalidad, mediador de la construcción de relaciones sociales, simbólicas y afectos, se torna campo de disputa política. De ahí que el cuerpo, cuando ingresa a la guerra, es visto como sometido a una intensa experiencia de metamorfosis, un tránsito hacia un proceso de animalización en fuga permanente.

Metamorfosis. Kafka en la Amazonia colombiana

En lengua murui-muina, como he insistido, los actores armados se nombran como jatiki imaki (animales de monte); en lengua andoke, se llaman γυ εfi siληλ, o también, duiληλ (gente de monte que pelea, gente que tiene armas, gente de candela); en lengua muinane, bajimína (gente del monte, clandestinos); y en lengua yucuna, eja'wá pi'rena (gente de monte, armados). De cualquier forma, se alude a seres sometidos a experiencias deshumanizantes, acorralados en una metamorfosis arriesgada. Adoptar la perspectiva de

la transformación de los cuerpos me conduce irremediabilmente a invocar la imagen de la metamorfosis kafkiana. La concepción indígena amazónica sobre las posibilidades de transformación de los cuerpos guarda cierta proximidad con la idea de Kafka de metamorfosearse, “dejar de ser”, tornarse otro, perderse; aún más cuando volteamos la mirada hacia los indígenas históricamente envueltos en una guerra cruda, dilatada, indescifrable. Kafkiano, por tanto, actúa como un epíteto oportuno para nombrar las constantes imágenes de deshumanidad y de lo absurdo de nuestro tiempo (Steiner 2002:49 *apud* Löwy, 2005:201); en este caso, específicamente, ante el hecho de presenciar a algunos jóvenes indígenas acatar disciplinas militares y depararse con los dramas de una guerra que aún no se encuentra superada en su totalidad.

Hacia finales del siglo XIX, durante el régimen de esclavitud cauchera, hubo un hecho inquietante, también kafkiano, si se quiere: hombres indígenas, amazónicos, se enrolaron como aliados de los capataces caucheros; fueron equipados de látigos, asumieron la actitud de verdugos y fueron llamados los boys, los muchachos o, en lengua muina, los muyai, (sirvientes, ayudantes, traidores). Este hecho se recuerda con vergüenza e indignación. De ahí que, ante el reclutamiento de indígenas en la guerra actual, Hernando Castro, líder muina del CRIMA, afirme: “Decimos no al reclutamiento armado porque somos gente que se está recuperando después de los crímenes de los caucheros, de aquella matanza y ahora empezamos a recuperarnos” (Líder del CRIMA. Hombre muina. Araracuara. 2013). La mejor herramienta para disuadir a los jóvenes de meterse a la guerra, según algunos líderes, es la formación desde la crianza, inculcar la vida comunitaria y los preceptos morales indígenas, el cuidado mutuo, la iniciación en las actividades culturales y el consumo de plantas sagradas; construir cuerpos humanos hechos con sustancias propias. En otras palabras, ejercer mecanismos de retención cultural. Por esta razón, quién se enlista a pelear en la guerra es visto como quien ha rechazado las experiencias culturales formadoras de humanidad; ha sido tentado por la animalidad y se encuentra transitando un camino de deshumanización, de metamorfosis. Esto también repercute socialmente en sus parientes, pues ante la incapacidad de evitar que uno de sus jóvenes se aventure a la vida de la armas, queda al descubierto que hubo un débil o escaso trabajo de formación cultural y organización política, es decir, a simple vista, que los mecanismos de retención cultural no fueron eficaces.

Cuando hablé con algunos jóvenes que estuvieron en la guerrilla de las FARC me dijeron que su decisión estuvo relacionada con una etapa de “rebeldía”: “quería aventurarme, conocer, salir de esta vida”. Los viejos decían que, en realidad, estaba confundido. Meterse a la guerrilla, ante los ojos de este joven, puede ser entendido como una ruta de nuevas búsquedas, un escape rebelde. Esto parece estar en sintonía con la interpretación que hacen Deleuze y Guattari (2014:20) de la metamorfosis kafkiana, la cual puede ser entendida como una rebelión, una huida, ante los caminos constrictivos del poder (laboral, histórico, cultural, ¿familiar?). Quizás las tentaciones hacia los caminos trágicos de la guerra sean una forma de encarar las frustraciones y las incertidumbres de la historia, aún más en un escenario de vulneración de derechos, desprecio cultural y conflictos derivados del intervencionismo extractivo. Y este camino trágico supone la disposición a que el cuerpo se someta a transformaciones, a que sea campo de inscripción de hechos dramáticos, bélicos; supone permitir que la corporeidad humana cambie, transite por un proceso de animalización.

Pero aun cuando en la movilización guerrera puede haber juicios y disposiciones vinculados a causas nobles, altruistas, o bien, rutas de huida existencial, estas búsquedas se realizan sobre condiciones objetivas restringidas, limitadas. Es decir, las posibilidades de realización individual –escape animal- de estos jóvenes, son apenas las que ofrecen las relaciones históricas de dominación actual, habilitadas por la colonialidad (aventurarse como mano de obra juvenil en los trabajos de la minería, en la guerra, o bien, con mayores esfuerzos y sacrificios, en las pocas oportunidades de formación universitaria, por ejemplo). Esto no quiere decir que un joven al ser trabajador en las balsas mineras, o por el hecho de haber ofrecido

algún trabajo o servicio a los grupos armados, no pueda ser curandero o cantor. De hecho, hay varios casos de jóvenes y hombres adultos que siguiendo la formación cultural de cantores o líderes, ingresan circunstancialmente a algunos trabajos extractivos en procura de dinero necesario. Las coyunturas económicas (extractivas) y militares, efímeras en la historia, propician condiciones objetivas de oferta de opciones laborales, que casi siempre son aprovechadas en procura de beneficios, de igual modo, efímeros. Lo cierto es que estas relaciones históricas de intervención y dominación son vistas por muchos curanderos, maloqueros, mujeres líderes y abuelos, como fuerzas que disputan los procesos autónomos de formación cultural. Y la metamorfosis guerrera, como opción de vida disponible, así parezca una obviedad decirlo, no es un camino apacible y complaciente: tornarse animal implica asumir traumatismos inevitables.

Para los jóvenes indígenas que optaron por la guerra, vestir un uniforme, acatar reglamentos armados y líneas de mando, cargar armas y pertrechos, recorrer el monte, tener otro olor, procurar otras lealtades o incluso afectos, clandestinizarse, en últimas, metamorfosearse, supone nuevos dolores, nuevos desafíos, nuevas fatalidades, nuevos lenguajes y nuevas preguntas (Timm de Souza, 2000:80). Es una especie de dialéctica del extrañamiento en la que cada sujeto cree hallar las posibilidades de su propia realización, cualquiera sea. Desde algunos conceptos indígenas, este cambio de vida, de cuerpo (de ropas), de territorio, es un nuevo desafío histórico ante los procesos de diferenciación en tensión. Por un lado, la construcción de la diferencia que supone devenir “gente de monte”, “guerrero”, animalizarse, asumir una vida de depredación en el conflicto armado. Por otro, significa la construcción de la diferencia asociada a la reproducción de un modo de vida amazónico, hecho por sujetos culturalmente diferentes, que vislumbran sus propias luchas colectivas sin armas. Esta tensión fue expuesta claramente por Luis Sueroke, autoridad tradicional del pueblo murui-muina, ante la pregunta: “¿por qué algunos jóvenes se han ido a alguno de los grupos armados?:

Esa decisión de cada uno puede tratarse de alguna razón individual, y pensamos que su decisión se resolverá por sí sola estando dentro de un grupo armado. Rechazamos a los grupos armados, pedimos que respeten nuestro modo de vida y autonomía. Además la naturaleza se encargará de resolver el asunto de la participación de nuestra gente en la guerra de acuerdo a su conducta y proceder (Sueroke Luis, entrevista de campo. Aracua, Caquetá, 2014).

Cuando Luis Sueroke afirma que entrar a la guerra es una decisión de cada sujeto, reafirma que las posibilidades objetivas de participar en la guerra coexisten con las posibilidades subjetivas de rehusarla, o bien, de legitimarla. Si la presencia de la guerra habilita caminos para la vinculación armada, esto quiere decir que los jóvenes indígenas pueden correr el riesgo, a menos que los eludan o rechacen, de experimentar una metamorfosis animal. No debe perderse de vista que cada joven indígena se encuentra inserto en circunstancias y significados que orientan su disposición a participar en el conflicto armado (conflictos familiares, expectativas de vida diferentes, ruta de escape, auto-realización, rebeldía, interés económico, búsqueda vital). Esto expone los diferentes campos sociales por los que transita y actúa un sujeto; nos habla de las experiencias que marcan los diferentes “momentos biográficos” (Castellanos, 2011:65) mediante los cuales se construye cada historia vital. Se expone, en consecuencia, que no existen caminos de vida socialmente clausurados, como si estuviéramos prisioneros de las estructuras sociales que nos determinan o de las posibilidades históricas ofrecidas. Nuestro itinerario biográfico no se encuentra prefijado de antemano. Estamos expuestos a construirnos en medio de las diferentes experiencias históricas disponibles, en este caso, eludir la guerra, vincularse a ella, o bien, participar del conflicto y luego desistir. Somos tan complejos que las diferentes formas de tornarnos “algo”, de devenir, no son completamente definitivas. De ahí que ir a la guerra constituya para algunos una experiencia temporal, y para otros, jóvenes indígenas, tal vez un camino poco atrayente y por lo tanto descartable. Insisto pues que para quienes

estuvieron -y aún están de algún modo- dentro de los grupos armados, su situación no es necesariamente insalvable, irrevocable. Por eso, Luis Sueroke afirma que “la naturaleza se encargue de resolver el asunto de la participación de nuestra gente en la guerra”, abriendo la posibilidad de su transformación y reintegración. Y esa “naturaleza” puede ser el curso azaroso de los desenlaces en la implementación del acuerdo de paz, o quizás la acción dentro de disidencias armadas; en todo caso, rutas disponibles que nos hablan del lugar de los sujetos en la historia política. Las posibilidades hoy disponibles para los jóvenes indígenas que participaron de la guerra, puede ser el encuentro trágico con la muerte, si deciden continuar su metamorfosis trágica de guerreros, o bien, su reintegración cultural, su des-animalización histórica. No todo joven indígena que ingresa a algún grupo armado termina convertido en un Gregorio Samsa⁶ atrapado en una metamorfosis inapelable. Los caminos de la humanización no están totalmente inhabilitados; éstos todavía parecen transitables.

Humanizar la animalidad guerrera

“Humanizar la guerra” ha sido un imperativo ético derivado de la interpretación del Derecho Internacional Humanitario destinado a regular las conductas en las confrontaciones bélicas. Luego de las atrocidades presenciadas en la Segunda Guerra Mundial, se formalizaron las cuatro convenciones de Ginebra de 1949 y dos protocolos adicionales, de 1977. La guerra, en tanto relación social y política, debió someterse a reglas que permitieran limitar sus manifestaciones atroces, abominables, reduciendo así la carnicería y la sevicia; humanizarla en últimas. Pero no porque fuera hecha por animales –animales nunca dejamos de ser– sino porque la guerra lleva la vida a los límites de su deshumanización indignante. En 1998 se aprobó el Estatuto de Roma de la Corte Penal Internacional, que procura aplicar internacionalmente el Derecho Internacional Humanitario (DIH) y lograr así juzgar a aquellos actores de la guerra que cometieron crímenes de lesa humanidad y genocidios. Estos mecanismos constituyen, en el plano ético y político, una manera de demostrar que aún preservamos algo de la condición humana, que no somos casos perdidos, que los esfuerzos evolutivos para dotarnos de consciencia no fueron en vano. Otra es la perspectiva desde los pueblos murui-muina, andoke, nonuya y muinane, donde la guerra no es susceptible de humanizarse justamente porque lo más humano es no hacerla, o terminarla. La guerra en sí misma es animalización, no se puede humanizar una práctica depredadora deshumanizante. Lo que se puede hacer, tal vez, es que aquellos que se animalizaron haciendo la guerra renuncien a ésta y busquen los caminos de su superación –humanización- definitiva.

Desde los conceptos indígenas, nombrar a los que entran a la guerra como “animales de monte” alude a una metáfora con una fuerte carga política, pues en el escenario de la confrontación permite establecer distinciones –corporales- entre combatientes y no combatientes. Nombrar metafóricamente a los guerreros como animales no sólo permite construir distinciones, también habilita la posibilidad, a su vez política, de transformar los cuerpos guerreros en cuerpos culturalmente humanos. Esta perspectiva guarda, volviendo de nuevo a Kafka, una semejanza con la condición animal del cuerpo de Gregorio Samsa, pues frente a su evidente estado de inhumanidad, éste sólo logra percatarse de su condición de metamorfoseado si aún conserva algo de consciencia humana, es decir, sólo puede indagar su animalidad en términos estrictamente humanos (Timm de Souza, 2000:78). Gregorio Samsa se percibe a sí mismo desde una mirada humana, pese a la inhumanidad de su cuerpo. Este misterioso atributo de concebirse un bicho, desde un esquema humano de percepción y significado, es la ruta propicia para activar acciones, luchas, esfuerzos dirigidos hacia la des-animalización; es la posibilidad de eclipsar la metamorfosis. En el caso de los jóvenes indígenas

6 Gregorio Samsa: personaje principal de *La Metamorfosis*, relato de Franz Kafka, quien un día al despertarse se ve convertido en un enorme insecto.

que entraron en la guerra y desistieron, el retorno al seno de su grupo social y familiar es visto como el resultado de la victoria de las fuerzas humanas que habitaban en su cuerpo de animal guerrero. Desde la perspectiva indígena, más allá de concebirse como desmovilización, los jóvenes que desistieron de la guerra lo hicieron gracias a que sus cuerpos no culminaron en una metamorfosis irreversible: la animalidad de la guerra no logró imponerse en su propia interioridad. Y, según algunos líderes murui-muina, esto no se logra simplemente como una repentina elección individual, no se trata de una decisión aislada de salirse de la guerra. En su proceso de humanización participan fuerzas culturales, preocupaciones comunes, vínculos sociales, afectos compartidos.

Alguien podría interpelar preguntando: ¿la condición animal del guerrero anula su voluntad sobre los actos violentos que pudo cometer, lo exculpa, justamente por ser manifestación de una dolencia animal, de una metamorfosis incontrolable y no de su acto consciente? ¿Qué sucede con la carga moral de los actos de la guerra, con la responsabilidad jurídica del combatiente? Es importante aclarar que mi exposición etnográfica no transita por el debate jurídico de las responsabilidades penales de los combatientes en una guerra. Aun así, considero correcto que aquellas personas, indígenas o no, que hayan incurrido en actos de violencia atroz, comparezcan ante los tribunales de Justicia Transicional -como se establece en lo referido a la Jurisdicción Especial de Paz dentro del documento pactado- a fin de cumplir con sus responsabilidades de perdón, justicia y reparación con las víctimas. Mi argumento, desde otro punto de vista, va dirigido a las posibilidades históricas de habilitar procedimientos de reconciliación en el escenario de la vida local. Por lo tanto, los caminos culturales para humanizar a aquellos que fueron a la guerra -que sufrieron la metamorfosis trágica- nos exponen una oportunidad política de restablecer lazos de empatía y vínculos de convivencia, con aquellos ex-combatientes que retornan al seno de la vida social que los vio partir al enfrentamiento militar. Esta concepción evita la reproducción de estigmas y señalamientos sobre el cuerpo de los ex-combatientes, justamente porque su propósito social es curar, restaurar las relaciones de confianza y potenciar encuentros comunes despojados de las tiranías de la depredación, libres de sentimientos de rabia, odio y desprecio.

Escuché, en algunos mambaderos,⁷ a algunos hombres describir los procedimientos culturales para disuadir a un joven de su pretensión de enlistarse en algún grupo armado. Hablaban en términos de diagnósticos médicos, pues la intención de un joven de involucrarse en la guerra es vista como una afección proveniente de los animales, o bien, una confusión generada por alguna fuerza no humana. En estos casos, sometían al paciente a intensas sesiones de consumo de ambil de tabaco y de mambe durante los diálogos nocturnos, en los que transmitían consejos y preceptos morales. En el día, el joven o paciente, debía vincularse y participar activamente en los trabajos colectivos. Un ejemplo explícito de la aplicación de estos procedimientos culturales fue la experiencia que me contó Amalia, una mujer muinane del resguardo de Monochoa. Amalia narra un tenso encuentro que tuvo con algunos militantes de las FARC en el 2001, que querían sancionar a sus dos hijos (de 28 y 30 años) por estar bebiendo cerveza en el asentamiento de Araracuara. Según Amalia, por el hecho de estar consumiendo licor, la guerrilla, a modo de sanción, llevó a sus dos hijos para trabajar en un campamento insurgente. Amalia, luego de varios días sin saber de sus hijos y en un profundo estado de preocupación, fue directamente a buscarlos al campamento guerrillero. Allí, un comandante le dijo que “ese asunto se resuelve estrictamente al interior de las FARC”. Amalia discrepó, le respondió que las legítimas autoridades en el territorio eran los pueblos indígenas,

⁷ Mambadero: lugar en el que se consume mambe, hojas de coca (*Erythroxylon coca*) tostadas, pulverizadas y mezcladas con cenizas de yaurumo (*Cecropya peltata*).

Somos nativos de este territorio, ustedes son forasteros, sus problemas son los problemas del blanco, quiero que me devuelva a mis hijos. Además yo soy la única que decido por mis hijos, porque yo los crié y los formé, son mis hijos y yo decido sobre ellos, no quiero que se vayan con ustedes (Amalia Ipojuano, entrevista de campo, resguardo de Monochoa, 2014).

Ante la respuesta valiente y la actitud decidida de Amalia, el comandante le entregó a su hijo mayor, pero el otro, según el comandante, se quedaría con ellos: al parecer “él quiere irse a la guerrilla”. Amalia reclamó con bravura a su otro hijo. Según ella, “es mentira que él quiera irse a la guerra”. Ante la firmeza inquebrantable de Amalia, la guerrilla decide entregarle a su otro hijo. Cuenta Amalia que en ese preciso instante salió del campamento con sus dos hijos directamente hacia donde el médico tradicional, para curarlos. Un viejo curandero realizó varios baños con plantas sobre los cuerpos de sus hijos, les dio ambil de tabaco y los hizo mambear. Así estuvieron varios días visitando el curandero y recibiendo varias sesiones de tabaco soplado sobre sus cuerpos con el objetivo de disuadirlos de la idea de enlistarse en la guerra. Resulta admirable ver cómo ante las amenazas de la guerra en la vida diaria, las prácticas culturales, los conocimientos curativos en este caso, adquieren manifestaciones políticas, justamente porque cuidar de los otros, preservar la humanidad de sus cuerpos, constituye una decidida acción tendiente a evadir los riesgos de las rutas habilitadas de las armas. De este modo, gracias al coraje de una madre y el respaldo cultural otorgado por la aplicación de una serie de prácticas curativas, dos cuerpos indígenas lograron evadir, temporalmente, la metamorfosis guerrera.

También conversé con algunos abuelos y curanderos que afirmaron que cuando un joven se encuentra militando en alguno de los ejércitos, se debe hacer lo posible para generar su retorno, y esto se realiza, específicamente, enviándole directamente con algún contacto cigarrillos conjurados o ambil de tabaco preparado con la intención de que sienta la esencia del tabaco, de su gente, y vuelva. Irse a un grupo armado, por lo tanto, es visto por muchos líderes y curanderos como la influencia amenazante de un pensamiento distinto, pensamiento de animal. De ahí que recalquen en la formación cultural temprana, en las orientaciones sobre la producción de alimentos y sustancias, en la moral que media la convivencia y en el consumo de plantas sagradas (tabaco, coca, yuca, ají) que permitan forjar un cuerpo humano, hecho de sustancias propias. En esta misma línea de reflexión, escuché a los familiares de un joven andoke que militó en las FARC y que volvió al asentamiento, según los relatos, gracias al trabajo de coca y tabaco de protección que se le enviaba.

Ese andaba hace dos años por allá [con la guerrilla], pero ahora anda por ahí con chagra propia, sembrando su coca para mambear, ya es de aquí (Diálogo con hombres andokes. Río Aduche. Medio Caquetá. 2007).

Cuando se afirma que “ahora anda por ahí con chagra propia, sembrando su coca para mambear, ya es de aquí”, se pone al descubierto que cultivar sustancias propias, producir alimentos y reintegrarse a la vida cultural, constituye el tránsito hacia una experiencia humanizadora, una forma de re-territorializar culturalmente el cuerpo que estuvo allá en la guerra. Llama la atención que en los diálogos nunca escuché juicios, ni reproches, contra los jóvenes que participaron en algún grupo armado. Pareciera como si, al explicar su participación en la guerra como producto de una dolencia o afectación animal sobre el cuerpo, las preocupaciones y respuestas sociales se concentraran en un campo exterior a la voluntad del sujeto, en el ámbito de lo cultural, de cuerpos metamorfoseados por fuerzas animales externas, antes que en el campo propiamente jurídico o moralizante, superando así el riesgo de enjuiciar, cargar culpas y remordimientos. Algo parecido describe Kimberly Theidon (2004:203) cuando habla de los indígenas de los Andes peruanos que militaron en la guerrilla de Sendero Luminoso y actuaron contra su propia gente. En la sierra peruana, según la autora, una de las características de la construcción del “ser humano”, del *runakuna*, es adquirir y conservar el uso de razón, de ahí que la pérdida del uso de razón esté vinculada con la locura, con la pérdida

de humanidad. En este sentido, quienes se fueron a la guerra o colaboraron con la guerrilla eran vistos como “seres inconscientes”, se fueron porque no lograron hacer uso de su razón, y cuando vuelven y se integran culturalmente adquieren nuevamente su estatus de *runakuna*, de humanos, pero no para ser juzgados ni culpados, sino para experimentar una nueva conversión moral (Theidon, 2004: 204), que permita que se tornen de nuevo “como nosotros”, que se tornen otra vez humanos que hacen uso, en comunidad, de la razón.

Justamente, sobre esta perspectiva de cómo entender y atender a quienes pretendieron devenir animales de monte vinculándose a la movilización guerrera, recuerdo el diálogo con Junior Firizateke, líder del pueblo murui-muina de La Chorrera, una noche que lo encontré en la ciudad amazónica de Leticia adonde se encontraba de paso. Junior decía que los jóvenes que militaron en algún grupo armado están viviendo una fase de confusión en la que todavía no han encontrado sus bases culturales. “Están en una búsqueda, y debemos ayudarlos a encontrarse culturalmente”. Según Junior:

Estos jóvenes son como el colibrí que se van al monte a buscar y libar flores de la selva, visitan una flor y luego otra, van buscando, explorando, probando, hasta que encuentran la flor del tabaco y es allí donde se reconocen, es en esa flor en la que deciden quedarse, allí se asientan porque es su propia flor, la flor de su cultura, ese es su asiento cultural (Diálogo con Junior Firizateke, Leticia, 2015).

El relato de Junior no juzga ni incrimina a quienes se han ido a la guerra; en cambio, a través del entendimiento de la trayectoria vital de estos jóvenes, se insiste en las oportunidades de su incorporación cultural como destino posible. Coincido con Theidon en que estos procedimientos culturales dirigidos a quienes participaron en la guerra, tienen como propósito construir memorias colectivas que eviten la reproducción de sentimientos de venganza y odio. No se trata de des-responsabilizar a los guerreros, sino de construir un relato moral o interpretativo que permita gestionar la memoria de las violencias apelando a un lazo de humanidad (Theidon, 2004:215). Son estos procedimientos culturales de humanización, a mi manera de ver, los que propician la construcción de escenarios culturales de paz y reconciliación en la historia regional.

La paz y la re-movilización

Desde la perspectiva indígena, actuar en la historia mediante las armas, hacer la guerra específicamente, conduce a un estado de incompletud ontológica, justamente por la metamorfosis o transformación que la guerra impone sobre los cuerpos, entendidos no sólo como estructura física, sino también como mediador de las subjetividades y la emocionalidad culturalmente compartidas. En contraposición, la paz y los procesos de reconciliación constituirían una realidad propicia para la efectiva realización ontológica de cuerpos humanos, de cuerpos curados, humanizados, o bien, culturalmente contruidos, capaces de reproducir modos de vida específicos.

En diálogo con Gil Farekade, líder murui-muina de La Chorrera, la idea de curar a los jóvenes indígenas que militaron en algún grupo armado, es una acción que va más allá de una simple reintegración cultural. Afirma Gil que la reincorporación de estos jóvenes hace parte de un proceso más amplio de construcción de paz en la región amazónica, justamente de cara al actual escenario nacional de pos-acuerdo entre las FARC y el Estado. La idea de paz implica, por tanto, según lo discutido en el mambadero de Komuiya úai - organización cultural murui-muina- y en el cabildo indígena CIHTACOYD (Cabildo Indígena Hijos del Tabaco, la Coca y la Yuca Dulce) de Leticia, el cumplimiento efectivo de los derechos indígenas por parte del Estado, y del capítulo étnico suscrito dentro del Acuerdo de Paz con la guerrilla de las FARC. De ahí que Gil

Farekade insista que el procedimiento de sanar los cuerpos que van a la guerra debe contar no sólo con la participación de las organizaciones indígenas, sino también con el acompañamiento de las instituciones y de los grupos armados que dejaron la guerra.

Ante un escenario de conflictos ambientales y sociales crecientes, obstáculos en la implementación del acuerdo e irrespeto a los derechos indígenas, la paz no puede depender de una concepción burocrática institucional unilateral que pretende llegar a las regiones para instrumentalizar planes estatales intrusivos. La implementación de los acuerdos de paz debe impulsarse en diálogo con los esfuerzos locales de los pueblos indígenas, construyendo escenarios de cuidado mutuo, reconciliación y reincorporación de los ex-combatientes. Además, la construcción de iniciativas de paz en la vida local debe pasar, necesariamente, por el cumplimiento de sus derechos y el respeto a su condición cultural de sujetos diferentes; y para ello, se requieren instituciones ágiles, fuertes y provistas de presupuesto, como bien lo ha insistido Todd Howland (2015:19) en su Informe sobre los Derechos Humanos en Colombia.

De ahí que, en cuanto no se implementen en su totalidad las transformaciones consignadas en los acuerdos de paz, habrá razones para mantener alerta el escepticismo, debido, por un lado, a la secular tradición del legalismo colombiano de creer que las leyes en sí mismas están dotadas del poder de modificar la realidad; y por otro lado, por la práctica arraigada en las élites políticas de no cumplir los pactos con sus contradictores. En síntesis, el proceso de paz de La Habana no debe fetichizarse. Intentando ver la realidad tal y como se manifiesta, es perceptible que las pretensiones políticas de conquistar un futuro de paz, cumplimiento de derechos y realización cultural, comienzan a depararse con violentas adversidades, que están poniendo a prueba las luchas indígenas en el escenario de la construcción democrática anunciada por el pos-acuerdo de paz.

El pacto de paz entre las FARC y el Estado, aun cuando se ha traducido en la reducción de la dinámica bélica y el control militar en los territorios indígenas, no supone necesariamente la culminación de los conflictos. En las perspectivas políticas futuras ya se vislumbran intensos y numerosos conflictos regionales, justamente porque el campo histórico de las relaciones de dominación no ha sido alterado: continuarán las fuerzas extractivas de minerales y petróleo interviniendo en la región amazónica; los espacios de participación democrática restringidos y las condiciones de vulnerabilidad, marginalidad y exclusión indígena no sufrirán mutaciones profundas. El campo histórico actual, definido por la orientación neoliberal de la política económica extractiva y la gestión pública centralizada, impondrá en los sujetos disposiciones afines con dicho modelo. Esto es, requerirá el consentimiento del usufructo sobre sus cuerpos y conocimientos, en últimas, avanzar en la mercantilización de la naturaleza, los territorios y la cultura. Estas disposiciones previas son activadas por el discurso dominante de “ser o hacer”, ser “alguien” y hacer “algo”, específicamente algo funcional al mercado, “estudiar o trabajar”, rutas que vendrán ofrecidas a través de relaciones desiguales de dependencia y menosprecio cultural. Tampoco vale ser indígena a secas, o curandero, o cantor, o maloquero, o chagrera, o partera, pues se requieren sujetos políticos capaces de actuar en múltiples campos de poder, no sólo ante los circuitos inevitables del mercado, sino ante las agendas políticas del estado y sus proyecciones de intervención, lo que exige el manejo de diferentes conocimientos y prácticas políticas. Aun así, mientras los derechos indígenas no gocen de efectividad práctica en la vida real amazónica, el camino habilitado será insertarse en trabajos que prometen, ilusoriamente, ascenso social y acceso a mercancías como “ruta teleológica, o el deber ser que promete una escatología capitalista dominante” (Castellanos, 2011:193). La pregunta que salta a la vista, por lo tanto, es si los pueblos indígenas amazónicos se encuentran preparados para interponer su actuación cultural y política ante la profundización de los conflictos derivados de las fuerzas de intervención económica, discursiva y política, dominantes en el escenario del post acuerdo.

Este campo histórico de dominación, caracterizado anteriormente como la colonialidad del poder (Mignolo, 2015), lleva aparejada la construcción de una justificación discursiva, simbólica, encargada de legitimar los conflictos derivados de dicho modelo de dominación. En este campo histórico, en el que la implementación del acuerdo de paz se ha puesto en marcha, los conflictos sociales, culturales y económicos arrearán. Estas condiciones materiales dominantes necesitarán de contenidos subjetivos que las avalen y las obedezcan, es decir, se impondrá una forma única, unánime, de imaginar el futuro; de ahí que los desafíos a la construcción, democrática e incluyente, de los derechos indígenas se manifiesten tanto en el campo concreto de los territorios amazónicos, como en los espacios públicos discursivos, ideológicos y culturales, regionales y nacionales.

Quizás en un futuro próximo no exista un mercado de la guerra en la región amazónica que requiera de la libido agonística de los jóvenes indígenas. La historia no requerirá de capitales guerreros, pero sí de otras metamorfosis que capitalizar, pues las relaciones de dominación continuarán exigiendo condiciones que permitan que los cuerpos, y sus subjetividades, puedan insertarse, para su beneficio, en las posiciones más marginadas del mercado. Ya no será una metamorfosis guerrera: será una explícita metamorfosis mercantil, cuerpos concebidos como mercancías, objetos descartables, movilizados en nuevos escenarios de actividad económica, como usualmente ha venido ocurriendo en la historia amazónica. En esta perspectiva, y admitiendo que la realidad política de post-acuerdo de paz es un hecho irreversible, continúa en juego la disputa histórica de los cuerpos indígenas, requeridos, de un lado, por las fuerzas económicas de intervención, que menosprecian el modo de vida indígena, sus conocimientos y prácticas culturales; y de otro, por las organizaciones indígenas, que necesitarán de cuerpos, política y culturalmente cualificados, en las luchas inevitables que tendrán que enfrentar por la defensa de sus derechos. Es en esta disputa política e histórica adonde vendrán a insertarse los jóvenes indígenas que salgan de la guerra.

De ahí que la insistencia en la reproducción de un modo de vida cultural y autónomo en la Amazonia se exprese, a su manera, como una rebelión contra las pretensiones del modelo económico dominante de intervenir sus territorios, mercadear sus vidas y su legado cultural. El éxito de esta rebelión desarmada, cotidiana, perseverante, ligada a conceptos y valores concretos de organización cultural, consumo de plantas sagradas y protección mutua, dependerá de que los modos de actuación política se desplieguen sobre una agenda común de re-movilización histórica. Los jóvenes indígenas que se desmovilizan de la guerra tendrán nuevas oportunidades sociales, culturales, políticas, incluso económicas, si las bases sociales a las que retornan cuentan con un proyecto de re-movilización, si disponen a su alcance, por decirlo de algún modo, de una utopía, de un plan futuro en el que puedan imaginarse a sí mismos como pueblo; de un proyecto colectivo que logre impulsar sus fuerzas culturales, que pueda re-movilizarlos. La construcción de paz en la región amazónica, pasa por la consolidación de una fuerza social autónoma capaz de conquistar los derechos indígenas de cara a los conflictos venideros en el post-acuerdo con la insurgencia. Pienso que dicho movimiento cuenta con los componentes para su despliegue histórico; es un movimiento en gestación, justamente orientado por los conceptos culturales derivados de las lecciones políticas de las violencias pasadas, el cuidado mutuo, la reproducción de la vida social, la autogestión productiva y solidaria, el ejercicio de prácticas curativas y rituales, la acción política no destructiva; procedimientos, todos, de la conciencia cultural, dirigidos a humanizar la existencia.

Consideraciones finales

El camino trágico de la guerra en la Amazonia ha sido una opción histórica disponible. Militar en algún grupo armado, desde la concepción de los pueblos indígenas del medio río Caquetá, no supone elevar unas banderas políticas ni impulsar la defensa bélica de posiciones ideológicas o proyectos de gobierno. Movilizar el cuerpo en la guerra, tornarse un guerrero, supone más bien someterse a un proceso de transformación ontológica, alterar los atributos del cuerpo, metamorfosearse, lo que abre la posibilidad, a su vez política, de que la animalización sea revertida, de que la curación de la libido agonística pueda realizarse. Esta idea de curar a aquellos afectados por fuerzas animales que los impulsan a guerrear, nos habla de las posibilidades locales de la reconciliación. Pero no sólo eso: nos habla de una concepción cultural sobre la reincorporación humana, que emancipa al sujeto guerrero de los estigmas morales y políticos que pueda cargar por su atrevimiento de luchar con las armas.

El ejercicio de curar, a aquellos metamorfoseados vinculados al conflicto armado, se pone en marcha en medio de una realidad empeñada en negar las posibilidades culturales de ejercer dicha práctica de curación, sea mediante el incumplimiento de los acuerdos de paz y las garantías institucionales, o bien bajo las fuerzas incontrolables de la intervención económica extractiva y la explotación de los cuerpos y la naturaleza, fuerzas que empeoran una situación preexistente de vulnerabilidad y abandono.

La guerra, para los pueblos murui-muina, nonuya, andoke y muinane, es una perturbación, una afección, un padecimiento de la historia. Por lo tanto es necesario reaccionar para curar sus molestias amenazantes. Las respuestas ofrecidas están constituidas por los recursos culturales disponibles, entre ellos, las prácticas no destructivas de seguir haciendo la vida, producir alimentos y plantas de poder curativo, como la coca y el tabaco, la realización de bailes rituales y el ejercicio diario del cuidado mutuo. En últimas, protegerse entre sí bajo la orientación de la experiencia cultural, lo que permite que las actuaciones sociales diarias, dirigidas a reproducir la vida cultural, se tornen parte de los procesos de resistencia, o bien, como diría James Scott, prácticas capaces de dar forma a una *infrapolítica* de los desvalidos (2000:44).

Siguiendo esta concepción, hablar de la guerra implica hablar, inevitablemente, de las oportunidades de la paz. Recibir a los ex-combatientes implica la construcción de un escenario local en el que las personas puedan vivir y crecer, libre y dignamente, condición política básica para que los ex-guerreros puedan vincularse a un nuevo camino de re-movilización histórica con su gente cercana. Esta idea plantea un debate muy serio sobre el rechazo a la muerte entre los antiguos adversarios; evade el juego de la victoria de los odios políticos y rechaza el modo de entender la historia como un cruel despliegue de la disputa colectiva por las ideologías. Esta concepción del movimiento de las fuerzas colectivas y armadas en el tiempo introduce la certeza posible de que los dramas violentos de la historia pueden curarse, aliviarse, lo que los científicos sociales y los funcionarios de la institucionalidad humanitaria llamarían como las posibilidades reales de la paz.

Finalmente aquí se hace visible un relato que enfatiza que la guerra no está en las armas ni en las bombas: éstas son apenas instrumentos para ejecutarla. Por el contrario, la naturaleza de la guerra se aloja en las ideas y discursos que la impulsan, en los odios, miedos y furias que la alientan. De ahí que la guerra no sea una condición permanente que media la vida de los humanos; la guerra es una afección, una dolencia, la amenaza de la depredación susceptible de ser aliviada, de modo que permita abrir lugar al desagravio, al perdón, a la justicia. Disponer de la posibilidad de curar a los que hicieron la guerra habilita una ruta de encuentro, de construcción de vínculos de humanidad y de futuros escenarios concretos de paz (Theidon, 2004: 215).

Recebido: 13 de noviembre de 2017

Aprobado: 15 de enero de 2018

Revisión: Federico Lavezzo

Referencias bibliográficas

- BONILLA, Víctor Daniel. 2006 [1986]. *Siervos de Dios y amos de indios. El Estado y la misión capuchina en el Putumayo*. Cali, Colombia: Editorial Universidad del Cauca.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 1991. *El sentido Práctico*. Madrid: Taurus Humanidades.
- CARACTERIZACIÓN COMUNIDAD FARC-EP. 2017. *Resultados Generales*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Agencia para la Reincorporación y la Reconciliación.
- CASTELLANOS, Juan Manuel. 2011. *Formas Actuales de la Movilización Armada*. Caldas: Editorial Universidad de Caldas.
- DELEUZE, Gilles; GUATTARI, Félix. 2014. *Kafka: Por una literatura menor*. Rio de Janeiro: Autêntica Editorial.
- HOWLAND, Todd. 2015. *Informe anual del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos. Situación de los Derechos Humanos en Colombia*. ONU – Naciones Unidas. In: http://www.hchr.org.co/documentoseinformes/informes/altocomisionado/informe_anual_2015.pdf
- KALULAMBI P., Martín, (Ed). *Perspectivas comparadas de mercados de violencia*. Bogotá: Alfaomega, 2003.
- LÖWY, Michael. 2005. *Franz Kafka. Sonhador Insubmisso*. Rio de Janeiro: Azogue.
- MBEMBE, Achille. 2011 [2006]. *Necropolítica*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, España: Editorial Melusina.
- MIGNOLO, Walter. 2015. “Entrevista a Walter Mignolo. Por Noda Cultura”. In: <http://www.nodalcultura.am/2015/12/entrevista-exclusiva-con-walter-mignolo-filosofo-clave-del-pensamiento-descolonial-el-patron-colonial-de-poder-se-vende-con-una-retorica-de-salvacion/>
- PLAN SALVAGUARDA PUEBLO UITOTO CAPÍTULO ARARACUARA. 2012. Henry Guerrero et al (equipo técnico indígena), Camilo Andrade et al (equipo técnico profesional). Ministerio del Interior, Consejo Regiona Indígena del Medio Amazonas (CRIMA), documento inédito.
- SCOTT C., James. 2000. *Los dominados y el arte de la resistencia. Discursos ocultos*. Colección problemas de México – Ediciones Era. México D.F.
- THEIDON, Kimberly. 2004. *Entre prójimos. El conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- TIMM DE SOUZA, Ricardo. 2000. *Metamorfose e Extinção. Sobre Kafka e a patologia do tempo*. Caxias do Sul: EDUCS.
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. 1996. “Os pronomes cosmológicos e o perspectivismo ameríndio”. *Mana. Estudos de Antropologia Social*, 2(2): 115-144.

Marco Tobón

Investigador posdoctoral en el Programa de Postgrado en Antropología Social

PPGAS, IFCH - UNICAMP

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8379-3875>

E-mail: mtobon@gmail.com

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Land as Home: Women, Life and Violence in Land Conflicts

Dibe Ayoub¹

¹ Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional,
Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, Rio de Janeiro/RJ, Brasil

Abstract

This work analyses how women question experiences of violence in land conflicts in Pinhão, Paraná, Southern Brazil. Land conflicts strike at the very foundation of the livelihood of families and communities, having a direct bearing on houses, which are places that objectify the occupation of the land and where ties of belonging between subjects and territories are woven. Land is home; land and violence are therefore also constituted as problems for women and as matters that encompass gender relations. In women's narratives, violence is appraised through ethical ways of family and community living, and emerges in the following concrete acts: killings, house fires, threats, ambushes, and evictions. These acts intrude on the enduring conviviality of everyday life and the relations that compose communities.

Keywords: violence; conflict; land; ethics; gender.

A terra como lar: mulheres, vida e violência em conflitos por terra

Resumo

Neste trabalho, busco compreender como mulheres problematizam experiências de violência vividas em conflitos por terra em Pinhão, Paraná, sul do Brasil. Conflitos por terra avançam sobre os solos de existência de famílias e comunidades inteiras, afetando diretamente as casas, lugares que dão materialidade à ocupação da terra e onde laços de pertencimento entre pessoas e territórios são construídos. A terra é lar, de modo que a violência nesses conflitos é também enfrentada por mulheres e envolve relações de gênero. Nas histórias delas, a violência é considerada a partir da ética da vida em família e comunidade e emerge como atos concretos: mortes, incêndios contra casas, ameaças, emboscadas, despejos. Tais atos adentram o convívio entre pessoas, permanecendo no cotidiano e nas relações que constituem comunidades rurais.

Palavras-chave: violência, conflito, terra, ética, gênero.

Land as Home: Women, Life and Violence in Land Conflicts

Dibe Ayoub

Land conflicts are infused with violence that affects all of the family members that live in a disputed area. Land is not just an object that is owned. It is a living body that connects to all the features of social life, such as kinship, residence, work, community, environment, history and so forth. Processes of expropriation can thus tear up relations and forms of living that make up the grounds of people's existence. Whenever land is the object of hostility, violence is directed against family homes; when we consider violence in these terms, it also becomes clear that it has a major impact on the lives of women.¹

In this article, I address how women from the municipality of Pinhão understand and question violent acts that occur in the context of land conflicts. In the stories they told me, violence is discussed from within the meshwork of the community and it emerges as specific acts carried out by familiar persons. Moreover, women are not simply potential victims of killings. They can also kill and take part in "vengeances". Gender relations and the ethical construction of women in rural communities are thus a central theme in plots that convey how violence is experienced in quotidian contexts, whenever the place a family inhabits becomes a disputed entity.

As the stories of Dona Francisca and Dona Ana that I will analyse below attest, women play an important role in the production of their family's land. Even though men in Pinhão are considered to be the agents who "must work", who are usually publically recognized as the "owners" of the land, and who are therefore most accountable for it, women are also committed to the protection of their family's territories and lives. When we bring their experiences to the foreground, violence during land conflicts emerge as a series of acts that encompass the house and social intimacy. Power relations, expropriation and political struggles are also entailed in practices of relatedness that weave forms of acquaintance, belonging and coexistence in Pinhão.

A number of scholars have investigated land and territorial conflicts in Brazil, focusing particularly on colonization and forms of territorial and economic domain which shape the country's high levels of social inequity. There is a recurring observation in the work of the authors who have addressed the problem of violence in land conflicts in Brazil: that the spread of Capitalism and technology has failed to consolidate democratic practices or further social equality (Martins 1981; Barreira 1992; Medeiros 1996; Brumer & Tavares dos Santos 2006). On the contrary, what we find is systemic and authoritarian violence against rural workers (Velho 1976), tied to modes of domination that connect private interests to the workings of the State. Violence is therefore the brutal facet of ongoing processes, the main objectives of which are to expel people from the territories they inhabit, or to force them to live under the rules of companies and powerful landowners.

While I agree with these considerations regarding land conflicts, I differ in focusing on how women live through acts of violence within a particular conflict, acts that consist mainly of killings, persecutions, ambushes, fire, shootings. Pinhão's dwellers have taught me that in order to understand the unfolding of such acts, I had to appreciate other aspects of their agonistic relationships. Killings are experienced in ethical ways wherein community and kinship relations are matters for and through action, bonds that are

¹ I would like to thank Adriana Villalón and Natalia Cabanillas encouraging this article. I also thank the outstanding contributions of the anonymous reviewers.

continually constructed through social practice. As Foucault (1984) suggests, “ethics” comprises processes of “problematization”, attention, thought and care for one and for others. In Pinhão, the act of killing is questioned and measured in terms of what is intelligible or abhorrent, typical or absurd. “Vengeance”, for instance, is conceived as a common way “to resolve” a specific death and it is hence the means through which a killing pervades and unsettles daily routine. Homicides over land conflicts can therefore also engender “vengeances” that have an enduring impact on people’s lives. In contrast, random shootings at houses, arson and the murder of children are interpreted as absurd practices that exceed quotidian expectations. Yet those who perform such atrocities live very close to their victims, introjecting fear and treason into people’s coexistence in rural communities. Violent acts as part of land conflicts are hence interwoven into the forms of living that constitute the rural communities of Pinhão and permeate women’s lives.

Pinhão is a municipality in the state of Paraná, located in Southern Brazil. Situated in a landscape of araucaria pine forests, Pinhão was traditionally coveted by lumber companies, among which João José Zattar Industries was the most prominent. Zattar, as the residents of Pinhão call the company, arrived in Pinhão at the end of 1940’s, built a sawmill and, later, a gated settlement named Zattarlândia. Between 1960 and 1970 the company acquired the titles to lands beyond Zattarlândia. Numerous families, who did not have land titles, lived in these areas according to the *faxinal* system, a traditional form of territorial occupation in the region which involves common land use².

The company placed armed men in the lands it acquired, so as to secure the company’s territorial domain. The dwellers of Pinhão called these men “guards”, *jagunços* (“bandits”, “outlaws”) and “hit men”. They resided within the areas that Zattar had titled, deterring the dwellers from cutting wood, extracting yerba mate, and gathering *pinhão* (the seed of the araucaria pine, which is edible and much appreciated in southern Brazil). Dwellers were also forced to pay thirty percent of each family’s harvest to the *jagunços* in retribution for living in the company lands. Many *jagunços* were involved in killings, threats, fire, and ambushes against the families who lived in areas acquired by Zattar. In women’s narratives, the armed men are depicted as people who live close by, and whose families are known and sometimes related to the narrator. In this conflict, violence assumes a personal, familiar and ordinary character.

The company declared bankruptcy in 1994, but ownership of the lands remains uncertain. Deaths and hostilities that occurred during the conflict have become part of the relations that constitute the inhabitants of these territories. In 2006, Zattar signed an agreement with the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), thereby starting the negotiation of some twenty one thousand hectares of land. Twelve years later, the deal has yet to be concluded. At present, there are various social movements based in those areas: the Squatters Movement (MP, *Movimento de Possesiros*), the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST, *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*), the Small Farmers Movement (MPA, *Movimento dos Pequenos Agricultores*), and the Faxinalenses Peoples Puxirão Articulation (APF, *Articulação Puxirão dos Povos Faxinalenses*).³ In addition, there are other residents, such as the Junqueira

2 *Faxinal*, as the dwellers of Pinhão call it, is the name given to “bush” areas in forests of araucaria pine (*Araucaria angustifolia*). Such areas are traditionally used for free range livestock breeding and extraction of yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*), which is carried out by a family in its own land. Until the arrival of the lumber industry and of other actors practicing private forms of land occupation, livestock was raised in common lands, called *criadouros*. Subsistence farming occurred in “crop lands”, which were located in hillsides and river banks, far from the *faxinais*. Chang (1988), Porto (2013), Almeida (2006) and Souza (2010) discuss the combination of collective and private uses of land in Paraná’s *faxinais*. In regards to the *faxinais* of Pinhão, Porto (2013) argues that, despite the fact that many communities do not have the collective *criadouros* anymore, their traditional ways of existence are present in their relations with the environment and their forms of conceiving the world.

3 While MST and MPA are national movements, the APF represents the traditional peoples of Paraná state. The Squatters Movement, in turn, was instituted in Pinhão in 1992, when the inhabitants of the lands acquired by Zattar joined forces to demand their land rights. They called themselves “squatters” due to their condition as people who live and work in the lands under dispute, but who do not own property titles in them.

family, who claim these lands for themselves, and attack the members of social movements. Furthermore, the lumber company continues to be a threatening and destructive agent, which now acts through law suits seeking repossession that often result in the forced eviction of the inhabitants without land titles.

I have been carrying out fieldwork with families who live in the areas appropriated by the lumber industry since 2009. I stay in the homes of dwellers that are involved in different social movements and inhabit different communities. As a woman living inside family homes, I spend most of my time in the company of other women, and my conversations with men usually occur in the presence of their wives, mothers, daughters and children. Therefore, my emphasis on women's stories and on a perspective that interprets the conflicts from within the house is conditioned by the experiences that are available to me in the field.⁴

In this article I discuss how violence is assessed and enacted in tandem with relationships that compose families and communities. I agree with Veena Das (2007) when she states that an analysis of violence should not be limited to events that are witnessed by the researcher, who must look at how violence affects social coexistence and poisons relationships. My interest lies in understanding how violence acts on and constitutes women, how it endures in everyday life and how it is incorporated into social relations that are conceived in ethical terms. In the first part of this article, I rely on Dona Francisca's story to discuss the distinctiveness of land conflicts as struggles that involve the violation of the house. The second part of the article is dedicated to the story of Dona Ana, who killed a *jagunço* and became an example of strength among local women involved in land conflicts. I then analyse the "oath of vengeance" that befalls Ana when the *jagunço's* daughters swear retaliation. "Vengeance" thus emerges as an issue for women and as a relation that is widely discussed in the community, hence becoming everyone's problem. Yet while killing and "vengeances" are accepted as possible acts within the agonistic dynamics of relationships, there are those acts that breach regular routine, emerging as excessive and transgressing conventional boundaries. The final part of this article is dedicated to the production of horror inside the community.

Violence, land and women

Dona Francisca is one of the squatter women that host me at their homes in the Pinhão countryside. The first time I met her she told me about the murder of her husband Leonardo and her experiences during the land conflict with Zattar. Her stories struck me for the strength she displayed in her confrontations with the company's armed men and managers after Leonardo's death, which left her a widow with three children to raise. Leonardo was one of Zattar's armed men. After his death, Francisca became a woman on a land that was not hers. She remained on the land and joined the Squatters Movement, through which she demands rights over the land she inhabits. I have been to Francisca's house and I have listened to her stories on the land conflicts a great many times. In the following pages, I intend to relay some of the ways through which she constitutes herself as the legitimate owner of her land. To this end, I discuss the mutual implications of land, gender and violence in land conflicts.

In 1970 Dona Francisca married Leonardo, who worked in the Zattar Industries sawmills. He was later given a new job offer from the company: they asked him to become a "guard", which is how Francisca refers to her husband's occupation. "Guards", *jagunços* and "hit men" are the terms used by Pinhão's dwellers for the armed men of Zattar Industries. By using these nouns, people express their judgments about the activities of these employees of the company (Ayoub 2013, 2015). "Guard" thus emerges as a moderate and respectful term, which highlights surveillance activities without conveying that the use of violence was part

⁴ This work was supported by the *Projeto Memórias dos Povos do Campo no Paraná* (ITCG/MinC) and AFATRUP (Pinhão's Rural Workers Association). I also received research grants from PPGAS/MN/UFRJ and Capes, and scholarships from Capes, Faperj and CNPq.

of the job. *Jagunço* is a noun employed mostly by those intimately involved in conflicts with the company and who identify as members of social movements. It is a term that expressed the illegal use of force in safeguarding Zattar's territorial claims. Finally, "hit man" is a category that puts violence squarely at the forefront, designating a man who is paid to kill people.

Francisca has always called Leonardo a "guard", while she uses the term "hit men" to refer to his work colleagues. She stresses that he took the job "for the salary", not "to harm" someone. As well as the money, there was another material benefit that attracted him to work as a "guard": a house to live in and land to cultivate. Thus, in the late 1980s, Dona Francisca and Leonardo moved to the same area in which she still lives, but which she does not hold titles to.

Leonardo worked as a "guard" until his death in the early 1990s. He was killed on a Sunday, while watching a horse race in Zattarlândia. A man named Odair, who had recently moved in to the company's private settlement, shot Leonardo during the event. Odair then left Pinhão.

Francisca has often told me that she believes Leonardo's killing was arranged by his work colleagues, since he might have known something that they did not want disclosed, or perhaps because he had refused to take part in illicit activities. In her account, Odair is the thread that connects Zattar to the death of Leonardo. Although she never met him, she heard that he had killed people before. Whenever she speaks of Leonardo's work, she insists he was a good person, who only performed surveillance activities, and who had never killed anyone. He was a "guard", not a "hit man".

A month after Leonardo's death, Francisca went to the company's office in Zattarlândia to demand her husband's financial settlement, i.e., his Christmas bonus and holiday benefit. The company's manager laughed at her and said that they would not pay her a single cent. This humiliation devastated Francisca. But the event also created a debt: "you will still pay me", she thought to herself there and then. Recently, when we were talking about other squatters' problems with Zattar, she discussed her own ties to her land: "I stood here because they did not pay me what they owed my husband", she said. Francisca also claims that she was the one who "worked" in the land, breeding pigs and planting crops. Leonardo had not learned to perform these activities, for he always worked in sawmills, and when he became a "guard" his "work" again took him outside of the family's land.

Francisca recalls that a few weeks before he was murdered, Leonardo told her he could die because of his work. "If I die, you will not take our children and leave this land. You will stay right here", he told her, and then made her promise that she would not move away. Francisca therefore stood her ground. She had no money and nowhere else to go. Her younger brother moved in with her, to help her raise the children. They both began working in other people's lands because the company's armed men would not let them plant or extract yerba mate.

Five years after Leonardo's death, *jagunços* tried to remove Francisca from her land. One night, they shot against her rooftop, aiming to scare her into leaving. The company later sent the "hit man" Lauro to live in a house next to Francisca's fence. He and other armed men used to walk into her land to watch and frighten her family. They used her place as a path through which they moved freely, making it clear that it was not her property. Many times she extracted yerba mate and Zattar's men took the product from her. In those days, Amalia, a neighbour and friend, used to sleep over at Francisca's. She went whenever her husband was working away from home, for she feared that *jagunços* would come at night and burn her residence.

The experiences of Francisca and Amalia are typical of the forms of violence perpetrated in land conflicts. These disruptive processes sharply and systematically violate the space of the house. People can furthermore get murdered in their own homes, or have their houses burnt down. This violence is meant to put an end to the tenure that is assured by the presence of an inhabited house.

If the house is a dynamic body, an extension of those who inhabit it (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995), it also participates in a “configuration of houses” (Marcelin 1999). Through the making of kinship by relations of coresidence, the house ties itself to other houses. The destruction of a house does not only uproot the lives of its inhabitants, it also lacerates the meshwork of kinship and coexistence that constitute countryside communities. Additionally, the house is the place of a “family”, where a couple and their children reside, but which also sometimes includes mothers and fathers-in-law, uncles and aunts, nieces and nephews, grandparents and their grandchildren.

The correspondences of gender and the organization of land have been a major focus in the works of Beatriz Heredia (1979), Klaas Woortmann (1990) and Ellen Woortmann and Klaas Woortmann (1997). These anthropologists, who carried out research in different parts of Brazil, emphasise the associations between, on the one hand, food-producing areas, the market and paternal relations; and, on the other, the house, nurture and the maternal relation. We find similar associations in Pinhão. “Work”, understood as income-generating activity, is mostly considered to be a man’s “duty”. Yet women can also take part in “work” activities in and outside the family land, as Francisca always has. There are also female “services” which are ideally attached to household tasks, such as cleaning and cutting firewood. Women are also responsible for the kitchen, where they cook meals for their families and guests, thereby producing bodies and social bonds (Cerqueira 2017).

Nurturing and caring for children is also one of their central activities. Alongside house “services” and food preparation, motherhood is an important aspect of women’s reputations in the Pinhão countryside. These traits are widely observed and discussed by the inhabitants of rural communities, which indicates that what a woman does inside her house is a topic of public conversation. Recent works on rural peoples in Brazil highlight the central role of mothers in the consolidation of family territories. The mother emerges in these works as the person that stabilizes the family in the land (Perutti 2015), or as the most stable tie in a world characterized by instability (Guedes 2013). As Carsten (1997) affirms, the house is more than a domestic unit. It is a place where people “become kin”, one that simultaneously reproduces the community and the hearth.

It is thus possible to argue that “land” and “house” do not correspond to an opposition between public and private spheres, nor do they concern separate domains. Land is home. When women perform their tasks in and for the house, in and for the land, they are also creating bonds between their families and territory. The house, which is the place of intimacy and familiarity, is also where the relations with territory and community are materially and publicly expressed. Hence, where land conflicts are concerned, the more salient threats and more deadly attacks will be directed towards the house. Where land is at stake, all the bodies that live on it are targeted, which places women and children at the centre of the crossfire. Livestock can also get killed, destroying wealth and posing an explicit threat to the family, since animals are part of their owners, and the movement of livestock demarcates a family’s land⁵.

In the context of land conflicts, homes are more than places where violence becomes inscribed. They are living entities. As Feldman claims (1991), the body is transformed and invested with agency through the embodiment of violence. The same happens with land. In Francisca’s experiences, she and her family are publicly marked as “others” by the lumber company, and their land is claimed as “Zattar land” before the whole community. Land becomes a disputed entity, a place claimed by different owners.

5 Jorge Teixeira and I have written about the ethical ways that animals share in social life in rural landscapes (Teixeira & Ayoub 2016). Throughout the last decade, a number of studies have discussed the mutuality of being between humans and animals in rural contexts in Brazil, as expressed in affection (Andriolli 2011), movement (Pereira 2015), or kinship (Leal 2014).

Speaking of the murder of her husband and the attacks that she has suffered, Dona Francisca reveals that these experiences of violence also make her and her family as the legitimate owners of her land, which is, in turn, also produced in conjunction these events and the relations they put into motion.

To strengthen her claims, Francisca sought support in the Squatters Movement. The organization's attorney instructed her to claim property rights by entering a suit of acquisitive prescription, since she had lived there for more than ten years⁶. Francisca had stood her ground and faced up to the shooting, the threats (she could not leave her house since the "hit men" wanted to kill her), the *jagunços* taking her yerba mate and *pinhão*. "I suffered many times, because I knew they wanted to take me away from here. If they tried, I would place myself in front of the land's gate with the children and all my stuff. No way would I leave", she told me. After many years through the courts, Francisca won the suit. She attributes her victory to Our Lady of Aparecida, for she had promised the Virgin that if she won she would build a new house and undergo an "angel's table", which is a common ritual that Pinhão's inhabitants perform to pay promises made to the saints, the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. They prepare a "table", i.e., a meal, and feed the "angels", which are represented by children from the family and community. At the end of the ritual, a pole with the flag of Our Lady was placed in front of Francisca's new house. Planted in the ground, the pole was a symbol of both her devotion and the grace she received. Francisca thought the "debt" was finally paid. But Zattar is still legally claiming ownership over her lands.

Paulão's death

Even before meeting Dona Ana I already knew of her remarkable feat: she is the woman who killed a *jagunço*. This story is widely known and discussed, specially by the squatter women that regularly experience obstructions and abuses from the company's armed men. When they talk about "Zattar's *jagunços*", Paulão is always remembered. They told me how "bad" he was – so bad that he ended up getting killed by a woman.

The first time I went to her house, Dona Ana narrated her role in conflicts with Zattar. "Things got ugly around here nineteen years ago", Ana said. "They started pressing our neighbours and a lot of people went away". She told me the story of Paulinho, who was working on his family's land when his godfather, Paulão, arrived with other *jagunços*. Dona Ana says that he screamed to Paulão: "For God's sake, godfather, don't kill me!" Paulão killed him with two shots.

Dona Ana also mentioned another occasion, when she was working at the barn and Paulão and his fellow armed men surprised her. "He pestered me a lot that day. He rubbed his gun in my face and said I was a dove to his weapon, while my husband was a *jacu*" (a big bird, which is hunted for its meat). Then the *jagunços* burned the barn. They always showed up in Dona Ana's family land to watch what she and her husband Seu José were doing, and to prevent the couple from carrying on with their work. "Paulão was kind of related to José, he was married to my husband's cousin", Dona Ana emphasized, and then added that the *jagunço* was also their "wedding godfather".⁷

6 Acquisitive prescription is a legal method of achieving rights over land through continued possession. Legally, in Brazil, there are various forms of acquisitive prescription, distinguished by the size of the estate, the number of years of possession, and the form of occupation, among other factors. Residence on the land and productive activities are fundamental to suits of acquisitive prescription.

7 In Pinhão a person can have many godfathers and godmothers. These relations are established in a broad range of Catholic rituals, such as: birth baptism, which can occur not only at church, but also at home and at Saint João Maria water fountains; confirmation; marriage. The ritual in question has some important implications on the choice of the godparents, which is usually made by the children's parents when it comes to baptism, and influenced by them in the other rituals. In general, baptismal godparents are chosen among close kin. These are the most important godparents, since they assume the nurture of the child in case the parents die. The other godparents can be people with whom the goddaughter/godson and his or her parents are friends. This type of ritual kinship also recognises ties of reciprocity, and asking someone to be a godparent is taken as high praise, a sign of appreciation. In this ceremonies, godparents and the godchildren's parents become *compadres* ou *comadres*, also sealing a new ritual kinship relation.

When the residents of the areas appropriated by Zattar tell their stories about land conflicts and the acts of the lumber company, they do not consider the armed men to be outsiders to the relations that constitute social life in Pinhão. At the same time, *jagunços* are depicted as strangers who are incapable of communication and reciprocity with the people who live in the lands claimed by Zattar. They are thus perceived through a perspective that resembles what Thiranagama and Kelly (2010) have written regarding “treason”, which they interpret to be the “dark side of intimacy”, an ethical issue which is the product of contradictory obligations that cause vulnerability and anxiety in relations between neighbours and relatives, infecting daily interactions with suspicion. *Jagunços* are ambiguous subjects who are loyal to a boss and, at the same time, friends or relatives of the people who are threatened by that boss.

Paulão was godfather to Paulinho and Ana, and he was married to a cousin of Seu José. Ideally, a godparent must protect and care for his or her godchild, since they share a covenant contracted in God’s view, during a religious ceremony. While kinship may be made through acts (Carsten 1997; Lambek 2011), these acts are not enough to stabilise the relation, which can be imperilled by further acts. However, when Dona Ana remarks on Paulão’s kinship relations with those he killed and threatened, she is expressing more than a bond that comes undone. She appraises how the acts of a person can turn that person into someone who is “odd”, “bad” or “devastating”. Paulão’s excess is, therefore, expressed via his transformation from familiarity into strangeness when he kills his own godson and calls his goddaughter a “dove”, i.e., a hunter’s prey.

One day, Dona Ana and a little boy who she took care of were walking through her family land when she saw Paulão and his gang painting the fence. “Why are you painting this old fence? You should have come earlier, when it was new, not now that it is rotten!”, Dona Ana said to them. She was mad, for *jagunços* painting the fence was also an offense, a statement that Ana’s family land belonged to Zattar. Paulão got irritated with the woman’s affront. He threatened to tie her up and make her watch them paint the fence. Dona Ana ran away with the boy. She said she was afraid that Paulão would harm the child as he had done to Paulinho. “I ran inside the house and took the rifle, which wasn’t even working properly”, Dona Ana said. Then she went outside again, and stood behind a tree, near the fence. From there she shot Paulão twice. He died instantly.

When I met Dona Ana she was awaiting her trial. When it was over, the judge ruled that she had acted in self-defence, and she was acquitted. The women who live in the lands seized by the company have always spoken of Ana with admiration, stressing that it took “guts” to kill that “disturbing” and “bad” man, that “slayer”. Francisca’s daughter, Julia, told me Dona Ana’s story more than once. “God forgive me, but Ana did us a favour”, she used to say after telling me about Paulão’s death. He was one of the *jagunços* that pestered Francisca’s family. When other women told me about Paulão, they treated his death as exemplary: “the one who is overbearing dies by the hand of the one who is weaker”.

“Overbearing” is an adjective that defines the person that establishes a hierarchy between him or herself and the other, suppressing reactions or causing suffering, thereby turning the other into a “weaker” one. “Weakness” is characteristic of a person who is not expected to react to another with the same force, a trait that, like “overbearing”, is connected to social relations. Mothers, for instance, might be “overbearing” to their children, and a child might be “overbearing” to another child that he or she judges “weaker”. But in land conflicts, it is male armed figures working for a company that consolidates a territorial domain who are “overbearing”. If *jagunços* considered most of the squatters “weaker”, children and women were considered the weakest, for nobody would predict a strong reaction from them.

In the stories about the company’s armed men, the “overbearing” *jagunços* are also those who “abuse” people the most. “To abuse” also means to push one’s luck, i.e., to underestimate the danger that one’s acts might bring upon one. Those who are “overbearing” thus risk getting frustrated: blindly trusting in their

force, they are prone to be misled by those who are “weaker”. This is why I would not agree with a reading of these events that interprets Dona Ana as the transgressor of a code that relegates women to passivity and men to action when it comes to violence. If she did the unexpected (the weakest in this case upends the abuser), it is through a performance that is invested with moral values concerning family, femininity and violence. Moreover, the unexpected is precisely what is expected in stories of violence – so much so that forms a proverb: “the one who is overbearing dies by the hand of the one who is weaker”. Dona Ana’s story serves to remind the *jagunços* that there is, after all, no “weaker” party. The question we must ask, then, is not if Dona Ana is an exception, but how a woman can kill a man and become an example.

Jagunços are renowned as “brave” men who had always fought among themselves, and who had killed other men before becoming employees of Zattar. In Pinhão people tell many stories about the men of the “old times”, who walked everywhere carrying guns on their belts. Any disagreement could result in shots being fired. The gun was part of the male subject, a component of masculinity. And that is why Dona Ana’s act is unexpected: guns are not, ideally, the stuff of women. Yet there are stories of women who killed husbands who were violent to them, cheated on them, or because of land issues. I also heard stories of women from the “old times” who took part in their “family struggles”. These women used to carry their guns in the company of their male relatives, and they also knew how to take the life of a person who had killed their kinspeople. Furthermore, women know how to handle guns and rifles. Their fathers, brothers and husbands usually teach them how to use firearms. While women are not expected to walk around carrying a gun, they learn how to use it in self-defence. Guns are hence also a means through which women morally cultivate themselves; but this aspect of women’s identity is not emphasized when people describe women in the Pinhão countryside. The distinctive elements that confer on them authority are: marriage, motherhood, “service”, and their families’ reputations.

When stressing their relationship to their land, Francisca and Ana emphasise their role as mothers and wives. Vianna and Farias (2011) have shown how motherhood provides moral authority to women whose sons were victimized by the police in Rio de Janeiro. The political activity of these women are centred in questioning the disruption of their homes, which are constantly invaded by the police and devastated by the loss of their children. Women in Pinhão are also speaking of a violence that invades their homes and throws their lives into the centre of the conflict. It is also motherhood that empowers them in those cases, for nurturing and taking proper care of their children is seen to be their main duty. But women in Pinhão are not part of a specific social movement, such as the mother’s movements that Vianna and Farias study. Their experiences are part of the political demands of social movements, but they do not usually fulfil leadership roles in these organizations.

As Mahmood stresses, “agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in the multiple ways in which one *inhabits* norms” (Mahmood 2005: 15). The agency of women can be expressed in forms of action and in the construction of moral subjects within the “norm”, and not only through its transgression. This is a focal point of the stories of women who kill men in Pinhão, and in the stories about the *jagunços* of Zattar. These women are not opposing the gender morality of their social world. Instead, they are making use of their own position as wives, mothers, daughters and members of families to confront men and Zattar. If the “fights” of “brave” men are directed towards other, equally “brave” and armed men, land conflicts encompass the house and the family who dwells in it. This, coupled with Paulão’s behaviour, gave Dona Ana the guts to kill him. It does not make her a “manlier” woman. Her story is the story of a woman who sees herself threatened as a mother and a home owner. It is in this sense that other women identify themselves with Dona Ana, and remark that Paulão got what he deserved. It was their world he destroyed.

The time of vengeance

While squatter women speak of Paulão's death as a relief, his daughters want to kill Dona Ana. It was Francisca, who is Dona Ana's *comadre* and lives in a "community" close to Paulão's daughters, that told me about their plans for "vengeance". These women all attend the same church; they know each other's families and also the other families who inhabit that region of Pinhão. Although they are not "neighbours" and do not live in the same "communities", Dona Francisca, Dona Ana and Paulão's daughters constitute and are constituted by the vicinage relations that compose places in Pinhão's countryside.

Pina Cabral and Godoi (2014) propose the notion of "vicinage" to define the plural logics (kinship, friendship, affinity, etc.) through which places of habitation are territorially bonded and bounded. In Pinhão, the "communities" are indexed by the presence of a Catholic or Protestant church, which occupies the centre of these localities. Around the church we find a school, a small public health centre, bars and houses. Most of the communities' dwellers live in lands that are not immediately next to the church. I call them family lands, since they are inhabited by different family members. After marriage, some of the sons and daughters usually build their own houses in specific plots of the family land, over which they acquire rights.

Every "community" member knows the others. They can have ties with "people" from other "communities", particularly adjacent ones. For instance, Dona Francisca has a brother who lives near the former gated settlement of Zattarlândia and whose son is married to one of Dona Ana's daughters. One of Ana's daughters married a young man from a family that lives in Francisca's "community". Marriage is a bond that binds families from different "communities", but there are other movements that connect them. They can attend the same churches and the same parties at the houses of acquaintances. They can work at the same places, mutually assist each other, visit each other, or catch the same buses in their trips to the municipality's urban area. Moving between houses and other places, people also engage in conversations and ratify relations; relations that can likewise provide lines of fracture in future conflicts (Comerford, Carneiro & Dainese 2015).

When Dona Francisca hosted the "angels table" at her house, she was worried about inviting Dona Ana and Paulão's daughters. She knew that the latter wanted to kill Dona Ana and had threatened her publicly. Francisca told me that one of these threats occurred inside the church. Paulão's daughter sat on the pew beside Ana. She turned to the woman who killed her father and whispered: "your number will soon come up". Dona Francisca then repeated Ana's reply to the woman: "Only God knows when my number will come up. Maybe yours will come up before mine". On another occasion, the other daughter raised a fuss when she encountered Dona Ana in the bus that takes people to the urban centre. She shouted to everyone that Ana would still pay for her deed.

"Vengeance" is a common theme in stories about deaths by homicide in Pinhão, since people see retribution as the means to "resolve" an unsettled grievance. From the moment it bursts into the world, "vengeance" is grafted onto the ethics of ordinary life. When Foucault (1984) connected the notion of ethics to the production of moral subjects, he stressed the stylization of conduct and caring for oneself and others as practices that do not simply reflect rules and obligations. Such practices and habits are cultivated through people's actions and relations to one another, therefore expressing how subjects are engaged with morality. Recently, Michael Lambek (2015) and Veena Das (2012) have discussed that ethics is immanent to human life; it is part of how life is lived with others. Therefore, while Das sees ethics in "the small disciplines" that people perform in their everyday (Das 2012: 139), Lambek understands the "ethical condition" as intrinsic to human action, for it concerns the different ways people relate to criteria and exercise practical judgment (Lambek 2015: 38).

Typically, killings are “resolved” by the dead person’s closest relatives: his parents, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters. They are the ones who “swear vengeance on the coffin” that carries the dead person. Both the family of the person who is killed and of the killer also embody that death, which becomes another element in the “mutuality of being” (Sahlins 2011: 2-3) that constitutes kinship ties. The members of the families of the deceased and of the killer will avoid encounters and keep a distance if they meet; other persons who know them will also make efforts to prevent encounters between them.

Campbell (1964), Bourdieu (1972) and Herzfeld (1985) have explored, in different ways, the implications of homicide in relationships between families. All include aggressiveness and violence as masculine traits, connected to values of “honour”. Women appear as honourable subjects, albeit their honour is attached to sexual decency and domestic relations. When homicides therefore affect families, it is men who are called upon to act publicly. In Pinhão, “vengeance” is usually enacted by and on men, and weapons are considered a trait of their masculinity. Yet, when it comes to land, women can become victims of violence and embrace guns as instruments for their own protection. For instance, Dona Ana killed Paulão inside her land. His daughters, then, took on the mantle of “vengeance”, which is here an issue between women. In contrast to the “vengeance” stories involving men, Paulão’s daughters confront Dona Ana publicly with words and gestures. They approach and defy, while men usually confront to kill. Killings and vengeance are thus also a matter of and for women, but men and women perform vengeance differently.

“Vengeance” is not a rule that everyone must compulsorily follow, and to seek is not necessarily to execute it. As Marques (2002) points out concerning issues (*questões*) and intrigue (*intrigas*), in Pernambuco, a killing unveils and qualifies a new state of relations. Although retaliations might occur, they can also remain latent and feed the tension between the parties. In Pinhão “vengeance” irrupts as an “oath” that signals a rupture between the families involved in a murder, reverberating thus across the broader community and friendship relations. The people that coexist with those families take an interest in the “oath” and its possible outcome. In Ana’s case, “vengeance” becomes a preoccupation for Francisca, who now has to assess how to talk about it and how to handle encounters with the implicated parties. The only certainty surrounding “vengeance” is that it can happen. Nobody knows exactly when it will occur, or even if it is in fact going to occur. While “vengeance” remains in the horizon, it expresses an open wound, a possibility that can be the starting point for numerous narratives (Gilsenan 1996).

Francisca and Ana live through dilemmas concerning the possibility of retaliation. When the former hosted the “angel’s table” at her house, she had to manage her relations with Ana and with Paulão’s daughters. Not inviting one of the parties would put Francisca in trouble, for she would create “grievance” between herself and the absent person. In Pinhão’s countryside, people give great importance to visits, greetings and party invitations. The interruptions of these invitations is taken as an offense, a grave disregard for someone. And specially in this case, not inviting one of the parties could be seen as an act of support for the other. Francisca decided to invite them all, and assumed the risk of a scandal in her own house. Fortunately, the women stood far from each other during the celebration.

Ana’s dilemma is different. She killed Paulão due to a land conflict in which he acted as a *jagunço*. He was a familiar person, not an employee that went to work and left at the end of the day. Paulão lived with his family in a land near Dona Ana’s community, and his death became his daughters’ problem to “resolve”. Killing the *jagunço* may have given Ana and many people some peace, but this did not last long. She is now wanted dead. Moreover, her problems of land ownership have not come to an end, since Zattar still maintains its land titles in Pinhão.

The fact that the activities of Zattar Industries can lead a woman to kill a *jagunço*, and to become a person wanted dead in “vengeance”, is evidence that we cannot separate violence in land conflicts from the social relations and ethics of communities and families in Pinhão’s countryside. Medeiros (1996) highlights

the political aspects of violence against rural workers, and claims that violence is a “traditional pattern of domination”, also inscribed in the possibilities of social relations. *Jagunços* are historically attached to forms of land expropriation and territorial domain in Brazil, and they are also part of Pinhão’s rural communities. Their work cannot be separated from the vicinage bonds and forms of moral conduct that are valued in the countryside of the municipality. That is also how the company’s actions are significantly attached to the daily lives and sociality of Pinhão. To understand experiences of violence in land conflicts, we must observe how large landowners and their armed agents participate in the life that is lived in the lands in which they act.

The central role of vengeance in “honour crimes” accounts for the occupational vocation of “hit men”, as presented in Barreira’s works (Barreira 1992, 1998). The author reiterates that, historically, large landowners have used violence as a display of force. This allows us to consider that men who are paid to murder rural workers can rely on the logic of “vengeance” to make their actions seem to be retaliations, and therefore legitimate and reasonable reactions to former blood shed in their own families. Villela (2004) further discusses the relations between vengeance and politics, confirming the centrality of retaliatory acts in the constitution of political alliances. In his ethnography, kinship provides the idiom by means of which political groups and vengeance cycles are conceived. Kinship, politics and violence therefore emerge as connected, rather than distinct, domains. Finally, in Barros’ account of conflicts in Japuara, in the state of Ceará, vengeance occurs during a police siege against rural workers. A man that accompanied the police killed a rural worker and then claimed it as an act of revenge, since his brother was killed during the siege (Barros 2013: 96). Here, where vengeance takes place during a police raid, it emerges as an aspect of State violence.

Vengeance cannot therefore be taken as a form of customary violence, a code pertaining to old structures of social regulation, or to private acts in the flow of major political conflicts. In Pinhão, “vengeance” is an actual form of dealing with homicides and a means for tying killings to social relations. While the actions of *jagunços* are seen as abuses, they are also managed within family and community, and therefore can be transmuted into other forms of conflict and hostility, as is the case with “vengeance”. Comerford (2003) claims that conflict is an agonistic form of sociability, a dynamic process that underlies the course of familiarity and living together, and which refers to an economy of respect and tension. In places such as those where Francisca and Ana live, land conflicts are also agonistic relations and conducts, hence affecting intimate bonds between people. It is through these tense ways of living together that deaths and hostilities endure and can always engender new violent actions. But this does not mean that conflict and violence are kept within accepted boundaries, nor that they fail to cause destruction in their wake. Horror, excess and fear also become a major part of people’s lives and relationships.

Of children and slaughter: horror and community

The last few times I went to Dona Francisca’s land, she and her family told me about recent events that had appalled them. One of these events occurred in 2014, when arson resulted in the deaths of three children. The boys that died were brothers aged eight, ten and twelve. They lived with their mother in a Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) camp, which is close to Francisca’s land, situated in one of the areas that Zattar Industries “offered” to the Incra (National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform) in 2006. The landless workers occupied these areas in 2007, and Francisca’s land was the first base camp of their organization, where they initially settled before occupying the company’s areas. During the first years of the camp, the landless workers lived in “shacks”. In time, they built wooden houses in the lands, which are now divided into “lots” that belong to specific families.

Standing next to the wood-burning stove, Francisca and her daughter Fátima talked about their exasperations and doubts concerning the children's death. The boys were alone in the house, because their mother, who was divorced from their father, had gone to the city. The fire was set at night and spread quickly. The youngest of the boys managed to make his way out of the house, but he was severely burned and died at the hospital. His two brothers died inside their home.

According to Francisca, people were commenting that the boys had themselves caused the fire. The police claimed it was an accident. Maybe it could have started from the wood-burning stove's ashes, or perhaps a candle fell and the fire spread. "But look, if they had started the fire, they would have left the house, they would have jumped out the window, I don't know! And at least the older one, who was already twelve, would have had a chance to save himself or to help the younger ones!", Fátima said. Francisca then stressed that the house was made of freshly cut wood. "It's really hard to burn that kind of wood. If they couldn't manage to escape, it is because the fire spread really fast. And the fire could only have spread fast if another substance had fuelled it". Francisca and Fátima concluded that someone had spread gasoline around the house and then lit it. "Who could have done such thing?", I asked them. "Look, Dibe, we cannot say who it was for no one saw", Dona Francisca replied. "But we have our suspicions", she concluded.

The suspicions were based on events that had been occurring since the landless workers settled in the area. Claiming the ownership of the lands, a family named Junqueira attacked the members of the social movement, setting fires and arranging drive-by shootings. They filed a suit of ownership repossession against the MST, but it was unsuccessful since the land titles belong to Zattar, and the lands are being negotiated with the Brazilian State through Incra. However, legal setbacks failed to stop the Junqueiras from forcibly claiming the lands. No further police investigations were undertaken to identify what may have caused the fire that killed the three children.

Francisca and Fátima's words were laden with sadness. Fátima, who works at the school where the boys studied, said she used to see them everyday and that, now and again, when she is working, she remembers their faces. After she made that statement, Gabriel, her nine-year-old son who was listening to our conversation from the living room, came in to the kitchen, pulled up a chair, and joined us. "Going to school was a really sad thing after they died. One of them was our age and used to play with me and Rafael (Gabriel's cousin). We were always together", Gabriel said in a low and serious tone, with his legs drawn up. Silence overtook our conversation. We changed the subject.

When the dwellers of Pinhão talk about killings that occur between men and women whose interactions is pervaded by hostility, they usually call these events "fights", "troubles", "vengeances", and "settling of scores". All of these expressions refer to possibilities of assassination that emerge in the dynamic of agonistic relations. Even if they are considered "ugly things" and engender pain, they are also taken as events that "might happen", i.e., as understandable outcomes to hostile situations. Children stand as expressive limits to how far killings can go, for their assassination is "what cannot happen". When a child is murdered or witnesses a death, we are in the domain of "evilness", "absurdity" and "violence". Children are not only "weaker" persons who must be protected and nurtured, they are also "angels" in the eyes of God, as the religious ritual that Francisca performed observes. Their assassination is therefore considered a grave transgression, and the person who does it stands outside the conceivable world.

In her discussion about child killings in land conflicts in Amazonia, Andrade notes that these crimes are not based on an "honour code", or in "divergences between families" (Andrade 1993: 48). The author argues that the main objective of these crimes is to "disrupt peasant families". Hence land conflicts are characterized by violent acts that exceed agonistic sociality, for the objective is to destroy the family's relation to a piece of land. If people move away to flee from "vengeance", in this case they cannot just go away, for their purpose is to have a piece of land. Therefore, mass killings, arson and hired murderers

are central to land conflicts, because the intention of those who organize such acts is to destroy people's attachment to the territory. The death of children, then, is more than an event that dismantles a family. It strikes at the fabric of the social world, spreading terror. Veena Das observes that "boundaries between the ordinary and the eventful are drawn in terms of the failure of the grammar of the ordinary", when our knowledge of how the world is supposed to be is "put into question" by violence that does not find ways of being said in the forms of everyday life (Das 2007: 8). The assassination of children and the fires are thus not predicted in that grammar of the agonistic sociality that includes "vengeance". Although these horrific acts are mentioned in people's narratives, they are not commented as crimes that entail retaliation, for any possibility of response fails in light of such brutality.

Moreover, even "vengeance" has its limits. The Junqueiras are also the central characters in retaliations that resulted in a massacre. So many people were killed that the story became widely known and discussed in Pinhão. The family want more than the lands occupied by the landless workers. They are also claiming the lands of other small landowners in their community, such as the Ventura family. In June of 2016, the dead body of Marcio Ventura was found by the roadside. Months later, it was Roque Junqueira who was found dead in the bush. In November 2016, Bruno Ventura, an eighteen-year-old boy, was shot as he was arriving at the gate of his family's land. He was taken to the hospital and survived. Four days later, his sister Jocelia was shot to death at the edge of a water fountain. After that, the Venturas left their land. In September 2017, they returned. A week later, when Felipe Ventura was with his fellow workers in a truck, the Junqueiras ambushed them. Felipe and two of the other workers were killed. Before dying, Felipe managed to shoot and kill Leozil Junqueira.

"Can you believe that, when all of this happened, a policeman said on the radio that there had been no assassinations in Pinhão since 2014?", Dona Francisca asked me after narrating the ambush, which was witnessed by children who were on their way to school. "What kind of police is that?", Francisca continued. Then Fátima said that the police went to the Junqueira's lands, had coffee with the family, and did not arrest a single one. "No one gets arrested, nothing happens", Dona Francisca said. The remaining Venturas left once again. On the edge of the road where the killings took place, there is now a big cross, right in front of the fence of the Junqueiras' land.

Although some of my friends that live in other rural communities said that this massacre was the result of "family vengeances", they also questioned this way of classifying these acts. If "vengeance" leads to the possibility of retaliation, and therefore to a story that can go on for a long time, killing a whole family or extending retaliation cycles to their limit is an absurd possibility, for it leads to annihilation. It is also not common that four people, two of which were not even members of the families involved in the "fight", get killed at the same time. When Francisca talked to me about these events, she always stressed Jocelia's murder, the appearance of her dead body, her baby who was still breastfeeding. She also kept going over the scene of the children passing by four dead bodies covered in blood. "How could they kill a woman, a baby's mother?"; "What kind of person ambushes a truck at seven in the morning in the middle of a road used by everyone?"; "Two of the dead had nothing to do with the story, they lost their lives for nothing". These were some of Francisca's queries, which show that the Junqueiras had transcended the terrain of vengeance. What they carried out was a "slaughter", as Francisca and Fatima called it, which was understood as an absurdity that was related to other acts that they had previously performed. The Junqueiras had shown everyone that they are willing to do anything in order to take other people's lands.

Though horror fails the grammar of agonistic relations, it also retroactively enters it after violent events. The Junqueiras, for instance, live close to Francisca's family. They are within the community, just as the *jagunços* were. Their actions, movements, lands, work activities, and relations to other people are observed and traced in conversations, therefore entering the activities of "watching and telling" which

are so important in “agonistic sociability” (Comerford 2014). They might be taken for “crazy people” or “bandits”, but they are still part of the community’s life. The absurd, thus, steps into the everyday as fear shared by everyone who passes through the road where the ambush occurred. That fear attaches to relations, lands, places, movements. To live in lands that are desired and attacked by others, as Francisca says, is to live a life where “only God can protect us”.

Concluding Remarks

This work discussed how women in Pinhão, Paraná conceptualize violence in land conflicts. Their stories bring to the fore two main themes: 1) land and violence are also constituted as women’s problems, and thereby as matters that encompass gender; 2) violence in land conflicts is conceptualized through ethical forms that embrace family and community relations. It is therefore a subject apprehended from within sociality.

Women show us that, when it comes to land conflicts, land is a living entity that is inseparable from house and home. Although some studies have demonstrated that land is a masculine subject, women stress that land is the place where a family lives. The house stands as the materialization of land ownership and it is therefore the main target for an enemy. It is their duties and acts as mothers, wives and land workers that are foregrounded when women talk about the ways that they act in conflicts and violent situations.

Ethics is also a central theme. When women talk about violence, they also assess how someone acts in terms of care for oneself and for others in family and community. If some of the company’s armed men are taken as “good” people – as Francisca’s husband, who is considered a mere “guard” – they might also be judged as persons who, in the course of their conduct, become detached from the community. This is the case of Paulão, the *jagunço* killed by Dona Ana, who, for her part, is now wanted dead by the man’s daughters. Since “vengeance” is a common way to handle killings in Pinhão’s rural communities, it is also part of the agonistic relations that constitute rural communities and of the grammar of fighting and killing that is practiced in these communities. But there are acts of violence that fail that grammar, such as those perpetrated by Paulão himself. When children are assassinated, houses are burnt down and “vengeances” extend to massacres, the ordinary possibilities of conflict and violence are trespassed. Horror, then, enters sociality as fear and incomprehension. It is also through vicinage relations that violence endures in these women’s lives. Hence, even if the land issue is resolved, the violent acts that have happened throughout these struggles are already part of people’s coexistence.

Land remains a disputed matter for families who inhabit the areas that Zattar acquired in Pinhão. Now the members of social movements face other enemies, such as the Junqueiras, who claim the lands inhabited by the MST and other dwellers. But we cannot forget the lumber industry, which still owns the lands titles. While Zattar is negotiating lands with the State, it has also gained legal claims of ownership repossession against squatter communities. In December 2017 the whole community of Alecrim was evicted. The police expelled the squatters from their homes and then destroyed their houses, fences, barns, the community’s church, and the free clinic. The eviction generated despair throughout the municipality. The social movements blocked the most important highway in the region and demanded actions from the State. The National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) reaffirmed its commitment to solve the land problems in Pinhão, and the Paraná State Public Prosecution’s Office managed to halt other planned evictions until December of 2018.

In a meeting that occurred in February of 2018 in one of the squatter communities threatened with eviction, one of the men who leads the Squatters Movement proclaimed the following: “The enemy is still alive, and he no longer acts with *jagunços*. He uses much worse means”. This remarkable statement

also shows how violence endures in the everyday, and how its forms are multiple when it comes to land conflicts. Zattar persists, and so does the struggle of the members of social movements. The company might not use *jagunços* anymore. But the destruction of people's homes is still its objective. The "worse ways" are, of course, legally instituted evictions, which can put hundreds of families in disgrace.

Violence in land conflicts consists of actions that threaten the continuity of people's relations to the places where they live and work. To continue to live in disputed land is hence to face the possibility of the destruction of the family, as well as of the social world as it is known and experienced. It is no wonder that people emphasize that if Zattar accomplishes the planned evictions, Pinhão will fall into chaos. Yet when we pay attention to how women express the possible destructions, it becomes clear that there are diverse relations of familiarity at stake. This is not only because Junqueiras and *jagunços* live nearby, but also because land is the place where social intimacy is produced. It is this domain of intimacy that women refer to in their stories: forms of relating and living that are interwoven with power relations, politics of land ownership and potential killings and destruction. Yet, as we can see, chaos and destruction do not detain these women. They are also fighting for life.

Received: December 30, 2017

Approved: January 10, 2018

Revision: Luiz Costa

References

- ALMEIDA, Alfredo Wagner Berno de. 2006. *Terras de Quilombo, Terras Indígenas, "Babaçuais Livres", "Castanhais do Povo", Faxinais e Fundos de Pasto": Terras Tradicionalmente Ocupadas*. Manaus: PPGSCA-UFAM.
- ANDRADE, Maristela. 1993. "Violências contra crianças camponesas na Amazônia. In: José de Souza Martins (org.), *O massacre dos inocentes: a criança sem infância no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec. pp. 37-50.
- ANDRIOLLI, Carmen Silvia. 2011. *Sob as vestes de Sertão Veredas, os Gerais: "Mexer com criação" no Sertão do IBAMA*. Tese de Doutorado, Universidade Estadual de Campinas - Campinas.
- AYOUB, Dibe. 2013. "Os posseiros do Pinhão – conflitos e resistências frente à indústria madeireira". In: Liliana Porto, Jefferson de Oliveira Salles, Sônia M. dos Santos Marques (orgs.), *Memórias dos Povos do Campo no Paraná – Centro-Sul*. Curitiba: ITCG. pp.151-172.
- _____. 2015. "Guardas, jagunços e pistoleiros: narrativas sobre homens de armas em um conflito de terras". *Ruris*, 9(2): 13-44.
- BARREIRA, César. 1992. *Trilhas e atalhos do poder: conflitos sociais no sertão*. Rio de Janeiro: Rio Fundo Editora.
- _____. 1998. *Crimes por encomenda: violência e pistolagem no cenário brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, Núcleo de Antropologia da Política.
- BARROS, Francisco Claudes Sousa. 2013. *Japuara, um relato das entranhas do conflito*. Brasília: Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 1972. *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*. Genève: Editions Droz.
- BRUMER, Anita; TAVARES DOS SANTOS, José Vicente. 2006. "Estudos agrários no Brasil: modernização, violência e lutas sociais (desenvolvimento e limites da Sociologia Rural no final do século XX)". *Revista Nera*, 9: 49-72.

- CAMPBELL, John K. 1964. *Honour, Family and Patronage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CARSTEN, Janet. 1997. *The Heat of the Hearth: The Process of Kinship in a Malay Fishing Community*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____; HUGH-JONES, Stephen. 1995. "Introduction: About the house – Lévi-Strauss and beyond". In: Janet Carsten; Stephen Hugh-Jones (eds.), *About the house: Lévi- Strauss and beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-46.
- CERQUEIRA, Ana Carneiro. 2017. "Mulher é trem ruim": a 'cozinha' e o 'sistema' em um povoado norte-mineiro". *Estudos Feministas*, 25(2): 707-731.
- CHANG, Man Yu. 1988. *Sistema Faxinal: Uma forma de organização camponesa em desagregação no Centro-sul do Paraná*. Londrina: IAPAR.
- COMERFORD, John. 2003. *Como uma Família: Sociabilidade, Territórios de Parentesco e Sindicalismo Rural*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará.
- _____. 2014. "Vigiar e narrar: sobre formas de observação, narração e julgamento de movimentações". *Revista de Antropologia*, 57(2): 107-142.
- _____; CARNEIRO, Ana; DAINESE, Grazielle. 2015. "Giros etnográficos em Minas Gerais: Casa, comida, prosa, festa, política, briga e o diabo". In: J. Comerford, A. Carneiro, G. Dainese (orgs.), *Giros etnográficos em Minas Gerais: casa, comida, prosa, festa, política, briga e o diabo*. Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras: FAPERJ. pp. 9-27.
- DAS, Veena. 2007. *Life and words: violence and the descent into the ordinary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2012. "Ordinary Ethics". In: D. Fassin (org.), *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. pp.133-149.
- FELDMAN, Allen. 1991. *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. 1984. *Histoire de la sexualité, t. II - L'usage des plaisirs*. Paris: Gallimard.
- GILSENAN, Michael. 1996. *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and Narrative in an Arab Society*. London-New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers.
- GUEDES, André Dumans. 2013. *O trecho, as mães e os papéis: etnografia de movimentos e durações no norte de Goiás*. São Paulo: Garamond.
- HEREDIA, Beatriz Maria Alásia de. 1979. *A Morada da Vida: trabalho familiar de pequenos produtores do Nordeste do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- HERZFELD, Michael. 1985. *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- LAMBEK, Michael. 2011. "Kinship as gift and theft: Acts of succession in Mayotte and Israel". *American Ethnologist*, 38(1): 2-16.
- _____. 2015. "The ethical condition". In: Michael Lambek (ed.) *The ethical condition: essays on action, person and value*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. pp. 1-39.
- LEAL, Natacha Simeí. 2014. *Nome aos bois: Zebus e zebuzeiros em uma pecuária brasileira de elite*. Tese de Doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo - São Paulo.
- MAHMOOD, Saba. 2005. *Politics of piety: the Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- MARCELIN, Louis HERNES. 1999. "A linguagem da casa entre os negros no Recôncavo Baiano". *Mana. Estudos de Antropologia Social*, 5(2): 31-60.
- MARQUES, Ana Cláudia. 2002. *Intrigas e questões: vingança de família e tramas sociais no sertão de Pernambuco*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará.
- MARTINS, José de Souza. 1981. *Os camponeses e a política no Brasil*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

- MEDEIROS, Leonilde Servolo de. 1996. “Dimensões políticas da violência no campo”. *Tempo*, 1: 126-141.
- PEREIRA, Luzimar Paulo. 2015. “O movimento dos bichos: notas etnográficas sobre animais, seres humanos e espaços em Urucuaia, MG”. *Ruris*, 9(1): 63-84.
- PERUTTI, Daniela. 2015. *Tecer amizade, habitar o deserto: Uma etnografia do quilombo Família Magalhães (GO)*. Tese de Doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo - São Paulo.
- PINA-CABRAL, João de; GODOI, Emília Pietrafesa. 2014. “Apresentação: Vicinalidades e Casas Partíveis”. *Revista de Antropologia*, 57(2): 11-21.
- PORTO, Liliana. 2013. “Uma reflexão sobre os faxinais: meio-ambiente, sistema produtivo, identidades políticas, formas tradicionais de ser e de viver”. In: Liliana Porto, Jefferson de Oliveira Salles, Sônia M. dos Santos Marques (orgs.), *Memórias dos Povos do Campo no Paraná – Centro-Sul*. Curitiba: ITCG. pp. 59-77.
- SAHLINS, Marshall. 2011. “What kinship is (part one)”. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 17: 2-19.
- SOUZA, Roberto Martins de. 2010. “Na luta pela terra, nascemos faxinalenses”: uma reinterpretação do campo intelectual de debates sobre os faxinais. Tese de Doutorado, Universidade Federal do Paraná - Curitiba.
- TEIXEIRA, Jorge Luan; AYOUB, Dibe. 2016. “Cachorros que atacam criação: reflexões éticas sobre a mobilidade e a vida social dos animais em ambientes rurais”. *Iluminuras*, 17(2): 136-165.
- THIRANAGAMA, Sharika; KELLY, Tobias. 2010. “Introduction: Specters of Treason”. In: S. Thiranagama, T. Kelly (eds.), *Traitors: Suspicion, intimacy and the Ethics of State-Building*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 1-23.
- VELHO, Otávio. 1976. *Capitalismo autoritário e campesinato*. São Paulo: DIFEL.
- VIANNA, Adriana; FARIAS, Juliana. 2011. “A guerra das mães: dor e política em situações de violência institucional”. *Cadernos Pagu*, 37: 79-116.
- VILLELA, Jorge Mattar. 2004. *O povo em armas: violência e política no sertão de Pernambuco*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará.
- WOORTMANN, Klaas. 1990. “Com parente não se negueia’: O Campesinato Como Ordem Moral”. *Anuário Antropológico*, 87: 11-73. Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília.
- _____; WOORTMANN, Ellen. 1997. *O trabalho da terra: a lógica e a simbólica da lavoura camponesa*. Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília.

Dibe Ayoub

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, National Museum

Graduate Programme in Social Anthropology

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3516-8682>

E-mail: dibeayoub@gmail.com

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Deserving victimhood: kinship, emotions and morality in contemporary politics

*Virginia Vecchioli*¹

¹ Universidade Federal de Santa Maria,
Programa de Pós-graduação em Ciências Sociais, Santa Maria/RS, Brasil

Abstract

This paper is about the place of family values, kinship relations and feelings of compassion for victims in national public space. Setting out from a description of various public affairs concerning the relatives of disappeared in Argentina, I show the key role played by blood ties and family values in forming a legitimate political representation. While the claim of blood ties with victims had been instituted as a legitimate form of political representation ever since the return to democracy, over the last decade or so sentiments towards victims have become incorporated into the State, enabling the latter to be imagined as a victim too. Here I explore diverse assessments of these affective dispositions, the critical place attributed to suffering in forging forms of governmentality, and the significant role played by the State in the unequal distribution of feelings of compassion.

Keywords: victims; humanitarianism; kinship; State; affects.

Merecendo a condição de vítima: parentesco, emoções e moralidade na política contemporânea

Resumo

Este artigo trata sobre o lugar dos valores familiares, das relações de parentesco e dos sentimentos de compaixão para com as vítimas na política. Sob a base da descrição de vários affaires públicos relativos aos familiares de desaparecidos políticos na Argentina, apresento o lugar chave que ocupam os laços de sangue e os valores familiares na conformação de uma representação política legítima. Se a reivindicação dos laços de sangue com as vítimas constituiu uma forma legítima de representação política desde o início da democracia, a partir dos últimos quatorze anos os sentimentos para com as vítimas fizeram seu ingresso ao Estado, fazendo possível que ele seja imaginado também como uma vítima. Analiso o valor destas disposições afetivas, o lugar chave dado ao sofrimento das vítimas na criação de formas de governamentalidade e o papel significativo que tem o Estado na distribuição desigual destes sentimentos de compaixão.

Palavras-chave: vítimas; humanitarismo; parentesco; Estado; afetos.

Merecer la condición de víctima: parentesco, emociones y moralidad en la política contemporánea

Resumen

Este artículo trata sobre el valor de los valores familiares, las relaciones de parentesco y los sentimientos de compasión con las víctimas en la política contemporánea. Tomando como punto de partida el análisis de una serie de eventos públicos relacionados con los familiares de los desaparecidos en la Argentina, analizo el lugar central que ocupan los vínculos de sangre y los valores de la familia en la conformación de una representación política legítima. Mientras que la reivindicación de un vínculo de sangre con las víctimas se instituyó como una forma de representación política legítima desde el retorno a la democracia, a lo largo de la última década, los sentimientos de compasión hacia las víctimas hicieron su ingreso al Estado, haciendo posible que sea imaginado como una víctima. Analizo en este trabajo el valor de estas disposiciones afectivas, el lugar crítico que ocupa el sufrimiento de las víctimas en la creación de formas de governamentalidad y el papel significativo que tiene el Estado en la distribución desigual de sentimientos de compasión.

Palabras clave: víctimas; humanitarismo; parentesco; Estado; afectos.

Deserving victimhood: kinship, emotions and morality in contemporary politics

Virginia Vecchioli

Introduction

We do not mourn mass murder unless we have already identified with the victims, and this only happens once in a while, when the symbols are aligned
Alexander, 2002:4

After thirty-six years of relentless searching, on August 5th 2014, Estela Barnes de Carlotto, president of the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo Association (*Asociación Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*),¹ finally found her own grandson, Ignacio, son of her daughter Laura, who had disappeared during the dictatorship and was killed after giving birth.² While each appearance of the previous 113 grandchildren had also been marked by press conferences and the publication of news reports, this case broke with all the Association's previous routines and became an extraordinary event and a media sensation: Estela made the front pages of the country's leading national newspapers, Estela and Ignacio were pictured on the cover of a well-known current affairs magazine along with other 'famous' personalities of the year,³ and subsequently appeared on numerous television shows broadcast to large national audiences. Estela, accompanied by her grandson Ignacio Montoya Carlotto, was received by then president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and by the head of the Catholic Church, Pope Francis. Just a few months later, the first books on the case were already being published (Seoane & Caballero 2015; Folco 2015).

On the same day and at the same time, as the conference at which Ignacio was presented to the public, María Victoria Moyano Artigas, Recovered Grandchild 53, was taking part in a union protest when she was brutally arrested by security forces from the national gendarmerie. Attacked initially with pepper spray, her car window was smashed, the door wrenched open and she was dragged out of the car by force and hauled off to a police station with other union leaders and activists. Given the simultaneity of these events, the scant public attention devoted to María Victoria's arrest becomes particularly significant. No figures from the national government would mention the incident and the national press provided little coverage in contrast to the innumerable pages devoted to the appearance of Ignacio, Grandchild 144. These acts of repression by the State against a recovered granddaughter aroused neither feelings of compassion for her misfortune, nor moral indignation over the infringement of political rights under the rule of law.

1 Referred to hereafter as Grandmothers (*Abuelas*).

2 During the dictatorship, the State armed forces illegally appropriated an estimated 500 children born to disappeared women, or kidnapped along with their parents, and handed them over to other families to be raised under different identities. In most cases, these families belonged to the armed forces (Regueiro 2010). After the return to democracy, a 'grandparentage index' (*índice de abuelidad*) was developed to prove the genetic relationship between alternate generations, even in the absence of living parents.

3 They appeared on a cover photo alongside artists, show business celebrities and media people. See the magazine *Revista Gente*. No. 2577. December 2014.

How can we explain this uneven distribution of compassion towards victims of State terrorism who objectively share the same condition? What processes allow some victims to acquire titles of nobility in Argentinean politics? Both grandchildren were born in clandestine camps, their parents had been disappeared and both had been raised under a fictitious identity by appropriator families. Yet, despite these similarities, they failed to elicit the same feelings of compassion or share the same public legitimacy.

This article is about the place of family values, kinship relations and feelings of compassion for victims in contemporary politics. It explores the unequal distribution of feelings of compassion towards victims, assuming that the contrast between public indifference over Victoria's arrest and the public concern and emotional outpouring over Ignacio's appearance provides an insight into the structure of moral feelings responsible for establishing frontiers and hierarchies within this universe of social relationships. As Sarti recognizes in her analysis of the social construction of the category of victim, paying attention to those left in the shadows enables us to comprehend this as a moral rather than legal process (Sarti 2011: 54). Following her suggestion, my intention here is to explore in depth the establishment of borders among social actors ostensibly sharing the same circumstances. I plan to analyse the social conditions that allow the recognition of 'good victims' and 'good families' as opposed to those who, subject to the same historical conditions, are deemed illegitimate victims – or at the very least 'bad' victims who deserve public indifference. As we shall see, these borders and hierarchies involve critical political issues linked to recent transformations in the relationship between the Argentine State and the human rights movement.

Setting out from this brief sketch and based on the description of various public episodes, I show the key role played by blood ties and family values in forming a legitimate representation of victims that allows them to participate in contemporary politics. This aim in mind, I focus on describing: a) the attributes that qualify human rights leadership in post-dictatorship politics; b) the qualities of grandchildren that enable them to be included within the boundaries of their biological families and, in the process, within the national community; and c) the recent transformation in the prominence of victims since the coming to power of Kirchnerism (2003-2015).⁴ While the claim of blood ties with victims was instituted as a form of legitimate political representation after 1983 and Argentina's return to democratic governance (Vecchioli 2005), over the last fourteen years sentiments concerning victims have been incorporated within the State itself, allowing the latter to be imagined as a family of victims too. Emotions and feelings about victims and their relatives have assumed a critical place in the State's integration. How then can we account for the significance of kinship categories for political action? What does the language of kinship ties express about the relations between the State and civil society?

This article converges with a recent literature that recognizes the increasing amount of space occupied by victims and humanitarian sentiments in contemporary politics and the role that compassion, sentiments and imagination play in shaping forms of governmentality (Alexander 2002; Fassin 2011; Sarti 2011). Its implications for the present case will be covered at length over the course of this article. To accomplish these aims, I draw on authors who link family, kinship and politics (Lenoir 2003; Das 1996; Anderson 1991; Bourdieu 2001) in order to understand the place of blood relations within the State. Following the inspiration of Veena Das (1996), who based his ethnography of Indian national society on diverse forms of public speeches, here I analyse discourse and imagery as signifying practices and performative acts that contain a series of moral imperatives and emotional and rhetorical resources. A common memory between victims and the State is established through the latter, while symbolic borders are instituted within this moral community. By engaging in a microscopic analysis of these performative acts, I reflect on broader issues linked to the political transformations in Argentina's post-dictatorship era.

⁴ 'Kirchnerism' is the name given to the political current that arose around the figures of Nestor and Cristina Kirchner within Peronism, a national political party. Nestor was president during the period 2003-2008 and Cristina between the years 2008-2015.

Taking affects to be the very substance of politics (Stoler 2007) rather than an epiphenomenon (Laszczkowski & Reeves 2015), this article inscribes itself in current debates on the place of compassion towards victims in modelling contemporary politics. As Hirschman suggests, “sentiment’s history is an inspired way to trace the changing form and content of what constitutes the subject and terrain of politics” (Hirschman 1977: 16). Among the vast literature produced on the topic, Jenkins (1991) and Stoler (2007) are especially useful to the understanding of our case since they analyse how States “culturally standardize the organization of feeling” (Jenkins 1991: 140) and the political consequences produced by “technologies of rule” based on sentiments (Stoler 2007). Setting out from these premises and recognizing that affections are the moralizing self-presentation of State (Stoler 2007), I explore the diverse assessments of these affective dispositions, the critical place assigned to the suffering of the victims of State terrorism, and the significant role played by the State in the distribution of sensibilities surrounding victims and their relatives.

The academic literature on the Argentinean dictatorship encompasses many crucial issues such as the reconstruction of the repressive modalities used by the Armed Forces (Calveiro 2008), the emergence of the human rights movements (Catela 2001), the development of transitional justice mechanisms (Teitel 2002) and the social construction of emblematic memories (Crenzel 2011). In this article I shall dialogue with this well-established literature by looking to move beyond such canonical topics and analyse the prominence of the relatives of the victims in the ways of doing and imagining politics in the post-dictatorship period. By adopting such an approach, I seek to fill a gap in the existing literature, placing victims and their relatives at the heart of the State and shedding new light on the ways in which the human rights cause, its protagonists and the sentiments and values associated with them are intertwined with State practices and shape current politics.

My analysis is based on a comprehensive survey of public documentary sources on the restitution of children of the disappeared produced between 2004 and 2017, as well as earlier ethnographic field research on a number of different State agencies responsible for dealing with the relatives of victims.⁵

Blood ties in the political space

The appearance of Grandchild 114 proved to be an extraordinary event: a unique occurrence that attracted the involvement of many people with no direct connection to the case, turning into an emotional drama shared by wider Argentinean society. This situation became evident at the press conference, a routine event held to celebrate the appearance of each new grandchild. On this occasion, though, the Grandmothers head office was too small to accommodate the large crowd that turned up spontaneously to celebrate the encounter. Instead, they accompanied the announcement from the streets, cheering, singing and blowing cars horns. After the conference, Estela came out onto the balcony to thank those expressing their solidarity outside. Over the following days, a poster made by the Grandmothers appeared celebrating the event in Buenos Aires’s streets: “114 recovered grandchildren. Each of them a prize of peace and love”.⁶

Newspaper reports emphasized the collective emotion that led to the recovery of Ignacio’s identity, who immediately became “everyone’s grandson” and “a whole symbol” of the unwavering struggle of the Grandmothers and of the value of love and caring expressed by their endless searching. Media reports

5 Public discourses were compiled from newspapers, magazines, books, television shows, brochures and the internet, among other sources. Although the present work focuses on public documents, informal conversations with relatives of the victims of State terrorism – supported by almost 20 years of ethnographic research – also allowed me to identify references to the unequal nobility among children of the disappeared. The same applies to the unequal authority of the relatives of victims compared to activists from human rights movements who are not themselves victims, as I have analysed in a previous work (Vecchioli 2005).

6 The poster can be seen on-line via the *La Nación* newspaper <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/1716162-el-afiche-que-celebra-la-aparicion-del-nieto-de-estela-de-carlotto>. Accessed on August 6th, 2014.

emphasized the feelings stirred by the event: surprise, excitement, joy, affection. These sentiments were extended beyond those directly involved as soon as Ignacio was considered “an exciting story for everyone.” Ignacio’s appearance was celebrated not just as a victory for the human rights associations but as a collective achievement, a cause for national celebration: “It is a triumph for all Argentines”; “All the people of this country are joyful about this moment and share their happiness with us”.⁷ The feeling of joy was compared to winning a football world cup, a national passion. Not for nothing Ignacio was baptized “the Messi of the grandchildren” in reference to Argentine soccer player and world superstar Lionel Messi.

Academic experts were also unanimous in highlighting this same emotional dimension: “Why had such a unique case [...] touched millions of people as though it were someone in *our own family*? Who did not share her [Estela’s] joy?” (Ludueña 2014: 6). “A ‘physical happiness’ mysteriously revealed to thousands of people on receiving the news until precipitating a few hours later into a collective emotion” (Taitan 2004: 15). In evaluating the event, distinctions between the victims were emphasized: “tears welled up easily, the result of feelings of empathy stirred by the heart-breaking story, but also as a result of the long search that had finally resulted in this moving encounter. He is a grandson like the others recovered and the others still missing, but a grandson whose grandmother is a symbol. And so, he is not just one more grandchild” (Crenzel 2014).

Events that followed Ignacio’s recovery show the leading role played by the families of victims in public space. The press conference at which Estela announced Ignacio’s appearance was transformed into a full-blown civic ceremony through which the sacred value of blood ties was reaffirmed as a central element in political life, in the sense that Durkheim attributes to rites as moments when “it is possible to discern [...] the emotional mobilizations that it displays, in which are invoked norms, values, representations, beliefs [...] that define this group” (Durkheim 2012: 233). This is an outcome not only of the disappearance of thousands of people during the last military dictatorship, but also of the powerful confluence between the moral values expressed in family bonds and the collective activism sustained over a forty-year period. Ever since its emergence, the human rights movement has been distinguished by the fact that a large proportion of its activists are publicly identified by their claim of a blood tie with victims.⁸ A simple review of the names given to the different groups making up the human rights movement reveals the foundation of a political community that publicly expresses its self-recognition through the language of kinship: Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared for Political Reasons (1976), Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (1977) and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo (1977).

Victim activism creates a community of peers through the extension of individual ties of consanguinity between the victim and their families to all those taking part in this struggle, as reflected in the testimony of one mother: “the fact of having someone who has disappeared, just that alone, leads to the establishment of a *sisterhood* among us” (Mellibovsky 1990: 93). In the Grandmothers organization, recovered grandchildren have replaced and continued the work of deceased grandmothers (Bublik 2013: 151), enabling the creation of a community of peers based on a non-transferable bond that imbues this shared quality to all relations within this imagined community (Das 1996; Anderson 1991).⁹ Among this group, maternity and filiation are the primary and fundamental sources of human rights activism. As claimed by both Mothers and Grandmothers, they were willing to do anything to find their children and grandchildren and continue

7 Claudia Carlotto “Estamos Felices,” *Página/12* Newspaper, August 7th, 2014. Available at <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252432-2014-08-07.html>. Accessed on March 12th, 2015.

8 Under democracy, this principle remained in force after the classic channels of mediation between civil society and State had been restored, as evident in the creation of Children for Identity and Justice against Oblivion and Silence (HIJOS 1995) and Siblings of Disappeared for Truth and Justice (Herman@s, 2003).

9 The case of the Centre for Legal and Social Studies (CELS 1979) exemplify the socially constructed nature of the bond of familiarity: it was founded by a group of relatives of disappeared persons who made law their principle of public recognition.

to do so because, from their viewpoint, their struggle cannot be broken by any force because it arises from the “maternal instinct” (Filc 1997; Vecchioli 2005). From these primordial maternal bonds derive the strength, courage and resistance demonstrated throughout forty years of activism.

Public discourses that arose from the appearance of the grandson of Estela, the main leader of Grandmothers, reveal the effectiveness of this basic principle as a fundamental element in constituting this political community, its legitimacy and the level of sentimentalization of public space. They expose the centrality of family values and kinship in the shaping of political communities and the humanitarian sentiments mobilized in the production of collective support. Political practices – which claimed the particularity of blood in the creation of exclusive moral communities – acquired a national appeal through emotions and humanitarian sentiments towards victims and their relatives, both recognized as national symbols.

The grandmother, an example of love

Ignacio’s appearance cast a spotlight on the profile and trajectory of a mother and grandmother with whom many Argentines could readily identify. Although Estela is widely known as the leader of one of the most prestigious human rights associations, the qualities emphasized in the days that immediately followed her encounter with Ignacio primarily focused on her role as a mother and grandmother. She was described innumerable times as an “everyday mother” and an “example of love.”¹⁰ She herself helped cultivate this family profile by recounting her personal history repeatedly, sticking to a formulaic narrative that evoked the prototypical history of an urban middle-class family mother: a native of Buenos Aires, born 86 years ago into a Catholic home of immigrants, married to her first and only boyfriend, graduated from an industrial college and owner of a local painting business. Estela was a teacher and director of a public school on the outskirts of the city of La Plata. With no vocation for politics, her life was devoted to raising her four children, her husband and the school.

Among the stock of anecdotes, preeminence was given to her delight in cooking and sewing, her family nickname, *Ñata*, the Sunday family meal surrounded by children and grandchildren, her coquettish air, her simplicity, and her austere life (Seoane & Caballero, 2015:40). These qualities were further enhanced by the publicity given to photographs from her family album, showing her dressed in white on the day of her wedding, holidaying on the beach with her small children, or wearing her teacher’s gown in her workplace. This account was repeated incessantly in radio, television and printed reports, and moreover was a reiteration in exactly the same terms, using the same photos and anecdotes, of reports and news items published over previous years by different press outlets, revealing the construction of a stereotyped form of presenting her public biography.

These qualities, applicable to any urban middle-class family mother, are insufficient to engender the kind of collective outpouring of compassion expressed in the days following Ignacio’s appearance. These very same qualities were shared by the paternal grandmother, Hortensia Ardura de Montoya, mother of the disappeared Oscar, Ignacio’s father. Like Estela, she was a teacher and director of a public school and devoted herself to raising her family. But unlike the maternal grandmother, Hortensia received little public attention and few newspaper reports were dedicated to portraying the paternal side of the family.

This difference reveals a hierarchy founded not on biological relationships with the victims but on the possibility of reconverting personal suffering into political engagement. Hortensia lives in a small Patagonian town more than 1500 km from Buenos Aires. Even though she asked for the disappeared son,

¹⁰ “Una búsqueda que comenzó hace 36 años” *Página/12* newspaper. August 6th, 2014, Accessed on August 6th, 2014. <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252357-2014-08-06.html>

Hortensia had never engaged in human rights activism and remained in a distant small village. Estela, by contrast, had started to take part in what was then called the Association of Argentinean Grandmothers with Disappeared Grandchildren (*Abuelas Argentinas con nietitos desaparecidos*) immediately after the disappearance of her daughter, a political engagement that she would maintain over a span of forty years, chairing the association since 1989. These contrasting cases show that the 'Grandmother' condition is not acquired automatically as a result of a biological bond with an appropriated grandchild but from engagement in activism. The existence of relatives who do not belong to human rights associations indicates that being the bearer of this bond of maximal proximity to the victims is a property socially constructed and objectified by a group of people who identify themselves in the public space through the use of kinship categories.

Human rights activism by itself is not enough to occupy the highest positions in the hierarchy of prestige. In the days that followed the encounter with Ignacio, other qualities were highlighted to distinguish Estela from other human rights leaders, qualified by contrast, as violent and fanatic. Estela was famed for her 'serenity,' 'strength,' 'bravery' and 'admirable solidarity' (Baltazar Garzón apud Folco 2015: 10), her composure in the face of extreme situations, combined with her peaceful, serene and soft tone, accompanied with calm 'maternal' gestures. But while Estela was portrayed in every media report as a person harbouring no feelings of rancour or vengeance, these very same qualities were attributed to Hebe de Bonafini, also a mother of disappeared and the leader of Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo Association (*Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo*) since 1986. Estela too always distinguishes herself from Bonafini in every public intervention, appealing not to rational arguments but to the language of feelings:

My language is not aggressive, it is conciliatory, it opens doors, it does not close them [...] as a mother, I respect her: she is a mother who suffers and searches, but her form of acting, her methodology, her objectives are not those of the Grandmothers [...] As an institution, [we are] characterized by not holding onto resentments or hate, nor payback or vengeance [...] We don't share anything in common, we don't agree with the forms [they use] nor with various remarks that are contrary to our objective [...] she said that 'there's no need to search for the grandchildren because they're already contaminated, they're beyond saving'.¹¹

Far from wishing to further cement this distinction by assessing the accuracy of each description, or by reducing these differences to basic psychological traits, my intention here is to make them sociologically comprehensible and, in so doing, reveal the moral economy that organizes human rights activism, allowing us to understand the collective emotions aroused by some of their leaders. In other words, the qualities performed by Estela explain her consecration at the top of a moral hierarchy.

The expressions described here show the emotional logic that connects the moral status of this kind of activism, one based on family values and biological ties, to the way in which sentiments are expressed in political practice. The sentiments revealed in demanding recognition for victims informs the legitimacy of this political practice. Hatred, vengeance, resentment and violence are deemed to be illegitimate properties for engagement in human rights. Instead, love, serenity, solidarity and affection – all of which Estela encapsulated – locate this engagement to idealistic political expectations concerning our collective life. Relatives thus became significant players in political life so long as they conform to these moral expectations. Contrasting personal characteristics render visible the tensions within this universe, as well as the pretensions to demarcate the symbolic boundaries within the community of victims. As Stoler points out, moral condition is crucial as it serves as the basis of citizenship (Stoler 2007:8).

¹¹ Interview by J. Fontevecchia with Estela. August 10th, 2014. Available at <http://www.perfil.com/sociedad/Bonafini-dijo-que-a-los-nietos-no-hay-que-buscarlos-porque-ya-están-contaminados-20140809-0093.html> Accessed on August 10th, 2014.

Genetic imprints as moral forces

As the days passed, the news reports on the encounter between Estela and Ignacio continued to draw public attention, not just because of the grandmother's fame, but also because of the qualities of her newly-found grandson transmitted through the media: in the account that circulated publicly, Ignacio was born in 1978 while his mother, Laura Carlotto, was being held captive in a clandestine detention centre. A few hours after his birth, the baby was illegally handed over for adoption and raised in a rural area (Olavarría), just some 350 km from Buenos Aires, by a peasant couple unaware of Ignacio's true origin. When Ignacio learned of his adopted status in 2014, he approached the Grandmothers with his suspicion that he might be a disappeared child.

Public surprise not only stemmed from the relatively short geographic distance that had separated grandson and grandmother. There were also an enormous number of coincidences between Ignacio and his biological family that were repeatedly mentioned in public: for the grandmother Hortensia: "He is just like his father, he is indisputably the son of my son. When I looked at him, I saw my son, because he is a carbon copy".¹² In the view of his maternal aunt, Claudia, Guido bore no physical resemblance to Laura. According to her, "Ignacio is a carbon copy of his father [...] On the other hand, he has a sense of humour very similar to our own and that reminds me of my sister".¹³ In the words of the grandson himself, "I saw the photos and he looks a lot like an older me. It was astounding".¹⁴

Photo 1: Press conference at Grandmothers Association



Source: *La Nación* newspaper

These similarities are not limited to the biological. In a happy coincidence with his father, Oscar, Ignacio is a fan of River Plate Football Club and a musician too – in fact a composer and the director of the municipal school of music. The grandson's own declarations emphasize the importance of this resemblance, interpreted as a product of genetic imprinting: "I'm a musician just like my father and paternal grandfather were, and a speaker just like my mother was".¹⁵ The bond with his biological family gave him an insight into his own gift for music: "The most astonishing thing is that I couldn't explain

¹² H. Ardura. *La Nación* newspaper August 6th, 2014. Available at <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1716158-hablo-la-otra-abuela-de-guido-y-loro-por-la-aparicion-de-su-nieto> Accessed on August 6th 2014.

¹³ Claudia Carlotto "Estamos Felices" (op. cit.).

¹⁴ Ignacio Carlotto "El nieto de Carlotto exhibió su felicidad" *La Nación* newspaper. August 9th, 2014. Available at <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1717109-el-nieto-de-carlotto-exhibio-su-felicidad-en-una-conferencia-cargada-de-emocion>. Accessed on March 12th, 2015.

¹⁵ "Soy muy parecido a mi papá, verme en las fotos es algo que me golpea." *Infojus Noticias*. Available at <http://www.infojusnoticias.gov.ar/nacionales/soy-muy-parecido-a-mi-papa-verme-en-la-foto-es-algo-que-golpea-5473.html>. Accessed on March 12th, 2015.

where my musical vocation had come from”,¹⁶ since the education he had received “had led me to something else” (he had trained as a master builder). In recovering his identity, blood was a central explanatory key: “there perhaps resides one of the most important answers”.¹⁷

That question had always been left unanswered, like an outstanding debt: why did you become a professional musician? if you think about where I came from [...] This contradiction always jarred for me: I was raised in the rural world, yet I took a path so peculiar and foreign to that environment – not just my pursuit of music, but jazz in particular, living in a quest for the new, some kind of avant-garde, a spirit of constant searching that I could never explain”.¹⁸

More surprising still, Ignacio was an ardent supporter of the human rights movement. In fact, he had composed a song ‘To the Memory,’ participated in ‘Musicians for Identity,’ a series of musical shows organized by Grandmothers four years earlier and celebrated the appearance of Grandchild 106 on his twitter account two years earlier. In his own words, what struck him was not just the physical resemblance but:

...the calls to do things that there was no reason for me to do: like being a musician, or playing every Memory Day and not knowing why – I’m not an activist or anything of the type – or writing ‘To the Memory’ and feeling it was a big part of who I am (op.cit.).

The overlaps between the histories of Ignacio and his disappeared parents allowed these actors to determine that they belong to the same family since “there are a lot of coincidences, intangible things that are obviously *genetic in nature*”.¹⁹ In the narrative describing the recovery of Grandchild 114, the biographical data is presented in a form that highlights the irrefutable existence of ‘*a genetic memory*’,²⁰ an interpretation that prevailed not only in the media and among social and political leaders, but also in expert analyses, as María Eugenia Ludueña alludes when she asks: “Just how influential are the imperturbable contents of our genes? What had Laura said/transmitted to him as she felt the baby growing and gently kicking in her belly?” (Ludueña 2014).

It is worth emphasizing that this focus on the strength of blood ties is not unique to this particular case. The same also appears as a recurring element in many of the restitutions. Ten years earlier, the grandchild Juan Cabandié had remarked:

...the dictatorship’s sinister plan was unable to erase any record of *the memory transmitted through my veins* [...] The fifteen days during which my mother breastfed and named me were sufficient for me to tell my friends – before I knew who my family was, before I knew my history – that I wanted to call myself Juan, just as my mother had called me during imprisonment in ESMA [a former clandestine detention camp]”.²¹

As in the case of Ignacio, filiation and blood appear as life-shaping elements that help explain the person’s own biographical trajectory and, in this case, his vocation for political activism:

16 “Soy muy parecido a mi papá” (op.cit.).

17 “Soy muy parecido a mi papá” (op.cit.).

18 “Cuando Ignacio conoció a Guido.” *Radár*. 28/09/2014. Available at <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/radar/9-10052-2014-10-04.html>. Accessed on March 12th, 2015.

19 “Soy muy parecido a mi papá” (op.cit.).

20 Ignacio Guido Carlotto, “Conferencia de prensa.” *Telam Agencia de Noticias*. Available at <http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201408/73924-el-nieto-restituido-de-estela-de-carlotto-dara-una-conferencia-de-prensa.html> Accessed on April 5th, 2015.

21 Juan Cabandié 2004. Full speech available at <http://www.abuelas.org.ar/discursos/do2.htm>. Accessed on April 5th, 2015.

I couldn't find any explanation [...] I thought differently to him [his abductor]. Why do I go on protests [...]? I wondered why I dedicated eight years of my life every Saturday to visiting a poor village or the homes of orphaned children to provide recreational activities. This left me wondering. Given the context in which I was raised, how did I end up doing that? Where did I get it all from? It was inside me [...] *it's in my blood*.

The testimonies cited above, which extol the similarity between the experiences of parents and children, express precisely a notion of the legitimate family, conceived as “a mode of group belonging founded on a community of shared condition, habitation and blood; in sum, a homogenous grouping whose internal cohesion is based on the ‘similitude’ of the actors who form part of it” (Lenoir 2003: 19).

Blood ties and filiation are represented as the legitimate bonds par excellence, evoking a worldview that transcends political and social positions, as well as any objective differences that may exist among the recovered children. Deployed by social movements, the State and the victims themselves, these narratives are structured around consecrated values and representations of the family, linked to the rhetoric of blood, origins, truth and genetics (Gatti 2011). Biological ideas concerning kinship imprint public narratives: “the blood circulating through their veins” is imposed as a principle that not only accounts for biological ties but also functions as a means to interpret destinies, career paths and personal preferences. This is the quality highlighted in the narrative shaping Ignacio's restitution.

The recovered grandson, a good boy without resentment

The transformation of Ignacio's recovery into a collective celebration was also achieved by combining Estela's qualities with another key ingredient: the moral qualities of the grandson. His relatives described him as “a good boy, someone they had raised well,” “a healthy boy.” According to Estela “he was raised in the rural world by a *good family* to whom he was delivered in good *faith*, without them being aware of his origin. They too had been victims of a ‘deceit.’”²² In Ignacio's account: “If there is love, as there was in my childhood, and love as there was in the search [for me], it's easier.”²³ These warm, loving feelings extend to his own past in a perfect match with his grandmother's qualities: “I have *no resentment*, I feel highly privileged, perhaps uniquely so, because until a few months ago I had a phenomenal life [...] for me it is a moment of joy”.²⁴

This set of adjectives – “good child, good family” – positively qualify the history of the grandmothers' struggle, the genetic memory that circulates through grandchildren's veins and makes explicit the idea of the family as a key space of moral education: some grandchildren were raised by “good families” unconnected to the dictatorship and their restitution is a cause of celebration. While DNA tests provide the genetic evidence that enables the grandchildren to be returned to their biological families, it is their behaviour in response to the DNA findings that provides the proof needed for them to be returned to the warm embrace of their families, conceived now as a moral space. It becomes clear how, in the cosmology of the victims, concepts of the family as an institution founded on biological ties coexist with ideas of the family as a moral space. The conditions surrounding Ignacio's restitution evince the moral qualities of the families involved and their capacity to elicit strong feelings of empathy, emotion and redemption. The transformation of Ignacio's restitution into a collective celebration was made possible by the fact that both grandmother and grandson exemplified consecrated notions of family and victimhood.

22 Carlotto. “Estela de Carlotto recuperó a su nieto después de 36 años de búsqueda.” *La Nación* newspaper. August 6th, 2014. Accessed on August 6th, 2014. Available at <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1716127-estela-de-carlotto-encontro-a-su-nieto-despues-de-36-anos-de-busqueda>

23 Interview with Ignacio in *El Popular* newspaper. August 17th, 2014. Available at <http://www.elpopular.com.ar/eimpresa/194380/hablo-ignacio-guido-hurban-estoy-conmocionado-todavia> accessed on August 17th, 2014.

24 “Soy muy parecido a mi papá” (op.cit.).

All these categories and uses of language need to be understood in the context of the efforts made by other abducted grandchildren to prevent their identity from being recovered, to avoid becoming linked to their biological families or, at the very least, to minimize its symbolic effects, given that they still consider their appropriators to be their real parents. These conflicts include refusals to take DNA tests or to use the name of their biological family, leading in some cases to court litigations. The compulsory nature of the DNA test used to prove filiation has become controversial from the viewpoint of some kidnapped grandchildren since the knowledge of their true biological identity entails a) the immediate detention of their abductors for their responsibility in the crime of identity suppression, and b) the restitution of their original family names.

In this context, the words of Claudia, Ignacio's uncle, help explain the risks involved in any restitution: "the people who raised Ignacio had nothing to do with the repression [...] I was really worried [...] he had been raised by some shitty military type who would have filled his head with rubbish."²⁵ This risk was identified by Estela too: "Each case of restitution has its own particularity [...] [it depends on] the child's response. When they come of their own volition it is fine, but when they don't, it usually turns out badly. In other words, it's *very nuanced*."²⁶ This nuance was likewise recognized and emphasized by Argentina's president at the time, Cristina Kirchner: "Estela was lucky. Imagine if her grandson had been raised with hatred".²⁷ Ignacio himself stated the same when he emphasized: "My upbringing was fantastic, raised by a couple who showered me with love [...] I had an extraordinarily happy life and to this happy and extraordinary life was added the marvel of being part of this history".²⁸

Among academic experts, Ignacio's perceived qualities were emphasized and interpreted as an act of "double justice": Carlotto had found her grandson and "the grandson is *this one*" – that is to say, a grandson whose moral qualities corresponded to the values that distinguished his biological family:

This doesn't mean that had her recovered grandchild (like so many others) been someone bearing *the indelible marks* of violent abduction, or possessing ideologies and ways of life closer to those of the military, the encounter would have been impossible and his appearance less celebrated. But, finding Ignacio and discovering that he was filled 'with the truth that touches him,' wanting to trace his filial roots to his missing parents [...] more than resentment [...] it calms and cherishes" (Abdo F3rez 2014).

The presence of "indelible marks of appropriation" and the upbringing in a family of perpetrators seem to converge on the paradigmatic case of Eva Donda, daughter of disappeared parents, raised under a false identity by her own paternal uncle, Adolfo Donda, a navy lieutenant and one of the principal perpetrators of human rights abuses at ESMA, a former clandestine detention centre. As in the cases of Ignacio and Juan, Eva's mother was disappeared after giving birth. Eva's father was Adolfo Donda's brother. He too disappeared. Taken away by her uncle and raised as his own daughter, Eva refused to carry out the DNA test voluntarily,²⁹ still defends her abductor, in prison since 2006, and participates actively in the Association of Relatives and Friends of Victims of Terrorism in Argentina (*Asociaci3n de v3ctimas y familiares de v3ctimas del*

25 Claudia Carlotto. "sos el nieto de Estela, sos mi sobrino" *P3gina/12* newspaper. August 6th, 2014. Available at <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252353-2014-08-06.html>. Accessed on August 6th, 2014.

26 Interview with Estela de Carlotto in *P3gina/12* newspaper. August 6th, 2014. Available at <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252359-2014-08-06.html>. Accessed on August 6th, 2014.

27 "Historia de un encuentro 3ntimo." *P3gina/12* newspaper. August 10th, 2014, accessed on August 10th, 2014. Available at <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252672-2014-08-10.html>

28 Ignacio Carlotto "Es maravilloso lo que estoy viviendo." Available at *Agencia Telam*. August 8th, 2014. <http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201408/73924-el-nieto-restituido-de-estela-de-carlotto-dara-una-conferencia-de-prensa.html> Accessed on August 8th, 2014.

29 In 2009 a law was passed allowing compulsory DNA testing via court order (Law 26.549/2009).

terrorismo en Argentina). This association campaigns for the end of trials for crimes against humanity and proposes a national reconciliation policy. According to Eva, her feelings of filial love for her abductor justify her current status as a 'victim.' Hence, she asserts:

...all of us are victims [...] my [biological] parents also did violent things. Today they would be imprisoned for terrorist acts [...] I wish for my uncle to be released. *He's my paternal figure; he's my children's grandfather* (Arenes & Pikielny 2016: 48-52).

In other cases, complaints have focused on the use of the biological family name. This refusal was settled judicially in another paradigmatic case: Hilario Bacca, born in ESMA and identified by a DNA test as Federico Canola Pereyra, Grandson 95. Defining himself as a "son of the heart" of his abductors, he obtained his identity as a result of a compulsory DNA test carried out after legal intervention, which involved a raid on the family's home and the subsequent trial and conviction of his abductors. According to Hilario, after the intervention of the Grandmothers association, "the martyrdom of my life began": he was transformed into "a victim" for the courts, "a number" for Grandmothers and a "war trophy" for the people. Through an unexpected use of the category 'disappeared,' he accused courts of making him 'disappear' and denounced:

Prosecutors and Grandmothers believe that every time I'm named as Hilario Bacca a crime is committed [...] I feel that I'm being *persecuted* and [subject] to the same kind of [abusive] procedures that Liliana and Eduardo [his biological parents] experienced during the dictatorship.³⁰

After nine years of legal disputes the courts allowed him to continue using the name given by his adoptive parents. Grandmothers refused the judicial decision because it: "violates the rights of the Cagnola and Pereyra families and constitutes an affront to the memory of his biological parents." For the association, it amounted to "a legalization of the dispossession that [...] their families suffered at the hands of State terrorism".³¹ Estela's own grandson adopted the surnames of his biological family but continues to use the first name Ignacio given to him by his foster parents, refusing to register as Guido, the name given at birth by his mother before she was assassinated. According to Estela, this attitude "hurts me because the whole world searched for him as Guido. His mother gave him the name in memory of her father, Guido, my husband".³²

From the viewpoint of the biological families of the grandchildren, the bad families force them to remain 'captives,' the 'slaves' of their abductors, even after their true biological identity has been confirmed.³³ This is because being brought up among perpetrators leaves imprints: the love that they feel for the people who raised them. These grandchildren remain morally excluded from the community of legitimate victims until they accept the truth of their identity. Only then will they experience 'freedom' (Capiello 2014). It is this context that enables us to comprehend the semantic field in which the story of Ignacio's successful and miraculous recovery is narrated, including the incorporation into his biological family and into a nation that, conceived through blood ties and family values, celebrates his restitution.

As Fonseca has analysed among children with Hansen's disease, the DNA exam is conceived as "valid proof" within a system of concrete technologies that mediate what people know and feel. Photos, names, tastes and so on co-produce ways of reckoning personal identity and family ties (Fonseca 2015: 80). In the

30 "El nieto 95 denuncia desprotección del Estado y lucha por llevar el nombre que tuvo por 37 años." In *Perfil* newspaper <http://www.perfil.com/sociedad/El-nieto-95-denuncia-desproteccion-del-Estado-y-lucha-por-llevar-el-nombre-que-tuvo-por-37-anos--20151118-0008.html>, Accessed on November 20th, 2015.

31 Op.cit.

32 "Abuelas sobre el caso Bacca: Constituye una afrenta a su memoria." In *Perfil* newspaper, January 7th, 2017. Accessed on January 7th, 2017. Available at <http://www.perfil.com/politica/abuelas-sobre-el-pedido-del-nieto-95-constituye-una-afrenta-a-su-memoria.phtml>.

33 On the tensions between the relatives of victims, the bureaucratic and judicial logics and the 'legal battles' over the restitution of the victim's identity, see Regueiro 2010.

cases described here, acquiring the status of a legitimate victim as a grandchild of someone disappeared depends on displaying the required proofs: not just the DNA test, but the cultivation of moral and political virtues (Fassin 2011).

The state as a relative of victims

The public staging of the restitution of Ignacio's identity was also a radical novelty in terms of the place that relatives and the State could legitimately occupy within Argentina's national political space. Ignacio's restitution was enacted as a family affair that included the State itself, since blood ties were extended to its most important representatives, testifying to the profound changes occurring within the human rights movement since the arrival of Kirchnerism to power (2003).

Since the returned to democracy (1983), all the devices developed by the State to manage the suffering of victims have demonstrated a) recognition of its responsibility for past human rights violations, as well as b) the legitimacy granted under democracy to the demands of relatives of the disappeared. State policies have covered a wide spectrum of actions, ranging from the creation of a truth commission (CONADEP 1983) to a civil criminal trial against the perpetrators of State terrorism (1985), the creation of a National Genetic Database (1987), a National Human Rights Secretariat (1991) and a National Commission for the Right to Identity (Conadi 1992), along with the adoption of international treaties in defence of human rights as part of domestic law (1994), among many other actions (Sutton 2015). In this process, the State has insisted on the need to specify the criteria used to identify those subjects wishing to be considered beneficiaries of these different policies, the victims. Since the beginning, the official category of victim was inseparably linked to recognition of another specific group: their relatives. For the state, therefore, a disappeared person is someone who "...in the vast majority of cases was ripped alive from the bosom of his family, kidnapped from his own home..." (Law 23.466/86). The same attributes used to define the disappeared also reciprocally define the identity of relatives and justify restorative policies: "[the family], the core of our social organization, [...] has been severely attack with the kidnapping and later disappearance of one or more of its members. We must repair the damage caused."³⁴ This analysis reveals the consecration of a public rhetoric that excludes any reference to the political identities of the actors involved by privileging family ties instead.

Through these laws, guided by feelings of empathy and compassion, the family was recreated as a new victim. Although State terrorism had been suffered "...to a greater or lesser extent by the entire Argentine people, there were and is another victim atrociously assaulted: the victim's family" (ibid). These families were defined by the moral damage experienced with the disappearance of one of its members, and the situation of economic helplessness in which they were left without the support of the disappeared provider. This appeal to the family is based on a belief shared by the State and by members of human rights associations concerning the positive value of kinship and the place that family is considered to occupy within the nation. Paraphrasing Benedict Anderson (1991), kinship creates an imagined community, but not a fictitious one since its terms are intelligible to all its members.

In the process of giving social existence to the disappeared, the State helped turn those claiming to be relatives into new victims. Through the approval and regulation of this array of laws, the State created and officially recognized a new kind of social category: the "relative of the victim." Families of the victims become a responsibility of the nation, a nation now devoted to protecting them. These laws are effectively acts of institution (Bourdieu 1994) through which the identities of the Argentinean nation were redefined.

34 In: Parliamentary debate transcript March 9th, 1984. National Senate. Senator Antonio Nápoli. *Daily Record*. Pp. 2626-2628.

Those who succeeded in being recognized as a target of these policies – and thus included within the nation – were those who received a politically neutral but morally powerful identity: the victims and their families. These devices played a fundamental role in the crystallization and sacralisation of a way of imagining the nation as a family of victims (Vecchioli 2005; Filc 1997).

Over the years, any sign of proximity between human rights associations and the State was condemned as a threat to the purity of such activism and its place of moral significance. Conversely, proximity to these associations cast suspicion on the political impartiality of former presidents Alfonsín and Menem, both of whom faced various attempted coups d'état led by military sectors opposed to the trials for crimes against humanity. Alfonsín was a lawyer and a founder member of a human right association, while Menem had been kept imprisoned throughout the dictatorship. Alfonsín's commitment to human rights ended up in a major civil trial that condemned those responsible for State terrorism. At the beginning of democracy, human rights and partisan activism, 'blood' and 'politics,' were considered antithetical.

Since the arrival of Néstor Kirchner to the presidency in 2003, though, the distance that once characterized the relationship between human rights associations, political parties and the State has become erased. A significant number of recovered grandchildren entered the electoral lists of the Coalition for Victory, aiming to promote the human rights cause. This new combination of legitimate attributes was masterfully expressed by the recovered grandson Pietragalla, who claimed "I am the congressman of the Grandmothers".³⁵

The very same afternoon that the courts informed Estela that her grandson had appeared, Cristina Kirchner, president at the time, phoned to congratulate her. Asked about this conversation, Estela described it as a "mother-daughter communication" during which both women cried with emotion (Guinzberg 2014). Likewise, the informal reunion in the presidential residence a few days later – described as an *intimate* meeting – was compared to a snapshot of a family gathering of three generations: *the children* recovered and the children of the president; *the parents* and comrades from the 1970s generation represented by Cristina and other high-ranking public officials; and *the grandmother*, Estela. The president herself used her Twitter account to circulate the photo, showing her dinner with Ignacio and Estela at the presidential residence.

Photo 2: Cristina Kirchner, Ignacio Carlotto Montoya and Estela de Carlotto at the presidential residence



Source: @CFKARGENTINA

³⁵ "Soy el diputado de las abuelas" *Página/12* newspaper. November 20th, 2011. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181617-2011-11-20.html> Accessed on April 5th, 2017. It is interesting to contrast this claim with the slogan "human rights for parliament" used at the beginning of democracy by Augusto Conte, a lawyer, leader of a human rights organization (CELS) and father of a disappeared, who entered the national parliament via the electoral list of the Christian Democratic Party (Ferrari 2017). In a previous work, I analysed the implications of the distinction between claiming a particularistic principle as blood and claiming a universalist principle as law (Vecchioli 2013).

Unlike former presidents Alfonsín or Menem, the Kirchners had no historical roots in the human rights movement or any involvement as political prisoners during the dictatorship. In their place, fictitious kinship relationships were recreated, and blood ties were extended to reach human rights activist. In this new family setup, Cristina is represented as Laura’s sister and Estela as the mother of both. The authors of the book *The Grandson* accentuated their similarities, contributing to the crystallization of this family: “The president has a resemblance to Laura. The hair, the age, the way of speaking...” (Seoane & Caballero 2015: 16). Photos circulated extensively confirming this resemblance.

Photo 3: Cristina Kirchner – Laura Carlotto



Source: *La Nación* newspaper

For Estela, the similarities were extended and deepened because Oscar, Ignacio’s father, was a Patagonian native like Néstor, while Laura was a native of La Plata like Cristina. They had all lived in La Plata during the 1970s where they were university students and political activists. A newspaper report added: “A *similar history* to the presidential couple, who also met each other while both were studying Law at the University of La Plata.”³⁶

Kinship ties were recreated on the basis of the truth revealed by blood ties and on their life trajectories, presented as identical: a life devoted to and consecrated by – in the cases of deceased former president Néstor Kirchner and the parents of disappeared Ignacio – the commitment to fight for a cause, now recreated as a cause shared by them all. This communion appears further accentuated when we note that all of Estela de Carlotto’s sons and daughter were active, in one form or another, in the structure of the Kirchner government: Claudia as a director of the National Commission for the Right to Identity (CONADI), Guido as Human Rights Secretary for the Province of Buenos Aires, and Remo as a national deputy for the Collision for Victory and president of the Human Rights and Guarantees Commission.

The novelty expressed here was not the incorporation of the Carlotto family into the structure of the State. In fact, the central criterion for the recruitment of officials in those State areas responsible for human rights policies has been their status as either victims (former political prisoners, exiles, survivors), relatives of a victim, or their past commitment to the fight for human rights.³⁷ The novelty, rather, was the symbolic integration of the Carlottos and Kirchners into the same family as a single moral and political space.

³⁶ “Relato de un encuentro íntimo.” *Página/12* newspaper. September 10, 2014. Available at <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252672-2014-08-10.html> My emphasis. Accessed on September 10th, 2014.

³⁷ These criteria determined the heads of the human rights agencies at national level from 1983 to 2015: from E. Rabossi, A. Pierni, D. Conti, E. M. Duhalde to M. Fresneda (a recovered grandchild).

This aim in mind, the biographies of the family members were recreated and imagined as convergent. The use of the plural testifies to this belonging to the same family constellation and the work involved in its construction. As Kirchner put it: “It’s amazing, isn’t it? *We were all so nearby* yet none of us had ever met.”³⁸

The recreation of the State as a family of victims began with the first speech made by president Néstor Kirchner to the 58th UN Assembly in 2003, when he addressed the global community through an appeal to primordial ties: “*we are the sons and daughters* of the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo,”³⁹ an expression that foregrounds not only the constructed nature of this relation of maximal proximity with the victims and their families, but also the critical importance that these primordial relations acquired thereafter in the constitution of the State itself. Numerous different occasions make explicit this work of creating and recreating these imaginary bonds: ranging from State rituals involving senior officials or party activists, but also leaders of the associations of the relatives of victims, to the celebrations of Mother’s Day in which Cristina published photos of herself in the company of Estela and Hebe de Bonafini, the president of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo Association.

The use of the family model cannot be seen simply as a discursive strategy employed by each of these two groups to maximize their demands or their potential for political support. My intention is to transcend explanations of social action as based on bare cost-benefit calculations and highlight the ways in which people’s actions are informed by moral values. Thus, the appeal to family values and ties in the cases analysed here is based on a belief shared by the State and members of civil society organizations concerning the strength and positive value of kinship and the place occupied by the family in national society. Unlike more black and white viewpoints that judge the human rights movement to have been ‘coopted’ by Kirchnerism, my analysis proposes that novelty has resided not in the inclusion of activists from human rights organizations in the structure of the State – a process initiated in 1983 – but in the reconversion of grandchildren into professional politicians and in the inclusion of consanguine relationships with victims as part of the very constitution of the State – as revealed in Néstor Kirchner’s claim that “we are the sons and daughters of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo” or by the grandchild’s assertion that “I am the congressman of the Grandmothers.” State, victims and relatives thus became symbolically integrated within the same moral unit as members of the same family.

These closing ties were not conflict-free. María Victoria Moyano’s arrest while participating in a union demonstration reveals the existence of frontiers that define who may be considered as a legitimate victim, a grandchild who deserves feelings of compassion. Even though Ignacio and María Victoria are classified as ‘siblings’ within the Children association (*Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia, contra el Olvido y el Silencio* HIJOS), María Victoria merited neither the same emotion when she was recovered, nor any feeling of compassion following her arrest in 2014.⁴⁰

38 “Retrato de un encuentro íntimo.” (op.cit.).

39 Kirchner, Néstor “Discurso de N. Kirchner en la ONU” *Cristina Fernández de Kirchner* September 25th, 2003, accessed on March 8th, 2015 <http://www.cfkargentina.com/discurso-de-nestor-kirchner-en-la-onu-2003/>

40 Although the union protest was covered by a few national media sources, attention was focused on the aggressive attitude of the gendarmerie, led by Berni, a prominent national leader of Kirchnerism. During that pre-electoral period, critics focused on Berni in order to show how Cristina Kirchner’s government was not fully democratic. Almost no mention was made of Victoria’s arrest.

Photo 4: Maria Victoria being arrested



Source: Telam

These two episodes expose the existence of a moral hierarchy that permeates the “blood that circulates through the veins,” establishing symbolic distinctions among the children of the disappeared who positively assumed the “truth revealed” by the DNA test. According to Fassin (2011), humanitarian reason provokes a sentimentalization of political relations, albeit only those capable of being represented as worthy in public space. If worthiness is a quality possessed by those figures who demand compassion, the absence of this collective feeling in the case of María Victoria may be rooted, precisely, in the social properties gathered in her biographic profile: on one hand, she has all the attributes currently associated with recovered grandchildren: she is politically active and a member of a human rights association. But at the same time, María Victoria is a member of a rival political party and a member of a human rights organization that defines itself as ‘independent’ of the State. The Centre of Professionals for Human Rights (CeProDH, 1997) took out legal action against Kirchner’s head of the army at the time, César Milani, accused of the crime of genocide for his alleged involvement in the disappearance of persons during the last dictatorship. The association also campaigned for those disappeared under Kirchner’s rule, such as Julio López – survivor from a clandestine detention centre and disappeared before providing testimony in one of the more recent trials for crimes against humanity in 2006 – and Luciano Arruga, a teenager who disappeared in 2009 while in police custody, to name just two of various such cases. Reflecting on her position within the political field, María Victoria remarked: “Very often, for the grandchildren who scrap, fight for the workers and defend them, there are only batons and repression.”⁴¹ This was a position radically different from the ‘good grandsons’ such as Pietragalla or Cabandie, both national congressmen during that period.

As we can discern from these examples, it is not blood that automatically legitimizes the victims, but the way in which blood circulates in people’s veins, in accordance with feelings and dispositions controlled by the State and with profiles and trajectories with whom many Argentineans could identify, as expressed by the opposite figures represented by Estela de Carlotto and Hebe de Bonafini. Compassion emerges when a connection exists between the moral status of the human right activists, the attitude assumed by the recovered grandchild towards his or her biological family, and the position occupied by all these actors

⁴¹ Moyano, Victoria “Cada nieto que se recupera es un hermano nuestro que aparece.” *El Intransigente.com*. August, 19th, 2014. Accessed on August 19th, 2014 <http://www.elintransigente.com/argentina/2014/8/19/victoria-moyano-cada-nieto-recupera-hermano-nuestro-aparece-261067.html>. For a further description based on Moyano’s own words, see TVPTS EL CANAL DE LA IZQUIERDA <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RyX8394udPM>, accessed on December 15th, 2017. On Moyano as a political leader, see TVPTS EL CANAL DE LA IZQUIERDA <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HnyYoDPrsgo>. The documentary “El robo” provides a complete picture of her life: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MzDM_G8WaQ. This film was never released in a commercial movie theatre.

vis-à-vis the State. Through a sentimentalization of public space, a unique and exclusive case, such as Ignacio's restitution described earlier, is able to garner support among those not directly involved, turning the State and the national community into a single family united by blood ties and mutual empathy. As Alexander has emphasized, "this only happens once in a while, when the [right] symbols are aligned" (Alexander 2002:4).

Final considerations

In this article I have taken advantage of the recent literature on humanitarianism, specifically its emphasis on the constructed quality of feelings of compassion towards victims in contemporary politics, in order to understand the different moral status of victims of State terrorism in Argentina. I have presented paradigmatic cases as privileged instances that communicate the key role played by blood ties and family values in forming legitimate political representation and the significant place granted to the suffering of the victims in the configuration of the State. These public scenes reveal the way love, kindness, blood, compassion and empathy constitute the fabric of practices and values of humanitarian patterns of government, the setting in motion of a variety of mechanisms of State administration, the intervention of expert knowledge, and the mobilization of humanitarian sentiments.

The State runs and is reproduced by bureaucratic devices but also by affective engagements, by practices that extends kinship and emotions in order to achieve the condition of being a relative of victims. We are faced by a process through which affairs of the State are conceived *as though* they were family affairs. It is vital to recognize that while the academic literature's emphasis has been on identifying how the State intervenes decisively in the configuration of families and domestic relations, the situations described here show that appeals to the family – and the families of victims in particular, evoking all the values, emotions and sentiments with which they are associated – can become a plausible form of doing politics and, indeed, a means of establishing a hegemonic position within the State's field of power.

From the return to democracy, the State was a crucial actor in the consolidation of consanguinity and filiation as 'natural' principles of adhesion to a collective cause, as revealed in the diverse policies developed to remedy the consequences of human rights violations. These involve a wide array of mechanisms for managing the suffering of the victims, ranging from the creation of the National Genetic Database (1987) and the National Commission for the Right to Identity (Conadi 1992) to the sanctioning of a law that permits DNA to be obtained via court order (26.549/2009), among many other devices that perform a crucial role in cementing this form of imagining the nation as a family. The appeal to the family is based on a belief shared by the State and by those belonging to the human rights associations concerning the positive value of kinship and the place that the family is held to occupy in the nation.

The extraordinary events that followed Ignacio's restitution express the leading role played by the families of victims of State terrorism in Argentina's political space, the powerful confluence between the setting in motion of a variety of devices of State administration, the intervention of expert knowledge (geneticists), and a collective mobilization sustained over a forty-year period. The long-term cultivation of sensibilities that began in 1983 and intensified after 2003, eventually exploded with the recovery of Ignacio, a national event that unleashed expressions of fervour and sympathies. All these social forces contributed to institute, consecrate and simultaneously naturalize this singular form of building a collective cause, narrated and enacted in the public space via the language of kinship and family values. The cumulative work of inculcating the appropriate affective dispositions vis-à-vis the families of victims and the place that suffering should occupy in the public agenda erupted following the discovery of Estela's grandson.

The appearance of Ignacio consecrates the legitimacy of these ties, as well as the legitimacy of a State that recognizes their centrality, especially in the case of the disappeared grandchildren who, given their status as absolute victims, are able to remain above any kind of public controversy. The family photo at the presidential residence reflects the successful incorporation of the demands of the human rights movement as State policy and how the State is conceived as an extended family that unites the Kirchners, Carlottos, Grandmothers, Mothers and Children on the basis of ties that are fictitious yet still founded strategically on the truth revealed by blood ties and on the near identical life trajectories of all the political actors involved.

Grandson 114's appearance was experienced in public space as a heroic feat through which the consecrated image of the family magically materialized in front of the eyes of all the ritual's participants and spectators. The case shows how feelings of pain, compassion, empathy and redemption, along with the appeal to a 'blood community,' as *traditional* principles of adhesion not only remain active within the framework of modern States and the global community, they have also become a key site of contemporary politics (Fassin 2011).

As Stoler reminds us, the language of feelings is not a way of 'masking' the true, dispassionate and malefic interests of the State. It is a substantial part of politics, a form through which the State presents itself as a moral space. It involves sentiments and moral values that lend motivation and meaning to the bureaucratic structures of the Nation State and the transnational community. They become instituted as forms of governance by reordering the relations within the State and the global community (Stoler 2007:18). Through these family metaphors, along with the values associated with them, our representations of political life appear inscribed in our bodies as *noble* emotions and feelings.

This recourse to feelings to express political ties is truly effective, however, only when victims are constructed through the appropriate symbols – that is, as legitimate victims, deserving compassion – and when these feelings and values are in turn mobilized through agents possessing the social skills necessary to do so. This is also recognizable in the context of the claims made by relatives of the victims of police repression in the suburban peripheries, who are stigmatized as mothers of criminals or drug dealers and considered to be illegitimate victims (Bermudez 2017; Vianna & Farias 2011). Or again, in the intriguing paths taken by the political movement seeking legal reparation for the human rights violations perpetrated by the Brazilian government against children of the compulsorily institutionalized patients of Hansen's disease, who were separately involuntarily and raised by other families or the State. Starting out from a stigmatized condition, they attained public recognition of the traumatic experience of forced separation from their mother and/or father after forty years of activism (Fonseca 2015).

As shown in the different scenes described in this text, the worthiness and skills required to become an object of feelings of compassion and empathy are unevenly distributed. The public indifference towards María Victoria Moyano's arrest sheds light on the effectiveness of the family-State in imposing the appropriate feelings and expectations and its capacity to establish moral hierarchies and boundaries among the victims' families. When included in political analyses, affect and emotion are often reduced to an instrumental mechanism of governmental power or treated as epiphenomenal to the real business of rule. In contrast, this analysis has explored the State as the object of emotional investment by considering how emotion is implicated in a variety of everyday and exceptional encounters between citizens and state agents. The politicization of the affects of particular spaces – that is, the act of binding these intensities to political symbols and discourses – is one important way in which the State acquires a tangible, affective and spatial reality, as well as becoming invested by the moral values associated with kinship and victimhood.

Received: September 30, 2017

Approved: February 22, 2018

Translator: David Rodgers

References

- ABDO FERREZ, María Cecilia. 2014. "La vuelta de Ignacio a Guido." *Página/12*. August 12th, 2014. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252801-2014-08-12.html>
- ALEXANDER, Jeffrey. 2002. "On the social construction of moral universals. The 'Holocaust' from War Crime to Trauma Drama." *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(1): 5-85.
- ANDERSON, Benedict. 1991 *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- ARENES, Carolina; PIKIELNY, Astrid. 2016. *Hijos de los 70. Historias de la Generación que heredó la tragedia argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana.
- BERMUDEZ, Natalia. 2017. "Sin Facundo no hay Nunca Más. Trayectorias, contiendas morales y opacidades en la producción social de una víctima 'no inocente' en Córdoba (Argentina)." *Papeles del CEIC*. Spain. September, n. 2, pp. 1-26. Mimeo.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 1994. "L'esprit de famille". In : *Raisons Pratiques sur la Théorie de L'action*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. pp. 135-145.
- _____. 2001. "Los ritos de institución". In: *Qué significa hablar*. Madrid: Ed. Akal. Pp. 78-86.
- BUBLIK, Marcela. 2013. *Abuela. La historia de Rosa Roisinblit, una abuela de Plaza de Mayo*. Buenos Aires. Ed. La Marca Editora.
- CALVEIRO, Pilar. 2008. *Poder y Desaparición: los campos de concentración en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Colihue.
- CAPPIELLO, Hernán. 2014. "Una conferencia cargada de recuerdos y emoción" *La Nación* August 6th, 2014. Available at : <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1716128-una-conferencia-de-prensa-cargada-de-recuerdos-y-emocion>
- CATELA, Ludmila da Silva. 2001. *No Habrá Flores en la Tumba del Pasado. La Experiencia de Reconstrucción del Mundo de los Familiares de Desaparecidos*. La Plata: Ediciones Al Margen.
- CRENZEL, Emilio 2014. "Tan lejos, tan cerca." *Página/12*. August 28th, 2014.
- _____. 2011. "Between the voices of the state and the human rights movement: Never Again and the memories of the disappeared in Argentina." *Journal of Social History*, 44: 1063-1076.
- DAS, Veena. 1996 *Critical Events. An anthropological perspective on Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- DURKHEIM, Emile. 2012. *Las formas Elementales de la Vida Religiosa. El sistema totémico en Australia*. Mexico: FCE.
- FASSIN, Didier. 2011. *La Raison Humanitaire. Une histoire morale du temps présent*. Paris: Gallimard/ Seuil.
- FERRARI, Marcela. 2017. "La Democracia Cristiana Argentina durante la dictadura cívico-militar y la transición temprana." *Historia*, 50(1): 49-77, January-June. Available at <http://revistahistoria.uc.cl/index.php/rhis/article/viewFile/124/119> Accessed on: August, 15th, 2017.
- FILC, Judith. 1997. *Entre el parentesco y la política*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Biblos.
- FONSECA, Claudia. 2015. "Time, DNA and Documents in family reckonings". *Vibrant*, 12(1): pp. 75-108.
- FOLCO, Javier. 2015. *Estela. La biografía de Estela de Carlotto*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Marea.

- GATTI, Gabriel. 2011. "Imposing Identity against social catastrophes. The strategies of (re) generation of meaning of the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, o(o): 1-16.
- GRINZBERG, Victoria. 2014 "Al final, Guido buscó a Estela." *Página/12*, August 6th, 2014 <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-252358-2014-08-06.html>
- JENKINS, Janis. 1991 "The State construction of affect: political *ethos* and mental health among Salvadoran refugees." *Culture, Medicine Psychiatry*, 15: 139-165.
- HIRSCHMAN, Albert. 1997. *The passions and the interests: political arguments for capitalism before its triumph*. Princeton: NJ. Princeton University Press.
- LASZCZKOWSKI, Mateus; REEVES, Madeleine. 2015. "Affective States—Entanglements, Suspensions, Suspicions." *Social Analysis*, 59(4): 1-14.
- LENOIR, Rémi. 2003 *Généalogie de la morale familiale*. Paris : Seuil.
- LUDUEÑA, María Eugenia. 2014 "Ignacio Guido Carlotto: la música que sobrevivió a los campos de concentración." *Infojus Noticias*. August 9th, 2014. <http://www.infojusnoticias.gov.ar/opinion/ignacio-guido-carlotto-la-musica-que-sobrevivio-a-los-campos-de-concentracion-127.html>
- MELLIBOVSKY, Matilde. 1990. *Círculo de amor sobre la muerte*. Buenos Aires: Ed. del Pensamiento Nacional.
- REGUEIRO, Sabina. 2010. *Apropiación de niños durante la última dictadura militar argentina. Tramas burocrático-administrativas y estrategias jurídico-políticas en la construcción de parentescos*. PhD thesis, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, UBA.
- RORTY, Richard. 1989. *Contingency, Irony and Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SARTI, Cynthia. 2011. "A vítima como figura contemporânea." *Cadernos CRH*, 24(61): 51-61.
- SEOANE, María; CABALLERO, Roberto. 2015. *El Nieto. La trágica y luminosa historia de Ignacio 'Guido' Montoya Carlotto robado por la dictadura y recuperado por Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana.
- STOLER, Ann Laura. 2007. "Affective States." In: David Nugent and Joan Vincent (eds.), *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 4-21.
- SUTTON, Barbara. 2015 "Collective Memory and Human Rights Language." *Latin American Perspectives*, 202(42/3): 73-91.
- TAITÁN, Diego. 2014, "La nobleza de una emoción colectiva". *Revista Anfibia*, Agosto. Universidad Nacional de San Martín. <http://revistaanfibia.com/ensayo/la-nobleza-de-una-emocion-colectiva/>
- TEITEL, Ruti. 2002 "Transitional Justice in a new era." *Fordham International Law Journal*, 26(4): pp. 893-906.
- VECCHIOLI, Virginia. 2013. "Por una aproximación política a la justicia transicional: creación, circulación y usos de la categoría víctima en los dispositivos de justicia transicional en la Argentina." *Revista Jurídicas*, 10(2): pp.9-23. Centro de Investigaciones Socio-Jurídicas de la Universidad de Caldas, Colombia.
- _____. 2005. "La nación como familia. Metáforas políticas en el movimiento por los derechos humanos en la Argentina." In: S. Frederic and G. Soprano (eds.), *Cultura y Política en Etnografías sobre la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ed. UNQ/Prometeo. Pp. 241-269.
- VIANNA, A.; FARIAS, J. 2011, "A guerra das mães: dor e política em situações de violência institucional." *Cadernos Pagu*, 37: 79-116.

Virginia Vecchioli

Professor, Social Sciences Department.

Federal University of Santa Maria – UFSM, Santa Maria, RS, Brazil

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0260-5287>

E-mail: vvecchioli@gmail.com

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

Our dead and disappeared: reflections on the construction of the notion of political disappearance in Brazil

*Desirée de Lemos Azevedo*¹

¹ Universidade Federal de São Paulo,
Programa de Pós-graduação em Ciências Sociais, São Paulo/SP, Brasil

Abstract

Based on ethnographic and documentary material, this article analyzes the social construction of political disappearance in Brazil. It argues that less than a phenomenon to be captured from reality, it is a category produced in and a producer of a *social field*, a point of convergence of debates and actions of actors and institutions. The objective is to show the discourses that function as truths about the phenomenon in Brazil, as well as the methods, procedures, forums and disputes by which they are sanctioned as such. It also addresses the intrinsic relation of this process with the production of political communities by focusing on the discourse of the movement of families of the killed and disappeared political actors. In conclusion, it points to some social implications that result from delimiting what is politically relevant violence.

Keywords: Disappearance; memory; human rights; victims.

Os nossos mortos e desaparecidos: reflexões sobre a construção da noção de desaparecimento político no Brasil

Resumo

A partir de material etnográfico e documental, o presente artigo analisa a construção social do desaparecimento político no Brasil. Argumenta que menos do que um fenômeno a ser auferido da realidade, trata-se de uma categoria produzida em e produtora de um *campo social*, um ponto de convergência de debates e ações de atores e instituições. O objetivo é mostrar os discursos que funcionam como verdadeiros acerca do fenômeno no Brasil, bem como os métodos, procedimentos, instâncias e disputas por meio dos quais eles são sancionados enquanto tais. Aborda ainda a relação intrínseca desse processo com a produção de comunidades políticas, ao destacar a centralidade enunciativa do movimento de familiares de mortos e desaparecidos políticos. Na conclusão, aponta algumas implicações sociais resultantes da delimitação de uma violência politicamente relevante.

Palavras-Chave: Desaparecimento; Memória; Direitos Humanos; Vítimas.

Our dead and disappeared: reflections on the construction of the notion of political disappearance in Brazil

Desirée de Lemos Azevedo

Virgílio

On the morning of November 2, 2012, the Ecumenical Act in Memory of the Dead and Disappeared during the dictatorship (1964-1985) was held at the Ricardo de Albuquerque Cemetery in the northern zone of Rio de Janeiro. As part of my research¹ with the families of people considered to be victims of political deaths or disappearances,² I attended the event at the cemetery in the company of Victória Grabois, then president of *Grupo Tortura Nunca Mais/RJ* [the Torture Never Again Group] and one of the event organizers.³

The date of the event, All Soul's Day, is an important moment on the political agenda of the movement of families, a day when the militants hold demonstrations in cemeteries where bodies of victims of the dictatorship had been hidden. As the state now recognizes, during that period, a policy of disappearance was conducted, sometimes involving joint action between municipal funeral services, coroners offices and the repressive forces (CNV 2014).⁴ The disappearances involved combining illegal acts with the routines conducted by these institutions when handling cadavers considered to be those of 'the indigent,' those considered unidentified, or those buried by the state when no one claims the body (Ferreira 2007).

During years of searching, the movement discovered bodies of the disappeared buried anonymously in public cemeteries without the knowledge of their families. Some were transferred to common graves. These were collective burial sites located alongside cemeteries and generally seen by society as unimportant sites used for the deceased who were unmourned by anyone and treated as though they had no value. For this reason, each year the movement goes to cemeteries to conduct an act that is both political and emotional, as part of its struggle to denounce this policy of disappearance, rescue their dead relatives from invisibility, publicize their memories and collectivize their mourning. A few years ago at the Ricardo de Albuquerque Cemetery, they were able to erect a monument at the spot where an unregistered common grave was found

1 Conducted between 2012 and 2015, the ethnographic study resulted in a doctoral thesis defended in the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at Unicamp. This article revisits the reflection on the construction of the category of political disappearance developed in the thesis, particularly in the third chapter, considering questions that I have explored in postdoctoral studies concerning the identification by the *Grupo de Trabalho Perus* of the bones of disappeared political activists. I would like to thank Liliana Sanjurjo and the anonymous reviewers from Vibrant for their critical readings and valuable contributions.

2 Hereinafter, the collective formed by the various organizations and actors inserted in political arenas based on the affirmation of kinship ties with people who were killed and disappeared during the dictatorship, and presenting demands to the state, will be called the movement of families.

3 The *Grupo Tortura Nunca Mais/RJ* is an organization formed by victims and family members of victims of the dictatorship. It was responsible for locating a secret grave at the Ricardo de Albuquerque Cemetery, and for the documentation showing that 14 people that the group had been searching for were buried at the site. Victória Grabois participated in the resistance to the dictatorship. Her father, brother and first husband were disappeared by the Brazilian Army in the region of Araguaia, in 1973.

4 During the dictatorship, political activities were monitored and repressed by a broad network of civil and military intelligence and security agencies. At first the security actions, that is those of direct combat against the enemies of the regime, were conducted by the political police and the armed forces. The former mainly through the Political and Social Police (*Delegacias de Ordem Política e Social*: DOPS), which was created before the dictatorship; the latter through three military agencies: the CIE of the army, the CISA of the air force and the CENIMAR of the navy. After 1970, the army created the DOI-CODIs, which became the main and most lethal repressive agent in Brazil.

containing two thousand skeletons. Today, the location has an ossuary flanked by fourteen mirrors that represent tombstones. In front of them, each year family members pay homage to fourteen disappeared political activists who had also been buried in this common grave.

The reflections proposed for this article began in the sensitive environment of this act, triggered amid the pain, music, prayers, denunciations and requests for justice. The environment also included the presence in solidarity of family members of the victims of police violence since the end of the dictatorship, under democratic governments. These are members of humble families, who during the act spoke of their struggle to have their losses recognized as political too. To hear their words, and to observe my own image and that of both groups of families indistinctly reflected by the mirrored tombstones, provoked in me an inevitable sense of identification. This led me to think that during the dictatorship any person could have been the target of disappearance. Thus, the monument appeared to denounce a system of violent acts that affected the whole of society, although in different ways that are not completely understood. Yet, soon after, as I looked at the inscriptions that recorded the names and political organizations to which the 14 people being homage also belonged, I realized that the monument also marked distinctions. There were certain victims and a certain kind of violence to which it gave special attention.

There was a dynamic movement of approximations and distancings among different types of violence and victims at the event. But, although it may have seemed that this dynamic was explicit in the interaction of the act with the monument, in reality, it was something that occurred at the end of the event had me reconsider. I refer to the curious approach of an older woman who was paying homage to her mother, who was buried in a single grave close to the common one. After I explained what we were doing there, she told me she knew the history very well, because her father had participated in demonstrations against the coup of 1964. The increased repression inhibited him from continuing, but her cousin Virgílio “got involved in politics.” One day Virgílio left home without ever returning or sending news. She said she was pleased with the proximity between the monument and the grave of her mother, who liked her nephew very much, because it was as though they are now together. From then on, she decided she would take them flowers as well.

Hearing her story troubled me. Particularly because of the way that she related the monument to her missing cousin, without, however, affirming that his absence was a political disappearance. In reality, she ignored me or did not understand when I asked if he was or was not a victim of political disappearance. I repeated the question, thinking that she might be a relative of the famous Virgílio Gomes da Silva,⁵ but this was a different Virgílio. I was disturbed by the possibility of being faced with a “new case” and tried to convince her to speak with Victória. She refused. Only then, standing in front of the monument, did I look more closely at the list of the disappeared and the dates that they had gone missing: three people in 1971, five in 1972 and six in 1973. Is it possible that they were the only ones among those murdered by the repressive forces in the city to be buried there in those years? Why was it that only 14 of the two thousand people buried in a secret grave had been considered political disappearances, while Virgílio – the young man who conducted daily activities in opposition to the dictatorship and disappeared without trace – did not have the same recognition?

A few days went by before I realized that something was wrong with my surprise. If disappearance is characterized precisely by the lack of information, then should it not be normal for there to be a lack of control over the universe of the disappeared and thus the discovery of new cases? I then realized that this is not the most common perception about political disappearance in Brazil. Different from Argentina,

⁵ Virgílio Gomes da Silva participated in the kidnapping of US Ambassador Charles Elbrick, who was exchanged for the release of 15 political prisoners in 1969. Illegally jailed, Virgílio disappeared. He is the only Virgílio recognized as a political disappearance, and is also considered to be the first registered case of political disappearance (Almeida 2009).

where the data that is most accepted and promoted is based on estimates, which indicate the scope of the phenomenon and the incomplete character of the information, in Brazil, the different actors involved with the theme only disclose precise data, suggesting a phenomenon that is not only restricted, but also grasped in its totality and in the individualities that constitute it.⁶

If there are distinct truths about disappearance in the different societies in which its practice is identified, it seems to me to be important to understand the processes on which these truths are based, instead of taking them as given. By trying to determine the roots of my disturbance, I realized the importance of placing in perspective the view of political disappearance shared by those who denounce it.⁷ This means no longer observing political disappearance as a condition found in a given historic reality and considering it instead as a category that is produced in and a producer of a *social field* (Bourdieu 2011), a point of convergence of debates and actions of actors and institutions that are constituted around a *regime of truth* (Foucault 2007). Based on this approach, this article explores the discourses that function as truths about the phenomenon in Brazil, seeking to show the methods, procedures and instances by means of which they were sanctioned as such. It also looks at the intrinsic relation of this process with the production of political communities, by highlighting the centrality of the voice of the movement of families. In the conclusion, I point to some social implications of the delimitation of a politically relevant violence.

Similar events, different phenomena



Abílio Clemente Filho

Son of Maria Helena Correa and Abílio Clemente. Studied at the State School Fernão Dias Paes, in the city of São Paulo. When he disappeared, he was in the 4th year of the social sciences course at the State University of São Paulo (UNESP) and was active in the student movement in Rio Claro, (SP). When he disappeared, he was with a friend on the beach of José Menino, in Santos (SP). That year, he was honored at the graduation ceremony of his college.

In the process analyzed by the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances (CEMDP) there is a report in attachment by Maria Amélia de Almeida Teles, of the Commission of Families of the Political Dead and Disappeared, informing that in the Public Archives of São Paulo State, among documents of the now extinct Department of Political and Social Order of São Paulo (DOPS/SP), they found school records of Abílio Clemente Filho from the time he was in high school. According to the police records, this file had been found at the residence of Ishiro Nagami, a militant of the *Ação Libertadora Nacional* [National Liberation Action] (ALN) who was killed with Sérgio Corrêa, on September 4, 1969, when the car exploded in which both were traveling on the Rua da Consolação, in the São Paulo capital. Joana D'Arc Contijo told Maria Amélia, both of whom were jailed in the Detachment of Operations and Information – Center of Operations for Domestic Defense of São Paulo (DOI-CODI/SP) at the time, who said that she had heard the screaming of a young man all night

6 Despite the list of 9,334 people indicated by the *Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas*, [National Commission on the Disappearance of People] in Argentina the current understanding is that these are only the cases that have been denounced. Human rights organizations have publicized the number of 30 thousand disappeared, which is a projection of the cases that have not been denounced. In Brazil, estimates of the total number of disappeared are not published, only the precise numbers and lists of names.

7 I accompany Taussig's (1995) criticism of the possibility of understanding the uses of violence in strictly rational terms. According to Taussig, this activity is the role of social actors who intend to systematize an explanation and struggle against the discourses (and silences) that support a *culture of terror*. The alternative approach would be a reflection that would go beyond the content of these discourses, observing the forms that they assume to acquire *effects of truth* (Foucault 2007).

long, on the same day as Abílio's arrest. Joana believes that the youth stopped screaming because he had died. She tried to find out the identity of the victim of that torture, but was not able to. Maria Amélia said that in the mid 1990's she was approached by Abílio's sister to report his disappearance before passage of laws for indemnification.

Abílio's case was initially examined by the Commission for the Indemnification of Political Prisoners of São Paulo and was accepted. The commission found that based on the evidence presented and on the knowledge accumulated about the procedures of the organs of political repression, it was possible to conclude that Abílio Clemente Filho disappeared for political reasons. The rapporteur of the case for the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances (CEMDP), Belisário dos Santos Júnior, voted in favor of granting the request, adding: "In addition, in this federal entity, with all of the evidence collected well considered, I understand that *Abílio, who was a political militant, whose documents were seized in the residence of a person linked to armed activities, who disappeared on a certain day and whose friends and family always claimed was another victim of the political police, can and must be recognized as a person who disappeared for political reasons. To demand more proof would be to ignore the history of repression in Brazil.*" A São Paulo state deputy, Antônio Mentor, also made a statement to the Special Commission confirming his disappearance and his militancy in the clandestine organization during the dictatorship. The case was approved unanimously.

Source: *Dossiê Ditadura: Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos no Brasil 1964-1985*.

Involved in politics, Virgílio left home and never returned. The student activist Abílio was never seen again after a trip to Santos. Nothing more was known at the time about his destination or whereabouts. More than four decades later, nothing more has been discovered. But while these two absences were equally abrupt and enigmatic, they represent two entirely distinct social phenomenon. While Abílio is actively sought and honored in the memories of the resistance to the dictatorship, Virgílio remains only in the memory of his family members. While Virgílio's story does not permit any conclusion, including any return, Abílio's story, by contrast, offers certainty. Virgílio is a disappeared person. One of those who, as the popular anecdotes tell, "went to buy cigarettes and never returned." Abílio is dead. His disappearance was political.

A disappearance is only the absence of a person and any information about their location, with nothing to determine the existence of violence at its origin. In principle, disappeared people may be fatal victims of crimes, but also of accidents, or natural catastrophes. They may have been legally buried as unidentified persons, they may be living and unable to communicate, or simply may not want to be found after escaping or abandoning their home, among other possibilities. Despite the range of possibilities, unexplained absences are equally experienced as disappearances by those searching for missing persons, and are communicated as such to the institutions responsible for registering them, clarifying them and/or resolving problems that they involve. For this reason, there are various studies that explore the disappearances as the irremediable encounter between human drama and the institutional actions that they provoke.⁸ Placed in perspective, they show us that the need to address uncertainties is a common trait to the different forms of classifying absences, generating disconcertion in the processes that involve their public denomination, recognition and administration.

In the words of Ferreira (2011), whose thesis focuses on the broad range of situations contemporarily reported as disappearance in the police stations of Rio de Janeiro, "the designation of facts and experiences as disappearance is constituted by questionings and uncertainties" (Ferreira 2011: 3). The ambiguity of the facts raises various difficulties for the agents involved, implying the non-existence of regulations and

8 For example: Ferreira 2011, Araújo 2012, Vecchioli 2001, Catela 2001.

specific guidelines, which complicates the elaboration of policies for confronting the disappearances and assigning responsibilities. For this reason, along the different points of the institutional chain dedicated to the phenomenon, the actors regularly ask: “what does it mean for someone to disappear?” If at some of these points, it is considered as a grave and disregarded social problem, in others, such as the police stations, where its institutional trajectory usually begins, the concrete cases are treated as ordinary situations. Because they do not correspond to a specific crime, it is still belittled as something that does not amount to a ‘police matter,’ only a ‘family’ issue.

But if the violence is instigated by the police to mark the limit of their action in these cases (Ferreira 2013), it is also a category commonly used to distinguish types of disappearance. Far from being a family problem, a so-called enforced disappearance is considered a human rights violation by international law and a crime against humanity when practiced systematically. According to conventions of the United Nations and the Organization of American States on the theme, enforced disappearance is a deprivation of liberty, perpetrated directly by the state or with its compliance, followed by a refusal to admit this privation or to provide information about a person’s whereabouts. Although not defined under Brazilian law,⁹ the phenomenon is understood to be growing in the country, considered as “a practice from the repertoire of the language of urban violence” (Araújo 2012: 31), which, through its recurrent relation to the war on drugs and the consequential disputes between police, militia and drug traffickers, has a disproportional incidence in the impoverished territories of large cities. Although these elements set clear contours, in examining the network of actors and institutions dedicated to this phenomenon in Brazil, Araújo (2012) also mentions uncertain situations that strongly resist classification.

This occurs because although the ambiguities shift from the general to the particular in enforced disappearances, they still continue to exist. The fleeting aspect only appears to dissipate when we discuss enforced disappearance at a categorical level. Yet when asking “is this a case of enforced disappearance?” the uncertainties once again surface. As Araújo shows, as strong as the indications may be, these cases constantly become targets of mistrust and silencing. From an institutional perspective, this takes place both because of the lack of legal classification, and because of the common involvement of the police forces themselves in these crimes. This is combined with the fact that the accounts available are fragmented by doubts and fear, as well as the stigma related to the population of the urban periphery – who are especially susceptible to enforced disappearance and who during the democratic period have been considered as a potential enemy through the validation of a *war metaphor* (Leite 2012) to justify state violence as a solution to the so-called “public security problem.” This stigma leads to the relativization of violence by questioning the moral status of the victims who are often, justifiably or not, linked to criminality. These elements facilitate the immersion of the cases in a gray zone of occurrences considered to be common and insignificant and for which police action is perceived neither as responsible (Araújo 2012), nor even as pertinent or effective (Ferreira 2013).

It is interesting to note that both Araújo and Ferreira mention political disappearance as a counterpoint, presenting it as less ambiguous because it has a broader and established set of identifiable reference points. In fact, in the arenas where it is debated, the modality is usually considered to be precise and well-established. On the other hand, considering the story of Virgílio, it seems to me essential to understand what these marks are, to then raise the problem to the point that the ambiguities and uncertainties can be excluded.

⁹ The Inter-American Convention on the Forced Disappearance of Persons (OAS 1994) and the International Convention for the Protection of All People from Enforced Disappearance (UN 2006) were signed and ratified by Brazil. Nevertheless, enforced disappearance has still not been defined in Brazilian law, as is required in principle for adherents to the treaty. For this reason, the disappearances are indistinctly classified in police stations. In thesis, the proof of violence at the origin of the case would lead to substituting this classification for others, such as kidnapping, homicide or concealment of a body.

Nevertheless, regardless of the cause, the absence of a person from the locations where they are typically expected to be found is a disconcerting event. If it causes disruption in the daily lives of those who feel it, on the other hand, it also inaugurates new routines in which dealing with the uncertainties comes to constitute an attempt at domestication (Das 1995), establishing relations between families and state institutions. These are the actors who will classify the absences according to available categories, amid processes that have countless variables but that engender shifts from the peculiarity of facts to the generality of procedures and languages. It is in this sense that a political disappearance is not the same as an enforced disappearance. While the later does not take the form of a domestic legal category, political disappearance is established and mobilized by certain state institutions. In its various daily uses, a set of markers operate in various dimensions.

Dimensions of the political

The first and most notable of the reference points is disappearance's association with death, insofar as the two words – nearly always inseparable – compose a single term: political deaths and disappearances. Undoubtedly the result of a criminal act, a political disappearance is a kidnapping followed by homicide and hiding of the body against “people who have participated, or who are accused of participation, in political activities, from September 2, 1961 until October 5, 1988, and who, for this reason, had been detained by public agents” (Art. 1º, Law Nº 9.140/95). We can observe, therefore, that the legal parameters make an attempt at precision, defining the act, the victims, the victimizers and the temporality in which they are inscribed. The so-called Law of the Dead and Disappeared, in addition to reducing the broad universe of cases to those linked to a specific act of violence (murder and hiding of the corpse), presumes a second form of clarification based on the distinction between the present and past. By this means, the phenomenon is determined as a closed historic episode, which means that we are also considering a mnemonic category, a reference to the constitution of the *memorable* (Candau 2011) about the dictatorship, and no less importantly, about the demarcation of its contrasts with democracy.

Like forced disappearance, therefore, political disappearance is a term coined to simultaneously circumscribe an experience of extreme violence and project a denunciation. In common, they both evoke the set of global processes that mark the twentieth century as a period of overlapping between the emergence of the large utopian narratives and catastrophes of proportions never before seen (Hobsbawm 1994). In Europe, as in America, via different though related processes, the political transition to the twenty-first century brought demands for both a “non-repetition of the past” and a “settling accounts with the past,” which became important commitments of the international community that emerged with the end of the Cold War (Torpey 2006). But while in the international sphere, notions such as human rights violations and crimes against humanity highlight state responsibilities in relation to the past, present and future, Brazil began its adherence to humanitarian premises by dissociating these two domains.

The country signed up to this global commitment following the end of the dictatorship, with the enactment of a new constitution and a progressive adhesion to international agreements. This movement did not signify, however, the overturning of what is considered the centerpiece of Brazil's political transition, the Amnesty Law. Still in vigor, this law determines that the violence committed by the state involved “political crimes,” as did the acts committed by those who fought the regime, and both were pardoned. In flagrant contradiction to the 1988 Constitution, which considered torture to be a crime not susceptible to amnesty, and with the international treaties signed by the country, including those concerning forced disappearance, the Amnesty Law influenced the institutionalization of human rights in Brazil. This is announced by the very fact that the first National Human Rights Program (PNDH-1), created

by a commitment made at the World Conference on Human Rights, mentioned nothing about the violence acts committed in the immediate past.¹⁰ It is important to emphasize that this program was enacted one year after Law 9.140/95, the first reference to the issue in Brazil, making the separation of the themes flagrant.

Although the transition to democracy made it possible to speak of the past in terms of rights and responsibilities, this did not take place initially in the grammar of human rights, but in the political terminology of those who first publicly raised the issue. The efforts to do so preceded the law and came from actors accused by the dictatorship of threats to the national community, with labels such as ‘communists,’ ‘terrorists,’ ‘enemies of the homeland,’ and other associated categories within a negative field of signification projected by the dictatorship. When speaking about their losses, these actors refer to a conflict that had the nation as its object and the paradigmatic antagonism of the Cold War as its theme. The prisons, abrogation of political rights, torture, assassinations, exiles and disappearances perpetrated by the dictatorship would be denounced as instruments mobilized to exclude opponents and to outlaw the political struggle through the use of violence. It was a total war against the “internal enemy” identified as a threat by the National Security Doctrine. This brings us to the third mark conferred to political disappearance. This relates the phenomenon to events surrounding the systematic persecution of a specific, although heterogeneous, social group: the opponents of the regime. This, and only this state violence, would be qualified as political.

This notion of political violence would be projected by those reflections that, from the mid-1970s, focused on the combination of losses suffered by militants who fought the dictatorship, perceived as a defeat in the political field. At this time, the notion was already central for those who were in prison or exile, for the family members of the victims and for the networks of solidarity that supported the militants. Nevertheless, it had more extensive repercussions during the campaign for “Broad, General and Unrestricted Amnesty,” which gained strength in 1978.¹¹ At that time, the various sectors expelled from politics, ranging from those against whom the repressive apparatus was directed to those who were unable to flourish due to the repression, began to organize. They shared in common the desire for “democratic liberties,” including an end to the punishments in vigor and to any new persecutions. Although this had been the focus of the campaign, the social actors involved, militants of social movements and political parties, organized in so-called Brazilian Committees for Amnesty (CBAs), were able to systematize the information provided about the crimes perpetrated during the dictatorship against people in their militant and emotional circles, thereby sustaining, vis-à-vis the national community, their condition as survivors of an unequal conflict in which they were persecuted for political reasons. The notion of resistance is central here. It was amid the debates in this context that the first National Congress for Amnesty would promote the first definition of the political disappeared: militants whose imprisonment, kidnapping or killing were not recognized by the regime (Cabral & Lapa 1979).

After the amnesty, this movement of denunciations dissipated. While surviving victims and victimizers were incorporated to democracy, and seen to be as equivalent under a common pardon, the dead and disappeared remained as disturbing figures for which the solutions of the transitional period

¹⁰ It was only in the third version of the plan (PNDH-3), in 2010, that “Memory and Truth” were included in the foci of the program. The creation of a truth commission was proposed, that was realized in the following year. My thesis (Azevedo 2016), discusses the transformations in the form of institutionally dealing with the violence of the past, from the first moment, in which they were ignored, to the current moment, in which a network formed by international institutions, entities, social movements, Brazilian and international, civic and academic entities composed what I call the *field* of Memory, Truth and Justice.

¹¹ After 1978, a broad set of political actors opposed to the dictatorship joined forces to organize the campaign for Broad, General and Unrestricted Amnesty. It called for the end of the repressive apparatus, the pardoning and release of all political prisoners, and the end of all legal charges and persecution. During the campaign, the first movements were undertaken to investigate and conduct a collective systematization of the violence committed against the political opposition during the military regime. Despite the high popularity of the campaign, the Amnesty Law approved in 1979 by the regime did not include reparations for acts of violence committed and excluded pardons to opponents of the regime convicted for committing “crimes of blood.” On the other hand, the law was applied to all agents of the regime, including those responsible for human rights violations.

were inapplicable. Listed and named as a single group in the Brazilian Amnesty Committees, they were taken up as a cause by their own families and by some of the survivors, who began to organize in small groups. Although they were supported by other human rights organizations, they complained of being abandoned by the new social movements and political parties, as well as by a large portion of survivors who adhered to them.¹² The articulation among these groups can be considered as a form of confronting the collective silence. One of the most notable efforts in this direction was the *Brasil Nunca Mais* (Brazil, Never Again) project, which provided an important response to the broad set of denunciations made by the Amnesty Committees and also adopted the notion of political violence on which these were based. The family members adopted the same line of approach by organizing themselves nationally to prove that their dead relatives had been murdered, and that the disappeared were in reality dead. Establishing cases for each known name, they would compile the *Dossiê Ditadura: Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos no Brasil* (the Dictatorship Dossier: Political Deaths and Disappearances in Brazil). This work was essential for the consolidation of the elements that would define a specific phenomenon, following a dynamic in which the production of a global truth about political disappearance would become increasingly inseparable from the naming of its victims.

Sixteen years after the Amnesty, all of these elements were included in Law Nº 9.140/95, which declared the disappeared militants to be dead, and considered the disappearance and murder of militants to be political acts, recognizing this condition in the case of 136 people listed by name. It also created the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances (CEMDP) to evaluate other requests for recognition.

In brief, we can say that political disappearance was recognized as an important issue for the history of the country as it became incorporated into the narratives on politics and political resistance. The demands for the distribution of responsibilities and rights to specific subjects was associated with the production of a memory that located these same subjects among the protagonists of political events of the past. Their memory was consolidated in references taking the form of numbers, narratives, names and images, among other records that appear to both dispel the uncertainties surrounding political disappearance and to attest to the extraordinary nature distinguishing them as a crime against political liberties.¹³ Nevertheless, the construction of this more categorical and stable dimension was never separated from the dilemmas raised by the phenomenon as a family drama, which also became determinants for the production of the institutional agendas that developed as a specific social problem.

For people with emotional ties to the disappeared, though, the loss is not necessarily expressed as defeat, but certainly as mourning. It is a complex mourning process in which the association between absence and death – because this death can become suspended in time – results in the perception of an *inconclusive death* (Catela 2001). If a disappeared political actor, a homogeneous subject defined by law and by the cause, is dead, could a disappeared person be alive? For how long would families emotionally believe in this, even while wishing to prove the opposite? My research has shown me that these are not hypothetical questions, but involve daily moral suffering, which is bitterly nurtured over the years (Azevedo 2016). And while disappearance as a human drama is a source of hurt and suffering for family members, Law 9.140/95 acted only on a small proportion of them, maintaining an abyss between the universe of the state and the universe of families.

¹² These groups are, for example, the *Tortura Nunca Mais* of São Paulo, Bahia, Rio and Pernambuco, the *Comissão de Familiares de Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos*, and the *Movimento Justiça e Direitos Humanos* (The Justice and Human Rights Movement). Limited in number, they were supported by Brazilian and international human rights organizations, lawyers, religious agents and academics.

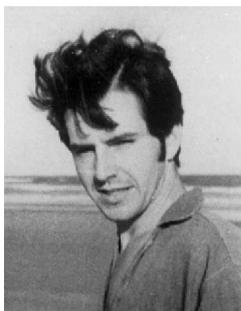
¹³ Even after the advent of the truth commissions, it continues to be more common for the crimes of the dictatorship to be characterized as crimes against democracy, against democratic freedom, against the left/ progressive forces/ workers/ social movements, rather than as crimes against humanity.

By allowing the death to be officially confirmed through issuance of a certificate, even though recognizing the violence of the state in so doing, the law was designed to reconstitute the civil rights suspended by a non-documented absence. But it did not prevent families from continuing to await the return of – or from wishing to bury – the bodies, seeking the facts behind each absence, and hoping for justice. In reality, the law increased their responsibilities to prove that the absence conformed to the parameters for recognizing political disappearance. It thus did not prevent its confrontation with new situations in which the death certified by law was placed in doubt, perpetuating the perceptions of absurdity and injustice, a form of treatment that failed to correspond to the human drama or to the political tragedy that disappearance represents, above all when we think of its recurrence and what it shares as a universal phenomenon.

Precisely to shift the phenomena, the international agreements globally supported a definition of forced disappearance that, as we saw above, is based on denial. Disappearance is the denial of destiny, of a body, of facts, of proof, and of identity, which produces “a body separated from a name, a name isolated from its history” (Gatti 2017: 17). It has been successful as a global category because it allows distinct situations to be dealt with by that which approximates them: the disconcerting character, ambiguity, and the absurdity contained in an act of violence that implies a complete suspension of law. This is how, as a crime and a fact, disappearance is distinguished from killing. In addition to not being seen as the same, the uncertainties surrounding disappearance do not allow any link to either a specific type of violence, or to a pre-defined identity of the victim. In one more contrast with the Brazilian version, forced disappearance is a multiple violation of fundamental rights (to information, psychic and moral integrity, and justice); rights that are simultaneously individual and collective, belonging to victims and to society, and in relation to which extensive state responsibilities are defined. Forced disappearance therefore involves a category that needs to be clarified.

In Brazil where much more specific marks surround the categorical domains, this clarification was established by means of *cases*. It was through these cases that those people recognized to have suffered political disappearances became distinguished from the *Virgílios*, following a distinct path.

It's all made up, but nearly all of it happened¹⁴



Luiz Eurico Tejera Lisbôa

Born on January 19, 1948, in Porto União, Santa Catarina. Son of Eurico Siqueira Lisbôa and Clélia Tejera Lisbôa. Disappeared on Sept. 2, 1972. Luiz Eurico began his militancy in the student movement. He was a member of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), a student activist and also participated in the ALN [Action for National Liberation]. In the student demonstrations of 1967 and 1968, he was arrested a number of times. In 1969, he was condemned to six months in prison in a military police inquest, and began to live clandestinely. After spending time in Cuba, he returned to Brazil in 1971. In 1972, he traveled to São Paulo and the family received no more news about him. From 1978, his wife Suzana Lisbôa, also a militant of the ALN, living clandestinely, began to denounce his disappearance as the probable result of political repression. At this time, she was approached by an acquaintance, who said he had a relationship with the head of the National Information Service (SNI), who reported that Luiz Eurico had married again, and was living in Montevideo, [Uruguay]. Suzana joined the Commission of the Families of the Political Dead and

¹⁴ Epigraph of K. *Relato de uma busca*, by Bernardo Kucinski, about the political disappearance of his sister, Ana Rosa Kucinski.

Disappeared of the Brazilian Committee for Amnesty. In April 1979, at the Encounter for Amnesty, other family members shared the information that disappeared people may have been buried with false names, possibly those that were used clandestinely in public cemeteries. In the records of the Dom Bosco Cemetery, in São Paulo, Suzana and other family members found the names they were looking for. This included that of Nelson Bueno, buried on September 3, 1972. Nelson Bueno was a name used by the militant while he was in hiding. Informed that his body had been removed from a boarding house after committing suicide, Suzana took a photograph to the location, where she gained a positive identification from the residents. The location of Luiz Eurico was denounced in the National Congress during the vote for the Amnesty Law.

Suzana found the police report on the investigation into the death and filed suit to change the name on the death certificate. At this time, the courts determined exhumation of the body for examination. The analysis revealed that the characteristics of the bones buried in the indicated location failed to match the information in the report that accompanied the cadaver. For this reason, the court also required re-opening the investigation and exhumation of other bodies until they found the corresponding body. The bones returned to the family were shipped to Rio Grande do Sul for burial, in 1982. The re-opened investigation did not bring new elements about the cause of death. But a new version arose, in 1990, when the journalist Caco Barcelos was informed by the cemetery administrator of the existence of a secret common grave, where political prisoners were buried. The movement of families already had this information, but it was the journalist's report that created the public commotion necessary to open the grave. At that time, Barcelos presented a report on the [leading national television news show] *Globo Reporter*, prompting Suzana to return to the boarding house. While filming interviews for the show, a resident said that Luiz Eurico's room had been invaded in the early morning by two men who killed him, and who told the residents to repeat the version that it had been a suicide. Still in 1990, the movement of family members gained access to the files of the *Instituto Médico Legal/SP* [São Paulo coroner's office] where it found the request for the examination of the body of Luiz Eurico marked with a letter 'T', which was also found in other requests as a reference to 'terrorista.' In 1995, the name of Luiz Eurico was placed in the attachment to *Law N° 9.140*. Suzana became a representative of the movement of families in the CEMDP. More recently, a new analysis of the documentation on the case concluded that the evidence is inconsistent with the version of suicide.

Source: *Dossiê Ditadura: Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos no Brasil 1964-1985*.

Like Abílio, therefore, Luiz Eurico is considered a political disappearance. Six years after the trip from which he likewise never returned, his name entered the first list of fatal victims of the dictatorship, prepared by the Commission of Families of the Political Dead and Disappeared of the Brazilian Amnesty Commissions,¹⁵ even without any additional information about his whereabouts. During the series of searches undertaken by the group, his body was one of the first located and rescued from anonymous burial. As a result, he was included in the main documents that recognize Brazilian political

¹⁵ Organized within the Brazilian Amnesty Committees, the Commission of Families prepared a first list of fatal victims and began the investigations that led to the location of documents and some bodies, and also mounted the first cases. With the conclusion of the Amnesty Committees, the Commission of Families became an independent organization. In 1993, the Institute for Studies about State Violence (IEVE) was created, and organized an archive of the documents related to the searches and published in the *Dossiê Ditadura*, since the latter's first issue in 1984. It served as a basis for the preparation of the list in Attachment I of *Law N° 9.140/95*, and for the cases, which were presented in greater detail to the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances. The production of the requests was an important moment in the articulation of the movement of families and of the expansion of the cases. In 2007, they were published in the report of the Special Commission (Brasil 2007). The advances were updated in the *Dossiê*, leading to the third edition in 2009.

disappearances: the *Dossiê Ditadura* (Dictatorship Dossier); the annex to Law N^o 9.140/95; the final report of the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances (CEMDP); and more recently the report of the National Truth Commission.¹⁶

Comparing the disappearances of Luiz Eurico and Abílio with that of Virgílio, we find as a notable difference the existence of an organized report for the first two. Known as *cases*, these reports result from the communications made by family members in the forums for recognition. While the family members of Luiz Eurico communicated his absence to the first forum created by the social movements (the Brazilian Amnesty Commissions), Abílio's family only did so in the institutional spaces established in the 1990s. Despite this fact, many similarities can be observed between the two reports. The most evident is their capacity to raise opportunities for understanding and communicability about the unusual reality that they revealed.

In the universe of recognition in which they operate, the *cases* are a narrative form. The means through which the disruptive and exceptional events – incommunicable in their pain and enigmatic in their developments – are associated with a form of understanding them as the expression of a broader phenomenon. Once formulated, each case becomes a narrative of reference, of unique and irreducible content, revised, and at times corrected, but regularly repeated over the years. It is distinguished by a name, a photograph, brief biographical data, followed by a narrative divided into two organizational elements: the affirmation of a militant trajectory and the reconstitution of state violence. They are associated in a script that presents the sequence of events behind the events, attempting to answer why, when, where and how they took place. When this is impossible, it indicates the possibilities suggested by the searches and information obtained. This information is based on a wide variety of artifacts that constitute proof, which may include photos, inquests, investigative reports, testimony, documents from security agencies under the dictatorship, journalistic investigations and books. The case is thus born as a product of searches, proofs and information organized in a coherent and verisimilar narrative that links a particular absence to the phenomenon of political disappearance.

The aim of the *cases* is to mitigate the incomprehensible aspects of each absence by attributing a precise meaning to it. In the case of Luiz Eurico, we have seen that this movement was enabled by a narrative in which the chronological ordering of the discoveries made by Suzana Lisboa, his wife, could not fully reconstruct the events that led to his death, insofar as they remained uncertain amid the plurality of existing versions, yet the process was able to reveal events and bureaucratic records that allowed his mysterious vanishing to be confirmed as a political disappearance. The narrative articulates a hypothesis about the impossibility of reaching a definitive conclusion concerning what took place, dispelling the enigmatic perspective that usually accompanies cases of disappearance (Ferreira 2011). Thus his absence is interpreted as a decipherable event within a restricted framework of possibilities. Moreover, while in terms of the concreteness of the events, some stories, like Luiz Eurico's, contain details that appear absurd, others lack information that allow any outcome to be presumed, as in the case of Abílio. As a form applied without distinction, the cases are a safe narrative located between the singularity (and the uncertainties) of an event with an individual and a single destination (prison, torture, death and hiding of the body) safely attributed to a collective subject.

¹⁶ The complete *cases* can be found in the cited reports (Almeida 2009, Brasil 2007, CNV, 2014). A review reveals their similarity, even in visual terms. The three publications present the universe of the dead and disappeared that they recognize in the *cases*. They share a narrative form, the same compositional elements, use the same data and documents, and reach the same conclusions. The difference resides in the number of *cases*, recognized by each one. There are 357 for the Special Commission, 436 for the movement of families, and 434 for National Truth Commission.

It is not by chance that the affirmation of the victim's political trajectory is the first point of this narrative. In the case of Luiz Eurico, the lack of communication on the part of the person who traveled is not, we can imagine, uncommon. Even with the passage of years, there is nothing that allows us to suppose a necessarily tragic (or political) motivation behind the failure to return or communicate. In principle, therefore, his disappearance is inserted in a broad range of possibilities that make it difficult to reach conclusions. This gives room to those who claim that he is living in another country. It was not so much the time passed, but Suzana's knowledge about her husband's political activities, as well as her involvement in the same networks of militants and underground life, that allowed her to see the absence as a break from routine. Recognized as a militant because of his trajectory in the student movement, and a member of an organization that struggled against the dictatorship, Luiz Eurico's fate is associated with a situation that in 1972 was already perceived as a risk among those activists engaged in the resistance. For this reason his name entered the first list of the disappeared.

The second point is the demonstration of the existence of state violence, which involves not only the participation of some institutions in the production of events, but also the indifference of others to the attempts to reveal them. At the beginning of the process, the communication of the *case* in the networks of solidarity and defense of the persecuted was the logical counterpart of dismissing the possibility of going to the police to report the disappearance of someone missing. The lack of admission of possible imprisonment also weakened the legal defense measures.¹⁷ With the political opening towards the end of the dictatorship, the search followed a routine in which the confrontation with the institutions – the cemetery, funeral service, coroner's office (IML), police, courts, and the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances – would lead to registers that produced a status of truth for what had been previously been uncertainty. All of these institutions are accused of posing obstacles to obtaining the truth, however, either by registering facts considered to be false, such as the obituary issued in the name of Nelson Bueno and the police investigation that classified his death as suicide (the so-called 'versions' of the dictatorship); or by ignoring or having no intention of discovering the true facts; or through the action of the courts, which altered the obituary maintaining a questionable *causa mortis*; or by the attribution of a political status to the death by the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances, which drew no distinction between suicide in response to the threat of imprisonment and homicide.

If all of these registers kept Suzana in a state of doubt, they were also converted into proofs that allowed the recomposition of details that untangled Luiz Eurico's fate from the very wide range of possibilities in which it had initially been inserted. It is in this sense that the *case* establishes a secure path between an absence about which many doubts still remain and the confirmation of political disappearance. But this recomposition is also a repository of dissatisfaction. By using ambiguities as part of the script, the case confronts the institutions, blaming them for the continuing uncertainties, for the unattainment of desires for truth and justice, and for the insufficiencies and the injustices committed. The impossibility of affirming precisely what took place does not make it impossible, however, to mount a case of political disappearance. In reality, questionings and uncertainties are also constitutive of political disappearances, resulting in a story that seeks to denounce the lack of care.

Considered individually, the death of Luíís Eurico continues to evoke a series of uncertainties, whether because of a lack or an over-abundance of information: was his body really buried as Nelson Bueno? Was the body given to the family – which was never identified and whose discovered in the cemetery was based on the description of an inquest deemed to be forged – really his? Was he killed or did he kill himself to

¹⁷ Despite this fact, many family members began their search by filing a *habeas corpus* and/or seeking information from the police, the armed forces, the courts and Brazilian or international civil and military authorities in general, both individually and collectively, officially and extra-officially, with results that varied between information not found and official information that someone is 'at large.'

avoid being jailed? If he was killed, by whom and how? Clearly any removal of doubt is necessarily relative. On one hand, the production of a narrative that unites the known fragments must offer a single and true version. To do so, the association with other *cases* is essential, both to fill in the gaps and to qualify the uncertainties, and to relieve the disbelief generated by the history being proposed. Yet on the other hand, we can observe that fragmentation and doubt are not eliminated, but instead fed by the demands for truth and the accusations against the institutions that have shirked their responsibility to establish it. Without removing doubts, the *case* circulates among them, or turns them into a demand, incorporating them into the narrative form on which order and meaning are produced.

As a consequence, it is no longer sufficient to say that the *cases* are narrative forms only. More than this, they introduce discursive practices and forms of knowledge. They are products of the relationship between family members and institutions, as well as artifacts around which were organized a political agenda and a cause in which various social actors were involved. Their existence signifies that a process of revelation was initiated, based on which a second protagonist arises. In the case of Luiz Eurico, we see Suzana stand out, not only as his widow, but as someone who demands recognition, initiating the series of contacts with institutions that certify truths capable of triggering nothing more than concern and questioning. Her search makes her a participant in the initiatives of a collective. It was as a militant of the Commission of Families of the Political Dead and Disappeared and a representative of the movement of families in the Special Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances that she – and the collective to which she belongs – were considered in the report as protagonists of the investigations that provided some answers to their questions. This could only take place amid the construction of relations, whether between Suzana and other families, or between the events that happened to Luiz Eurico and those that happened to other disappeared militants. Both the rise of the hypothesis of the burial with a false name, as well as the localization of the body, and even the mistrust in relation to the version of suicide, could not be separated from the process of collectively revealing the methods used by the dictatorship to kill and dispose of the bodies of their opponents and/or camouflage these murders. Because of the location of his body, therefore, the particular case of Luiz Eurico, provides empirical elements that prove the more general theses about these methods. This movement of constant comings and goings between the particular and the collective is also characteristic of the routine of the *cases*.

Developing their activism in relation to the institutions to which they turned with a certain amount of distrust, the family members found the *cases* to be a useful mechanism to generate order and meaning and to collectivize their personal dramas. Through them, they became subjects of knowledge, producing knowledge shared in the process of conversion of their personal pilgrimage into collective action, an essential part of the organized action that led to recognition of the movement as a collective political actor. In the public arenas dedicated to the theme, the term familiar does not refer only to the kinship relations, but to a structural position within the social field that they return to debate, investigate and restore – the violence of the dictatorship – in which the family is seen as a subject of rights produced less by the disappearance *per se* than by the search.

Militant vulnerability



Denis Casemiro

Born in Votuporanga, in the interior of São Paulo state, on December 9, 1942. Son of Antônio Casemiro and Maria Casemiro. In his native city he was a construction worker and farmhand. He participated in the Votuporanga Farmworkers Union. In 1967, he went to São Bernardo do Campo to work at Volkswagen. At this time he met Devanir José de Carvalho, who was also assassinated by the repressive apparatus, and Devanir's brothers Jairo and Daniel. The latter is on the list of political disappearances. Denis began to participate in the opposition to the dictatorship when he joined the *Ala Vermelha* [The Red Flank] and later the *Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária* [Popular Revolutionary Vanguard] (VPR). He moved to Southern Pará where he began to care for a small farm close to Imperatriz, in Maranhão state. From there he considered undertaking political and military action in the rural region.

In April 1971, he was found and arrested by police officer Sérgio Paranhos Fleury, who took him to the DOPS/SP, where he was tortured for nearly a month and then killed. During this incarceration he was always moved through the corridors of the police agency with a hood covering his face to make it impossible for other prisoners to identify him. One of these prisoners, Waldemar Andreu, who came from the same region as Denis, had spoken with him for a few minutes. He was sure that the removal of the hood was a sign that the torture was over and that the danger of assassination had passed. However, Denis was shot on May 18, 1971 by officer Fleury. In a report found in the DOPS archives there is a version by the officer, according to which Denis had tried to escape during a stop on the road, when he was being taken from Rio de Janeiro, where he was taken for questioning by the police, and then back to São Paulo. After rolling down a river bank the police officer had to shoot him and was arrested once again nine hours later. Taken by the officer to the hospital, he later died from his wounds. The request for an autopsy made to the coroner confirmed the police version without any mention of the state of the body, although it described wounds to his hand, which indicated a gesture of defense. Denis was buried by the state as an indigent person, and his data were altered to make identification impossible. No official communication was made about his death. In the registration book at the cemetery, he was identified as 40, when in reality he was 28. The clarification of his arrest, torture and death began in 1979, during the Amnesty campaign, with the discovery of the register of his death by the Commission of Families of the Political Dead and Disappeared. His remains had been deposited in the secret grave at the Dom Bosco Cemetery, in the neighborhood of Perus, in São Paulo (SP). The identification was only possible because Mayor Luiza Erundina called for an investigation into the grave, which was opened in September 1990. In 1991, Denis was identified by Unicamp among the bodies in the grave and taken to the city of his birth. His name is found in the list of political disappearances in attachment 1, of Law 9.140/95.

Source: *Dossiê Ditadura: Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos no Brasil 1964-1985*.

Denis Casemiro disappeared after being seen under arrest at the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS) of São Paulo by other militants, although his imprisonment and death were never officially confirmed. Considered a political disappearance ever since, his name was found in the registration books of the Perus Cemetery. In an effort to prove that crimes had been committed against him, the investigations located classified documents that registered his imprisonment, including a report about his death, attributing it to an attempted escape. Considered a fallacy to cover up his execution,

the version is contrasted with other discovered documents, such as the autopsy and the cemetery registration book, which include adulterated information, despite the correct name, indicating an attempt to conceal the body.¹⁸

Consolidated in the *Dossiê* and in the report by the Special Commission on Deaths and Disappearances, the case was recently presented at a hearing of the Rubens Paiva Truth Commission (CVRP) of the São Paulo State Legislature.¹⁹ The case includes an unexpected line of inquiry suggested by one of the witnesses. Denis's childhood friend, Waldemar Andreu, said he believed that the arrest was an act of revenge by the police officer involved against Denis's brother, who had also disappeared, since Denis had abandoned militant activities by the time he was killed. Andreu also rejected the idea that Denis had been tortured for one month, because "he walked normally," suggesting that he had not been subject to violence.

Coordinating the hearing were two aides to the Rubens Paiva Truth Commission who were also militants in the Commission of Families: Ivan Seixas and Amelinha Teles. Both were involved in the production of the Denis Casemiro case, from the location of his name in the cemetery to the investigations produced by the Parliamentary Investigation Commission created in 1990 by the São Paulo City Council to investigate the secret grave discovered in the Perus Cemetery, to which they had also been aides. Provoked to speak, Ivan began his testimony by arguing that the statements by Denis's old friend Andreu were his own opinion. In Ivan's words, although this was "an impression that he [Andreu] has," it failed to match what had been found. Ivan had documents in his possession, which he analyzed based on his knowledge about the operations of the left and the state's repressive forces. This analysis indicated limitations to Andreu's assertion, which Ivan attributed to the fact that they were based on nothing more than Andreu's own experience. Although Ivan had also mentioned his personal proximity to the militant, in order to reaffirm the *case* he turned to the statement given by Denis at the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS) of São Paulo. This document registered his militancy and his direct contacts with the national command of his political organization at the time of his arrest.

If this information was known to the repressive forces and was admitted by Denis at DOPS, it might be 'supposed' that he was tortured to reveal it and that the story that he had "rolled down a river bank" had been invented to explain the marks of violence. Although there were no witnesses or other artifacts to prove torture, Ivan believed it could be presumed because this was the interrogation method used by the dictatorship on political prisoners. It could also be supposed that Denis was killed because he refused to cooperate, since this solution "was common procedure at the time." But not only death was inscribed in a method. As Amelinha proceeded to indicate, after death, an entire institutional mechanism was triggered to hide his body, making it difficult to prove the murder. The hiding of the body and the alteration of data on the death certificate were evidence that his tragic destiny conformed still to routine forms of political disappearance.

Once again, in the eyes of the movement of families, the doubts and the consequent need to work with suppositions fail to undermine the veracity of the narrative, or make its conclusions a mere matter of opinion. To the degree to which they are based on what can be described as a repressive methodology, identified with the action of the police and military forces who tortured and killed, investigators who covered up these actions, and funeral agents who legalized the disappearance of bodies, these suppositions have become inscribed in the political and military antagonisms existing between the opposition and the dictatorship. Hence, they are grasped more as probabilities than as suppositions – that is, as affirmations

¹⁸ Documents located at the time of the opening of the archives of the Department of Political and Social Order of São Paulo (DOPS/SP) in 1991.

¹⁹ A commission that collaborated with the National Truth Commission, created to conduct investigations into the crimes that took place in São Paulo, which victimized people born in the state, and that were perpetrated by state government agents. The facts presented below took place at the 7th Public Hearing of the CVRP, on February 21, 2013.

situated in the field of *statements of opinion*, based on particular experiences inseparable from the perspective of those who make the statements, rather than *statements of knowledge*, deemed to be objective because they are based on categorical propositions, whose general and verifiable validity is equivalent to the knowledge amassed by specialists (Boltanski 2000).

The discovery of the repressive routine was itself an outcome of the establishment of a routine by the family members during their visits to cemeteries, IMLs and archives, their seeking of responses from the institutions, and even the actions within them. The command of both routines – the repression and the investigation – allows the members of the movement of families to declare themselves to be the ones with knowledge, responsible for the construction of a *case* without which the dead and the disappeared have neither body nor history. The authority of their speech was already forged in their searching and in the knowledge accumulated through it, by the affirmation of this search as a struggle provoked by their suffering and against the denial and silencing. For this reason, it is interpreted as resistance, similar to the kind engaged in by those who disappeared. The unveiling of violence as a routine inscribed in the fate of militants during the dictatorship results from the search routine, which is itself violent, turning the family members into militants. A process of simultaneous inclusion of the disappeared and their families in political communities formed by actors who are characterized as being simultaneously victims and militants. Interpreted as resistance, political militancy is closely connected to the notions of struggle and vulnerability, establishing a symmetrical relationship between the disappeared and their families.²⁰

By closing the political and mnemonic marks of political disappearance around an identity perspective, militancy relates it, as a legal framework, to the recognition of particular rights. In this way, it not only serves to control the uncertainties present in different ways in the *cases*, but ultimately defines whether a specific disappearance is political or not, as we can note if we return to the case of Abílio Clemente Filho. His story is the most wrapped in mystery, given that there is no information that is effectively relevant beyond his own disappearance. His death was not announced in the newspapers, as occurred with some of the disappeared, his body was not found and there are no documents from the “repression” about his case, as in the cases of Luiz Eurico and Denis. In 43 years, nothing more than extremely fragile clues have been learned about Abílio’s fate after his trip to Santos. The family undertook searches, requesting help from Antônio Mentor, a former colleague of Abílio and a state deputy at the time. According to his statement at the public hearing on the case held by the Rubens Paiva Truth Commission, the initial possibility was that he may have been the victim of a drowning. They searched at the coroner’s office, the fire department, hospital and police without success.²¹ They came to consider the possibility of an act of repression “of the kind occurring at the time.” They then took the search to locations such as DOPS and DOI-CODI, but did not gain any information.

Although limited, the information shared by Antônio Mentor at the hearing, which was all related to the proof of Abílio’s militancy, acquired central importance for the disappearance to become a *case*, something also contextualized by the testimony of Amelinha. She began her statement saying that she did not know Abílio but knew about the *case* of Abílio Clemente Filho, in 1990, at the time of the opening of the mass grave at the Perus Cemetery. Generating a strong media impact, the opening of the grave publicly exposed images of skeletons, revealing the political dead, disappeared and their families to a national and international audience. In this context, the trio formed by Amelinha, Ivan and Suzana was particularly exposed because they actively participated in the CPI as aides. This involvement would contrast with the

20 Similar to the kinds observed by Vianna (2014) and Efrem Filho (2013) for other ethnographic contexts.

21 8th Public Hearing of the CVRP, February 25, 2013.

distancing of Abílio's family from these spheres of recognition. Something that would only be overcome with the public release of the work of the Commission of Families in this context, when Amelinha was sought by Abílio's sister.

Amelinha's alleged surprise over Abílio's case is no different from my own surprise at the Ricardo de Albuquerque Cemetery. Something that, as I affirmed, denotes a perception of political disappearance as a reality well grasped by the social network constituted around this task. Thus she was surprised by the fact that this network – “we who came from the struggle of the CBAs [*Brazilian Committees for Amnesty*]” – did not know about the episode. The surprise also reflects the certainty that the authority of her speech is based on the knowledge accumulated by the movement of families about the Brazilian state's repression and its victims – specific and general knowledge that when associated seeks to take precedence even over the knowledge a witness can provide, as we saw in the previous case.

Amelinha simultaneously demonstrated knowledge that many people are looking for disappeared persons in Brazil. She also said that many of them turned to the Commission of Families for help at the time of the opening of the mass grave. Nevertheless, she discarded the possibility that they could help with those cases perceived as ‘non-political,’ despite the range of different cases that fit this classification. Observing the existence of different types of disappearance, the Commission of Families differentiated the political cases from a more general and heterogeneous range of cases, dedicating itself only to the former. Even though, in this process, the other cases were not specifically stated to be irrelevant, the Commission understood that they comprised another phenomenon and another problem outside both the scope of its struggle for recognition and the scope of the institutions with the power to officially classify them. This differentiation thus created a hierarchy of the different types, insofar as some come to be considered the outcome of a violent act eligible for indemnification and recognition, while others remain in the broad field of ambiguous events that do not constitute objects of public interest or reparation.

The Abílio case – particularly when we consider the history of Virgílio as a counterpoint – shows that the borders between these types of disappearance are not so clear in the empirical situations as they are in categorical terms. In both cases, we have people with an alleged history of political militancy who disappeared in unknown circumstances and never returned or sent news to their relatives. Nevertheless, only one of them came to be recognized. The non-recognition of Virgílio first involves the fact that his family was unable to gain access to the social actors and institutions that can provide this recognition. Amelinha's narrative about how Abílio nearly remained in this zone of non-recognition shows how the families believe that they are the first, if not the most important, of these actors. The Abílio case is the only one of those addressed here that was not directly recognized by Law Nº 9.140. His name is not in the attachments, and is not present in the *Dossiê*. According to Amelinha's explanation, without “political activity” Abílio's family were unable to obtain the support needed to bring their particular charges to the cause, and the political organization to which Abílio was connected also failed to do the same. As a result, Abílio remained “disappeared on the left” – that is, he remained unknown by the support group dedicated to the task of defining political disappearance and naming its victims. Sought by Abílio's sister, Amelinha used the same methods and research routines to find proof, but did not know if she could accept him as a case. She verified with Antonio Mentor, a recognized militant, that Abílio was an active member of the left. His case was then recognized as a political disappearance, even without more details that could prove or discount the involvement of the dictatorship.

In this regard, something implicit can be observed in all the cases: the condition for a denunciation to be admissible is the victim's political activism. Once proven, the case is assumed and the political disappearance considered a probability. As can be seen in the conclusions presented by the rapporteur in the Abílio case to the Special Commission on Deaths and Disappearances, this understanding is not limited

to the movement but is shared by the institutions too. While in the former cases, political disappearance is defined by associating elements relating to the nature of the victim and the violence involved, the *Abílio case* reveals, as an exception, the norm by which the nature of the victim defines the existence of violence and its nature.

Final considerations: back to Virgílio

In the course of this article, I have argued that the most general phenomenon of disappearance, its definition as absence, is related to a high degree of uncertainty and ambiguity. The dissociation between name, body and history provokes “an ontological problem, which is also methodological, and even ethical and theoretical” (Gatti 2017: 29). These are exceptional and disturbing phenomena that nevertheless, when they occur, give way to new routines and processes of normatization. As Gatti argues, the very constitution of the disappeared as an object of transnational humanitarian concerns forms part of a movement born from the devastation generated by disappearance as a state policy in Argentina, the original location of the invention of the disappeared as a legal concept, enabling the emergence of a process of legal translation that transformed it from a phenomenon to be explained into a variable that explains. This is because the category has allowed the naming, in different local contexts, of that which has no name, initiating a process that, for Gatti, involves the increasingly creative expansion of its use.

In Brazil, this process of configuration took place synchronically, but in parallel both to the construction of the paradigm of forced disappearance in Argentina, a country with which Brazil shares the geopolitical and ideological context of the occurrence of disappearance, as well as the transnationalization of the category. However, this does not take into account the fact that the institutionalization of political disappearance in Brazil took place only one year after the country signed the Inter-American Convention on the Forced Disappearance of Persons, adopted at a session of the General Assembly of the OAS, held in the country in 1994. It is noteworthy that the convention was ratified by Brazil only in 2014. The international convention of 2007 was ratified three years later. Nevertheless, the crime of forced disappearance was still not subject to domestic jurisdiction, as required by these adhesions, allowing a broad range of cases of violence to continue to be poorly supported in legal terms, given that the category of political disappearance is only attributed to events that took place during the dictatorship. This temporal marking is just one of those on which the category finds very specific local configurations, which, based on the political and institutional routines that produce them, seek to dispel the uncertainty and ambiguities that characterize forced disappearance as a universal phenomenon and a transnational category.

It was through the denunciations, materialized in the *cases*, that the movement of families was able to break some of the layers of silence demanded by the complex Amnesty process. They insisted on showing that the political events of the time had affected and set new paths to the lives of social subjects beyond simply imposing political and social order on the country. Moreover, by interlinking these two dimensions, they wanted to show that institutional violence – in its capacity to disrupt personal trajectories – was the most relevant political event of the period. By speaking publicly of their pain, they initiated and sustained an important movement of critical reflection about how we deal with past violence, but without considering the entire universe of losses. As an institutional response to their demands, a dynamic of recognizing particular rights was established, but only for those victims recognized by the movement of families, based on an identity-based approach. Consequently, political disappearance continued to be marked by a particularized definition that previously excluded those excluded from this identity (Sarti 2011).²² This exclusive association of systematic

²² It is important to note that although the militant identity does not imply, *a priori*, a profiling based on class, race, gender or generation, it produces exclusions based on all these markers as a result of the social profile of the political organizations, parties and social movements that acted during the period.

state violence with militants expanded the possibilities of recognition for its members, preventing the possibility that a probable victim not be recognized due to the effectiveness of the cover-up methods. However, if we recall Virgílio and the secret grave containing two thousand disappeared people, only 14 of whom are considered political, it is clear that this becomes a barrier to recognizing other victims of forced disappearance.

Reflecting on the activism of the families of victims of institutional violence in Rio de Janeiro, particularly police violence, Vianna (2014) argues that their strategies for making denunciations are developed in a “dynamic process of producing tensions around the pairing of the nature of victims and the nature of violence” (Vianna 2014: 218). Part of a struggle for visibility, this dynamic seeks to mark a specific type of violence organized not only in relation to the state as the producing agent, but also in relation to the antagonistic nature of this relationship. The rhetoric of these movements reveals that the political transition was incapable of abandoning the framing of social conflicts as a security issue. The “problem of public security,” which substituted “national security,” mobilizes state apparatuses and social anxieties, based on the exclusion of an entire peripheral population in the large cities, which is conceived as an enemy against whom violence is justified or legitimated.

There is a specific type of violence inscribed in the fate of the favela resident, therefore, due both to the nature of the state action and also the nature of the victims, circumscribed by a territoriality associated with aspects of class and race, making them potentially vulnerable subjects (Vianna op. cit.). As we saw, a similar logic oriented the delimitation of the universe of the victims of the dictatorship. The common symbolic repertoire implies similar forms of perceiving the vulnerability of an identity group in relation to the state, despite contextual differences. The transformation of risk into routine is the result of the location of these groups at the margin, where they are simultaneously considered as both a threat and as unimportant. This marginal place where favela residents are now situated by the drug war is symmetrically equal to the place occupied by militants during the war against communism. And it is quite common to hear movements of family members linked to the two processes establish a relationship of continuity by substitution.

At the event held in the Ricardo de Albuquerque Cemetery, on occasion when both communities of victims strove to make these correspondences, my attention was drawn to the resentment expressed by victims of the democratic state towards something that, nonetheless, is not symmetrical. Although both kinds of deaths are the outcome of mechanisms used in the combat against a social group defined as an enemy, thus constituting political violence, how can we explain the fact that some losses are considered routine and banal, while others involve politics? This is a crucial problem for a movement that also intends to discuss deaths and lives that are important in a struggle that is not only for rights, but for the *right to have rights* (Arendt 2000), as Sanjurjo and Feltran (2015) astutely point out. As the latter authors argue, this process involves succeeding in becoming part of a national political community from which these subjects are excluded. Nevertheless, Virgílio and the common graves compel us to seriously question whether all those treated as a threat by the dictatorship were able to regain a sense of belonging to this community.

Recently, the National Truth Commission defined the dictatorship as a system in which violence became the general norm for resolving social conflicts and administering the life of the country’s populations. If so, it is necessary to accept that a large variety of social subjects suffered from violence, whether they declared themselves opposed to the regime or not. This is because the struggle against the domestic enemy took place in society as a whole, where it would be submersed and disseminated. The accusation

This can be observed in the social profile of the recognized political dead and disappearances, although no deeper study exists on this aspect. The Project *Brasil Nunca Mais* (Brazil Never Again) presented a more general “profile of those involved,” since it referred to people processed by the regime. This profile was male (88%), young (38.9% were 25 or younger), urban (although most were migrants from the interior) and university educated (more than half). There are many students and workers, as illustrated well by the cases chosen for this analysis.

of subversion, which was sufficient, could be made against each and every subject in a more or less fluid manner. As an ideological divide, it was combined with other categories of segregation in a variety of ways, which, in a diverse and unequal society such as Brazil's, separated (and still separate) the subjects who belong from the others who threaten. Despite this fact, the National Truth Commission conducted an anonymous recognition of these other acts of violence, and characterized as political only those closely connected to militant activism, naming and even accounting for its victims only. The commission thus reaffirmed the narratives that focus on the antagonism between the dictatorship and the resistance, a point of convergence for those memories that sought national projection and for an expressive part of the historiography dedicated to the period. This movement leaves submerged other memories and homogenizes views concerning what political experiences mattered most under the dictatorship. The distinction of state violence into political and common appears to result from a failure to recognize the losses and grieving of subjects who continue to be marginalized, and for this reason who are not accepted as actors in national politics.

These are vulnerabilities of long duration, based on long-lasting inequalities and prejudices, many of which can be traced back to an origin in more remote times. Not for this reason, though, did they fail to be reflected in a configuration of violence specific to the moment and related to the political projects of the military regime. These included indigenous peoples, targets of pacification policies and tutelage, who had experiences of terror and disappearances, as did peasants and other rural populations considered threats to private interests and to projects of economic expansion and national integration. It also includes populations living in favelas, who are targets of forced evictions, heavy policing and persecution of their forms of political, social and cultural organization, who are classified, along with the most traditional workers, among the *dangerous classes* (Leite 2012) and who have also endured instances of unrecognized murders and disappearances. Other groups, because of a way of life that conflicted with the morality promulgated by the regime, similarly underwent processes of criminalization that were related less to their recognition as political actors than to their association with urban marginality and criminality. These sectors, considered to be 'common' criminals and offenders, suffered from extremely cruel forms of combat, which even trained combatants and provided expertise subsequently used to violently suppress political organizations, as well as assist their political repression.²³ For the poor and the marginal, the principal victims of death squads, the dictatorship had already inflicted torture, imprisonment and mass graves of disappearance. In this situation, the politicization of a certain violence has, as an implicit counterpart, the discrimination of a limit beyond which lives cease to be politically relevant (Agamben 2007). Perhaps it is on the margins of these other collective experiences of state violence that we can find one of the factors constructing what we take to be our lack of memory. As seemed to me the case with Virgílio's cousin, it may be that for some social sectors, it is not derived from forgetting as such, but from a sense of alterity, which leaves social subjects unable to relate the hegemonic memories to their own experiences of violence during the period and/or to recognize their experiences as fitting into those narratives. Considering the marks by which we understand political disappearance in Brazil, I believe it is important for us to begin to take seriously the hypothesis that our profound social inequality has an under-appreciated role in our forgetting.

23 The 'death squads,' extermination groups formed by police officers, arose accompanied by a discourse of defending society against 'bandits,' under the slogan that the only good bandit is a dead bandit. The squads were born from the involvement of top-ranking police in the criminal economy of cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, above all in the networks of illegalities surrounding drug trafficking and prostitution (Teixeira 2012). The violent practices of these groups were employed in political repression, which incorporated their techniques and some of their members. It is important to remember that when actions from the repertoire of resistance, such as bank robberies, were framed within the National Security Law, the latter indiscriminately punished all those responsible for committing them. Nevertheless, 'common' criminals were not accepted as equals, either by the 'political actors' or by the dictatorship, which at the beginning of political repression reformulated the National Security Law to prevent them from receiving benefits granted to the political actors (Faria 2005). Through their coexistence in the prisons, the political prisoners learnt about the systematic violence perpetrated against the incarcerated population through the incursions of death squads to torture them, and often kidnap them, never to be seen again. Their names, however, remain unknown.

Received: July 10, 2017

Approved: November 13, 2017

Translation: Jeffrey Hoff

Revision: David Rodgers

References

- ALMEIDA, Criméia et al. 2009. *Dossiê Ditadura: mortos e desaparecidos políticos no Brasil (1964-1985)*. São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial.
- AGAMBEN, Giorgio. 2007. *Homo Sacer. O poder soberano e a vida nua I*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.
- ARAÚJO, Fábio Alves. 2012. *Das consequências da “arte” macabra de fazer desaparecer corpos: violência, sofrimento e política entre familiares de vítimas de desaparecimento forçado*. Tese de doutorado. Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, UFRJ.
- ARENDT, Hannah. 2000. *Origens do Totalitarismo: anti-semitismo, imperialismo, totalitarismo*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- AZEVEDO, Desirée. 2016. “A única luta que se perde é aquela que se abandona.” *Etnografia entre familiares de mortos e desaparecidos políticos*. Tese de doutorado. Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Unicamp.
- BOLTANSKI, Luc. 2000. *El amor e la justicia como competencias*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 2011. *Razões práticas: sobre a teoria da ação*. Campinas: Papirus.
- BRASIL. 2007. *Direito à verdade e à memória*. Brasília: Comissão Especial sobre Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos.
- CABRAL, Reinaldo; LAPA, Ronaldo. 1979. *Desaparecidos políticos: prisões, sequestros, assassinatos*. Rio de Janeiro: CBA RJ/Edições Opção.
- CANAU, Joël. 2011. *Memória e Identidade*. São Paulo: Contexto.
- CATELA, Ludmila. 2001. *Situação-limite e memória: a reconstrução do mundo dos familiares de desaparecidos da Argentina*. São Paulo: Hucitec/ANPOCS.
- COMISSÃO NACIONAL DA VERDADE. 2014. *Relatório, Volume I*. Brasília: CNV.
- DAS, Veena. 1995. *Critical events. An anthropology perspective on contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- EFREM FILHO, Roberto. 2013. “Corpos Brutalizados: conflitos e materialização das mortes de LGBT.” *Anais do 37º Encontro Anual da ANPOCS*. Águas de Lindóia. Mimeo.
- FARIA, Cátia. 2005. *Revolucionários, bandidos e marginais. Presos políticos e comuns sob a Ditadura Militar*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Instituto de Ciências Humanas e Filosofia, UFF.
- FERREIRA, Letícia. 2011. *Uma Etnografia para Muitas Ausências: O Desaparecimento de Pessoas como Ocorrência Policial e Problema Social*. Tese de doutorado. UFRJ/Museu Nacional/PPGAS.
- _____. 2007. *Dos autos da cova rosa. A identificação de corpos não identificados no Instituto Médico Legal, 1942 a 1960*. Dissertação de mestrado. UFRJ/Museu Nacional/PPGAS.
- _____. 2013. “Apenas preencher papel: reflexões sobre registros policiais de desaparecimento de pessoa e outros documentos.” *Mana. Estudos de Antropologia Social*, 19(1): 39-68.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. 2007. “Verdade e Poder.” In: *Microfísica do Poder*. Translated by R. Machado 23a. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal. pp 4-12.
- GATTI, Gabriel (ed.). 2017. “Prolegómeno. Para un concepto científico de desaparición”. In: *Desapariciones. Usos locales, circulaciones globales*. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores. pp 13-32.
- HOBBSAWM, Eric. 1994. *Era dos extremos. O breve século XX*. São Paulo: Cia da Letras.

- LEITE, Márcia. 2012. "Da 'metáfora da guerra' ao projeto de 'pacificação': favelas e políticas de segurança pública no Rio de Janeiro". *Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública*, 6(2): 374-388.
- SANJURJO, Liliana; FELTRAN, Gabriel. 2015. "Sobre lutos e lutas. Violência de Estado, humanidade e morte em dois contextos etnográficos." *Ciência e Cultura*, 67(2): 40-45.
- SARTI, Cynthia. 2011. "A vítima como figura contemporânea." *Caderno CRH*, 24(61): 51-61.
- TAUSSIG, Michael. 1995. "Culture of Terror-Space of Death: Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture". In: Nicholas Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. pp. 135-174.
- TEIXEIRA, Alessandra. 2012. *Construir a delinquência, articular a criminalidade. Um estudo sobre a gestão dos ilegalismos na cidade de São Paulo*. Tese de doutorado. Faculdade de Filosofia Letras e Ciências Humanas, USP.
- TORPEY, John. 2006. *Making whole what has been smashed: on reparation politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press.
- VECCHIOLI, Virginia. 2001. "Políticas de la memoria y formas de clasificación social. Quiénes son las 'víctimas del terrorismo de estado' en la Argentina?" In: Bruno Groppo; Patricia Flier (eds.), *La imposibilidad del olvido. Recorridos de la memoria en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay*. La Plata: Colección Diagonos, Ediciones Al Margen. Pp 83-102.
- VIANNA, Adriana de Resende Barreto. 2014. "Violência, Estado e gênero: considerações sobre corpos e corpus entrecruzados". In: Antônio Carlos Souza Lima; Virgínia Garcia-Acosta (eds.), *Margens da violência. Subsídios aos estudos sobre o problema da violência nos contextos mexicano e brasileiro*. Brasília: ABA. Pp 209-237.

Desirée de Lemos Azevedo

PhD in Social Anthropology from PPGAS/UNICAMP, post-doctoral student at PPGS/Unifesp and associate researcher at the Centre for International Migration Studies (CEMI) of the Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences (IFCH) at UNICAMP.

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0266-6258>

E-mail: desireelazevedo@gmail.com

Los pueblos del campo y los desafíos alrededor de la justicia transicional en Brasil

*Adriana Rodrigues Novais*¹

¹ Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas/SP, Brasil

Resumen

La Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, constituida por el Gobierno Federal brasileño en 2012, abrió un nuevo campo de disputas en torno de la Memoria, Verdad y Justicia sobre el período de la dictadura cívico-militar (1964-1988). Esto se debió a la entrada en escena de nuevos sujetos, principalmente campesinos e indígenas, quienes, a lo largo del período de redemocratización, habían consolidado, por medio de diversas luchas, su organización político-institucional, un mayor reconocimiento público y la conquista de algunos derechos y políticas sociales. Sin embargo, el ingreso de estos nuevos actores generó resistencias, incluso de sujetos que habían protagonizado hasta ese momento el debate público sobre memoria acerca de la dictadura. Esto pone en evidencia los límites de la llamada Justicia Transicional, tanto desde el punto de vista conceptual y jurídico, como desde el enfoque del imaginario social, de las contradicciones de clase y cultura, de la división entre lo rural y lo urbano, entre otros factores. Este artículo tiene como objetivo debatir sobre la estructura conceptual y normativa que establece criterios para definir a las víctimas como “muertos y desaparecidos políticos”, que al mismo tiempo no aplican para otras víctimas. Esta reflexión se basa en el informe producido por la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, que será comparado tanto con lo que fue producido por la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, así como con los informes producidos por pueblos indígenas, especialmente, el informe sobre el pueblo Waimiri-Atrori. Por lo tanto, el proceso de comprensión, reflexivo-analítico, se propone pensar tanto los sentidos de la disputa por la Memoria, Verdad y Justicia en nuestros días, en un contexto de violencia continuada, como los desdoblamientos de dicha disputa para los pueblos del campo.

Palabras clave: Justicia Transicional; Pueblos del campo; Muertos y desaparecidos; Dictadura cívico-militar.

Os povos do campo e os desafios em torno da justiça de transição no Brasil

Resumo

Ao ser constituída pelo Governo Federal, em 2012, a Comissão Nacional da Verdade abriu um novo campo de disputas em torno da Memória, Verdade e Justiça, sobre o período da ditadura civil-militar (1964-1988), principalmente em função da entrada de novos sujeitos em cena, particularmente camponeses e indígenas que, ao longo do período de redemocratização, haviam consolidado sua organização político-institucional, reconhecimento público e conquista de alguns direitos e políticas sociais por meio de inúmeras lutas. A entrada desses novos sujeitos, porém, não ocorreu sem resistências – inclusive de outros sujeitos que protagonizaram o debate público sobre memória da ditadura até aquele momento, colocando em evidência os limites da Justiça de Transição, tanto do ponto de vista conceitual e jurídico, quanto do ponto de vista do imaginário social, das contradições de classe e de cultura, do corte rural e urbano, entre outras. Esse artigo tem como objetivo debater sobre o arcabouço conceitual e normativo que estabelece os critérios que qualifica as vítimas como “mortos e desaparecidos políticos”, ao mesmo tempo em que esse lugar não cabe a outras tantas vítimas. Essa reflexão tomará como base o relatório produzido pela Comissão Nacional da Verdade, comparado com o que foi produzido pela Comissão Camponesa da Verdade e com os relatórios produzidos pelos povos indígenas, especialmente o relatório sobre o povo Waimiri-Atroari. Esse processo de compreensão reflexivo-analítico se realiza para, então, pensar os sentidos desta luta por Memória, Verdade e Justiça nos dias atuais, no contexto de violência continuada, e os desdobramentos dessa luta para os povos do campo.

Palavras-chave: Justiça de Transição; Povos do campo; Mortos e Desaparecidos; Ditadura civil-militar.

Los pueblos del campo y los desafíos alrededor de la justicia transicional en Brasil

Adriana Rodrigues Novais

Introducción

Comparado con los demás países Sudamericanos, Brasil presenta una mayor dificultad para lidiar con el pasado referido a la dictadura cívico-militar (1964-1985); fue también el último en crear una Comisión de la Verdad. Además, sus políticas para la valorización de la memoria de las víctimas y su reparación económica están marcadas por fragmentaciones y discontinuidades. Desde el punto de vista de las responsabilidades de los crímenes durante ese período, no hubo condenas que terminaran en prisión¹, lo que representa un atraso en lo que Ruth Teitel (2003) ha llamado como Justicia Transicional (JT)². A pesar de su amplio desarrollo, existe una extensa literatura que destaca las limitaciones de la Justicia Transicional en diversas situaciones (Le Franc & Mouralis, 2014).

Las comisiones de la Verdad son instrumentos de la Justicia Transicional que tienen como objetivo esclarecer los acontecimientos pasados y garantizar que las memorias de las víctimas también puedan circular; es decir, buscan expresar simbólicamente la constitución de un nuevo orden político, que prioriza el respeto a los derechos humanos y se compromete con los valores democráticos, negando las guerras y las políticas autoritarias. Estas comisiones no son órganos jurisdiccionales, ni tampoco tienen el propósito de sustituirlos. Sin embargo, pueden recomendar amnistías, juicios, entre otras medidas, que dependen de las potestades que se les atribuyan (Pinto, 2010; Weichert, 2011). También poseen una dinámica propia de funcionamiento, y aunque no tienen una forma única de actuación, todas ellas tienen un período determinado para realizar sus trabajos, que concluyen con un informe final (Pinto, 2010). La efectividad de la justicia de transición dependerá de las características políticas y sociales de cada país (Brito *et al.*, 2004).

En Brasil, las luchas por el derecho a la Memoria, la Verdad y la Justicia de muchas(os) militantes de derechos humanos, de Familiares de los Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos y diversas entidades construidas desde los últimos años de dictadura (Teles, 2001), derivaron en la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad (CNV), instituida en 2012 por la Ley nº 12.528 del 18 de noviembre de 2011,

Art. 1. Con la finalidad de examinar y esclarecer las graves violaciones de derechos humanos realizadas en el período fijado en el art. 8º del Acto de las Disposiciones Constitucionales Transitorias [1946-1988], con el fin de hacer efectivo el derecho a la memoria y la verdad histórica y promover la reconciliación nacional (Brasil, 2011).³

1 El único caso de condena fue el del ex coronel del Ejército Carlos Alberto Brillante Ustra, acusado de torturar a presos políticos en la década de 1970; pero no llegó a ser detenido.

2 La Justicia Transicional puede ser definida como un conjunto de medidas en respuesta a las violaciones sistemáticas de derechos humanos perpetradas en períodos de guerras y gobiernos autoritarios. Su marco inicial fue el Tribunal de Nüremberg, instituido después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Desde esta justicia se busca reconocimiento para las víctimas y la promoción de posibilidades para la paz, la reconciliación y la democracia (ICTJ On line).

3 Nota bene: Todas las citas textuales de este texto fueron traducidas.

Este paso importante en la revisión de la historia reciente, aunque tardío, fue un punto de inflexión para que diversos movimientos iniciaran en Brasil lo que se dio en llamar la lucha por la Memoria, la Verdad y por la Justicia (MJV), otorgando significados locales a conceptos muy extendidos en el campo internacional de los derechos humanos.

Como se ha mencionado, las características de las comisiones están dadas por las contingencias políticas y sociales de los distintos países. Su duración, en América Latina, ha ido desde los 3 meses, como en Ecuador, hasta los 3 años, como en el caso de Bolivia. La Comisión de la Verdad de Brasil tuvo una duración de 2 años y 6 meses. Entre las particularidades de la realidad brasileña, destaco la intensa movilización de entidades e instituciones de todo el país, que reconocieron en ese momento una oportunidad singular para fortalecer las dimensiones de la lucha que englobaron, en los conceptos de Memoria, Verdad y Justicia. Así, se conformaron en todos los estados brasileños comisiones y/o comités -que llevaban en sus nombres esas tres palabras: Memoria, Verdad y Justicia- con el objetivo de contribuir con la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad (CNV) recién instalada, proceso que fue más allá de los trabajos de la CNV y se ha prolongado hasta estos días.⁴

Desde la construcción del Plan Nacional de Derechos Humanos, en 2009, que preveía la creación de una Comisión de la Verdad, hasta la entrega de su informe final, en diciembre de 2014, ocurrieron disputas en el ámbito del Estado,⁵ así como en diversos segmentos de la sociedad civil y entre los grupos de víctimas. En este artículo voy a detenerme específicamente en las leyes ya constituidas, sus alcances y en la gramática normativa que orienta los instrumentos de la Justicia Transicional en Brasil, incluida la propia CNV.

Las contradicciones se expresaron, por ejemplo, en un contingente de víctimas no reconocidas, a saber: los campesinos, los pueblos indígenas, los sujetos LGBTs, los trabajadores, entre otros, cuyas violaciones sufridas y sus experiencias de resistencia no circulaban en la memoria colectiva sobre la dictadura cívico-militar. Me propongo reflexionar sobre estas contradicciones, a partir de los esfuerzos de los pueblos del campo⁶ para estar inscritos en la memoria nacional sobre la dictadura cívico-militar (1964-1985), así como en la lucha de estos grupos sociales para ser reconocidos como víctimas de la dictadura y ser reparados por las políticas de la Justicia Transicional en el país. Como más adelante comento, las violaciones que sufrieron los pueblos del campo no están estrictamente vinculadas con las que trata la CVN (tales como haber sufrido detención ilegal o torturas) sino, sobre todo, con ser expulsados de sus tierras y hogares, muertes, entre otros asuntos.

A partir de allí, pretendo reflexionar sobre cómo se dio la “construcción” de las víctimas por parte de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, en su relación con las comisiones y comités de verdad que abordaron violaciones contra los pueblos del campo. Para ello, tenemos también en consideración la documentación publicada por las comisiones y comités de verdad, sitios web, blogs, periódicos on-line y entrevistas con investigadores/as y militantes de los derechos humanos.

Comenzaré presentando las acciones de los pueblos del campo relacionadas con las políticas de la justicia transicional, con la organización de documentos, actos políticos, seminarios, creación de comités y comisiones de verdad. Posteriormente, mostraré cómo, a partir de esas movilizaciones, la estructura conceptual normativa de los derechos humanos que orientó la CNV evidencia limitaciones de cara a las

4 Para citar algunos ejemplos, las Comisiones de la Verdad de los estados de Minas Gerais y Paraíba concluyeron sus trabajos en diciembre de 2017, entregando sus informes tres años después del fin de los trabajos de la CNV.

5 Cuando la Ley que creó la Comisión Nacional fue instituida, hubo muchas reacciones. El Ministerio de Defensa, por ejemplo, consideró que el proyecto era un insulto para las Fuerzas Armadas. En esa disputa, la Secretaría Especial de Derechos Humanos y el Ministerio de Justicia defendieron la propuesta de manera contundente. Todo ello culminó con la exoneración del jefe del departamento de Ejército, General Maynard Marques Santa Rosa, por ofender a la Comisión.

6 Llamo *pueblos del campo* a los campesinos, pueblos indígenas, pueblos de la selva y otros pueblos denominados tradicionales. En algunos momentos, haré distinciones a partir de las autodenominaciones que constan en los informes consultados.

complejas realidades y por las distintas formas de violencias que se instalaron en el campo durante la dictadura cívico-militar. No obstante, algunos integrantes de las comisiones de verdad no consideraban las violaciones sufridas por los pueblos del campo como resultado de la represión organizada por el Estado durante la dictadura cívico-militar. Es más: el enfoque pensado para la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad no permitía cuestionar más allá de los Muertos y Desaparecidos, lo que se tornó un obstáculo más para que estos pueblos fueran contemplados por las políticas de la justicia transicional.

Rompiendo con la exclusión: acciones para la construcción de la memoria de los pueblos del campo sobre la dictadura

En 2011, año en que se aprobó la Ley nº 12.528, del 18 de noviembre, que dio origen a la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, hubo una articulación para la sistematización de los datos sobre la represión en el campo. Esta articulación fue promovida por la Comisión Especial de Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos (CEMDP), a través de un proyecto Derecho a la Memoria y a la Verdad, dando paso a la publicación de un libro titulado “Retrato de la Represión Política en el Campo. Brasil 1962-1985: campesinos torturados, muertos y desaparecidos” (Carneiro & Cioccarì, 2011). Este proyecto fue realizado por diversos investigadores/as, articulados en el Núcleo de Antropología y Política del Museo Nacional, de la Universidad Federal de Río de Janeiro (UFRJ), en donde funciona el Proyecto Temático llamado Memoria Campesina, coordinado por el Profesor Moacir Palmeira. Este conjunto de investigadores/as llevaban varios años dedicados a abordar temas relativos a la cuestión campesina, investigaciones que posteriormente serían parte de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad.

Además de los archivos y documentación sistematizados por el grupo Memoria Campesina en el transcurso de varios años, el libro también estaba compuesto por testimonios de campesinos, hijos de militantes y de líderes de organizaciones políticas del campo, fueron recolectados por los/as investigadores/as en diversos estados del país. Lo que pretendía dicha publicación, viabilizada por el Ministerio de Desarrollo Agrario (MDA) era, como señalan sus organizadoras:

Nuestro interés es que esta publicación, al romper con el silencio y lanzar luces sobre la represión política en el campo entre 1962 y 1985, contribuya a una mejor comprensión de la importancia de la democratización en el mundo rural, siendo ello un imperativo para la democracia y el desarrollo del país como un todo (Carneiro & Cioccarì, 2011:33).

De este proyecto resultó otra colección, de biografías de líderes, titulada: “Colección Campesinos y el Régimen Militar”, lanzada en dos volúmenes: “João Sin Tierra: caminos de una lucha” en 2012, y “Japura; un relato de las entrañas del conflicto” en 2013. Sin embargo, según las organizadoras, las publicaciones fueron interrumpidas por falta de financiamiento.

A medio camino de la publicación de estos dos libros, en 2012, la Secretaría de Derechos Humanos de la Presidencia de la República (SDH) presentó un informe a la Comisión Especial sobre Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos (CEMDP), en la que identificó “1.196 casos de trabajadores rurales asesinados o desaparecidos por razón ideológica y disputa por tierras en el campo, entre septiembre de 1961 y octubre de 1988, período indicado por la Ley nº 9.140/1995” (Viana, 2013:26), o Ley de los Desaparecidos. Los datos resultaron de la investigación hecha por Gilney Amorim Viana y presentados en enero de 2012 en el Foro Social Temático, en Porto Alegre/RS. Un año después, en 2013, este informe fue publicado en forma de libro, “Campesinos Muertos y Desaparecidos: excluidos de la justicia de transición”. En esta publicación se formulan las argumentaciones que sustentan la idea de exclusión en relación a los derechos establecidos en las siguientes leyes: Ley 10.559/2002 (Amnistía Política); 9.140/1995 (Reconocimiento de Responsabilidades

del Estado) y 12.528/2011 (Memoria y Verdad). Además, se efectúa un relevamiento, mostrando que “Apenas 51 de los 1.196 casos presentaron solicitud a la CEMDP y, finalizando el plazo hábil, los demás 1.144 perdieron la oportunidad de que sus casos fueron examinados. Es decir, excluidos” (Viana 2013:14).

En la época de la publicación del libro, la ministra de Derechos Humanos, María del Rosário Nunes, afirmó que:

La Secretaría de Derechos Humanos al publicar este libro [...], elaborado por el Proyecto Derecho a la Memoria y la Verdad, pretende contribuir con el debate sobre el reconocimiento oficial de los campesinos muertos y desaparecidos en función de las diversas formas de represión política y social en el campo, durante el período 1961-1988 (Viana, 2013:7).

La sistematización de datos sobre la violencia en el campo durante la dictadura pasó, posteriormente, a ser organizada para dialogar con la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad. Sin embargo, antes del inicio de sus trabajos, se enunciaron dos conflictos de gran relevancia dentro de la esfera de disputa de los campesinos: por un lado, la existencia de un silenciamiento sobre la represión política ocurrida en el campo; y por otro, la ausencia de reconocimiento oficial de los muertos y desaparecidos, además de la exclusión de los campesinos de la Justicia Transicional que ya estaba en curso en el país.

Estos libros-informes, que contaban la historia de los campesinos, indicaban un escaso avance en lo referido a la ruptura de la jerarquía social establecida en la sociedad brasileña. Por medio de las biografías, que retoman la memoria de la resistencia de estos sujetos, y su actuación política, se ponen en evidencia los elementos de su identidad. A partir de allí, notamos que el sentido del rescate de la memoria para los pueblos del campo, así como el reconocimientos de los conflictos y resistencias durante la dictadura, son importantes para las luchas por los territorios constantemente amenazados.

Además de los dos proyectos mencionados, las reivindicaciones de los campesinos también se enmarcaron por la vía de movimientos populares, como el de escraches,⁷ liderado por Levante Popular de la Juventud (LPJ) durante 2012, y en el cual participaron algunos movimientos campesinos, entre ellos, el Movimiento de los trabajadores Sin Tierra (MST) y el Movimiento de Mujeres Campesinas (MMC). En esta complejidad de luchas en torno de la Memoria, Verdad y Justicia, en el contexto de la conformación de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, se realizó el Encuentro Unitario de Trabajadores y Pueblos del Campo, de las Aguas y de las Selvas, llevado a cabo en diciembre de 2012 en la ciudad de Brasília,⁸ que tenía como tema “Tierra, Territorio y Dignidad”. Este Encuentro Nacional fue construido por varios Encuentros anteriores, pero en el ámbito estadual. Uno de los compromisos asumidos por los movimientos sociales y entidades que estuvieron presentes en el encuentro fue la creación de una comisión de la verdad campesina, que tendría como objetivo

7 Los *escraches* fueron manifestaciones organizadas a nivel nacional, realizadas en los lugares de trabajo o vivienda de agentes de la represión, con el objetivo de denunciar la impunidad y, al mismo tiempo, exigir que sean juzgados por sus crímenes.

8 En este Encuentro se reunieron las siguientes organizaciones y entidades: Asociación de las Casas Familiares Rurales (ARCAFAR); Asociación de las Mujeres de Brasil (AMB); Asociación Brasileira de Reforma Agraria (ABRA); Asociación Brasileira de Estudiantes de Ingeniería Forestal (ABEEF); Articulación Nacional de Agroecología (ANA); Articulación de los Pueblos Indígenas de Brasil (APIB); Consejo Indígena Misionario (CIMI); CARITAS Brasileira; Coordinación Nacional de Quilombolas (CONAQ); Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores en la Agricultura (CONTAG); Comisión Pastoral de Pesca (CPP); Comisión Pastoral de la Tierra (CPT); Central de Trabajadores de Brasil (CTB); Central Única de Trabajadores (CUT); Federación de Estudiantes de Agronomía de Brasil (FEAB); Federación de Trabajadores de Agricultura Familiar (FETRAF); FASE; Greenpeace; INESC; Marcha Mundial de Mujeres (MMM); Movimiento de Afectados por Represas (MAB, por su sigla en portugués); Movimiento Campesino Popular (MCP); Movimiento de Mujeres Campesinas (MMC); Movimiento de Mujeres Trabajadoras Rurales de Noroeste (MMTR-NE); Movimiento de Pequeños Agricultores (MPA); Movimiento de Pescadores y Pescadoras Artesanales (MPP); Movimiento de Trabajadores Rurales Sin Tierra (MST); Movimiento Interestadual de Mujeres Quebradoras de Coco Babaçu (MIQCB); Oxfam Brasil; Pastoral de la Juventud Rural (PJR); Plataforma Dhesca; Red Cefas; Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores en Investigación y Desarrollo Agropecuario (SINPAF); SINPRO-DF; Tierra de Derechos; Unicafe; Vía Campesina Brasil; Estaban presentes investigadores de universidades federales de Brasília (UnB), de Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), de Campina Grande (UFCG), de São Paulo (UNIFESP), de Pernambuco (UFPE), de Minas Gerais (UFMG), de Paraíba (UFPB), de Pará (UFPA), de Goiás (UFG) e de universidades estaduais de Río de Janeiro (UERJ) y de Maranhão (UEMA). Declaración del Encuentro (2012).

[...] luchar por el reconocimiento de la responsabilidad del Estado por la muerte y desaparición forzada de campesinos, así como por los derechos a la reparación a sus familiares, con la creación de una comisión campesina por la amnistía, memoria, verdad y justicia que incida en los trabajos de la Comisión [CNV], proponiendo la inclusión de todos los afectados por la represión (Declaración del Encuentro Unitario, 2012:ítem 11- *On line*).

De esta manera, destaco dos aspectos importantes de las movilizaciones por Memoria, Verdad y Justicia llevadas a cabo por los pueblos del campo durante 2012. El primero de ellos es el hecho de que importantes movimientos sociales de lucha por la tierra ocuparon las calles, aunque de manera tímida, junto a otros movimientos sociales y entidades de lucha por los derechos humanos, además de la participación en escraches y actos públicos. El segundo aspecto a destacar es que estos movimientos colocaron como pauta específica las violaciones de derechos humanos en el campo, lo cual no sólo involucró a un conjunto de movimientos sociales, sino que permitió la construcción de una comisión de la verdad propia, la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad (CCV), afianzando así la entrada de los campesinos en la disputa por la Memoria, por la Verdad y por la Justicia.

Si bien en el Informe de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, publicado en 2015, se afirma que todas las entidades y movimientos que estuvieron en el Encuentro Unitario apoyaron dicha Comisión, en ella participaron activamente las siguientes organizaciones: Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores en la Agricultura (CONTAG); Comisión Pastoral de la Tierra (CPT); Federación de Trabajadores en Agricultura Familiar (FETRAF); Movimiento de las Mujeres Campesinas (MMC); Movimiento de Pequeños Agricultores (MPA); Movimiento de Trabajadores Rurales Sin Tierra (MST); Relatoría del Derecho Humano a la Tierra, Territorio y Alimentación de la Plataforma DHESCA; Plataforma Brasileira de Derechos Humanos, Económicos, Sociales, Culturales y Ambientales; y la Red Nacional de Abogados y Abogadas Populares Tierra de Derechos (RENAP).

Entre las acciones que los pueblos del campo realizaron por el derecho a la Memoria, a la Verdad y a la Justicia, destaco la reunión mantenida por la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad con diversos comités y entidades de lucha por los derechos humanos ligados a la disputa por Memoria, Verdad y Justicia, realizada en Brasilia en 2012, apenas iniciado el funcionamiento de la Comisión. En la oportunidad, los comités elaboraron un documento denominado Carta de los Comités a la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad⁹, con el objetivo de posicionar sus demandas y orientar los trabajos de la CNV. Los comités, en su mayoría, fueron formados en 2012, en el contexto de la implementación de la CNV. Cabe mencionar que ninguno de ellos se definía específicamente como campesino o indígena. Sin embargo, la pauta de los pueblos del campo fue incorporada al documento. La Carta de los Comités fue estructurada en 14 puntos¹⁰. Ya en el primero se hacía referencia a las violaciones de derechos humanos en el campo:

9 Este documento fue producido el 30 de julio de 2012, en Brasilia, y firmado por las siguientes entidades: Asociación de los Amigos del Memorial de la Amnistía Política de Brasil; ATAMIG – Asociación de Trabajadores Amnistiados, Autónomos, Liberales, Pensionados de Minas Gerais; Centro de Derechos Humanos y Memoria Popular de Foz de Iguaçu; Colectivo Catarinense Memoria, Verdad y Justicia; Colectivo RJ Memoria, Verdad y Justicia; Comisión de la Verdad y del Memoria de la Amnistía OAB/MG; Comité Carlos de Ré de la Verdad y de la Justicia; Comité Estadual por la Memoria, Verdad y Justicia de Mato Grosso Sur; Comité Estadual por la Memoria, Verdad y Justicia de Rio Grande del Norte; Comité Goiano de la Verdad, Memoria y Justicia; Comité Maranhense de la Verdad; Comité Memoria, Verdad y Justicia de Paraíba/PI; Comité Memoria, Verdad y Justicia de Pernambuco; Comité Paraense en Defensa de la Comisión de la Verdad; Comité Paulista por la Memoria, Verdad y Justicia; Comité por la Verdad, Memoria y Justicia del Distrito Federal; Comité por la Verdad, Memoria y Justicia de Campinas; Comité por la Verdad, Memoria y Justicia de Pelotas y Región; Comité por la Verdad, Memoria y Justicia de Piauí; Comité por el Derecho a la Memoria, a la Verdad y a la Justicia de Ceará; Comité de Santamariense de Derecho a la Memoria y a la Verdad – Santa María/RS; Foro Derecho a la Memoria y a la Verdad del Estado de Espírito Santo; Grupo Tortura Nunca Más- PE – Núcleo de Memoria; Grupo Tortura Nunca Más – SP; Núcleo de Preservación de la Memoria Política – São Paulo.

10 Los demás puntos hacen referencia a la investigación de crímenes contra los muertos y desaparecidos políticos; la creación de audiencias públicas; la necesidad que la comisión estableciera un diálogo constante con la sociedad civil, que permitiera transparencia y difusión de sus trabajos, además de dejar en claro las responsabilidades de quienes organizaban la represión.

Esclarecer también los casos de graves atentados a los derechos humanos llevados a cabo durante el período pre-golpe militar de 1964 (1961-1964), como por ejemplo, el asesinato y desaparición en 1962 de Pedro Fazendeiro y Nego Fubá, de las Ligas Campesinas (PB), considerados los dos primeros desaparecidos políticos, así como durante el gobierno de transición civil (1985-1988), tal y como lo determina la Ley 9.140/1995 (Carta de los Comités, 2012: Ítem 1).

En las recomendaciones siguientes de la Carta, el tema sobre violaciones de derechos en el campo se amplía, haciendo referencia también a los pueblos indígenas y a las comunidades tradicionales, exigiendo la responsabilidad del Estado, pero apuntando hacia la dimensión privada de la represión contra estos pueblos:

Esclarecer las graves violaciones de derechos humanos cometidos contra campesinos, trabajadores rurales, pueblos indígenas, pequeños mineros, comunidades tradicionales, por parte de agentes del Estado y por agentes privados a su servicio, o apoyados por agentes del propio Estado, además de apreciar otras sugerencias de líneas de investigación específicas (Carta de los Comités, 2012: Ítem 5).

Con relación a los campesinos, en este documento se reconoce la necesidad de que la CNV se articule con los movimientos sociales y otras entidades ligadas a la lucha campesina. De esta manera, las entidades organizadas proponían un camino posible para investigar las violaciones de derechos humanos ejecutadas en el campo:

Promover asociaciones con entidades representativas del campesinado, ya sea sindicales, como CONTAG, FETRAF, CUT, CTB, entre otras centrales sindicales; con movimientos populares como el MST, el MLST, entre otros; desarrollar una línea de investigación y esclarecimiento sobre las graves violaciones de derechos humanos cometidas contra campesinos y trabajadores rurales, en sentido amplio, incluyendo los crímenes cometidos por policías privados paraestatales y agentes privados en complicidad con poderes del Estado; promover asociaciones con entidades representativas del campesinado [...], con movimientos populares [...]. Consultar entidades y especialistas sobre Luchas Campesinas, Memoria Campesinas e Investigación sobre Represión a los movimientos campesinos, como la Comisión Pastoral de la Tierra (CPT), la red académica de investigación sobre la Memoria Campesina, entre otros; recopilar testimonios de sobrevivientes de las masacres, asesinatos y actos represivos a campesinos; consultar los documentos de los casos que fueron objeto de Investigaciones Policiales y Procesos Judiciales; investigar y analizar la relación entre el aparato represor de la época de la dictadura y la actividad policial y de milicias de latifundistas actualmente existentes; producir un informe específico sobre los graves atentados a los derechos humanos contra los campesinos (Carta de los Comités, 2012. Ítem 5).

La ceremonia que creó la CNV fue realizada en el Palacio del Planalto, donde la presidenta Dilma Rouseff puso en funciones a los siete comisionados nombrados por ella, tal y como había sido previsto en la Ley que creara la Comisión, Ley nº. 12.528/2011¹¹.

Entre las preocupaciones de los grupos organizados en la sociedad civil estaba la presencia de los militares en la Comisión de la Verdad, como también la ausencia, entre los comisionados, de entidades que representaran a los Familiares, como había ocurrido en el caso de la Comisión de la Verdad en Argentina (Pinto, 2010). No obstante, como se ha mencionado, los integrantes fueron escogidos por la Presidenta de la República, a partir del prestigio de cada uno de ellos en sus respectivas carreras. Esto no evitó divergencias

¹¹ Los miembros indicados fueron: José Carlos Dias (abogado, ex-ministro de Justicia), João Paulo Cavalcanti Filho (abogado), Maria Rita Kehl (psicóloga), Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro (político), Rosa Maria Cardoso da Cunha (abogada), Cláudio Fonteles (abogado), quien dejó la comisión en junio de 2013 y fue reemplazado por Pedro Dallari (abogado), y Gilson Dipp (abogado), quien también se retiró de la comisión en diciembre de 2012, pero no fue sustituido. Como se evidencia, la mayoría de ellos eran juristas, lo que implicó poca diversidad, contrariando lo previsto en la Ley (Pereira, 2016).

significativas entre ellos, como se puso en evidencia en los trabajos de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad; en parte, por no tener afinidad ideológica, de experiencia u orientación entre sí. Al contrario, prevaleció, en muchas ocasiones, la opinión personal, en completa falta de acuerdo con las luchas en torno a cómo conducir el proceso.

Al consultar la prensa nacional de la época de creación de la CNV, creada en el año 2012, como el periódico “O Globo”, de gran circulación, es posible observar que se presentaron dificultades con relación a temas cruciales, tales como la discreción en el trabajo de la CNV, la revisión de la Ley de Amnistía, la investigación de los supuestos “crímenes de izquierda”, entre otros desaciertos internos, que influyeron y perjudicaron el trabajo de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad. Además, su relación con la sociedad civil estuvo marcada por tensiones, lo que terminó en una constante y amplia crítica por parte de los militantes de Derechos Humanos.

La Comisión Nacional de la Verdad se organizó estructuralmente en 13 grupos de trabajo temáticos.¹² No todos nacieron al mismo tiempo: la CNV era, en sí misma, un espacio de disputa. Familiares, comités de verdad, comisiones estatales, sindicatos y militantes se movilizaban para impedir que sus pautas fueran excluidas de la CNV.

En lo referente a los pueblos del campo, las recomendaciones propuestas en la Carta de los Comités fueron incorporadas por la CNV al crear, mediante la resolución n.º. 5/2012, el Grupo de Trabajo (GT) presidido por la comisionada María Rita Kehl¹³ sobre “Violaciones de derechos humanos, practicadas por motivación política, relacionadas a la lucha por la tierra o contra los pueblos indígenas”, con competencia para:

I - Esclarecer hechos, circunstancias y autorías de casos graves de violaciones de derechos humanos, como torturas, muertes, desapariciones forzadas, ocultamiento de cadáveres, relacionados a los grupos de los que trata el capítulo; II – identificar y hacer públicos estructuras, lugares, instituciones y circunstancias de violaciones de derechos humanos cometidas contra los grupos de los que trata el capítulo; III – examinar acervos referentes a la temática; y IV – brindar apoyo al informe mencionado en el art. 11 de la Ley n.º. 12.528 (CNV 2012: Resolución n.º 5 *Online*).

Una de las particularidades sobre los campesinos es el desconocimiento de este grupo social por parte de las políticas de justicia transicional implementadas en Brasil (Viana, 2013; Carneiro & Ciocari, 2011). Como se dijo, entre dichas políticas está el desconocimiento de derechos establecidos en la Ley n.º. 9.140/1995, que creó la Comisión Especial de Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos; y la Ley n.º. 10.559/2002, que creó la Comisión de Amnistía (CA). Los campesinos, sus familias y las organizaciones de las que ellos eran parte no percibieron reparación; fueron pocas las personas de este grupo social contempladas en esas políticas, así como insuficiente el énfasis en los campesinos puesto por parte de la Comisión Nacional.

Estas contradicciones contribuyeron de manera decisiva en la creación de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad (CCV), instituida en mayo de 2013.¹⁴ Si bien esta comisión tuvo el apoyo oficial de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, los recursos disponibles no fueron suficientes para profundizar el proceso de investigación. La Comisión Campesina de la Verdad contó también con el apoyo de otras entidades,

12 Los Grupos de Trabajo fueron: 1) Dictadura y género; 2) Araguaia; 3) Contextualización, fundamento y razones del golpe cívico-militar de 1964; 4) Dictadura y sistema de Justicia; 5) Dictadura y represión a los trabajadores y movimiento sindical; 6) Estructura de represión; 7) Muertos y desaparecidos políticos; 8) Graves violaciones de derechos humanos en el campo o contra indígenas; 9) Operación Cóndor; 10) Papel de las iglesias durante la dictadura; 11) Persecuciones a militares; 12) Violaciones de derechos humanos de brasileños en el exterior, y de extranjeros en Brasil; y 13) el Estado dictatorial-militar.

13 En el artículo 2º de la Resolución se preveía, para la composición del GT, además de María Rita Kehl, miembros como: Heloísa Maria Murgel Starling; Pedro Helena Pontual Machado; Wilkie Buzatti Antunes y Inimá Ferreira Simões.

14 Su coordinación general estuvo a cargo de Cléia Anice da Mota Porto, de la CONTAG/ABRA; del Profesor Sérgio Sauer, de la Universidad de Brasilia; y de Gilney Amorim Viana, de la Secretaría de Derechos Humanos de Paraná (CCV, 2014:4).

como la Confederación Nacional de los Trabajadores en la Agricultura (CONTAG), cuya sede nacional, ubicada en Brasilia, sirvió de espacio para la realización de las reuniones de esta Comisión. La CCV estuvo conformada por 58 personas, entre investigadores, gestores públicos y representantes de movimientos sociales, en su mayoría, con antecedentes de apoyo a los movimientos sociales y sindicales (Welch, 2014).

De acuerdo con Saraiva y Sauer (2015), en la búsqueda de accionar el “derechos a la memoria” y darle “visibilidad (oficial)”, se estableció un diálogo constante con la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad por medio de la comisionada Maria Rita Kehl. La CCV culminó sus trabajos en 2014, presentando su informe final en diciembre del mismo año.

Los campesinos también fueron tema en otras comisiones de verdad en el país, como la Comisión de la Verdad de Río (CV-Río), en cuyo informe existe un capítulo denominado “Conflicto y represión en el campo” (Informe CVE-Río, 2014); la Comisión de la Verdad Rubens Paiva (CVRP) del estado de São Paulo, en donde se organizó también un Grupo de Trabajo denominado “Represión en el campo en el estado de São Paulo, 1946-1988” (Informe CVRP-SP. Tomo IV, 2015), que tenía como propósito investigar las violaciones a los pueblos del campo durante la dictadura militar, proporcionando conocimiento relevante sobre lo ocurrido a campesinos y, en muchas ocasiones, estableciendo una relación conflictiva con la CNV.

Para citar un ejemplo, el concepto de graves violaciones de derechos humanos fue especialmente objetado por estas comisiones, a partir de la realidad de los campesinos. Para la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, las graves violaciones se restringían a la tortura y la desaparición forzada. Cuestionando esta conceptualización, la Comisión Rubens Paiva desarrolló una metodología de análisis teniendo como fundamento la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, que dio como resultado “465 eventos de violaciones, involucrando más de 300 mil campesinos en el estado de São Paulo” CRPV (Tomo IV 2015:2). Con ello, corroboró las reivindicaciones presentadas por la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, que privilegió otras formas de categorización, ofreciendo una dimensión mucho mayor de la violencia en el campo: aquella que se verificaba en el cotidiano, especialmente en contextos de luchas campesinas por derechos laborales o en disputas por los territorios, como por ejemplo, la destrucción de sus hogares, persecuciones y asesinatos.

Desde el punto de vista de las reivindicaciones, la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad se reconoció como heredera de la “lucha contra el olvido y la invisibilidad, en la búsqueda de la verdad, la reparación y la justicia” (Informe CCV, 2014:20), reconocimiento que fue construido por la Comisión Especial de Familiares de Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos de 1995; el Grupo Tortura Nunca Más, de 1985; y los Comités por Memoria, Verdad y Justicia creados a partir de 2011. A partir de estas políticas, los campesinos y pueblos indígenas, a través de comisiones de verdad, consiguieron reivindicar, ante agencias internacionales como la Organización de Naciones Unidas (ONU), la Organizaciones de Estados Americanos (OEA) y la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT), el cumplimiento de los compromisos internacionales suscritos por el Estado, especialmente, aquellos firmados en la Convención Americana de Derechos Humanos (CADH).¹⁵

En la misma perspectiva de otros grupos sociales, los pueblos del campo defienden la tesis de que “la interpretación y la aplicación dada a la Ley de Amnistía (Ley nº. 6.683/79) ha impedido la investigación y la sanción de graves violaciones de derechos humanos ocurridas durante la vigencia de la dictadura cívico-militar” (CCV, 2014: 386), incumpliendo, de esta forma, los acuerdos internacionales firmados por Brasil.

Como pudimos observar, la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad nació y trabajó dentro de la perspectiva de que existe un “proceso político y social de invisibilización de la lucha campesina, de resistencia a la dictadura y de procesos de reparación en curso en el Estado brasileño” (CCV, 2014:14). De esta manera,

¹⁵ Aunque esta información fue extraída del informe de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, se hace referencia sobre este aspecto en diversos informes sobre la cuestión indígena.

el informe sustenta la idea de injusticia en relación a las violaciones cometidas contra los campesinos, a la vez que hace explícita la ausencia de reconocimiento de dichas violaciones por parte de los mecanismos de reparación consolidados en el país, reafirmando a los campesinos como un segmento social olvidado por el Estado en lo relativo a las medidas de reparación ya instituidas.

En este sentido, las preocupaciones teórico-conceptuales y políticas de la Comisión Campesina se articularon para condicionar el trabajo de la CNV. Por ejemplo, se movilizó el concepto de memoria, con el objetivo tanto de narrar e inscribir dentro de la historia del país las experiencias campesinas, como de quebrar la invisibilidad e incorporar a los campesinos en el debate público sobre la dictadura cívico-militar y hacer justicia:

Presentificar, entendido como acción de traer el pasado al presente, teniendo como soporte la memoria no solamente como registro, o como un fin nostálgico, sino como acción y reivindicación de justicia. En este sentido, futuro y justicia caminan juntas (CCV, 2014:17).

De manera general, es posible percibir que el repertorio movilizado para justificar la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad no difiere de otros que surgieron en el mismo año. Se trata de un repertorio ya consolidado en las luchas por Memoria, Verdad y Justicia, desde la época de la dictadura cívico-militar. Como se ha dicho, la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad advirtió que la memoria accionada tiene como finalidad la reconstrucción de la verdad, para alcanzar justicia. Además, reivindicó la incidencia de las políticas de justicia transicional sobre las instituciones y sus políticas, para que “las violaciones no se repitan”. Estas demandas tenían como objetivo “fortalecer la lucha por el derechos a la memoria, a la verdad, a la amnistía y a la justicia con relación a las violaciones de derechos humanos cometidas en el campo” (CCV, 2014:386).

Con ello, los pueblos del campo también reivindicaron ser reconocidos por las políticas de justicia transicional, al tiempo que denunciaban las violaciones que involucran derechos fundamentales, “como el derecho al trabajo, a la educación, a la vivienda, a la tierra y a la vida, el derecho a la libre asociación y organización, y derechos laborales” (CCV, 2014:385) que están regulados, tanto por el Derecho Nacional, como por el Derecho Internacional. Al hacer esto, interpelaron las normativas sobre violaciones de derechos humanos constituidas, produciendo otras formas de análisis para aprehender realidades.

La Comisión Nacional de la Verdad y el reconocimiento de las víctimas del campo

Pocos días antes de la entrega del informe final de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, el 25 de noviembre de 2014, la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad publicó un documento, que circuló por distintos espacios, expresando su desacuerdo sobre el número de “muertos y desaparecidos” que la Comisión Nacional reconocería en su Informe Final:¹⁶

[...] señalamos nuestra preocupación con la información de que la CNV reconocerá oficialmente apenas un número aproximado de 430 muertos/as y desaparecidos/as, que hacen referencia en casi su totalidad a nombres y casos ya reconocidos. Confirmándose esta información, se consagra la exclusión de las políticas de reconocimiento oficial a la mayoría de campesinos y campesinas muertos/as y desaparecidos/as, haciéndoles difícil el acceso a la justicia de transición. Se destaca que la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad entregó informe detallado de graves violaciones de derechos humanos de los campesinos a la CNV, incluyendo una lista de 1.196 campesinos y campesinas muertos/as y desaparecidos/as. Reivindicamos el reconocimiento oficial de todos los campesinos muertos y desaparecidos en el informe de la CNV (CCV: 25/11/2014).

¹⁶ Recibí este documento por e-mail a través de la Secretaría de Post-Grado en Ciencias Sociales IFCH/Unicamp.

En ese documento, la CCV reconocía el importante trabajo que la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad estaba realizando, y complejizaba el campo de diálogo sobre esta cuestión. Un día después de la entrega del informe de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, el tema de los pueblos del campo fue tema en un debate realizado en el Senado Federal. Gilney Amorim Viana, quien participara de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, afirmó que el informe era 'débil', porque no tenía en cuenta a los "1.200 campesinos" y a los "8.000 indígenas" que también fueron víctimas de la dictadura. (Éboli apud *Jornal O Globo* 11-12-2014).

Diversas investigaciones han señalado los importantes avances del trabajo de la CNV, de su informe, y también, de sus límites. La CNV llevó al debate público una serie de temas silenciados o poco conocidos sobre los años de la dictadura. Estos avances tuvieron como base la posibilidad de que las víctimas hablaran, así como la posibilidad de establecer asociaciones con instituciones durante los procesos de investigaciones (Canabarro, 2014); el informe producido por la CNV presenta aspectos centrales del sistema represivo, trazando el camino de cómo este sistema operaba en Brasil y en el exterior; y se registra la asociación de las clases burguesas brasileñas en lo relativo al golpe y a su financiamiento para la represión política (CNV, 2014b:88 y 199).

El conocimiento sistematizado por la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, con base en múltiples investigaciones académicas, desmitificó la idea dicotómica un Estado ocupado por militares golpistas y una sociedad civil pasiva en su conjunto, en relación a lo que estaba sucediendo. El informe nos revela las múltiples formas de resistencia a la dictadura por parte de diversos grupos que se organizaron contra los gobiernos militares; a la vez que subyace, en el mismo informe, la comprensión de que diversos sectores de la sociedad se articularon para dar sustento al poder gubernamental de los militares. Además, desde el punto de vista jurídico, el informe crea la posibilidad de legislar sobre crímenes, "pues creó la posibilidad ética y política de justicia al establecer una distancia entre la víctima y el agresor [...]" (Pereira, 2015:894). Estos trabajos apuntan en un mismo sentido: la entrega del informe no representó un punto final en la investigación y en el ámbito de la justicia transicional en el país (Schinke, 2016).

Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo en que echó luz sobre importantes cuestiones, quedaron otras a la espera de una atención diferenciada, a saber: los crímenes cometidos contra los pueblos del campo. Deducimos de esto que las categorías Memoria, Verdad y Justicia que forman parte de la estructura conceptual normativa de los organismos de derechos humanos, son categorías cuyas dinámicas están sometidas a las relaciones de poder, de posición social, de clase y de cultura que los sujetos ocupan en la sociedad, lo que impone más desafíos para algunos grupos que para otros a la hora de su reconocimiento.

En lo referente a los pueblos del campo, los plazos limitados para realizar solicitudes a la Comisión Especial de Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos, organizada por la Ley nº. 9.140/95, significó una barrera al examen de posibles reclamaciones realizadas por familiares de campesinos muertos y desaparecidos. La referida ley preveía la posibilidad de reconocimiento de la responsabilidad estatal por muertes y desaparición por motivación política, ejecutadas durante el período comprendido entre el 02 de septiembre de 1961 y el 15 de agosto de 1979. Aproximadamente una década más tarde, la Ley 10.536/02 amplió este período. No obstante, estableció un plazo de 120 días para registrar las solicitudes, contados a partir de la fecha de publicación de la Ley (Viana, 2013:37). Los pueblos que viven en el campo desconocían estas informaciones, o las recibieron fuera de plazo, por lo que no consiguieron presentar solicitudes de reconocimiento de tal derecho.

En los casos en que sí consiguieron presentar pedidos de reparación, la Ley no contemplaba las violaciones de derechos que denunciaban y a las que fueron sometidos. Además, existe poca documentación sobre las formas en que la dictadura afectó a este grupo. Entre los agentes que perpetraran violaciones a estas poblaciones se encontraban pistoleros, terratenientes, policías locales e incluso, las Fuerzas Armadas, como en el caso del bombardeo con napalm a la Guerrilla Vanguardia Popular Revolucionaria en el "Vale do

Ribeira” de São Pablo, que afectó a muchos campesinos de esa zona. La concepción restringida de la idea de violaciones, víctimas y victimarios se expresó, por ejemplo, en la contabilización del número de víctimas, poniendo en evidencia el proceso de “invisibilización” de los sujetos afectados. El informe de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad así lo afirma:

Los/as campesinos/as, perseguidos/as políticos/as y afectados/as por la represión durante el período de 1946 y 1988, pocos/as fueron objeto de proceso judicial, de apertura de investigación policial-militar, o de cualquier otro tipo de registro oficial ante el Sistema de Justicia y Seguridad Pública, ni ante la Justicia Militar (CCV, 2014:386).

Los pueblos del campo tienen dificultades para demostrar que las violaciones sufridas sean calificadas como violaciones de derechos humanos. Me refiero a que lo que han vivido no está estrictamente vinculado con haber sufrido detención ilegal o torturas, sino sobre todo con sus modos de reproducción vital, con ser expulsados de sus tierras y hogares, con envenenamientos, entre otros asuntos que se detallan más adelante. Teniendo en cuenta que esta ausencia de información sobre las víctimas de la dictadura en el campo impedía su reparación, la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad tuvo como objetivo la sistematización de informaciones, con la finalidad de que se ampliaran los criterios de reconocimiento de la violencia, enfocándose, por ejemplo, en la conceptualización de graves violaciones de derechos humanos.

Fue en este sentido que la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad trabajó para constituir otras definiciones de víctimas y de agentes perpetradores, a ser reconocidas por las normativas del derecho internacional y para que las víctimas tuvieran sus reivindicaciones atendidas específicamente. Así, la conceptualización política del Estado como sujeto de violación de derechos humanos dirigió el debate de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, la cual, a su vez, identificó que entre las acciones represivas estaban aquellas realizadas directamente por el Estado, representado en las Fuerzas Armadas y las Policías locales, así como en otros actores, cuyos crímenes eran de participación indirecta de agentes del Estado, ya fuera “por connivencia, omisión o complicidad en la ejecución de procesos administrativos, investigativos y criminales” (CCV, 2014:385).

La realidad del campo llevó a una actuación específica del Estado, determinando agentes perpetradores de violencia y construyendo perfiles de víctimas vinculados a ese contexto, que deben ser entendidos en ese sentido, como puede observarse en el discurso de Nicinha Porto, entrevistada por la periodista Michelle Canes para una nota online publicada pela Agencia Brasil:

[...] el material [informe de la CCV] señala, además de las violaciones y víctimas, cuestiones que necesitan ser observadas cuando el escenario es el medio rural, por ejemplo, la figura de quién agencia contra los campesinos. [...] ‘No necesariamente estaba presente en el acto físico de la represión el delegado de policía o un policía uniformado. Pero estaban presentes pistoleros, sicarios. Es este concepto de agente del Estado que necesita ser analizado (Porto in Agencia Brasil on line, 11/12/2014)

En lo referido a las demandas de reparación, éstas también son específicas, tal y como se constata en las recomendaciones propuestas en el informe de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad. Además de la reparación individual económica, se recomienda la implementación de diversas políticas públicas, como por ejemplo, la Reforma Agraria, como forma de reparación colectiva y de avance en el proceso de democratización del campo brasileño.

Según Nicinha Porto, “las violaciones relacionadas con el campo tienen relación directa con el proceso de apropiación de la tierra, por lo que la reforma agraria es una causa estructural de la violencia actualmente, y ella fue la gran bandera del pasado” (Agencia Brasil On line, 11/12/2014. Como podemos observar en el trabajo adelantado por la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, fue la movilización por el derecho fundamental a la tierra el resorte que estimuló las violaciones de derechos humanos en el campo.

En la misma línea, Sônia Guajajara, de la Articulación de los Pueblos Indígenas de Brasil (APIB), afirma que:

[...] fue exactamente durante el período de la dictadura que se presentó el mayor robo de tierras indígenas, lo que intensificó el conflicto por la demarcación de tierras. Actualmente, para nosotros, pueblos indígenas, la mayor reparación que queremos por parte del Estado es la regularización de los territorios indígenas para los pueblos del país (Guajajara, in Agencia Brasil On line, 11/12/2014).

De la misma manera, durante la dictadura militar el ataque sistemático a los pueblos indígenas estuvo vinculado a sus luchas por la garantía de su sobrevivencia y sus modos de vida en sus territorios. Tanto la reforma agraria como la demarcación de las tierras indígenas son recomendaciones que iluminan sobre las especificidades de estos grupos sociales y cuestionan los tipos de normatización con fines reparatorios que sustentan la justicia transicional brasileña.

La cuestión de los pueblos del campo fue incorporada en el informe de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad con algunos límites de reconocimiento, lo que desentonó con los resultados presentados por las comisiones de verdad que se dedicaron al tema. El informe de la CNV está dividido en 3 volúmenes. En lo relativo a los pueblos indígenas, los tipos de violaciones presentadas por las comisiones de la verdad están principalmente en el Volumen II. Los temas específicos de los campesinos, además del Volumen II, están presentes en la parte IV del Volumen I, en el capítulo 13 titulado “Casos emblemáticos”, y más específicamente, en la subdivisión 13-B llamada “La Represión contra trabajadores, sindicalistas y campesinos”. En este capítulo, fueron dos casos los abordados sobre la problemática campesina: “El Levantamiento de Tromba y Formoso”, citando dos víctimas, José Porfirio y su hijo Durvalino Porfirio de Souza. El segundo de ellos fue “Operación Mesopotamia: la represión en área rural en la frontera entre Mato Grosso y Goiás”, citando la represión contra Epaminondas Gomes de Oliveira.

Sobre las víctimas citadas en los dos casos escogidos, fueron personas con amplia experiencia militante, que formaron parte de algunas organizaciones y sindicatos. José Porfirio fue el primer diputado campesino en Brasil, militante del Partido Comunista Brasileño. En ambos casos, fueron ejecutadas violaciones: “tortura”, “muerte”, “desaparición forzada”, “ocultamiento de cadáveres”, de acuerdo a lo establecido en la Resolución nº 5 del 5 de noviembre de 2012, que creó el Grupo de Trabajo sobre represión en el campo en el ámbito de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad.

La cuestión campesina aparecerá nuevamente en el Volumen I del Informe, junto con la cuestión indígena, en el capítulo sobre la Guerrilla de Araguaia.¹⁷ Como en los dos casos citados, en este último, la represión que los campesinos sufrieron está vinculada a la presencia del Ejército, toda vez que fueron encuadrados como auxiliares de la guerrilla. Este espacio del texto hace mención a las operaciones militares “Sucuri” y “Marajoara”, ambas ocurridas en 1973 y que tuvieron como objetivo la “neutralización de la red de apoyo” de los guerrilleros de Araguaia, quienes, en este caso, no eran otros que indígenas y campesinos (CNV, 2014:701).

¹⁷ La guerrilla de Araguaia fue un movimiento armado contra la dictadura militar organizado por el Partido Comunista de Brasil (PCB), que actuó durante tres años en el estado de Pará, y fue desarticulado por las Fuerzas Armadas Brasileñas.

A partir de los trabajos de la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad, la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad consideró como violaciones las siguientes acciones: “ejecuciones”, “detenciones ilegales en masa”, “desaparición” y “ocultamiento de cadáveres”. Y llevado al escenario específico de la represión a la Guerrilla de Araguaia, se suman otros tipos de violaciones contra indígenas y campesinos, como “tortura”, “violación o estupro”, “Privación de libertad”, “trabajo forzado como guía para las Fuerzas Armadas”, “Privación de los medios de sobrevivencia (quema de casas, alimentos y cultivos)” y “golpizas”.

Frente a las acciones listadas, la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, a partir de la Ley 9.140/95 indicó a 6 campesinos como posibles víctimas, siendo 4 de ellos considerados desaparecidos políticos cuyos perfiles están presentes junto al conjunto de víctimas oficialmente reconocidas en el Volumen III del Informe (CNV, 2014:176). A partir de allí, se observa que para la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, las víctimas son apenas quienes sufrieron represión política directa por parte de las Fuerzas Armadas. Solamente los sujetos que fueron definidos por esta institución como “subversivos” o “terroristas” fueron considerados víctimas por la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad. Se verifica que las diferentes formas de represión y otras dimensiones de violencia ocurridas en el campo no fueron consideradas. Los muertos por esas otras formas de violencia no fueron nombrados como víctimas y, por tanto, fueron excluidos del reconocimiento y consecuentemente de las políticas de reparación.

Los pueblos indígenas y los límites de la justicia transicional

El proceso de invisibilización sufrido por los pueblos indígenas es todavía más intenso que el de los campesinos. Hasta la actuación de la CNV no se había dado a conocer las violaciones de la dictadura contra esas poblaciones, ni vías o espacios para demandar algún tipo de reconocimiento y/o reparación. Sin embargo, las acciones de la CNV no fueron suficientes para dilucidar todos los crímenes cometidos contra los pueblos indígenas. Así, durante la actuación de la CNV, fueron realizadas trece audiencias públicas sobre la cuestión indígena entre mayo de 2012 y noviembre de 2014, de las cuales cuatro de estas audiencias fueron articuladas con otras comisiones. Además, la Comisión de Derechos Humanos y Minorías de la Cámara Federal (CDHM) realizó dos audiencias; la Comisión de Derechos Humanos y Participación Legislativa (CDH) realizó una audiencia; y la Comisión Estadual de la Verdad Teresa Urban, de Paraná¹⁸, realizó otras dos audiencias¹⁹ y contribuyó a la CNV con un informe sobre los pueblos indígenas de las Cuencas Hidrográficas del Tibaji, Laranjinha y Cinzas, en el estado de Paraná. Por otro lado, la Comisión de la Verdad Aikewara se trata de una comisión especial por su significado desde el punto de vista de la amplia participación del pueblo Aikewara y de las controversias evidenciadas en el informe. En el estado de São Paulo, la Comisión Rubens Paiva realizó tres audiencias públicas sobre violaciones de derechos humanos contra los pueblos indígenas.

Todas esas comisiones organizaron o fueron organizadas por grupos formados por historiadores/as y antropólogos/as, que asumieron la posición de mediadores/as entre los pueblos indígenas afectados y el Estado. Muchos de ellos ya tenían alguna experiencia de estudio y/o relación con dichos pueblos, por lo que produjeron y sistematizaron documentos, se involucraron a partir de la realización de seminarios y encuentros temáticos. Además, investigaron en archivos y entrevistas con los pueblos indígenas, con el objetivo de que la información referente a las violaciones y las múltiples etnias que fueron violentadas llegara a la Comisión de la Verdad.

¹⁸ Organizado en el GT 6: “Violaciones en el Campo y Pueblos Indígenas”. Olympio de Sá Sotto Maior (coordinador), Ângelo Priori (desde marzo de 2014), Márcio Koko; miembro de la Articulación de los Pueblos Indígenas de la Región Sur (ARPINSUL).

¹⁹ Datos obtenidos a partir del “Centro de Referencia Indígena do Armazém da Memória”.

En mayo de 2012, mes en el que también se creó la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, se constituyó el Comité Estadual de Derecho a la Verdad, a la Memoria y a la Justicia del Estado de Amazonas (CEMVJ-AM), dentro de la Universidad del Amazonas. Este comité produjo un informe sobre las violaciones de derechos humanos perpetradas contra el pueblo Waimiri-Atroari, en el contexto de la apertura de la carretera BR-174 que conecta Manaus (AM) con Boa Vista (Roraima-RR), entre los años de 1972 y 1977.

El informe fue producido para ayudar a la CNV y al Ministerio Público Federal en la investigación de crímenes de la dictadura militar ejecutados en el estado del Amazona [...] es un manifiesto para que se haga justicia con relación al pueblo Waimiri-Atroari (CEMVJ-AM, 2014:8).

En este informe, el pueblo Kiña o Waimiri-Atroari, que hasta 1967 vivía en la región entre Manaus (AM) y Caracarái (RR), denunciaba las violaciones sufridas. Así, este informe se hizo público en 2012 gracias a la acción del Comité de la Verdad del Amazonas y por la iniciativa de la diputada federal Luiza Erundina (PSB-SP), quien realizó ese año, junto a la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la Cámara Federal, una audiencia pública para tratar la muerte de 2.000 Kiña. “Entre 1972 y 1975 la población Kiña se redujo de 3.000 a 1.000 personas, sin que la FUNAI (Fundación Nacional del Indio) ni los militares expusieran las causas de dicha reducción. Esos 2.000 Kiña desaparecieron sin que se hiciera una sola acta de defunción” (Schwade in *Carta Capital* online, 22-2-2011). Esta práctica de no registrar muertes era común con respecto a los pueblos indígenas. Por ejemplo, exterminios por contagios a partir del contacto con equipos de *sertanistas*, o por el contacto con residuos hospitalarios arrojados intencionalmente en las aldeas, no fueron notificados por la FUNAI (Valente, 2017).

La Comisión Nacional de la Verdad incorporó en el Volumen II de su informe los estudios realizados sobre los pueblos indígenas y las violaciones de derechos humanos durante la dictadura. Dada la complejidad y la falta de pesquisas, no es posible enumerar en este texto los múltiples tipos de violaciones que los pueblos indígenas sufrieron.

Fueron emitidas muchas declaraciones fraudulentas que certificaban la inexistencia de indios en las áreas apetecidas por particulares. Para tomar posesión de esas áreas y volver real la extinción de los indios en el papel, empresas y particulares promovieron tentativas de extinción física de pueblos indígenas enteros –lo que configura un genocidio tercerizado– que llegaron a valerse de la oferta de alimentos envenenados, contagios premeditados, secuestros de niños, así como de masacres con armas de fuego [...] la introducción deliberada de viruela, gripe, tuberculosis y sarampión entre los indios (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a: 206).

Se evidencia, por tanto, una participación específica del Estado en contra de los pueblos indígenas: primero, a través del Servicio de Protección a los Indios (SPI, 1910-1967), y posteriormente, a través de la Fundación Nacional del Indio (FUNAI, 1976 – hasta hoy), dos instituciones que, en sí mismas albergan muchas contradicciones. De manera breve, podemos decir que fueron creadas para atender las necesidades de los pueblos indígenas, pero se convirtieron en facilitadoras para que distintos agentes violaran los derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas.

Como ocurrió en el caso de la construcción de la carretera BR-174, la FUNAI sirvió como puerta de entrada para la ejecución de otros proyectos en las reservas indígenas, facilitando los intereses privados en detrimento de los intereses de los pueblos indígenas. Esta obra derivó en más asesinatos y en la reducción de los territorios del pueblo Waimiri-Atroari. “La BR-174 fue concluida en 1979. En 1981, el gobierno federal incluyó la construcción de la central hidroeléctrica de Balbina y, por tanto, el general Figueiredo dividió la parte oriental de la Tierra indígena Waimiri-Atroari por medio del decreto nº. 86.630” (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a:235).

Durante el mismo período de la construcción de la central hidroeléctrica, que implicó la remoción forzada de al menos dos aldeas, algunas compañías mineras consiguieron autorización para la prospección de minerales en la Tierra Indígena Waimiri-Atroari: “Con el decreto de Figueiredo, las empresas mineras Timbó/Parapanema y Taboca se pudieron establecer en un área de 526.800 hectáreas dentro de la reserva Waimiri-Atroari” (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a:236). Para ingresar al área, la minera Panapanema contrató una empresa paramilitar llamada Sacopã, especializada en ‘limpiar la selva’. Se trataba de un equipo autorizado por el “Comando Militar de la Amazonia para ‘mantener a su servicio 400 hombres equipados con armas 20 milímetros, rifle 38, revólveres de variado calibre y perros amaestrados’”. Se sumó a ello la invasión de las tierras por “colonizadores y terratenientes quienes se instalaban sobre las márgenes de la carretera BR-174 y al sur de la reserva” (Ibid). Las informaciones sobre estos y otros tipos de violaciones fueron ofrecidas a la CNV gracias al trabajo de las comisiones y comités organizados alrededor de la problemática indígena.

El Volumen II es una parte del informe que se compone de nueve Textos Temáticos producidos por los comisionados/as o consejeros/as de los Grupos de Trabajo que se estructuraron al interior de la CNV. Cabe resaltar que los temas presentados en ese Volumen son aquellos que ganaron espacio en el debate público dentro del rol de Comités y Comisiones que surgieron durante 2012, por medio de iniciativas de movimientos sociales, grupos de investigación de algunas Universidades, investigadores/as o miembros de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad. Entre dichos temas, figuran “Dictadura y Homosexualidades”; “Civiles que colaboraron con la dictadura”; “Violaciones de derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas”, etc.

En lo referido a violaciones de derechos humanos de los pueblos del campo, los textos fueron elaborados bajo la responsabilidad de la comisionada María Rita Kehl. En esta parte del informe es posible notar la cooperación de los informes producidos sobre los indígenas y también por la Comisión Campesina de la Verdad: están claras las afinidades existentes entre el Volumen II de la CNV y el informe producido por la CCV. Se observa que ambas parten de la misma comprensión teórica: existía un plan político-económico de la dictadura para el campo brasileño, que tenía como principio el genocidio de los pueblos indígenas (Wilke, 2012; CEMVJ-AM, 2014; Valente, 2017). Por lo tanto, no se trata de una acción puntual, sino de un proyecto político fundamental para las demandas del capital en aquel momento.

A diferencia de lo que nos presenta el Volumen I del informe de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad, existe una diversidad de tipos de violaciones que son asignadas a diversos agentes y situaciones, concediéndole un carácter multifacético al Estado como violador de derechos humanos. En el Volumen II, por ejemplo, fueron considerados como victimarios agentes de la iniciativa privada y la Unión Democrática Ruralista (UDR), que durante el año 1988 pasó a organizar de forma sistemática la violencia en el campo en casi la totalidad de los estados del país, promoviendo asesinatos de campesinos, sindicalistas, abogados, entre otros interesados por las cuestiones de esos pueblos, denominados en el informe como “Terrorismo Patronal”. También consideró los muertos y desaparecidos en caso de disputas de tierra, haciendo énfasis en “la participación directa o indirecta (acción/omisión) de agentes del Estado” (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a). Otros tipos de violaciones consideradas fueron:

[...] disputas localizadas de *poseiros*²⁰ vs. *grileiros*²¹, con participación agentes del Estado en defensa de los *grileiros* o en otros conflictos localizados por la tierra; abusos y violencias contra trabajadores autorizados a cultivar huertas dentro de grandes propiedades rurales, casos de violencia en respuesta a demandas por justicia laboral (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a:95-96).

20 N. de T.: *Poseiros* refiere a personas que ocupan tierras municipales o abandonadas, para cultivarlas.

21 N. de T.: *Grileiros* remite a personas que falsifican documentos para apropiarse de tierras municipales o ya ocupadas por alguna población. Ese proceso va acompañado de muchas acciones violentas.

Vale mencionar que, de acuerdo con este Volumen del Informe, los tipos de violaciones mencionados no son entendidos como “graves violaciones”. Apenas son citados para fines de comprensión del conflicto, del cual surgieron muchas organizaciones de lucha por los derechos laborales. En este contexto, observamos que:

[...] múltiples asesinatos en el campo fueron en respuesta, por parte de los propietarios rurales, a simples reivindicaciones legales de sus empleados. La impunidad de los asesinos, incluso en los casos en que testimonios los denunciaban, indica la complicidad del poder local con los grandes propietarios de tierras (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a: 96).

Así como en el caso de los pueblos indígenas, las violaciones de derechos humanos ocurrieron a partir de grandes proyectos del gobierno federal, violando derechos de campesinos que ya vivían en las regiones, promoviendo la “expulsión de ocupantes [...] sin reparación ni derechos, y empleando “torturas y muertes de campesinos que resistiera a las expulsiones” (CNV, Vol. II, 2014a:96). Igualmente se registra la represión a los sindicatos de trabajadores rurales y a los movimientos de lucha por la reforma agraria, con asesinatos de líderes sindicales y políticos. Entre los crímenes citados en el Informe, se registra también el “reclutamiento de campesinos sin-tierra para el trabajo esclavo, con complicidad de autoridades locales” (2014a:96).

Observando los dos primeros volúmenes del informe de la CNV, se tiene la idea de que el Volumen I es oficial, validado por toda la Comisión, mientras que el Volumen II se trata de algo autónomo, de responsabilidad individual de los/as comisionados/as de cada Grupo de trabajo. Esta división puede apreciarse, por ejemplo, a partir de los tipos de violaciones que los instrumentos de justicia transicional brasileña han considerado, y que fueron tipificadas, y utilizadas, por la Comisión Especial de Muertos y Desaparecidos Políticos y por la Comisión de Amnistía. Por lo tanto, en estas Comisiones fueron predominantes los tipos de violaciones explicitados en el Volumen I, mientras que los demás tipos de violaciones relacionados con los pueblos del campo, que no caben en la estructura jurídico-conceptual, se encuentran registrados en el Volumen II. Esto nos puede ayudar a comprender el significado del conflicto relacionado con el número de víctimas de la dictadura, de las cualificaciones de algunas víctimas como Muertos y Desaparecidos, y el por qué de otras tantas que no fueron consideradas en esos términos.

Al igual que los campesinos, los pueblos indígenas, al involucrarse en la lucha por Memoria, Verdad y Justicia, interpellaron este campo de disputas, señalando la necesidad de construcción de otras formas de reparación, no exclusivamente restringidas a la reparación individual económica, sino a una reparación colectiva vinculada al modo de reproducción de sus vidas en sus distintas cosmologías.

Observamos que, durante la actuación de la CNV, estas contradicciones aparecieron en la forma de contabilizar Muertos y Desaparecidos, en la concepción de víctima, en el tipo de agentes violadores y en sus violaciones. Estas categorías fueron forjadas, en un amplio proceso de disputa, por los diferentes sujetos involucrados en este escenario. En el caso de los pueblos del campo, estas contradicciones también tienen sus raíces en la “cuestión agraria” brasileña. Al parecer, los conceptos que orientaron a la Comisión Nacional no contemplaron esas otras posibles violaciones.

Así, se evidencia la necesidad de reinterpretar las normas de derechos humanos y sus conceptos, como la conceptualización de “graves violaciones de derechos humanos”, toa vez que la realidad de las violaciones sufridas por los Pueblos del Campo, como fue expuesto, exigía que dicha definición fuera ampliada.

A modo de conclusión

Los éxitos en las medidas designadas por la justicia transicional y otras respuestas a las graves violaciones de derechos humanos, de modo general, guardan fuerte relación con la adhesión o no de los países a los tratados internacionales, y especialmente, con las luchas sociales sostenidas internamente (Brito *et al.*, 2004). En el caso de Brasil, las acciones de los pueblos del campo en esa disputa dejaron en evidencia otros matices de los límites de la Justicia Transicional.

La entrega del informe final de la Comisión Nacional de la Verdad y la expectativa en torno de su publicación, y la de otros informes de comisiones de la verdad, hicieron emerger muchas contradicciones expresadas en las lecturas efectuadas por los/as militantes por el derechos a la Memoria, a la Verdad y a la Justicia de los pueblos del campo, es decir, el contenido del informe de la CNV, las recomendaciones, la disposición de los temas en el cuerpo del propio informe y las configuraciones conceptuales.

En aquel momento, fue posible observar disputas que giraron en torno de la estructura conceptual y normativa de los instrumentos legales ya constituidos, enfocando los criterios de reconocimiento de las víctimas, la estandarización de tipos de víctimas y perpetradores, y los tipos de violaciones. En este sentido, los pueblos del campo enfrentaron muchos obstáculos para su reconocimiento, dado que aquello que estaba establecido en las experiencias anteriores de políticas de memoria no abarcaba las formas de violaciones y de víctimas en las distintas realidades de los pueblos del campo. Observamos que la construcción de esas políticas y la forma cómo son orientadas, las someten a una política de orden global y nacional. Además, esas contradicciones están situadas en la posición de clase y de cultura de los grupos sociales, pasando también por el filtro de la comprensión política individual y por las relaciones entre los diferentes sujetos que están vinculados a la lucha por Memoria, Verdad y Justicia.

Recibido: 30 de octubre de 2017

Aprobado: 10 de marzo de 2018

Revisión: Federico Lavezzo

* Esta investigación está siendo financiada por el CNPQ.

Referencias bibliográficas

AGENCIA BRASIL On line. 2014. *Fórum legislativo debate relatório da CNV sobre direitos humanos na ditadura*.

Disponível en:< <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/direitos-humanos/noticia/2014-12/forum-legislativo-debate-relatorio-da-cnv-sobre-direitos-humanos-na>>. Recuperado el 30 de marzo de 2016.

BRASIL. Lei Nº 12.528 de 18 de novembro de 2011. *Cria a Comissão Nacional da Verdade no âmbito da Casa Civil da Presidência da República*. Disponible en: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2011/lei/l12528.htm>. Recuperado el 20 de diciembre de 2017

BRITO, A. B.; GONZÁLEZ-ENRIQUEZ, C.; FERNÁNDEZ, P. A. (Coord.). *Política da memória: verdade e justiça na transição para a democracia*. Lisboa: ICS, 2004. (Estudos e Investigações 35)

CANABARRO, Ivo. 2014. "Caminhos da Comissão Nacional da Verdade (CNV): memórias em construção". *Revista Sequência* (Florianópolis), 69: 215-234, dez.

CANUTO, A; SILVA LUZ, C. R. da; PINTO ANDRADE, T. V. (coords). 2015. *Conflitos no campo – Brasil*. Goiânia: CPT Nacional.

- CARNEIRO, A.; CIOCCARI, M. 2011. *Retrato da Repressão Política no Campo Brasil 1962-1985. Camponeses torturados, mortos e desaparecidos*. 2ª edição. Brasília: Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário.
- Carta dos Comitês. 2012. Disponível em: <<https://comitedaverdadeportoalegre.wordpress.com/2012/08/13/carta-dos-comites-a-comissao-nacional-da-verdade/>>. Recuperado el 10 de octubre de 2016.
- Comissão de Familiares de Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos. 2009. *Dossiê Ditadura: mortos e desaparecidos políticos no Brasil – 1964-1985*. São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial.
- Comissão Nacional da Verdade (CNV). 2014.a. *Relatório*, Volume I. Brasília: CNV.
- Comissão Nacional da Verdade (CNV). 2014b. *Relatório*, Volume II – Textos Temáticos. Brasília: CNV.
- COMISSÃO Nacional da Verdade no Brasil, Resolução nº 5 de 2012. Disponível em: <<http://www2.planalto.gov.br/>>. Acesso em: 17 nov. 2014.
- Comissão Camponesa da Verdade (CCV). 2014. *Relatório*. Disponível em: <[https://cpdoc.fgv.br/sites/default/files/Relatório Final Comissão Camponesa da Verdade - 09dez2014.pdf](https://cpdoc.fgv.br/sites/default/files/Relatório%20Final%20Comissão%20Camponesa%20da%20Verdade%20-%2009dez2014.pdf)>. Recuperado el 12 de marzo de 2015
- DECLARAÇÃO do Encontro Nacional Unitário de Trabalhadores e trabalhadoras, povos do campo das águas e das florestas. 2012. Disponível em:<http://www.reformaagrariaemdados.org.br/sites/default/files/Declara%C3%A7%C3%A3o_do_Encontro_Nacional_Unitario_2012.pdf> . Recuperado el 15 de junio de 2018
- International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) On line. What is Transitional Justice. Disponível em: <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>. Recuperado el 20 de abril de 2017.
- LEFRANC, Sandrine; MOURALIS, Guillaume. 2014. “De quel(s) droit(s) la justice internationale est-elle faite?” *Socio*, 3: 209-245. Disponível em: <http://socio.revues.org>. Recuperado el 20 de abril de 2018.
- PINTO, Simone Rodrigues. 2010. “Direito À Memória e À Verdade: Comissões de Verdade na América Latina”. *Revista Debates*, Porto Alegre, 4(1): 128-143, jan./jun.
- PEREIRA, Bruna Ferrari. 2016. *Comissão Nacional da Verdade: limites e desafios*. Dissertação de mestrado, Programa de Pós Graduação em Ciência Política da Universidade Federal de São Carlos.
- PEREIRA, Mateus Henrique de Faria. 2015. “Nova direita? Guerras de memória em tempos de Comissão da Verdade (2012-2014)”. *Varia Historia*, Belo Horizonte, 31(57): 863-902, set/dez.
- SCHINKE, Vanessa Dorneles. 2016. “Relatório da Comissão Nacional da Verdade: o discurso sobre o judiciário”. *Revista Direito e Práxis*, Rio de Janeiro, 7(14): 291-316.
- SAUER, Sérgio; SARAIVA, Regina C.F. (Re)construção da memória de repressão e resistências camponesas: Reflexões sobre a Comissão Camponesa da Verdade. MR07 – Conflitos e repressão aos trabalhadores rurais e urbanos no regime militar no Brasil. 39º Encontro Nacional da ANPOCS, 2015, Caxambú. In: *Anais...*, Caxambu, 2015. Disponível em: <<https://www.anpocs.com/index.php/39-encontro>>. Recuperado el 05 de octubre de 2016.
- SCHWADE, Egidio. 2011. “Os índios se opunham ao processo de invasão de seu território, no Amazonas, imposto pelos militares”. Disponível: <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/2000-waimiri-atroari-desaparecidos-na-ditadura> . Recuperado el 15 de enero de 2018.
- TEITEL, Ruti. 2003. “Transitional Justice Genealogy”. *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 16. Cambridge. Genealogía de la Justicia Transicional, Centro de Derechos Humanos, Facultad de Derecho, Universidad de Chile. Disponível em <<http://www.cdh.uchile.cl/media/publicaciones/pdf/18/59.pdf>>. Recuperado el 15 de octubre de 2016
- TELES, Janaína (org.). 2001. *Mortos e desaparecidos políticos: reparação ou impunidade?* 2. ed. São Paulo: Humanitas/ FFLCH-USP.
- VALENTE, Rubens. 2017. *Os Fuzis e as flechas; história de sangue e resistência indígena na ditadura*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

- VIANA, Gilney Amorim. 2013. *Camponeses mortos e desaparecidos : excluídos da justiça de transição*. Brasília, DF: Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República.
- WEICHERT, Marlon Alberto. 2011. “A Sentença da Corte Interamericana de Direitos Humanos e a obrigação de instituir uma Comissão da Verdade.” In: Luiz Flavi Gomes & Valerio de Oliveira Mazzuoli (orgs.), *Crimes da ditadura militar: uma análise à luz da jurisprudência atual da Corte Interamericana de Direitos Humanos*. São Paulo: Editora Revista dos Tribunais. 226-242
- WELCH, Clifford Andrew. 2014. “Camponeses, a verdade e a História da ditadura em São Paulo”. *Revista Mundos do Trabalho*, 6(11): 57-78.
- WILKE, Maurício de Lima. 2012. Yanomami. “Denúncia de Maurício de Lima Wilke, 2012. Carta à Comissão Nacional da Verdade”. Disponible en <<https://namo2.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.docvirt.com%2Fdocreader.net%2Fdocreader.aspx%3Fbib%3DComissaoVerdade%26pesq%3D%26pesquisa%3DPesquisar&data=02%7C01%7C%7C9193bcboed6d4fa35a3bo8d5479ca9af%7C-84df9e7fe9f64oafb435aaaaaaaaaaaa%7C1%7C0%7C636493660605031233&sdata=BisCPPhY9g7f2ay%2FwS1WUVZMPxLRLfb%2FD9XzndytKfw%3D&reserved=0>>. Recuperado el 20 de noviembre de 2017.

Adriana Rodrigues Novais
Universidade Estadual de Campinas
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7559-5668>
E-mail: drinovais@yahoo.com.br

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

For Human Rights: Constructing the multinational Brčko District in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Andréa Carolina Schwartz Peres^{1 2 3}

¹ Universidade Federal de Roraima, Boa Vista/RR, Brasil

² Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento, São Paulo/SP, Brasil

³ Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas/SP, Brasil

Abstract

The Brčko District was conceived to be a multiethnic political-administrative unit in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Various efforts have been made to accomplish this since the year 2000, such as the construction of urban space with the equitable presence of the three national groups recognized by the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the unification of the school system, both with the aim to guarantee human rights, understood as equal cultural rights. This article focuses on the educational system and the monuments policy to critically analyze these endeavors by revealing how policies for the construction of a multinational space have contributed to the maintenance of a divided city, where the borderlines do not need to be official to exist and constantly remind everyone to which group they belong to and what this means.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Education; Multiculturalism; Heritage; Brčko District; conflict.



Pelos direitos humanos: construindo o multinacional no Distrito de Brčko (Bósnia-Herzegóvina)

Resumo

O Distrito de Brčko foi concebido como uma unidade político-administrativa multiétnica na Bósnia-Herzegóvina. Desde 2000, vários esforços foram feitos no sentido de consumá-la, como a construção de um espaço urbano com presença equitativa dos três grupos nacionais reconhecidos pela Constituição da Bósnia-Herzegóvina e a unificação do sistema escolar, com o objetivo de garantir direitos humanos, aqui traduzidos em direitos iguais e culturais. Esse artigo visa uma análise crítica desses esforços, com foco no sistema educacional e nas políticas de patrimônio, com o propósito de apontar como políticas de construção de um espaço multinacional contribuíram para a manutenção de uma cidade dividida, onde as linhas não precisam ser oficiais para existirem e lembrarem a todo o momento a qual grupo a pessoa pertence e o que isso significa.

Palavras-chave: Bósnia-Herzegóvina; Educação; Multiculturalismo; Distrito de Brčko; Patrimônio; Conflito.

For Human Rights: Constructing the multinational Brčko District in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Andréa Carolina Schwartz Peres

Introduction

The war raged on all fronts [...]. Mortar shells, psychological and real, wiped out people, houses, cities, children, bridges, memory. In the name of the present, a war was waged for the past; in the name of the future, a war against the present. In the name of a new future, the war devoured the future. Warriors, the masters of oblivion, the destroyers of the old state and builders of new ones, used every possible strategic method to impose a collective amnesia. The self-proclaimed masters of life and death set up the coordinates of right and wrong, black and white, true and false.

Dubravka Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies*

Brčko is a small city in the district of the same name. Located in the northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina region called Posavina, the city is flanked by the Sava River, which marks the border with Croatia. This country, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, was part of the former Yugoslavia before the wars of the 1990s.¹ Stories are told until today of the dismemberment of this country, about its populations, and about the wars.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is often depicted by the media as a heterogeneous and plural mosaic of peoples, with the war commonly explained as a conflict between three distinct peoples (Cf. Peres 2005). Yet I remember being puzzled upon arriving in the country for the first time (in 2007) by the apparent similarity and lack of visible differences among groups described as distinct. The same language was heard, the same songs were played in radios, cafes and bars, the same video clips were broadcast by the TV channels I had access to in all parts of the former Yugoslavia – and I saw similar clothing, faces and habits. The emblematic place of difference was revealed in the prayers heard at religious temples; and especially in names and in the stories told.

It is even said that the war was waged based on names. Most were seen as nearly irrefutable proof of “national difference”, which is how the differentiation between Serbs, Croats and Muslims (who in 1993 were renamed Bosniacs) was described in the former Yugoslavia and until today. It could be said that these groups had their origins in the different religious communities: Orthodox Christians, Catholics and Muslims, respectively. This fact reminds us that the political organization of states has not always had a national character, as in the Ottoman Empire, which ruled the region until the Balkan Wars of the early twentieth century, when religion was the basis for classification of the populations.

¹ The use of “former” is intended to differentiate between the socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991) and Yugoslavia (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) formed by Serbia and Montenegro (from 1992 to 2003).

The twentieth century, however, was a century of few gods, especially in socialist and atheist regimes. This fact had consequences in the former Yugoslavia, both in terms of secularism, and resentment of religious people, who were denied positions in power.

Names, however, remained more than any other social marker of difference in the former Yugoslavia. Thus, at the beginning of the war in Brčko, a journalist from Radio Brčko was approached by a not-so-friendly soldier asking for his name. Stunned by the absurdity of the question, the journalist was reluctant to answer, until he realized the gravity of the question. “Savo”, he finally replied. It was the correct name in that case. Meanwhile, Zijad, a train driver, was not so lucky when asked the same question, and was consequently beaten and imprisoned in his own city, which he affirmed had become a large concentration camp.²

Before Brčko was invaded and occupied by Serbian troops, the war had already flared in several parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, many regions had already been proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Regions (SAOs),³ and the war in Croatia was only temporarily suspended.⁴ According to countless reports, the Serbian troops who occupied the town came from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, like Bijeljina, and were joined by local people. Amir, emphasized many times “that was my neighbour”. Or as Zijad said: “that was my work colleague”. It was said that many people who were once friends appeared in the uniforms of enemy soldiers (although some Serbs helped non-Serbs in the occupied city).

On 30 April 1992, the two bridges linking Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia over the Sava River were bombed.⁵ After this, the non-Serbs who did not flee were imprisoned, beaten, raped, killed and taken to detention camps in the city and outside it. It became impossible for non-Serbs to live in Brčko during the war. In fact, after the end of 1992, few non-Serbs remained and the city became a Serbian city.⁶

Muslims and Croats fled especially to the South of Brčko, within the municipality⁷ of the same name, which would later be called the Brčko District.

Brčko was very important during the war. The Brčko corridor, also known as the Posavina corridor, became the main connection between the east of Bosnia and Herzegovina (along the Drina River, on the border with Serbia) and the west (near Banja Luka, the future capital of the Republika Srpska). Both regions were under the control of Serbian forces. This corridor also connected these regions to areas under Serbian control in Croatia.

Armed confrontation was constant along the corridor. Serbian forces fought to expand it while non-Serbian forces contained its expansion to the south and west, keeping it, between losses and gains, around four kilometres wide (Cf. Deronjić 2008; Farrand 2011). In Deronjić’s words:

2 These reports are based on statements collected in Brčko in 2015. I would like to thank Fapesp for the grant offered for the postdoctoral research and the University of Banja Luka (Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina), which accepted me and made possible the realization of the field research.

3 The five SAOs (*Srpske autonomne oblasti*) established in 1991 in Bosnia and Herzegovina are: Romanija and Birač (capital Pale), Bosanska krajina (capital Banja Luka), Eastern Herzegovina (capital Trebinje), Semberija (capital Bijeljina) and Northern Bosnia-Herzegovina (capital Doboj) (Čekić 2005). In January 1992, these regions became known as the “The Serb Republic of Bosnia”, and in the middle of 1992 it was renamed Republika Srpska.

4 According to Peres (2005: 102), at the end of 1991 a truce was established in Croatia, with Serbian forces holding 22% of Croatian territory, where blue helmets would supervise the ceasefire. This situation would continue until the second half of 1995, with the retaking of these territories by the Croatian army (except Eastern Slavonia, reinstated in Croatia in 1997). See also: Security Council 1996; Grandits, Promitzer 2000; Peres 2010.

5 After the war, the bridge for cars and pedestrians was rebuilt, but the railroad bridge was not.

6 According to the 2013 census, the Brčko District (the city of Brčko and nearby villages) currently has 83,516 inhabitants (approximately 42.3% Bosniacs, 34.5% Serbs, 20.5% Croats, and 2.3% who did not respond, did not want to declare themselves or are called others) (Popis 2016). According to the 1991 census (the previous one), the municipality had 87,627 inhabitants (approximately 44% Muslims, 20% Serbs, 25% Croats, 10% Yugoslavs and others) (Nacionalni 1991).

7 The term municipality (*općina* or *opština*) refers to an administrative region that in this case includes the city of Brčko (*grad*) and neighboring villages (*selo*).

The position of the Brčko brigade is not a consequence of the city's strategic position, but a result of three and a half years of fighting against the Chetniks,⁸ which has led to a result of strategic importance. Brčko was and remained a “narrow throat” of the Serbian corridor, for which reason the Republika Srpska never managed to breathe with full lungs and, in the end, could not consolidate itself into a single piece [of territory] (2008: 147).⁹

Indeed, during the peace negotiations of 1995 (which led to the Dayton Agreement), no consensus was reached about Brčko. Acceptance of being encompassed by the Republika Srpska would signify an award for ethnic cleansing, given that the city had its non-Serbian population completely swept from the territory. It would also be a great defeat for those who had fought and died in clashes along the corridor. If it were encompassed by the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (at times referred to here as the Federation), it would cut the Republika Srpska in half, making its territory discontinuous and rendering any peace agreement unfeasible at that time. Discussions concerning the municipality and any other solution for the region could jeopardize the commitment to peace. Therefore, the resolution of Brčko's situation was postponed and delegated to international arbitration. Finally, in 1999, a Final Award was issued that established the creation of the District as an autonomous and multiethnic region.¹⁰

Thereafter, the Brčko District would be a condominium of both entities under the jurisdiction of the central government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It should be recalled that the peace agreement reached in Dayton (in the United States) recognized two Bosnian political-administrative regions, known as “entities”: the Republika Srpska, with a majority Serb population, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a majority Bosniac and Croat population.¹¹

From 2000 to 2012, the District was under the administration of United Nations supervisors.¹² In 2012, the closure of the supervisor's office indicated the official determination that the supervisor's presence was no longer needed, since the restructuring of the Brčko District had been successfully achieved, many former refugees had returned to the city and a multi-ethnic environment was created:

The Supervisor and his Office operated at the centre of Brčko's political and administrative life for more than 15 years, supporting refugee return and economic recovery and helping to establish multi-ethnic institutions and an integrated education system, among other achievements (Moore 2013: “online”).

Transforming a Serbian city into a city for all the groups involved an international police and administrative effort, as well as massive investment in physical and political reconstruction of the space. According to Jeffrey, establishing a democratic government in Brčko was not necessarily achieved by democratic means (Jeffrey 2013: 87), since the supervisor had the power to impose and veto policies.

8 Chetnik (četnik) was the name of the Serbian political movement – and its armed forces – which during World War II worked for the restoration of the Serbian monarchy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This term came to be reused during the conflicts of the 1990s. In addition to denominating a paramilitary group led by Šešelj, it became associated to any Serbian paramilitary group, and is used until today, in a generic way, to designate any Serbian nationalist (Cf. Glenny 1996: 295 apud Peres 2005: 99).

9 Translated from the original to Portuguese by the author.

10 The term “multiethnic” is the one preferred in the English-language literature, especially in the documents and treaties on the founding of the District. Despite this, I will often use the term “multinational”, which I prefer, because it refers to the so-called “national groups” of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even locally, a change can be noticed in the vocabulary used to define the referred groups, who had previously been commonly referred to as national, and now as ethnic (although they are still defined as “constituent nations” in the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement). This change points to the process of establishing what are now considered “cultural” or “ethnic” boundaries between these groups and to the essentialization of differences between them, leading to the establishment of new categories of representation of political subjects and political affairs. On the change in the post-socialism vocabulary and its implications, see Peres (2005).

11 The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement, establishes the two entities, recognizes three constitutive nations, Bosniac, Serb and Croat (other national groups, “minorities” or “ethnic groups” are joined, not explicitly, in one category called “others”) and the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian languages (Cf. Constitution 1995). It should be noted that before the war, they were all the same language that then earned national denominations, as I will detail later.

12 International supervision in Brčko was established in the First Arbitration Award issued in February 1997. The first supervisor was Robert Farrand, who was sworn in shortly afterwards. The Final Award, which established the District, was only issued in 1999 and the District foundation was formalized in March 2000. About these early years, see Farrand (2011).

Jeffrey also affirms that the effort was based mainly on the “symbolic neutralization” of the various groups in the city, which can be seen in the new model of identity cards,¹³ new street names – most of which are named after non-controversial writers, and not politicians or war heroes – and in the common use of Latin alphabets (common among Bosniacs and Croats) and Cyrillic alphabets (common among Serbs), among other things. According to the annex to the Final Award:

The District Assembly shall determine all symbols for the District, provided that all such symbols shall be politically and ethnically neutral and subject to final approval by the Supervisor. There shall be no flag for the District other than the flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The flags of both entities may be flown within the District, but only together with the BiH¹⁴ flag. The flag of one entity will not be flown without the other being flown on essentially equal terms. Both the Latinic and Cyrillic alphabets will be used on essentially equal terms for all official purposes. Any resident of the District shall have the right to request the issuance of official documents in any of the three officially-recognized languages and shall have the right to use any such language in official and all other correspondence (Osnovni 2009).

However, this process of equalization / neutralization of the groups in the city, which is explained in the quotation above, did not occur without impasses, violence and protests: students protested against the unification of schools, the first Bosniac mayor was greeted with stones, recently rebuilt houses were burned, etc. Nevertheless, during the first years, and under the supervision of the UN, much was done. The municipality / District was rebuilt, streets were renamed, a unified educational system was put in place, Bosniacs and Croats got their houses and apartments back, new Serbian inhabitants moving from different areas of the Federation and Croatia received a whole neighborhood to build their homes. There was a clear effort to build a common space for all.

In any case, when one is living there it is possible to perceive a barrier, according to which each person knows very well to which group they belong and what this means. In this sense, it can be said that from the hectic beginning, until 2015, things have normalized.

So what does it mean to build a post-war multiethnic city?

The bridge

The socialist state of Yugoslavia as a whole was also conceived as a means to fight against nationalism by creating a balance of power between the nations and nationalities that composed it. It was a response to the clashes and confrontations that devastated the country during World War II, which particularly opposed Serbs and Croats, and which at the same time united all the different groups in the partisan fight against fascism. Despite the apparent similarity to what is being attempted to construct in Brčko, that is, a multinational place, in the former Yugoslavia, national distinctions were noticeable in a different way. For instance, religion belonged to the sphere of private life; the main focus of interest of public policies was

¹³ This decision was essential to enable the non-Serbian refugees to return to their homes in the city, since the Republika Srpska was initially responsible for issuing the identification document in Brčko (Cf. Farrand 2011). It was only in 2006 that the District assumed all its legal responsibilities, and the inter-entity border separating the northern part and the city of Brčko – belonging to Republika Srpska – and the southern part – belonging to the Federation – was definitively abolished. However, since 2012, the renewal of identity cards in Brčko requires the declaration of the entity of the citizenship. This requirement is related to the electoral law, which determines that for the tri-national presidency and parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation is responsible for the election of Bosniac and Croatian representatives and the Republika Srpska for the Serbian representatives. Therefore, although they live in the same multiethnic district under the jurisdiction of the local (District's) and the central governments (Bosnia and Herzegovina), without an adscription of belonging to one or another entity, citizens of Brčko cannot renew their documents or vote in the general elections. Choosing a citizenship entity is not always simple; a friend of mine, for example, who is the daughter of a Serbian mother and a Bosniac father – who never thought of himself in these terms – now defines herself as a Bosniac of the Federation, like her father; but her brother, as well as her mother, defines himself as Serb from the Republika Srpska. When she explained this to me, she asked “imagine if there is war again?”, with a nervous laugh (verbal information). On this subject, see also Pašalić 2016.

¹⁴ Abbreviation for *Bosna i Hercegovina* (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

the working class; and people were first considered colleagues or neighbors, and not as members of one or another national group. National differences were not negated, but were known, shared and in certain moments celebrated,¹⁵ without becoming an issue. Phrases like “we were all mixed”, “it didn’t matter who was who” or “we were all neighbors” are commonly heard until today in Bosnia and Herzegovina to describe that period and how the wars of the 1990s caused surprise for many people.

In a conversation with Siniša Kisić, the first mayor of Brčko after the establishment of the District, he described life before the war as good: “people used to go to Ficibajer” (a recreational area by the river) – “it was better than the beach! – we used to have picnics, barbecue... there were restaurants and a pool with a diving-board by the Sava River”, and “we used to swim to the other shore [in Croatia] to pick corn and roast it on this side. There was social security, a certain insouciance in that system, it was good.” (verbal information).¹⁶

Today no one swims in the Sava River. There are few boats on its banks and they are forbidden to dock on the other side, since the Sava became the border with Croatia. It is still possible to walk along its banks, but the atmosphere is different from that described by Kisić, there are fewer cafes and restaurants, and less people.

On the other side of the Sava, in Croatia, there is a small village called Gunja, which in the past participated in life in Brčko, where many of the residents came from. Not anymore. There are border checkpoints on both sides of the bridge and, since Croatia became part of the European Union, a passport is required to cross them. Few residents have a passport. Few residents of Brčko or Gunja are wealthy enough to afford one.

Brčko was an important economic and industrial center before the war,¹⁷ but no longer. Many people do not have a job. Things improved a little when the District was created, but then got worse again, people say. Having coffee in the city center is one of the most popular activities. From time to time there is a festival, when people may go to the theater, cinema or a music concert; some take place outdoors in the city center and some in the city’s cultural center.

Everything changed when the bridge was blown up.

In Brčko, the date that marks the beginning of the war was 30 April 1992, when the bridges over the Sava River were destroyed. No one died on the railroad bridge. What happened on the other, which was used by pedestrians, cars and buses is more controversial.

Every year, on 30 April, hundreds of people go to the bridge to pay tribute to those who died in its bombardment. It is said that over a hundred people, either coming from Croatia for May Day celebrations or going to Croatia fleeing from the war that had already started in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, were on the bridge when it exploded. However, it is not known who exactly was there and who was killed in the explosion: they were not from Brčko. I was told that body parts flew over the city that day.

At the commemoration of 30 April, flowers are thrown into the river and people walk in silence to honor the victims. The ceremony lasts two days: on 30 April it is held at the bridge; and on 2 May, the pedestrian mall is lined with photos of the war and speeches are given at the monument of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (in front of the Hotel Posavina and the Police Office), at the former Partisan Sports Centre

¹⁵ In addition to folklore, which was incorporated and celebrated through the language of the state, nationalities in the former Yugoslavia, according to Bringa (1995), were linked to a universe of practices and customs, which, in the case of the Muslims, defined them as a group and as a group who differed from Catholics and Orthodox Christians. According to this author, deep bonds of neighborliness were verified, and become real in daily (and secular) practices such as being friends, having coffee together, greeting each other on religious holidays, etc. These were moments when people referred to their differences. The presence of the other group, Bringa affirmed, was fundamental in the construction of the identities and the essence of being Bosnian (*Bosanac*) was to grow in this multiethnic and plural milieu (1993: 120). (see Peres 2010: 271).

¹⁶ Interview held in Brčko on July 24, 2015.

¹⁷ Being also a rail, fluvial and road communication axis. Remaining only the last of them.

(*DTV Partizan*) and at the wharf and warehouses of the transportation and distribution company Luka by the river. All of these places had served as detention centers and death camps for non-Serbs, especially at the beginning of the war. The Luka camp was closed in June 1992, when, according to reports, the remaining detainees were taken to the forced labor camp in Batković, near Bijeljina (under the command of Serbian forces).¹⁸

Nevertheless, according to Ranko, a Serbian interlocutor who arrived in the city during the war, no one knows who, if anyone, died in the bridge explosion. He implied to me that Muslims talk too much and lie. Also in Brčko, as it has been noted in relation to the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska (Cf. Peres 2013), there are at least two stories: one that is told by non-Serbs and another that is told or silenced in Brčko by Serbs, since the first story narrates the aggression caused by the latter, most of them accomplices, or also refugees. Thus, the most that many Serbs I spoke to in Brčko were able to say about the war is that they were also victims. And in this post-conflict context, the victims are the new heroes. The new flags raised in their names are like a war cry. Since they are living proofs that the other was the aggressor, all pain suffered by a victim easily becomes an offence to the other. The other here, although many times depicted as soldiers who committed atrocities, is commonly identified as a member of a national group, who committed crimes or who denied and still denies that crimes had been committed.

In this context, what multiethnic district was built?

For human rights: monuments and schools

Hannah Arendt, in “The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man”, discusses, among other things, the identity between human rights and national sovereignty (1989: 305), which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 also emphasizes, by pointing to the right to nationality.¹⁹ At the time she was writing, the state had ceased to be an instrument of the law to become an instrument of the nation (idem: 309), and in this sense true freedom would only be possible with national emancipation (idem: 305). Arendt was concerned with the horde of stateless people and refugees that resulted from the post-World War I treaties and which increased after World War II. The problem for these populations was and still is evident today, considering the millions of refugees without at least the right to asylum, a right which is also included in the 1948 Declaration. It is a population that nobody knows exactly what to do with, which is relegated to refugee camps, or even to detention camps, or which is condemned to live anonymously and illegally in other countries.²⁰

As we will see in this article, the Dayton Agreement constitutionally produced the status of “non-national” in the name of human rights or, in other words, in the name of the right to difference and recognition, and in the name of multiculturalism. By being normatively based on the understanding that a citizen is a member of a constituent national group (Serb, Croat or Bosniac), politics, the school system and urban space also produce exclusion and displacement of the constituent nations belonging to another entity,²¹ and of minority groups, people born from mixed marriages, those who claim Bosnian nationality

18 As for the remaining non-Serbs in the city, they were finally imprisoned or killed or exchanged in late 1992 for Serbs who had been imprisoned when Bukvik, a village in the municipality of Brčko, was taken over by Bosnian forces. According to Deronjić (2008: 77-78), Croats and Muslims formed Brčko's 108th Brigade of Bosnian forces. In February 1993 this brigade was formally divided into two brigades (that continued to fight together): Brčko's 108th Motorized Brigade of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Army (Armija BiH) – later renamed the 205th Cavalry Brigade –, and Brčko's 108th Infantry Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO).

19 Article XV. Everyone has the right to a nationality (Declaration 2009).

20 On this subject, see Agier (2011).

21 Of Bosniacs and Croats in the Republika Srpska and of Serbs in the Federation.

(which does not exist constitutionally), or people who refuse the recognized national identifications: the state does not represent them, since there is no available representation for them established by the Constitution of this state.

I will return to this issue, but first we should ask how are those constituent nations, which have the right to representation, represented?

As mentioned before, an effort was made to construct Brčko as a multinational place where the differences between the groups – in this case Serbs, Croats and Bosniacs – would be respected and neutralized. The term “neutralized” refers, however, not to the annulment of diacritical signs of difference, but to their equitable presence in the District, a fact that emphasizes the right to difference – the implicit logic is that, if the presence is equitable, it is not offensive. This policy is visible in public space, felt in daily life and tacitly present, given that since the end of the war, belonging to a national group in Bosnia and Herzegovina concerns an entire universe of ways of thinking and narrating what happened, which, in accordance with the policy of building this multi-ethnic space, must also be respected. As Taylor (1994: 25) points out, “Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being”. The politics of difference, according to this author, would thus be those demands for recognition that are based on the supposed relation between recognition and identity, with this referring to how a person defines oneself, his or her fundamental characteristics as a human being²² (ibid. : 25). Therefore, these are the two main lines that will be analyzed here: one which refers to recognition and the other related to the construction of identity and its authenticity. Firstly, regarding the construction of monuments in Brčko, and later, regarding the school system.

Monuments

Soon after the beginning of the war in Brčko in 1992, a monument to Draža Mihailović was erected in the center of the city, in front of the city library, which is now called the National Library of Brčko. Draža Mihailović was a Chetnik leader imprisoned and killed by the partisans²³ after their victory against fascism (here represented by the Axis, particularly the Nazi regime, by the Chetniks, a movement formed basically by Serbs, and by the Ustashas,²⁴ a movement formed mainly by Croats). The entire history of socialist Yugoslavia was built upon the “fight and victory against fascism” and on the idea of “brotherhood and unity” among the national groups (represented by their own Republic) and nationalities (those groups without their own Republic) of the former Yugoslavia. In this sense, Mihailović oscillated between being considered a criminal – a fascist, bloodthirsty – and a hero, a defender of the Serbs. The war of the 1990s revised the Chetnik movement, which was inspired by the hero Mihailović, long before his rehabilitation in 2015.

On the occasion of the declaration of the multinational district, this and other monuments had to be removed. Mihailović’s was moved to the nearby Orthodox cemetery (photo 1). No agreement was reached about the removal of a monument located downtown next to the Hotel Jelena, called “the monument to the Serbian forces who liberated Brčko” (photo 2). Therefore, the erection of three other monuments was established by the UN supervisor for Brčko: one to the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its local

²² Appiah (1996) defines in this same line the policies of recognition, as those based on the field of the authenticity of the identity. However, this is usually forged, according to him, into essentialisms and monologisms.

²³ Mihailović was captured, tried and executed in 1946, when he also lost all of his civil rights. In May 2015 his rights were restored in Serbia, that is to say, his descendants had the restitution of the real estate and properties previously in his name. (Cf. Cvijić 2015)

²⁴ The Ustasha Nationalist Movement (*ustaša*) was created in 1929 by Ante Pavelić, future leader of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), founded during World War II and allied to the Nazi regime. The term came into vogue again during the war of the 1990s, to designate any Croatian nationalist.

brigade (photo 4), another to the Croatian armed forces and its local brigade (photo 3), and another to civilians killed in the wars in Brčko (in World War II and the 1990s war). The first two were erected in 2011, the latter was embargoed by local political forces (Cf. Pao 2013).

Photo 1: Monument to Draža Mihailović in the Orthodox cemetery of Brčko²⁵



In any case, these three monuments located in the center of the city constitute a very concrete and visible example of the presence of the three national groups in Brčko, represented here by their armed forces and mounted no more than 100 meters from each other. The first, placed in honor of the Serbian forces (VRS), “who liberated Brčko”;²⁶ the second built in homage to the soldiers of the Croatian forces (HVO), “who died defending Brčko”²⁷; and the third in honor of the Bosnian forces (ABiH) and their soldiers, “who fought and died for Brčko”²⁸.

²⁵ All the photos in this article are my own.

²⁶ *Vojska Republike Srpske* (VRS, Armed Forces from the Republika Srpska). Monument’s inscription. See photograph 2.

²⁷ *Hrvatsko vijeće obrane* (HVO, Croatian Defense Council). Monument’s inscription. See photograph 3.

²⁸ *Armija Bosne i Hercegovine* (ABiH, Bosnia and Herzegovina Army). Monument’s inscription. See photograph 4.

Photo 2: Monument to VRS



Photo 3: Monument to HVO



Photo 4: Monument to ABiH



Enes Pašalić, a sociologist and politician from Brčko, wrote an interesting article on the monuments of the city that presents the resolutions issued by Brčko's UN Supervisor Raffi Gregorian (from 2003 and 2009) that determined the construction of these three new monuments. He raises the absurdity of both building a neutral monument to victims of the wars, in which neither names nor perpetrators would be highlighted, as well as having three military monuments in a single city. In his words:

Both the monument to those who fought for Herceg-Bosna²⁹, and the one for those who fought for a Serbian Brčko, exclude a monument to those who fought for an integral Bosnia and Herzegovina. The difference between them is contradictory and can only be justified by the extermination or destruction of the other, considered as their own negation (Pašalić 2009: 60).³⁰

Regarding the embargoed monument to the civil victims of the wars – a neutral monument with no names – Pašalić argues that it would be a great historical forgery, since the victims of the 1990s war in Brčko are non-Serbs, being mainly Bosniacs / Muslims. And to ignore this fact is to ignore that the victims actually died only because they belonged to a specific national group (ibidem: 61).³¹

The erection of these military monuments is a paradigmatic example of the policies favoring the equal rights to the culture and expressions of national groups in Brčko, since the neutrality of the groups is here perceived as the right to equal representation. It does not matter that the representation of one group, in the final analysis, to agree with Pašalić, signifies the annulment or destruction of the other. That is, each national symbol – or monument – does not represent only itself, but is also offensive to the others. Moreover, in addition to presenting opposing armed forces, their equal representation in public space would be saying that what happened in Brčko was a civil war, an interpretation that goes against the Bosniac narratives which affirm that what happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina was in reality an aggression.

Therefore, if the establishment of a multinational political space in Brčko presupposes respect for differences and if we take seriously the demands for recognition, the question that remains is: what kind of respect³² was erected in this city by these monuments and what kind of difference is this that is sustained by an act of war?

Educate for the nation: what nation?

Issues concerning the equalization of rights, as seen in the case of monuments, are frequently present in all spheres of public life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in Brčko where policies are focused on the construction of a multinational space.

29 This is a Croatian region proclaimed in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war. Herzegovina is the southern region of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with no national connotation, despite having historically more homogeneous regions with Croatian or Serbian majority. According to Deronjić (2008), Muslims and Croats fought together in Brčko, despite having fought against each other, especially in Central Bosnia and Herzegovina, between 1993 and 1994. Therefore, it cannot be said that this monument would represent only those who acted in the separatist movement for Herceg-Bosna. Nevertheless, both the monuments and the policies in Brčko tell a story in which there is little space for contradictions or nuances.

30 Translated from the original to Portuguese by the author.

31 About the memorials to victims in Brčko, there is a plaque on the bridge over the Sava River in honor of the "Serbian, Roma, Jewish victims and the supporters of the national liberation fight (partisan) belonging to other nations and nationalities in World War II, killed by the Ustasas and the Germans", and another in honor of the Jews of Brčko or those Jews who took refuge there, who were killed on 10 and 17 December 1941. At one of the warehouses of the Luka Company wharf, which has been transformed into a war memorial (*spomen soba*), there is a plaque that points out that innocent Croatian and Bosniac civilians were killed there, but does not mention perpetrators. Only the first two are in a public space, they predate the war of the 1990s and refer to World War II. The third is at a wharf, which belongs to a private company, and for that reason is closed to the public. This is only accessible on May 2, when there is a ceremony in the city, or in a monitored visit to the memorial, which remains closed to the public on other occasions.

32 On the moral conflict about shared contexts of respect and disrespect and the constitution of political units based on the alterity relations erected in this practical-discursive field, see Montero, Arruti, Pompa (2011).

In this sense, in the name of human rights, which are understood here as the rights of each group to its own culture, language and education, and considering that school is the privileged place where these elements are taught and learned, no common national school curriculum has been established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Each entity and the Brčko District have their own Curricular Parameter, or “Educational Plan and Program” (*Nastavni plan i program*), to be applied in schools, which specify what and how to teach each year in every subject.³³

In general, these programs are similar, but in the Republika Srpska, children learn Serbian History, Geography, Language, Music and Religion. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina children learn Croatian or Bosnian History, Geography, Language, Music and Religion. These subjects compose the so called “subjects of national contents”. In the Republika Srpska and in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina they must respect the majority national group (except when there is no significant majority)³⁴, and in the Brčko District, they must respect all three of them.

This does not happen without dispute, as we will see. Moreover, according to a study of the textbooks that present the subjects of national content currently used in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Obrazovanje 2007*), none of them is free of discriminatory content in relation to other groups. The educational materials either ignore the other groups or treat them as inferior.

Before entering the field of disputes and dystopias in relation to this educational system, it is appropriate to approach the problematic issues in some of these disciplines.

Teaching of national subjects: language, history and geography

Mother tongue?

In regard to this issue, the first question is: What happened to the common language that everyone spoke and learned in the past? This was the naive and provocative question I asked the director of the Pedagogical Institute of Brčko.³⁵ He replied that during the period of the former Yugoslavia, there was a commitment to Serbo-Croatian / Croatian-Serbian language. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, each group began to speak their own language. According to the director, the name of the language derives from the name of the nation – Serbs like him, call it Serbian, Croats call it Croatian, and Bosniacs call it Bosnian – given that the issue is related to human rights and to the right of each national group to be taught in its own language. Therefore, the recognition or not of the three languages in Bosnia and Herzegovina is also a matter of human rights.

During the years of the former Yugoslavia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro, the mother tongue was Serbo-Croatian, or Croatian-Serbian, which was written in two alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic. The wars of the 1990s gave rise in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the three languages recognized in the peace agreement: Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian. These three are based not only on the same language but also on the same dialect of this language, whose variants do not necessarily follow the boundary lines between the states and, much less, between groups in a single region.

33 Education – primary and secondary – is public and compulsory in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are no private schools, only in kindergarten and higher education.

34 The so-called “two schools under one roof” policy will be treated later on in this article.

35 Interview with Slobodan Ristić (director of the institute) and Ferhid Halilović (a teacher) at the Brčko’s Pedagogical Institute on 27 May 2015. The interview would be only with Ristić, but he insisted on the participation of his Bosniac colleague.

The differences between them had to be created, and this was done primarily by naming them. Secondly, it was done, and still is done, through literature, lexical differences – words – as well as the alphabet and, of course, the learning and teaching of the languages.

If they are the same language, what makes them different? The Serbian language is the language spoken by the Serbs and is characterized by the use of the Cyrillic alphabet. The Bosnian language is the language spoken by the Bosniacs, but also by many others from Bosnia and Herzegovina who prefer to use this name for their language. It uses the Latin alphabet and has words derived from Turkish (which is also very common in Serbia). The Croatian language is the language spoken by Croats; it uses the Latin alphabet and is characterised, among other things, by a certain purism, that is to say, by not using words considered new incorporations to the language, foreign, loanwords or more specifically Latinisms, Anglicisms, Turkicisms, etc.

Since the war, there has been a reinvention of the language, and what was once perceived as a single language may now be recognized as Serbian, Croatian or Bosnian, depending on particular details. For example, many Muslim greetings, of Arab or Turkish origin, became part of the common vocabulary in Sarajevo during the war,³⁶ in addition to the increasing use of the aspirated *h*, in the middle and beginning of words.³⁷ Nevertheless, the novelties in the language and even its names are usually presented as elements that were old and that had been repressed over time.

The denial of the language of the other, thus conforms with the creation of one's own language, since these languages are only different according to differences created or deepened between one's own language and the language of the other. Despite this, these languages, when not called Serbian, Croatian or Bosnian, are seen as a single language and given the name *s-c-b*³⁸ or simply referred to as *naš* (ours).

Therefore, if in practice it sounds as if a single language is used, it officially seems as if everybody is multilingual. Web pages of official government agencies, for example, present versions in the three languages; curricula, in the field of language, present, among other languages, these three; language and literature textbooks are presented in the three languages as well.

Language is now one of the major issues related to respect for national differences in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the basis for the claims when those rights are not met. Furthermore, there is no teaching of national language apart from the teaching of national literature. For this purpose, from a common range of great writers who wrote in Serbo-Croatian, those considered Serbs, Croats or Bosniacs were separated and classified respectively as writers who wrote in Serbian, Croatian or Bosnian. The reading of these authors, especially in the school environment, is thus intended to affirm the nationality of the group concerned, ignoring or subjugating the other groups, and where possible, stressing the linguistic differences (Cf. Veličković 2015).

History

In relation to the teaching of history, many say that this topic is inoffensive since contemporary history is not studied at school (and it is recognized that there is no consensus about the reasons for the wars of the 1990s). Nevertheless, it is taught that the nationalities have existed since time immemorial, and therefore the veracity of the peoples and their respective languages. In addition, there is space for totally different

³⁶ Cf. Armakolas 2007; Maček 2007, 2009; Veličković 2006.

³⁷ The aspirated *h* of the language (as in *lahko* / *lako*, easy, *kahva* / *kafa* / *kava*, coffee) is considered to be an unstable sound that is not heard or pronounced, and which over time has been eliminated or replaced by other sounds or letters. Its conservation (or rehabilitation) among Muslims can be explained by the common use of this sound in the Arabic language and in the Koran, hence, by the fact that they are more accustomed to pronouncing it. Cf. Zlotrg, Vuković 2016: 29-32.

³⁸ Or *shb*, *srbpski-hrvatski-bosanski* (Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian).

interpretations of the Middle Ages, the Ottoman period, the Serbian insurrections of the nineteenth century, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip and the beginning of World War I, about World War II and the Partisan victory, the socialist regime and the former Yugoslavia, etc.

In this sense, all of Bosnian-Herzegovinian history is open for interpretations that may favour a particular group, and this is reflected in how and what children are taught at school.

Geography

In geography what comes into question are the borders and the natural beauty of the nation, described in each program in a different way, and which refer to a certain territory and people. These are finally drawn on the walls of the school in a certain language, which can be identified by the alphabet, by one or another word that marks a national identity, or by the map of Bosnia and Herzegovina, presented as a whole or divided by the borders between the entities.

Discrimination

Considering this presentation, in some parts of the Republika Srpska there is a Bosniac population that is side-lined, disadvantaged and discriminated, because they are not allowed to follow their own school curriculum. In the Federation, a similar problem is faced, as well as the fact that in areas where there are Bosniac and Croat populations, there are the so-called “two schools under one roof”: in one period Croat children learn Croatian subjects, in another period, Bosniac children learn Bosnian subjects.

In 2013, parents of Bosniac children from two villages in the Republika Srpska³⁹ went on strike and stopped sending their children to school. They set up a camp in front of the office of the UN High Representative in Sarajevo to demand a resolution on the teaching of subjects of national contents at schools in the Republika Srpska.⁴⁰ They criticized the fact that few teachers and no principal were Bosniacs and that their children were being taught to read and write in Serbian, which, in the case of small children, would not be a problem if the use of the Cyrillic alphabet by itself was not offensive.

I regularly heard comments in Sarajevo about the absurdity of the “two schools under one roof” system in some cities of the Federation, which is seen as a form of segregation, as fuel for the perpetuation of division, and as an obstacle to reconciliation. This uneasiness refers to the understanding that children should not be treated as ethnic-national beings, which contrasts with the universal perception of the subject, especially concerning children. Any similarity, however, between these schools and the demands for schools like these in the Republika Srpska did not seem to exist for my interlocutors who shared the distress of those parents who did not have their rights guaranteed in the Republika Srpska.

In fact, the controversy surrounding these issues is especially linked to the lack of trust in relation to how institutions are organized and make themselves present in people’s lives since the war.

The problem has not been resolved until today, even the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republika Srpska, who in 2015 authorized not teaching the Bosnian language, but “the language of the Bosniacs”. This was obviously rejected and seen as a provocation, since the name of the language is Bosnian and not Bosniac.

³⁹ Konjević Polje and Vrbanjci.

⁴⁰ The UN High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina would be the only one who could overrule various government bodies to resolve the issue. It should also be noted that there is no Ministry of Education within the central government, each entity has its own ministry with its own minister (in Brčko, there is no ministry, but a Secretariat of Education).

Brčko: common curriculum program and divided blackboards

Nevertheless, in the Brčko District the problem seems to have been solved.

During the war, it is important to stress, Serbian schooling was instituted in the city of Brčko; in Gornji Rahić and other villages of the municipality under Bosnian rule, Bosnian schooling was instituted; and in the Croatian parts of the municipality, Croatian schooling. The consolidation of the District entailed the unification of these regions and of the school system. The unification of schools resulted in the development of a single curriculum for the District. From then on, regardless of their national affiliation, students attended the same school, in which each group would have its specificities respected, especially its language.

How does it work?

Firstly, it was agreed that principals and teachers should be from all national groups regardless of the majority group from the area.

Since each group should have its rights respected, during the early grades, the blackboard is literally divided into two or three – depending on whether there are children from the three constituent nationalities. In the first column some children learn to read and write in their own language, in the second, other children learn in another language, and in the third, yet another: Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian.

When I asked Amira, a teacher, how a small child knew which language to learn, she explained to me that she usually arranges the desks in rows and orients each child to look at her or his side of the blackboard. In the third grade, children learn the other script – given that the basic difference at this point is between Latin and Cyrillic alphabets – so she inverts the desks or the columns on the blackboard. And in the fourth grade, each week, they have classes in a different script.

According to Amira, the contents of her classes when it comes to the teaching of language is basically the same, the only difference is the alphabet. Considering that the content is the same, I asked her if she did not waste a lot of time writing the same thing two or three times, which means that the children would have half a lesson, or a third of a lesson, depending on the ethnic-national configuration of the class. She answered yes, “but that this is the way things must be done”. “Do the parents know about this?” I asked. “Yes, they are the first to demand that their children be taught in their mother tongue,” she answered (verbal information).⁴¹

From the fifth grade onwards, children are separated in the language and literature classes, and in the religion classes. In high school, they are also separated, and these are indeed mixed schools, not organized by neighborhood, many of which are mono-national.

Regarding textbooks, since Brčko does not have its own publisher, they use textbooks from the Republika Srpska and the Federation which were drafted according to their respective educational programs. In elementary school, the government gives each child the textbook of her or his own national group; in high school, the students can choose, except for language and religion.

It seemed to me to be an idiosyncratic system.

First, elementary school teachers must work extra hard, given that they have to teach three linguistic versions of the same subject, even if they are practically the same. At the high school level in particular, teachers must know most of the books that young people can use and should think about how to teach some subjects in an appropriate and non-offensive way. Until the fifth grade, teachers must teach in each of the “three languages.” After fifth grade and through high school, teachers can teach in the “language” of their choice.

⁴¹ In conversations with the author during the field research in Brčko, in 2015.

I asked high school students what they thought of this system. Many said it was very good. And some said it was funny, “we talk to each other all day long, we attend the same classes and then during ‘Mother-Tongue’ lessons we have to be split into different groups as if we spoke different languages,” Sabina replied.

In Amira’s fourth grade elementary school class that I attended, she spoke in only one language to announce the children’s grades for their language classes: “Nikola, Serbian language, 4. Amra, Bosnian language, 4.” This sounded like a farce to me, for some it is funny, and for most it is just natural.

This school system, in turn, is often praised by scholars of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since it does not divide the students, while respecting their rights (Cf. Na torove 2015).

In a report to the UN on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Farida Shaheed, UN special correspondent in the field of cultural rights,⁴² states:

The over-emphasizing of cultural differences, including linguistic differences, is used to justify practices that enforce the segregation of students based on ethno-national affiliation. The Special Rapporteur stresses that this is a serious misinterpretation of cultural rights⁴³, which must not be used under any circumstances to justify segregation policies (2014: 9).

In the same document, Shaheed points out the problems of both “two schools under one roof” and of mono-ethnic / mono-national schools. According to her, both have a rigid division of the school curriculums. In this sense, Brčko’s example seems to be the best:

The system put in place in Brčko is often presented as a good model of integrated schools,⁴⁴ where the pupils from different communities attend school together and mainly receive instruction in their own languages in the same classroom. [...] The law stipulates that students have the freedom to express themselves in their own language, and that school documents are to be issued in the language and alphabet requested by a student or parent. In class, only the blackboard is divided, enabling teachers to use both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts and to show the differences existing between the various languages (2014: 12).

Although, she seems to find that the problem persists:

Although the common core curriculum is better developed in Brčko, culture, language and history remain highly sensitive issues; officials there reported that they exercised caution “to preserve the different characteristics of groups, while bringing them round to universal values”. [...] The Brčko District authorities do not view their system as ideal, and are making efforts to improve it. Teachers confirmed that progress in integration was not satisfactory (idem: 13).

In one way or another, by attending the same schools, children and young people do get to know each other, friendships are created, there is some dating. In fact, they learn that despite differences, the other does not necessarily represent a threat. But, what happens after class? They go back to their homes and neighborhoods, often walking past the monuments. In these domestic spaces many are regularly informed about the group they belong to. When it is time to go to university, Brčko does not offer many options: Bosniacs usually go to Tuzla in the Federation to continue their studies, Croats go to Mostar, the most important city of the Federation for Croats, and Serbs go to Banja Luka, capital of the Republika Srpska.

⁴² I am very grateful to Nenad Veličković for pointing out this UN report, which was reviewed in the magazine *Školegijum* (Na torove 2015). In this document, Farida Shaheed discusses several problems concerning the politics of difference and their abuses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, referring to many aspects I have addressed here and elsewhere.

⁴³ According to this document, cultural rights refer to: “the right of each person to manifest her/his own identity, to participate (or not) in particular aspects of cultural life, and to have access to one’s own cultural heritage, as well as that of others” (2014: 6), without any obstacle or fear (idem: 1).

⁴⁴ In the document, it is not explicit who considers Brčko’s system a good model.

They also usually do not go to the same cafes in the city. Life teaches them which group they belong to and school constantly reminds them of this, by separating them in different groups for classes of national contents subjects: from an early age, when the blackboard is divided, until the last school years.

Literature professor and writer Nenad Veličković believes that what Bosnia and Herzegovina offers today is not education, but indoctrination: the molding of children into national objects / subjects. In his words:

The main purpose here is to educate children to love their collectivity and the conquered territory, so when they grow up they will be ready to sacrifice themselves for this collectivity. [...] A nationalistic education cannot be good or of good quality, and it is not in the interest of the children. Children leave school with a defined stance based on an indoctrination process... If the media is not pleasing you, you can stop reading the newspaper or you can change the channel on television, but at school there is no free choice. Children are there to listen, so what you have there is a form of violence, because indoctrination is violence (2016).⁴⁵

The connection between school education and “indoctrination” is not new. Bourdieu (Cf. 1998) pointed out that school, as well as national bureaucracies, constitute a place for exercising a symbolic violence, which contributes to the homogenization of the state. In this way, schools indeed educate individuals for the nation.

Therefore, indoctrination for Veličković or symbolic violence for Bourdieu is something normal in school curriculums of every country. However, in the case we analyze here from Bosnia and Herzegovina, this effort is made by transforming history into culture and culture into an emblem, which is often void of historicity. In Brčko, this happens in a single physical space, between four walls, where a group is defined by establishing an opposition with or by denying the other, either as a member of a group or as an individual.

In everyday life, however, the possibilities for creating relationships differ. Azra Hromadžić, for example, conducted a study at the Mostar high school, which is considered to be an integrated school,⁴⁶ where youth of mostly Bosniac and Croatian origins go to school in the same period, but attend classes separately according to their respective school program, Bosnian or Croatian. The only exception is Information Technology classes where they are all together (a condition required by the Japanese who donated computers to the school). According to Hromadžić, the only time for intimacy and interaction between these young people, and when they are not remembered whether they are Bosniacs, Croats or others, is when they are in the bathrooms sharing cigarettes and talking about other issues (verbal information).⁴⁷

Young people learn in life and at school that they are different. An anecdote may help to illustrate this. I was having a coffee with my neighbor in Sarajevo when she told me a story that she thought was very funny about her granddaughter. My neighbor’s son, his wife and their three daughters had been living until the previous year in Norway – which received many Bosniacs during and after the war, and until today is considered an attractive place to emigrate. They later moved to Sweden – which received many Serbs and still does. One of the girls, who was then about eight, began to go to school in Sweden and to make Serbian friends there. One day, she came home and said, “Mom, I’m talking Serbian to you now and not Bosnian!”. “What do you mean?”, the mother asked. And the girl answered: “I found out from my new friend that I understand and speak perfect Serbian.”

45 Translated from the original to Portuguese by the author.

46 Mostar was completely divided by the war, Bosniacs were left on one side and Croats on the other side (while most Serbs left the city). This is the only school that welcomes students from both national groups, Bosniac and Croatian.

47 Lecture given by Hromadžić in Banja Luka, Muzički paviljon, on 18 May 2015, promoted by the NGO Oštra nula. On her research among youngsters and about the postwar period in Mostar, see: Hromadžić 2015.

There is, therefore, a very subtle line between the possibilities to develop critical thinking at school – which, for instance, recognizes the three languages as one – and an education which feeds the division and segregation between people in a plural society.

The educational system and state bureaucracies are all divided in three in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This process ultimately excludes from power and public life all other groups or persons not belonging to one of these three groups. Even those who belong to one of these groups may be excluded if they are not in the entity which represents them. In Brčko, where multinationalism is constructed, these divisions and the conflicts they forge become more evident. There are harsh consequences to this, since it takes place in a context in which groups were divided by a bloody war in which people were killed, expelled and raped simply because they had a name that connoted a certain national belonging. The “multiethnic” policies do not lead to inclusion or so-called “reconciliation”, but to exclusion; as testified to by the monuments at the center of Brčko and by some aspects of the basic educational policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Policies of National belonging in Bosnia and Herzegovina: what about the others?

Let us suppose that there were three and only three national groups (or nations) in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bosniacs, of Muslim religion and Bosnian language; Serbs, of Orthodox Christian religion and Serbian language; and Croats, of Catholic religion and Croatian language. Let us also suppose that the war of the 1990s was a civil war in which well-defined national groups defended themselves against other groups to safeguard their legitimate territory. In this sense, the successful peace agreement would have ceded Serbian territory to the Serbs (Republika Srpska), Croatian and Bosnian territory to Croats and Bosniacs (the Federation, divided in 10 cantons, 8 with homogeneous population and 2 with mixed population), and established a zone inhabited by the three groups, the Brčko District. In this District, each group would have its space for religious worship and to honor its heroes and soldiers killed in battle to defend the nation. Each group would also have its own space respected in the political and educational systems. Life would return to normal and peace would be achieved.

However, why does everything that has been said so far, rather than leading to the desired normality, indicate a latent violence that resonates in the concern of many of my interlocutors in Brčko that there could be a new war that would start right in Brčko?

In general terms, echoing Živanović, differences became absolute in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his words:

There are many expressions that indicate the nature and functioning of Bosnian-Herzegovinian society: absolutism of the ethnic matrix, tribalism, discrimination, reduction of human rights to exclusively collective rights, [...] annulment of the individual, etc. These expressions are revealed in much of this, and especially in the well-known fact that people do not live in Bosnia and Herzegovina, only Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats, and those treated as “others.” This is how it is according to the Constitution and this is how life is today. Somewhere at the margins of this order is found a certain structure (unhappy and dislocated) called “mixed marriages” (2012: 5).⁴⁸

Normalization thus corresponds to the naturalization of the concept of identity as being ethnic-national, and in the molds established by the war, which guide certain concepts of history, language, territory, heritage and culture. Therefore, a person is perceived as nothing more than a member of a group and only as such deserves citizenship – or does not. This is because the political system in Bosnia and

⁴⁸ Translated from the original to Portuguese by the author.

Herzegovina is based on an ethnic-national citizenship, and thus only people inserted within this context are worthy of respect and recognition. Precisely for this reason, we can affirm that it is an exclusionary system that does not account for the existence of people who are outside of this scheme. This may be because they do not belong to one of the three groups (or they do not belong to them appropriately), or because they are sons and daughters of mixed marriages, who, depending on the circumstances, according to statistics, wind up belonging to one of the groups – or not.⁴⁹ What is also not mentioned is the existence of a common past which, to use Ugrešić's (1998) expression, had been confiscated, including the language of this past. The current slogan is: remember and recollect to not forget (the war, the genocide, the aggressive nature of the conflict). The problem is that remembering in this context only becomes coherent through a forgetting of the common and shared past, which is seen as a big lie.

The war, therefore, was not enough to divide the people, although it was quite successful in organizing the territory according to the national groups. Politics and education continue to pursue this task, leading to the naturalization of differences. This process is promoted by public institutions, particularly schools, and by political institutions, such as the governmental-administrative system and the ethnic-national democracy. Meanwhile, by focusing on only certain characteristics of particular groups, minorities are created, who are at times majorities in one or another entity, or are considered to be in the category of "others", without the complete rights of full citizens and who do not belong anywhere. They, in turn, will demand their rights based precisely on recognition and respect for differences⁵⁰ – thus, the system creates new majorities and minorities, while maintaining old problems.⁵¹

In "The Politics of Recognition" (1994), Taylor points out that the critique of multiculturalists and of those who support the rights to difference in relation to liberalism is based on the fact that liberalism is blind to differences and stuck to a homogenizing universalism, which in reality is the façade of the ruler or of the hegemonic group. However, by claiming specific rights, the adepts of multiculturalism fall paradoxically into the same homogenizing trap. Taylor, analyzing the problem of procedural liberalism and its universal equal rights, as well of multiculturalism and its politics of difference or of equal recognition, helps us to illuminate the problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which in my view, rather than being resolved in Brčko, explodes more clearly there than in any other part of the country. The problem being not the blindness to the differences, but the blindness of the differences.

A multicultural, multiethnic or multinational society – I will use all terms here as synonyms – as the adjectives themselves demonstrate, is a society composed of several groups that somehow share or form a political community. In this sense, Brčko's unified educational system could have been forged as a solution based on pluralism or multiculturalism, by uniting all students in a single classroom and applying a common curricular program that would seek a critical opening to differences. That is, it would be a *de facto* policy of difference, recognition and respect, as advocated by Taylor. However, a fragmented school program that informs students in a single language that they are different, that they speak different

49 According to the 2013 census, a small number of people do not fit into these three groups (Cf. Popis 2016). I believe that many of them have finally adjusted to the system, since the system is not flexible enough to adapt to others beyond the constituent nations. In any case, this is a hypothesis, and no research has been done to confirm it.

50 An example: Dervo Sejdić, of Romani origin, and Jakob Finci, of Jewish origin – both groups that are not considered constitutive nations by the Constitution – are calling for greater political participation of members of non-constitutional nationalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The lawsuit they filed against Bosnia and Herzegovina, calling for a radical constitutional political reform and accusing the state of being segregationist and of not respecting human rights, was approved in 2009 by the European Court of Human Rights (*Case of Sejdić-Finci v. Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Cf. Grand, 2009). In an interview with Sejdić (on 7 October 2014, in Sarajevo), it seemed clear that a political system based on non-national citizenship would be impossible to implement. According to him, the only viable solution, although unlikely, would be the inclusion of other national groups as a fourth element in the tri-national political equation.

51 Habermas (1998) highlights this with respect to demands for national independence, which, in his point of view, are nothing more than demands for equal rights of citizenship when there is injustice.

languages and belong to different groups which have different military monuments to represent them, and that therefore represent their side in history, seeks to create homogenization and separation rather than pluralism and coexistence.

It is therefore possible to conclude that peace is being constructed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the same way that made war possible: by dividing and classifying policies, parties, national groups, schools, cafes, and people. These are all metaphorical monuments of a conflict which, thereby, perpetuates itself.

Received: June 01, 2017

Approved: March 01, 2018

Translated by Sandro Solaz Willig

Edited by Jeffrey Hoff

References

- AGIER, Michel. 2011. *Managing the Undesirables: refugee camps and humanitarian government*. Translated by David Fernbach. Cambridge: Polity.
- APPIAH, K. Anthony. 1996. "Race, culture, identity: misunderstood connections". In: _____; A. Gutmann (eds.), *Colour conscious: the political morality of race*. Princeton: Princeton University. pp. 30-105.
- ARMAKOLAS, Ioannis. 2007. "Sarajevo no more?: identity and the sense of place among Bosnian Serb Sarajevans in Republika Srpska". In: X. Bougarel; E. Helms; G. Duijzings (eds.), *The new Bosnian mosaic: identities, memories and moral claims in a post-war society*. Hampshire: Ashgate. pp. 79-99.
- ARENDDT, Hannah. 1989. *Origens do totalitarismo: anti-semitismo, imperialismo, totalitarismo*. Tradução Roberto Raposo. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. 1998. *O poder simbólico*. Tradução Fernando Tomaz. 2 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand do Brasil.
- BRINGA, Tone. 1993. "Nationality categories, identification and identity formation in 'multinational' Bosnia". *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 11(1-2): 115-128, autumn. Special issue: War among the Yugoslavs.
- _____. 1995. *Being Muslim the Bosnian way: identity and community in a Central Bosnian village*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- CONSTITUTION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. 1995. Available at: <http://www.ccbh.ba/public/download/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_engl.pdf>. Accessed on: 10 Oct. 2018.
- CVIJIC, Vuk Z. 2015. "Rehabilitovan Draža Mihailović". *Blic*, Beograd, 14 maja 2015. Available at: <<http://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/rehabilitovan-draza-mihailovic/hl3x4ex>>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2018.
- ČEKIĆ, Smail. 2005. *The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: planning, preparation, execution*. Translation by Branka Ramadanović. Sarajevo: Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law. v. 1.
- DECLARAÇÃO Universal dos Direitos Humanos. 1948. Rio de Janeiro: UNIC, 2009. Available at: <<http://www.dudh.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/dudh.pdf>>. Accessed on: 19 June 2016.
- DERONJIC, Hamid. 2008. *Rat za brčanski koridor*. Sarajevo: (s.n.).
- FARRAND, Robert W. 2011. *Reconstruction and peace building in the Balkans: the Brčko experience*. In collaboration with A. Friendak-Blume. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- GRAND Chamber judgment: Sejdic and Finci v. Bosnia and Herzegovina. European Court of Human Rights,

- Strasbourg, 2009. Available at: <<http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng-press/pages/search.aspx?i=003-2974573-3281658>>. Accessed on: 28 Oct. 2018.
- GRANDITS, Hannes; PROMITZER, Christian. 2000. "Former comrades' at war: historical perspectives on 'ethnic cleansing' in Croatia". In: J. Halpern; D. Kideckel (eds.), *Neighbors at war: anthropological perspectives on Yugoslav ethnicity, culture, and history*. University Park: Pennsylvania University. pp.125-142.
- HABERMAS, Jürgen. nov. 1998. "Inclusão: integrar ou incorporar? Sobre a relação entre nação, estado de direito e democracia". *Novos Estudos Cebrap*, 52: 99-120.
- HROMADŽIĆ, Azra. 2015. *Citizens of an empty nation: Youth and state-Making in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- JEFFREY, Alex. 2013. *The Improvised State: Sovereignty, Performance and Agency in Dayton Bosnia*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- MAČEK, Ivana. 2007. "'Imitation of life': negotiating normality and the cultural transformation of Sarajevo". In: X. Bougarel; E. Helms; G. Duijzings (eds.), *The new Bosnian mosaic: identities, memories and moral claims in a post-war society*. Hampshire: Ashgate. pp. 39-57.
- _____. 2009. *Sarajevo under siege: anthropology in wartime*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- MONTERO, Paula; ARRUTI, José Maurício; POMPA, Cristina. 2011. "Para una antropología de lo político". In: A. G. Lavallo (coord.), *El horizonte de la política: Brasil y la agenda contemporánea de investigación en el debate internacional*. México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social. pp. 169-206.
- MOORE, Roderick W. 15 Years of Brčko Supervision. 2013. Available at: <<http://www.brckosupervizija.ba/web/>>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2018.
- NA TOROVE razbroj s'!: izvještaj o segregatnom stanju. 2015. *Školegijum*, Sarajevo, 4(11): 18-25.
- NACIONALNI sastav stanovništva: rezultati za republiku po opštinama i naseljenim mjestima 1991. Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava, stanova i polioprivrednih gazdinstava. 1991. Sarajevo: Državni zavod za statistiku Republike Bosne i Hercegovine.
- OBRAZOVANJE u Bosni i Hercegovini: čemu učimo djecu? Analiza sadržaja udžbenika nacionalne grupe predmeta. 2007. Sarajevo: Fond otvoreno društvo Bosna i Hercegovina.
- OSNOVNI pravni tekstovi u vezi sa Brčko Distrikom Bosne i Hercegovine = Essential legal texts of the Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Priredila Nataša Malinić. Brčko: Skupština Brčko Distrikta BiH, 2009. Available at: <http://www.brckosupervizija.ba/Booklet_Essential_Legal_Texts.zip>. Accessed on: 25 Oct. 2018.
- PAO Gregorijanov nalog: Brčko bez spomenika civilnim žrtvama. 2013. *eBrčko*, Brčko, 12 avg. Available at: <<http://www.ebrcko.net/vijesti/arhivirane-vijesti/11809-pao-gregorijanov-nalog-brcko-bez-spomenika-civilnim-zrtvama>>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2018.
- PAŠALIĆ, Enes. 2009. "Spomenici u Brčkom". In: *Godišnjak*. Sarajevo: BZK Preporod. pp. 54-72.
- _____. "Zašto građani Brčko distrikta moraju u ličnu kartu upisivati entitetsko državljanstvo?" 2016. *Patria*: bh. novinska agencija, Sarajevo, 11 jan. Available at: <<http://www.nap.ba/new/vijest.php?id=20263>>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2018.
- PERES, Andréa Carolina Schwartz. 2005. *Enviado especial à...: uma análise antropológica da cobertura da imprensa brasileira das guerras na ex-Iugoslávia (anos 90)*. Dissertação de Mestrado em Antropologia Social, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas.
- _____. 2010. *Contando histórias: fixers em Sarajevo*. Tese de Doutorado em Antropologia Social, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas.
- _____. "O debate sobre a representação da diferença e o significado da guerra na Bósnia-Herzegovina". 2013.

Horizontes Antropológicos, 19(40): 423-450.

- POPIS stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2013. Rezultati popisa / Census of population, households and dwellings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013. Final results. 2016. Sarajevo: Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine.
- SECURITY Council. 1996. "Resolution 1037", 15 Jan. 1996. Available at: <<https://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/2295095.02649307.html>>. Accessed on: 20 set. 2017.
- SHAHEED, Farida. 2014. "Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights. Addendum". Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina (13 – 24 May 2013). 3 Mar. 2014. A/HRC/25/49/Add.1. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A_HRC_25_49_Add.1_ENG.DOC>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2018.
- TAYLOR, Charles. 1994. "The politics of recognition". In: _____. et al (eds.), *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition. Edited and Introduced by Amy Gutmann*. Princeton: Princeton University. pp. 25-73.
- UGREŠIĆ, Dubravka. 1998. *The Culture of Lies: antipolitical essays*. Translated by Celia Hawkesworth. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University.
- VELIČKOVIĆ, Nenad. 2006. *Konačari*. Sarajevo: Omnibus.
- _____. 2015. Školokrečina: nacionalizam u bošnjačkim, srpskim i hrvatskim čitankama. Sarajevo: Lektira.
- _____. Nacionalističko obrazovanje je nasilje nad djecom. 2016. *Novosti*, 12 srpnja. Interviewed by Eldin Hadžović. Available at: <<http://www.portalnovosti.com/nenad-velikovi-nacionalistiko-obrazovanje-je-nasilje-nad-djecom?alphabet=mixed>>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2018.
- ZLOTRG, Sandra; VUKOVIĆ, Kaudija Mlakić. 2016. *Principi prije pravila: Školski pravopisni priručnik*. Sarajevo: Mas Media Sarajevo; Fond otvoreno društvo BiH.
- ŽIVANOVIĆ, Miodrag. 2012. "Konstrukcija tragedije i(li) tragedija konstrukcije - jedan mogući komentar o fenomenu 'mješovitih brakova'. Predgovor". In: N. Perišić (ed.), *Mješoviti brak u BiH: od poželjnog do prezrenog, mješoviti brak kao kulturna i politička kategorija u savremenoj BiH*. Sarajevo: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. pp. 5-6.

Andréa Carolina Schwartz Peres

Federal University at Roraima (UFRR)

The Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning (Cebrap)

State University of Campinas (Unicamp)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5323-8042>

E-mail: acsperes@gmail.com

‘Scientific torture’? Scientism and the marks of torture inside a police station in Belo Horizonte, Brazil

*Pedro Fermín Maguire*¹

*Denise Neves Batista Costa*¹

¹ Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais,
Programa de Pós-graduação em Antropologia, Belo Horizonte/MG, Brasil

Abstract

The aim of this article is to examine several architectural marks registered during 2013-2015 at the police station that once housed the DOPS, the headquarters of Brazil’s dictatorial police in the city of Belo Horizonte. To understand their importance as archaeological findings, we propose an analysis of ‘scientific torture’. We will examine the phrase’s genealogy and the practices associated with it in the second half of the twentieth century. While practiced by a number of institutions from several countries, it was the CIA that created an entire research program to organize bodies of knowledge about torture practices, producing now declassified documents about ‘interrogation techniques’. First, we will discuss some of the materialized practices developed as a result of those efforts. Second, we will discuss how these practices are reflected in the *Kubark* interrogation manual, edited by the CIA in 1963, particularly in what pertains to its more architectural recommendations. Finally, we will analyze the building which once housed the DOPS, to expose the notable congruencies between its architectural recommendations and the marks recorded at the DOPS building.

Key words: Torture, Archaeology of Repression, Interrogation, Internment, CIA.

Uma ciência da tortura? Cientificismo e marcas de tortura numa delegacia de Belo Horizonte, Brasil

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é examinar várias marcas de arquitetura registradas entre 2013-2015 na delegacia que um dia sediou o DOPS, o QG da polícia política na cidade de Belo Horizonte. Para compreender a importância destas marcas enquanto achados arqueológicos, propomos uma análise da ‘tortura científica’. Exploraremos a genealogia do termo e as práticas associadas a ele na segunda metade do século vinte. Embora posta em prática por várias instituições de diferentes países, foi a CIA que criou todo um programa de pesquisas para organizar corpos de conhecimento sobre práticas de tortura, produzindo documentos sobre ‘técnicas de interrogatório’ agora desclassificados. Primeiro, discutiremos algumas das práticas materializadas desenvolvidas em decorrência desses esforços. Depois discutiremos como elas ficam refletidas pelo manual de interrogatórios *Kubark*, editado pela CIA em 1963, em particular no referente às suas recomendações arquitetônicas. Finalmente, analisaremos o prédio que um dia sediou o DOPS, para mostrar as chamativas correspondências entre as suas recomendações arquitetônicas e as marcas registradas no prédio do DOPS.

Palavras-chave: Tortura, Arqueologia da Repressão, Interrogatórios, Internamento, CIA.

‘Scientific torture’?

Scientism and the marks of torture inside a police station in Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Pedro Fermín Maguire

Denise Neves Batista Costa

Torture in Minas Gerais during the Brazilian dictatorship of 1964-1985

The Brazilian military regime’s recurrent use of torture against social and political activists, ranging from clergymen to guerrillas, is one of the period’s key issues. Historians and other scholars have confirmed that other countries helped train Brazilian officials to perpetrate these heinous crimes, thereby confirming old suspicions. The political scientist Martins Filho has described how the US doctrine of ‘National Security’ – denounced by father Joseph Comblin (Martins Filho, 2008) – legitimized the regime’s violent practices. While the prominent role played by the USA in coordinating dictatorial efforts through the School of the Americas has been highlighted, more recent investigations have documented the involvement of other countries. Investigative journalist Marie-Monique Robin’s book and documentary *Escadrons de la mort, l’école française* reveals the role of French generals in Latin America. After fighting in the Algerian Revolution (1954-1962), French Army men seasoned in combating Algerian revolutionaries helped train the dictatorial armies of the 1970s in several Latin American countries, including Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

These studies outline the development of a global body of counter-insurgency theory and practice, structured around a series of interconnected training centers. What has emerged is the existence of an intricate network with regional and local diversities. Martins Filho (2017) recently published his investigation into the involvement of the British Army in the development of torture methods used in Rio de Janeiro. These ‘interrogation techniques’ were later used during the troubles in Northern Ireland, and included sensory deprivation, a central practice within the paradigm of ‘scientific torture’ that we will describe shortly. Denunciations of torture in the state of Minas Gerais, South-East Brazil, go back to 1970, when guerrilla fighter Ângelo Pezzuti described a Brazilian Lieutenant teaching a practical ‘lesson in torture’ inside the hall of the Army’s First Company in Belo Horizonte, the state capital (Gaspari, 2009, p. 274). Controversies and allegations of torture also surrounded USAid employee Dan Mitrione’s time in Belo Horizonte (Arns, Sobel & Wright, 1985). Mitrione left the city for Montevideo in August of 1970, where he was kidnapped and assassinated by Uruguayan Tupamaro guerrillas shortly after arriving in the country. His death triggered investigations into the nature of his work as the Director of the US Program for Public Health in Brazil and Uruguay, which aimed to foster a “more responsible and humane police administration” (McCoy, 2005, p. 227), and which connected him to the Office of Public Safety. There were allegations that Mitrione was involved in training Latin American police and armed forces in the use of torture.

Although suspicions surrounding Mitrione elicited an official US Congress inquiry (more on which below), Minas Gerais historian Rodrigo Patto Sá’s (2010) documentary research concluded that it was ‘unlikely’ that the state’s police were trained by him. Patto Sá reminds us that Mitrione was in Belo Horizonte some years before the peak of political repression and that ‘the Brazilian police already had

long experience in the field' (Patto Sá, 2010, p. 246). Police abuse had been denounced by the press even before the 1964 coup and ensuing dictatorship. In criticizing the simplistic and somewhat scapegoating image of 'Brazilians being taught to torture' by US officials, Patto Sá (2010) traces the roots of US-Brazilian collaboration to the 1950s, when civil and military authorities from both countries exchanged knowledge and technology in an effort to 'modernize' Brazilian public safety. It was during that time that the Belo Horizonte police station that we will analyze in this article was built.

Patto Sá describes most Brazilian authorities as reticent towards the idea of being 'taught' by their US counterparts. Brazilians were more interested in certain technological devices than in teachers. According to Patto Sá, the Brazilian police are more likely to have imported portable radios, which enabled electric shocks to be administered in different rooms inside a building. Like most social studies of technology, Patto Sá's analysis stresses more localized efforts to understand the use of torture techniques, taking us beyond the idea of mere 'adoption' and 'modernization'.

Why a building matters

Faced with such a complex pattern, we discuss the 'interrogation techniques' used in one particular building, approaching them as technical practices that are better understood as technological choices rather than as mere 'modernized imports'. A study in historical archaeology (*sensu* Funari, Hall and Jones, 1999), this article uses a heterogeneous set of local materials, from written sources to building maps, from manuals to interviews. We will make use of the impressive dossier edited by Françoise Jean de Oliveira Souza and Teodoro Magni (2015), which conferred Cultural Heritage status on the police station on Av. Afonso Pena 2351, in Belo Horizonte. Built in 1958, at the height of the 'modernizing' efforts of US and Brazilian cooperation, the police station once housed the headquarters of the *Departamento de Ordem Política e Social* (literally, The Department of Political and Social Order). As we will see, this police station became a key center of intelligence and interrogation in the State of Minas Gerais during the 1964-1985 dictatorship. The dossier includes pictures, layout maps and excerpts from interviews carried out in 2013 and published in 2015, and also documents from the Public Archive of the State of Minas Gerais (*Arquivo Público Mineiro*).

To assess the importance of this material, we will analyze the theory and practice of 'scientific' or 'psychological torture'. First, we will approach it as a body of knowledge developed under the financial support and auspices of Cold Warriors worldwide, by tracing the history of the CIA's efforts to 'improve interrogation techniques'. Second, we will analyze the ideas and architectural implications of this peculiar body of knowledge, beginning with a 1963 secret CIA interrogation manual, the *Kubark* manual. This is a handbook for the dubious field of so-called 'scientific torture' or 'psychological torture', and it is filled with references to and recommendations about sensory deprivation. In light of its contents, we propose an archaeological interpretation of the architectural layout and marks found inside the DOPS building by the authors of the dossier. The result is a local, testimony-based analysis of the uses of the building and of the material traces of the practice of torture.

Torture centers and illegal detention centers were an integral part of the repressive structures of the Brazilian military regime, operating under the command of the Armed Forces. They were places where political opponents were imprisoned and interrogated, and they bear the traces of these practices. We understand torture to be the:

(...) adoption of measures which restrict a detained person's freedom beyond the level of suffering which is strictly necessary and intrinsic to detention, such as: the imposition of isolation in reduced cells, without ventilation or natural light; the restriction of visiting hours; intimidation and threat of violent acts; physical violence against the

victim; the prisoner's nude exposure or use of humiliating clothes; lack of access to basic services, such as medical attention, food and hygiene. It is also considered torture to expose the prisoner to protracted isolation and to hold the prisoner incommunicado coercively (National Truth Commission, 2014 *apud* Costa, 2017, p. 42).

Like prisons and concentration camps, illegal detention and torture centers were instrumental in enabling repressive forces to inhibit contact between those individuals categorized as 'criminals' and wider society. However, unlike prisons and concentration camps, illegal detention centers secure the complete isolation of individuals. Furthermore, illegal detention centers are harder to recognize from the outside, and they are usually set up inside pre-existing buildings which are adapted to become centers of torture (Salerno & Zarankin, in Myers & Moshenska, 2011). Archaeology can contribute to an understanding of strategies of repression by the dictatorial regime and of resistance by groups involved in political struggles (González Ruibal, 2011), tracing back their identities and *existences* (Costa, 2017). On some very fortunate occasions, archaeologists can incorporate the testimonies produced by those very same threatened *existences*. The focus of these testimonies – and of all the materials used in this article – is the building once used as a center of torture. But we will use the accounts of survivors as a central aspect of the questions structuring this work: What was so-called 'scientific torture'? How far can it be distinguished from mere torture? What was the point of such a distinction? By placing survivors' insights at the heart of an understanding of 'spaces of violence', as proposed by Pamela Colombo (2016, 2017), we will explore yet another path that can connect oral sources to material culture in archaeology. As we will see, survivors' accounts provide an interesting counterpart to formalized bodies of knowledge about 'psychological' or 'scientific' torture.

The CIA's research into scientific torture

To adequately understand the importance of the architectural marks found inside the former DOPS building in Belo Horizonte, we must understand 'scientific torture'. Insofar as torture can have – or even be – a method, could it ever be considered 'scientific'? Historically, what conditions have enabled 'scientific' or 'psychological' forms of torture to emerge? Some of these questions are addressed by US historian Alfred McCoy's overview of torture and his fine-grained analysis of its development by the CIA in recent history (McCoy, 2005). Since the end of the Second World War, the CIA has been involved in funding research to develop torture practices which it disguised through the qualifiers 'psychological' and 'scientific' (McCoy, 2005). The type of torture that CIA officials and researchers called 'scientific' converge on the search for new methods and the use of discourses and places of political opacity. Places of internment (Myers & Moshenska, 2011) like concentration camps (Gonzalez-Ruibal in Myers & Moshenska, 2011), were places where states of emergency and exceptional powers caused buildings to be used and/or built for the monopolized use of force, delimiting a place where all restrictions and limitations of power over the human body were suspended.

McCoy identifies some of the precedents for 'scientific' torture in the experiments carried out in the Nazi camp of Dachau, and by the French Army in the Algerian Revolution. Invested with exceptional powers, the French Army turned to opaque and covert counter-insurgent tactics, inaugurating a new form of colonial warfare. In so doing, it applied a variety of methods, combining medieval drownings with more 'modern' electroshocks. As McCoy highlights, the CIA is an organization born under the exceptional powers of the US executive and, in the context of the Cold War, it was granted tremendous leeway, conferring upon it an 'extraordinary capacity to act outside the law.' (McCoy, 2005, p. 216) The CIA's experiments in the field of 'psychological' or 'scientific' torture began almost exactly where those of the Nazis had been abandoned.

Through its predecessor, the Office of Strategic Studies (OSS), the CIA came to employ those in charge of the Dachau experiments and it continued to experiment with LSD and THC for the interrogation of spies and double agents.

The search for new techniques of interrogation was continued under the impact and spell of the Stalinist trials. In 1950, CIA reports closely scrutinized the public confessions of former Bolshevik leaders accused of political deviation. In 1951, after US soldiers detained during the Korean War publicly denounced their own country's imperialism on TV, the CIA began to fear possible developments in communist 'interrogation science'. Flabbergasted, CIA clinicians wrote that "the Communists are using drugs, physical pressure, electroshocks, and possibly hypnosis on their enemies" (McCoy, 2005, p. 216). Head CIA officials embarked on a technological race to match the developments in 'mind control' that they attributed to their communist counterparts. In 1950, in the context of an operation launched by CIA director Roscoe Hillenkoetter, and with the aid of polygraph experts and hypnotists, agent Boris Pash studied Nazi interrogation methods, including 'drugs, electroshocks, hypnosis and psycho-surgery' (McCoy, 2005, p. 217). The experiments were carried out in places where the Agency could make use of its institutional opacity and the limited mobility of persons deprived of their freedom, including those held in military facilities: first, Korean War prisoners; later soldiers detained at the Maryland Edgewood Chemical arsenal, or patients from the US drug-treatment centre in Lexington, Kentucky. During the two decades that followed, shielded from democratic controls and safe from public opinion, the Agency invested several millions of US taxpayer's money in research involving 185 non-governmental scientists, 44 universities, and 12 hospitals, in programs for 'mind control'. Between 1953 and 1963, project MKUltra – which gathered all previous research on 'mind control' – was placed under the supervision of Richard Helms, Assistant Deputy Director of Plans, which McCoy considers 'a euphemism for covert operations' (McCoy, 2005, p. 217). The project received 25 million dollars.

A second line of CIA studies on mind control focused on behavioral psychology and sensory deprivation. These experiments were carried out with British and Canadian institutions. Large funds were granted to Drs. Hebb and Cameron of McGill University in Canada. McGill psychologist Dr. Donald Hebb received a 10,000-dollar grant from the Canadian Defense Research Board for his experiments in sensory isolation as psychological treatment, but the CIA's interest in 'mind control' ultimately prevailed. Dr. Hebb's studies are well-documented in Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine* (2008). Despite his scientific insistence on the 'mental' nature of the control being sought, Hebb's behaviorist approach demanded the use of different artifacts and apparel which, literally, smothered individuals' *bodies*. Entire artefactual assemblages were used intrusively, asphyxiating those who were being experimented on. The subject-objects of his research were forced to use headphones, sometimes for three days in a row, their entire bodies covered in foam. Inside Dr. Hebb's lab, patients' mobility was severely restricted. Their everyday movements, which would have enabled them to establish relations with the outside world and the everyday landscapes that they would have encountered, were suddenly replaced by an entirely different and shackling assemblage. Through this apparel, 'the subject's very identity had begun to disintegrate' (McCoy, 2005, p. 219).

In 1957, Dr. Hebb's research was further developed by Dr. Ewen Cameron, then president of the Canadian Psychiatric Association. Dr. Cameron claimed to be able to "replicate the extraordinary political conversions of iron-curtain countries [using] sleep deprivation, uninhibiting agents and hypnosis" (McCoy, 2005, p. 219). Within the CIA-funded programme, through a "front institution" called the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (Klein, 2008, p. 35), Dr. Cameron began to take advantage of the good will of those who approached the laboratory, including students and people seeking jobs at his clinic. Over the

six years that followed, some 100 Allan Memorial Institute patients were submitted to Dr. Cameron's treatment. Raising personality depatterning to the category of a paradigm, Dr. Cameron used psychiatry to explore the limits of freedom and control over the bodies of others.

Although the CIA's alleged intention was again to develop interrogation methods for 'mind control', under Dr. Cameron's direction the most drastic impact was directed towards human bodies. New technology was applied in cruelly imaginative ways:

'The two psychiatrists who invented the controversial Page-Russell electroshock machine had recommended four treatments per patient, totaling twenty-four individual shocks. Cameron started using the machine on his patients twice a day for thirty days, a terrifying 360 individual shocks to each patient'— (Klein, 2008, p. 35).

Technological changes brought about an important transformation in the interaction between doctor and patient, leading the building to act as an increasingly important mediator of Dr. Cameron's practice. Although, as we shall discuss below, one of Foucault's (1975) lessons about disciplinary architecture was that hospitals have always been characterized by a certain pattern which dates back to medieval monasteries (see also Markus, 1993 below), Dr. Cameron's practice required buildings to undergo further architectural adaptations to become suitable 'laboratories':

'When the CIA dollars arrived, Cameron used the grant money to convert the old horse stables behind the hospital into isolation boxes. He also elaborately renovated the basement so that it contained a room he called the Isolation Chamber. He soundproofed the room, piped in white noise, turned off the lights and put dark goggles and "rubber eardrums" on each patient, as well as cardboard tubing on the hands and arms, "preventing him from touching his body—thus interfering with his self-image," as Cameron put it in a 1956 paper' (Klein, 2008, p. 36).

These adaptations caused the buildings where Dr. Cameron worked to become more and more hostile - as Klein shows, they became increasingly similar to prisons. Dr. Cameron's practice also became increasingly militarized. Significantly, it was at the Texas Brook Air Base, before a military audience, that he claimed to have moved on from 'self-inflicted sensory deprivation' to 'strict sensory deprivation' with 'much more disturbing' results (McCoy, 2005, p. 220).

What can be made of the alleged scientific character of this medical practice? McCoy and Klein stress that, from a clinical perspective, it was basically counter-productive. After Cameron's experiments came to an end in 1967, the Allan Memorial Institute discovered that 60% of those patients who had undergone the full psychiatric program suffered severe consequences including amnesia, and 23% of them had physical complications. The CIA began defunding the project in 1963 and eventually dismantled it in 1973. Helms had become director of the CIA and wanted to avoid exposure.

At this time, the psychiatrists' experiments had restored what Latour considers to be one of the key contributions of modern science: certainty. Dr. Cameron had restored the Agency's belief that it could at least match what it had once considered to be the ground-breaking findings of the Soviets. McCoy quotes the conclusions of one of the Agency's psychologists:

'the general idea we have been able to understand is that 'brainwashing consists basically in isolating a human being, keep them out of contact, putting him under long stress in relationship to interviewing and interrogation ...without having to resort to any esoteric means' (McCoy, 2005, p. 220).

Transformations in the types of building used by Dr. Cameron, and in the buildings themselves, reflect the search for increasingly protracted and abusive forms of internment - an architectural drive that brought the psychiatrist's 'laboratories' closer to prisons and military facilities. As we will propose below through a discussion of the *Kubark* manual, the scientific community working in and reflecting on Dr. Cameron's

laboratories developed some sort of conceptual framework in their search for ‘mind control’ and their vague suspicions of Soviet ‘brain washing’. For McCoy, the publications were too elusive and cryptic to be considered science, and he settles the matter by recourse to the researchers and collaborators themselves: doubts began to be voiced about the scientific character of the Soviet experiments which had once appeared so disturbing. A 1956 report by Lawrence Hinkle and Harold Wolf of the Cornell Medical Center at the New York University had already expressed misgivings about the once-fearsome idea of ‘brainwashing’. The report concluded that the Bolsheviks were merely replicating old practices of the Tzarist secret police, which included using ‘isolation, anxiety, lack of sleep, uncomfortable temperatures and chronic hunger’ (McCoy, 2005, p. 218). Other techniques included forcing people to stand up for hours. The authors saw nothing in them that might differ radically from older forms of torture. In the case of Chinese and Korean torturers, new technologies were simply added to their own pre-existing repertoires, including more ‘traditional’ tools like shackles and chains.

An analysis of the technology of these ‘modern methods’ of ‘scientific’ torture would agree with these conclusions, reminding us of Bruno Latour’s (2013) warnings against attempts to ‘purify’ and separate practices which are in fact hybrid and create opposing fields: the traditional and the new. Behind this false dichotomy – like that of ‘psychological versus physical’ torture – lay torture plain and simple with ‘modern’ methods added to ‘artisanal’ repertoires. From the very beginning of the ‘technological race’ for mind control inside Nazi camps, Gestapo officers had been using ‘protracted isolation, beatings and humiliation’ (McCoy, 2005, p. 215), long before Kurt Plotner’s Dachau experiments. Even with funding for research and the use of camp infrastructure, the SS never abandoned the physical abuse of prisoners (McCoy, 2005).

While based on a false dichotomy, underscoring the differences between more archaic forms of torture and subtler or more ‘scientific’ ones did, however, seem to serve the purpose of concealing these practices from public scrutiny. In response to accusations of torture during the Algerian war, the French government published the Wuillaume report, which justified French techniques by appealing to similar distinctions. Wuillaume claimed that the methods developed by the French Army

‘water and electricity whenever used carefully seem to produce a shock which is more psychological than physical and therefore do not constitute excessive cruelty ... according to some medical opinions, the method of the water pipe does not involve risks for the victim’s health’ (McCoy, 2005, p. 215).

Scientism as strategy

Both McCoy’s (2005) and Klein’s (2008) denunciations of the CIA programs frame scientism as an equally useful strategy of distraction in the USA. During the 1970s and 1980s, Congressional Hearings probed accusations that the US was supporting or teaching torture in Latin America and investigated the brutal psychiatric methods used at McGill. In the first case, the CIA’s strategy was always to assert that the Agency was in fact teaching milder, more humane methods of interrogation, as opposed to more brutal, less refined ones. In May of 1971, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee heard the Chief US Office of Public Safety adviser for Brazil, Theodore D. Brown. McCoy argues that, at these hearings, attempts to get to the bottom of the CIA’s involvement in developing methods of torture were frustrated by the false dichotomy of psychological versus physical methods. Addressing Brown, Senator Clairborne Pell (D-RI), for example, claimed that:

‘But from a police viewpoint, you would agree that psychological nonphysical methods of interrogation can be just as effective as the physical’ (McCoy, 2005, p. 227).

Regarding accusations of the CIA's involvement in 'psychological' torture experiments, Klein contends that, in the face of public opinion and Congressional pressure, the Agency adopted a double strategy: on the one hand, agents insisted on the official version, i.e., that the experiments were aimed exclusively at strengthening the psychological strength of US personnel in the event that they are captured by the enemy; on the other, after 'psychological torture' had become completely discredited, the Agency hid the old experiments behind a veneer of ridicule. The idea that agents in the 1960s were using LSD in collaboration with 'mad scientists' sounded more like an espionage pantomime than a real threat. Again, in Latourian terms (1999), by then ideas such as 'brainwashing' had gone from modern 'scientific truth' to dated 'belief'. As Klein reminds us, 'in the end the word torture was never used' (Klein, 2008, p. 38).

Yet the hearings did have some practical effects. In 1975, Congress again investigated the Public Safety Program being run in Brazil. Senator Abourezk this time found 'widespread allegations that the program was training torturers within the Latin American police' (McCoy, 2005, p. 227). Congress cut all funds and the Office of Public Safety was closed.

Judicially, Congressional probes came up against special protection given to key individuals, resulting in no sentences. But hearings and press exposés into the use of methods of psychological torture also encouraged 9 former patients of Dr. Cameron to file a suit against the CIA's funding of the latter's research into mind control and sensory deprivation. The CIA tried to dismiss the motion in 1988, which a Federal Judge rejected, and the Agency was forced to pay 750,000 dollars in reparations (McCoy, 2005, p. 220).

The hearings also revealed just what the CIA was prepared to admit in public concerning its role in sponsoring practices that straddle the fine (and somewhat artificial) line between psychological and physical torture. In 1988, the New York Times published the story of members of the Honduran armed forces trained in 'psychological interrogation' methods by the US. The agent described these methods as including:

'make him stand up, don't let him sleep, keep him naked and isolated, put rats and cockroaches in his cell, give him bad food, serve him dead animals, throw cold water on him, change the temperature' (McCoy, 2005, p. 234).

The report also featured torture victims' denunciations of the use of electroshocks. At the hearings of the US Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence, Deputy Director Mr. Stolz describes the practices taught as milder:

'we are talking about ... sitting in a chair on a stool for a long period of time, some sensory deprivations, sounds...'

Senator Bradley: Changed the temperature?

Mr Stolz: I don't know the answer to that. That's not impossible" (McCoy, 2005, p. 235).

The Kubark manual

The chilling declarations of the use of 'interrogation methods' in Honduras suggest a region-wide application of severe techniques that verge on, or in fact constitute, torture. Another effect of these hearings was that certain documents emerged from them, including formalized versions of bodies of knowledge about torture. Despite initially refusing, the CIA was eventually forced to disclose a handbook called the *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation*. The *Kubark* was a manual edited for internal use in 1963, intended for training and practical purposes.

Does the *Kubark* claim for itself the category of ‘scientific’? Does it consider interrogation a science? Not in principle. The primary aim of the *Kubark* manual is to aid the interrogator in carrying out a practice which is described as a ‘craft’: *‘It consists of no more than obtaining the needed information through responses to questions. As is true of all craftsmen, some interrogators are more able than others’* (Unknown, 1963, p. 1).

But its author also wants to help interrogators become acquainted with important contributions to the field deriving from ‘extensive research, including scientific inquiries conducted by specialists in closely related subjects’ (Unknown, 1963, p. 1), and from the ‘scientific findings of ‘pertinent, modern knowledge’ (Unknown, 1963, p. 2). Referring specifically to psychology, the author clarifies that while ‘American psychologists have devoted more attention to Communist interrogation techniques, particularly “Brainwashing” (Unknown, 1963, p. 2), other important developments have emerged relating to

“the effects of debility and isolation, the polygraph, reactions to pain and fear, etc., etc. So that ‘It is no longer possible to discuss interrogation significantly without reference to the psychological research conducted in the past decade’. (Unknown, 1963, p. 2)

The author recognizes that:

‘While psychologists have sought for methods of imposing controls or alterations from the outside, the Communists would have developed ‘the creation of internal controls – i.e. - conversion of the source, so that voluntary cooperation results.’ (Unknown, 1963, p. 2).

Achieving *control* over the interrogatee, the ultimate aim of a good interrogator, means acquiring the

‘capacity to generate, alter, or halt human behavior by implying, citing, or using physical or psychological means to ensure compliance with direction. The compliance may be voluntary or involuntary’ (Unknown, 1963, p. 4).

This compliance should ideally be voluntary, or appear as such to the interrogatee. In characterizing this relationship, the manual suggests at several points that the interrogatee should come to look upon their interrogator as a form of authority, namely as a father figure. The desired effect is to induce regression on interrogatees, leaving them defenseless, in a child-like state of mind where they are more likely to obey and comply. Despite the author’s lip-service to ‘the Communist frame of reference’ (Unknown, 1963, p. 2), the concept of *control* undoubtedly refers us to the CIA’s own programs on *mind control*, and *regression* stands out as the main contribution of Dr. Hebb and Dr. Cameron to the conceptual toolbox of interrogation, as prescribed by the *Kubark* manual.

But the *Kubark* manual also relies heavily on a third category, that of the ‘environment’, which brings buildings, the locales of interrogation, to the foreground. If used skillfully, the ‘environment’ can relieve the interrogators of some of their hard work, making the interrogatee “defeat himself” (Unknown, 1963, p. 52). If the interrogatee is detained, “the interrogator monopolizes the social environment of the source” (Unknown, 1963, p. 3) through the artful manipulation of the environment:

‘He exercises the power of an all-powerful parent, determining when the source will be sent to bed, when and what he will eat, whether he will be rewarded for good behavior or punished for being bad. The interrogator can and does make the subject’s world not only unlike the world he had been accustomed to but also strange in itself.’ (Unknown, 1963, p. 53)

The importance of the ‘environment’ is such that it affects the very core of the relation between interrogator and interrogatee. Creating a fundamentally materialized relationship between them, the environment becomes an experiential and material substitute for the outside world.

'The history of interrogation is full of confessions and other self-incriminations that were in essence the result of a substitution of the interrogation world for the world outside. In other words, as the sights and sounds of an outside world fade away, its significance for the interrogatee tends to do likewise. That world is replaced by the interrogation room, its two occupants and the relationship between them' (Unknown, 1963, p.57).

The interrogator's powers rely basically on the unequal character of this materialized relationship. Control is to be attained through an enhanced use of the basic relations inscribed in what we will describe below as 'reversed buildings' (*sensu* Markus, 1993). If detained, the interrogatee can affect neither the layout, furniture nor any matter inside the building, nor can they move freely within it. The interrogator, on the other hand, can use a series of techniques, all of which rely on how they can alter the interrogatee's environment. These include putting them in a cell with (1 or 2) informers, making them think that others are informing on them by 'whisking the witness past their door or cell' (Unknown, 1963, p. 68), etc. Though classed by the manual as non-coercive, and indeed not even requiring that the interrogator lay a hand on the interrogatee, all these techniques situate control as a function of that primary asymmetry between both actors, thus placing the building at the center. In fact, the *Kubark*'s framework ascribes such strong agentic powers to the building itself that it comes to stand in for a person. By modifying the environment, a single interrogator can even make the interrogatee feel as though they are dealing with two different people:

'An interrogator working alone can also use the Mutt-and-Jeff technique. After a number of tense and hostile sessions, the interrogatee is ushered into a different or refurnished room with comfortable furniture, cigarettes, etc. The interrogator invites him to sit down and explains his regret that the source's former stubbornness forced the interrogator to use such tactics. Now everything will be different' (Unknown, 1963, p. 73).

Still within the chapters on non-coercive techniques, the manual explores the connections between time and space for the purpose of regression:

'some interrogatees can be repressed by persistent manipulation of time, by retarding and advancing clocks and serving meals at odd times – ten minutes or ten hours after the last food was given. Day and night are jumbled. Interrogation sessions are similarly unpatterned (sic.) the subject may be brought back for more questioning just a few minutes after being dismissed for the night' (Unknown, 1963, p. 77)

The section on 'the coercive counterintelligence interrogation' (Unknown, 1963, p. 82) begins with a warning about the permits that might be necessary to carry out this type of interrogation. If bodily harm is to be inflicted; if medical, chemical, or *electrical* methods or materials are to be used ... if the detention is locally illegal... etc. (Unknown, 1963, p. 82). Section D. 'Detention' insists on isolating the subject, and develops the importance of clothes:

'If (...) arrangements have been made for the confinement of a resistant source, the circumstances of detention are arranged to enhance within the subject his feelings of being cut off from the known and the reassuring, and of being plunged into the strange. Usually his own clothes are immediately taken away, because familiar clothing reinforces identity and thus the capacity for resistance. (Prisons give close haircuts and issue prison garb for the same reason)' (Unknown, 1963, p. 86)

But nowhere is the importance of the skillful use of the environment as fully developed as in the section on the deprivation of sensory stimuli. The environment is here taken a step further, and the very rooms that detainees are made to inhabit become the direct instruments of control and regression:

'The chief effect of arrest and detention, and particularly of solitary confinement, is to deprive the subject of many or most of the sights, sounds, tastes, smells, and tactile sensations to which he has grown accustomed' (Unknown, 1963, p. 87)

At this point, the works of psychologists begin to feature, including that of John C. Lilly on polar explorers and solitary sea-farers. This study established that

'The symptoms most commonly produced by isolation are superstition, intense love of any other living thing, perceiving inanimate objects as alive, hallucinations and delusions' (Unknown, 1963, p. 88).

The McGill university experiments are described in relation to sound deprivation and temperature changes, perhaps the most extreme cases of manipulating the environment. These are particularly relevant to Belo Horizonte, as we will see traces of how the 'environments' referred to in the manual were replicated at the DOPS police station.

'A number of experiments conducted at McGill University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and other sites have attempted to come as close as possible to the elimination of sensory stimuli, or to masking remaining stimuli, chiefly sounds, by a stronger but wholly monotonous overlay. The results of these experiments have little applicability to interrogation because the circumstances are dissimilar. Some of the findings point toward hypotheses that seem relevant to interrogation, but conditions like those of detention for purposes of counterintelligence interrogation have not been duplicated for experimentation' (Unknown, 1963, p. 88).

'At the National Institute of Mental Health two subjects were "...suspended with the body and all but the top of the head immersed in a tank containing slowly flowing water at 34.5 C. degrees (94.5 F degrees) ..." Both subjects wore blackout masks, which covered the head, allowing for breathing but nothing else. The sound level was extremely low; the subject heard only his own breathing and faint sounds of water from the piping. Neither subject stayed in the tank longer than three hours. Both passed quickly from their normally willful thought to a state of tension resulting from an unsatisfied hunger for sensory stimuli and a concentration upon the few available sensations, to private reveries and fantasies and eventually to visual imagery somewhat resembling hallucinations' (Unknown, 1963, p. 88).

After reviewing other similar experiments, the author's conclusions again foreshadow some of the materializations found at the Belo Horizonte DOPS.

'These findings suggest - but by no means prove - the following theories about solitary confinement and isolation:

- 1. The more completely the place of confinement eliminates sensory stimuli, the more rapidly and deeply will the interogatee be affected. Results produced only after weeks or months of imprisonment in an ordinary cell can be duplicated in hours or days in a cell which has no light (or weak artificial light which never varies), which is sound-proofed, in which odours are eliminated, etc. An environment still more subject to control, such as a water-tank or iron lung, is even more effective'* (Unknown, 1963, p. 90).

Perhaps the conclusion which best encapsulates the importance of sensory deprivation is number 4, which affirms the methods' suitability for causing the interogatee to regress and turn against themselves:

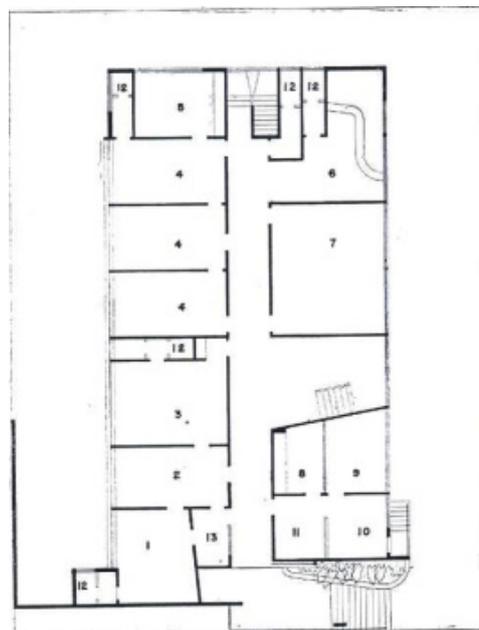
'The deprivation of stimuli induces regression by depriving the subject's mind of contact with an outer world, and thus forcing it upon itself. At the same time, the calculated provision of stimuli during interrogation tends to make the regressed subject view the interogator as a father-figure. The result, normally, is a strengthening of the subject's tendencies toward compliance' (Unknown, 1963, p. 90).

An archaeological study of the DOPS

The architectural structure of the building which once housed the DOPS (Department of Political and Social Order) provides important insights into the context of repression and social control within which it operated during the dictatorship. Understanding the architectural structures of illegal detention centers such as the DOPS is a way of understanding the agency of an entire system, as well as its strategies of control and exercise of power. From an interpretive point of view, archaeologists have started to emphasize the role of objects and structures in the construction of social relations (Salerno and Zarankin in Myers & Moshenska, 2011). By analyzing material culture, we can understand production, reproduction and changes in social relations within a society.

The dossier on the building (De Oliveira Souza & Magni 2015) contains a map which can be read as an element in an architecturally conceived and materialized system. It allows us to interpret the rationality embodied in the spatial distribution of the police station's rooms. As described above, the police station was built at a time when police and military authorities were particularly concerned with 'modernizing' security and the armed forces. However, when we take a closer look at the connections the building itself sought to establish between space, power, knowledge and authority, its internal structure provides interesting insights into the older roots of this project of modernization. As Zarankin has explained in his (2002) synthesis of the possibilities of archaeological analysis of architecture, the layout of many modern buildings establishes a direct relationship between the depth of certain rooms and the relative position of power of those who use it. Following ideas put forth by Hillier and Hanson (1984), Zarankin explains that most of our contemporary houses have been designed to reinforce a particular relation of power between the generations, one that is associated with property. The bedrooms designed to be used by the older generation, usually the owners of the house, tend to occupy the deepest positions in the layout. They are either at the end of corridors or require us to cross one or more rooms to reach them. Depth of space, understood as that greater portion of space or number of rooms we are required to cross to reach a certain person's room, attests to that person's preeminent position within the domestic space. People at the head of a household tend to occupy its least accessible space, nestled in its deepest room. Keeping this connection between power and depth in mind, let us now turn to the map of the second floor of the police station and locate room number 1, near the bottom left-hand corner.

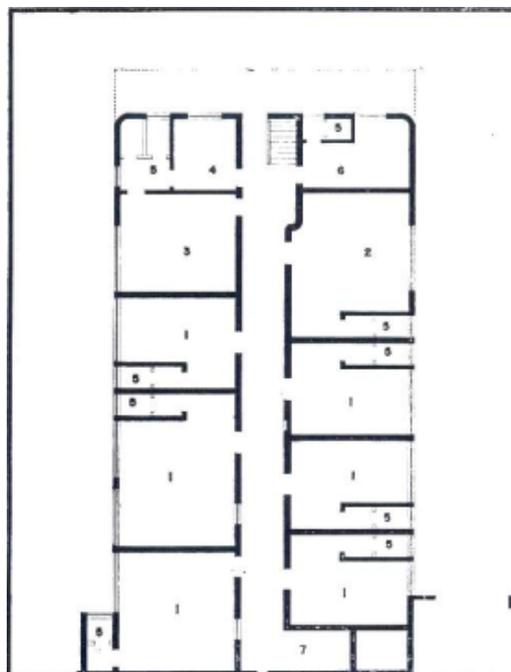
Figure 1: Map of the second floor. (Source : De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al., 2015)



In the original map, this room is marked as the head police inspector's room; that is, it was the room designed for the person at the summit of the building's hierarchy. It is therefore no coincidence that, regardless of which staircase one used to reach this room, the corridor and at least one room would have to be crossed to access it. The room is buffered between rooms 1, allocated to 'sub-inspectors and investigators', and room 13, marked as a 'waiting room'. Room 13 provides a space for contention, an area for pause, requiring that we wait for the inspector to interrupt his tasks and grant us his time, reinforcing the order of his priorities and his importance within the hierarchic framework of power and authority inscribed in the building. Having explored the links between authority and depth of space, and before moving on to the lower floors, let us note that room number 9 on the map also occupies quite a deep position, but it is one which is more connected to permanence than power. Room number 9 was marked on the original map as being an extra storeroom, occasionally used by police officers or civil servants who, for whatever reason, had to spend the night at the police station. If the connection between depth and power is clear in the case of the head police inspector's room, depth would here be associated with intimacy and rest, anticipating the connection between relative space and stay.

Markus' (1993) and Hillier and Hanson's (1984) analysis of the space patterns in modern buildings have proven that certain types of buildings invert the connections between power and depth found in most households, where greater depth is allocated to the rooms of owners, heads of households, or those expected to exert greater power, as was the case with the head police inspector. These authors' studies have proven that inside prisons, hospitals and other 'inverted buildings', it is those people with the least power – detainees and patients - who are allocated rooms in the deepest reaches. This is likewise the case in the first floor, the layout of which is also included in the dossier, and which was designed to house the cells.

Figure 2: Map of the first floor (Source: De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al., 2015)



The first floor was accessed through the staircase at the top of the layout. This means that the spaces marked on the map as 3, 4, and 6, and referred to, respectively, as ‘guard accommodation’, ‘guard commander’ and ‘storeroom’, were more easily accessible rather than deeper. In contrast, the door to the room marked 2, the ‘cell for women’, is at a slightly greater depth than the previous spaces. All the other spaces, marked 1 on the original design, are the deepest: these are the cells. Floor 1 places those people with the least power – that is, the prisoners – in the deepest places, exactly the opposite of what holds in the upper floors. Hillier and Hanson (1984) and Markus (1993) build on the work of Foucault (1975) to explain that such a distribution of power is directly related to the type of relations reinforced in modern prisons, hospitals, and, in this case, cell blocks: these were inverted buildings. A power-knowledge relation by which visitors are housed over long periods of time as patients and detainees, and where the power exerted over them – the power of doctors, interrogators, etc. – relies partly on the fact that such power-wielding specialists, as opposed to those interned, can move about the building. As with Dr. Cameron’s experiments, doctors and interrogators can leave the building any time they want. Their task as modern specialists who are granted the privilege of moving about the building where others are interned, includes making critical assessments of the interns: whether they are guilty or innocent, whether they have been ‘reformed’ or cured, etc. Indeed, as the dossier points out, during the Brazilian dictatorship the Belo Horizonte DOPS was a gateway to other places of internment. It was here that the critical category of ‘subversive’ could be tagged onto the lives and bodies of the detainees. In the case of the Belo Horizonte DOPS, the ascription of this category was irreversibly mediated by the use of the ‘environment’. It was arguably the same form of knowledge, situated at the crossroads between psychiatry and torture, which led Dr. Cameron of McGill University to make important structural changes to his laboratories, to militarize his objectives and audiences. It is the same form of knowledge which, encapsulated in the *Kubark* interrogator’s manual, advised readers to make use of the building in ways which took the visitor-resident relationship a step further. In the next part of this article, we will examine the changes and adaptations that this form of knowledge brought to the building.

Lived spaces of state violence

Our analysis of the building has thus far consisted of evaluating how its spatial layout reflected projected relations such as hierarchy and assessments. These relations, inscribed in the DOPS building built in 1958, merely confirm that, as with so many other buildings in South America, the architecture of the DOPS police station was ‘modernized’ to suit larger projects of restructuring. The fact that the DOPS building in Belo Horizonte was an integral part of large-scale efforts to ‘modernize’ the police would thus appear to fit the somewhat apolitical narrative of modernization as development, wherein technology – in this case the state tool of policing – acts to better manage the body politic. In terms of this relation of modern management, space, as described in the police station plans, appears to ‘speak for itself’.

However, the *Kubark* manual provides an important source that is contemporary to the Brazilian dictatorship – a backdrop against which to test the impact of so-called ‘scientific torture’ as developed by the US at the time. If proponents of Historical Archaeology recommend cross-examining material culture and spatial relations with emerging and contemporary bodies of knowledge (Funari, Hall and Jones, 1999), the *Kubark* manual provides evidence of a body of knowledge which incorporated the teachings of ‘modern psychology and practice’ to the ‘art’ of interrogation. The manual attests to the materialization of such practices and constitutes an important supplement to our reading of materialized spatial relations.

But evidence that such practices – or indeed chillingly similar ones – were being developed inside the DOPS only emerges when we complement our spatial analysis with the experiences of survivors of torture perpetrated at the DOPS. This final element in the construction of our spatial analysis highlights the

usefulness of the work of Pamela Colombo (2016, 2017). The Argentinean anthropologist has drawn on the theoretical tools of critical geography (Masey, 1994; Harvey, 2006) to propose a notion of space that goes beyond its actualization as mere design and subsequent materialization. Colombo argues that, beyond analyses that conceive of space as being first devised and then materialized, a critical notion of space ought to draw at least as much on the experience of those who, despite having had little or no participation in its design, bear the knowledge of having experienced its effects. In this way, we complete the full cycle of buildings marked by state violence. In the case of survivors testifying about spaces of state terror, this has led Colombo to address the sometimes dazzling descriptions of survivors' surreal and painful experiences of repression in the Argentinian province of Tucumán.

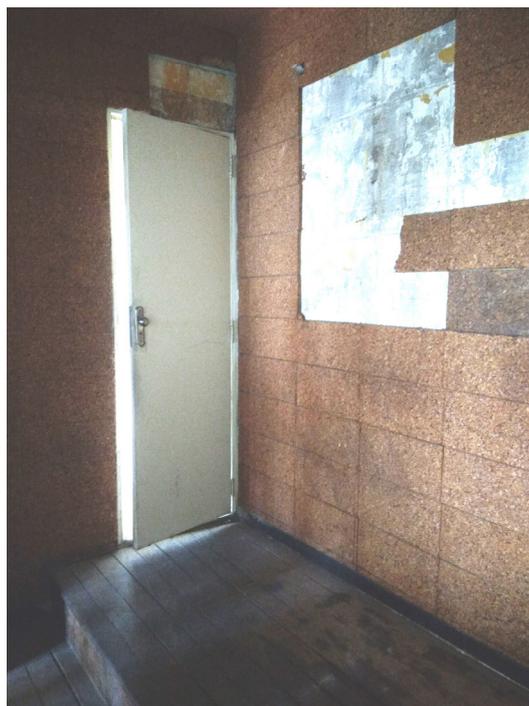
In Belo Horizonte, the seemingly aseptic modern relations inscribed in the plans of the police station are given a cruel turn when we review the information about the police station's spatial outline and material culture. The evidence that emerges from photographs taken inside the building, woven together with testimonies of experiences of torture, allow us to make a connection with the body of knowledge committed to writing in the *Kubark* manual. It is through this testimonial and photographic evidence that we can reconstruct the entire cycle of the police station's design, construction, uses and abuses. The experience of victims and survivors is key to our construction of the DOPS as a place of state violence.

Marks of torture

In order to 'satisfactorily' function as a center of torture, the structure of the police station building underwent several adaptations. These adaptations were registered by the Truth Commission. Combined with testimonies, they provide uncanny evidence of the use of torture methods very similar to those developed by the CIA across the entire continent of the Americas, and prescribed by the *Kubark* manual in its successive editions.

The first adaptation was a full layer of agglomerated cork covering all the walls of a room, as highlighted in figure 3.

Figure 3: Sound-proofed room with agglomerated cork walls (Source: authors' own photographs, 2018)

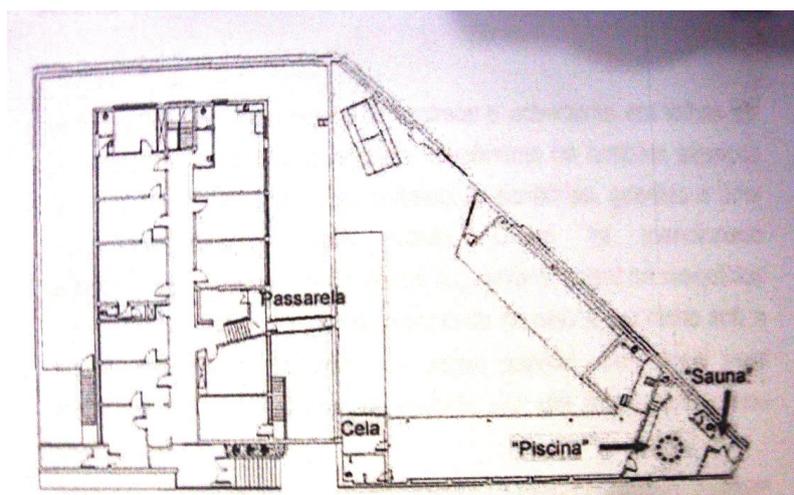


Photographs of this room, which is presently used as a cellar, show that it had a thick layer of this insulating material covering all four walls and the ceiling, making it completely sound-proof. The room, which does not appear in the original architectural plan, is located where the first plan situates the toilet, and is therefore accessible to non-staff only through the head police inspector's room. The only other route of access to this room is a staircase connecting it to the cell-block. Its position, deep in one of the most inaccessible rooms on the second floor, yet accessible from the cell-block, would correspond to the position of the detainee, who is shielded from the outside through as many as three rooms to the nearest staircase open to outsiders. This allows it to be accessed away from prying eyes, but under the intimidating supervision of the inspector.

Floors 2, 3 and 4 are connected by the staircase depicted on the right-hand side of the plans. Underneath the first flight of this staircase, absent from the original plans, is 'a small cupboard of some 80cm. length, 1.50 m. height and 50 cm. depth' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 83). The dossier records the testimony of Mrs. Emely Vieira Salazar, whose experience we will convey below, who testifies that she was hidden inside this place. In september 2013, Emely describes 'having been locked over a long period of time, after being tortured' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al. 2015, p. 83). The dossier points out the presence of several other similar cupboards underneath this staircase, and other unspecified places.

Testifying before the Minas Gerais State Commission for the Reparation of Victims of Torture, a person who chose to identify only by the initials H.R.C. mentions the use of several torture techniques inflicted on him or her in the third floor of the building. This person described 'the third room to the left' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 33) as having been one of the places he or she was tortured. The dossier also points out that victim H.R.C. was 'immediately tortured without any prior interrogation or identification' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 33), which provides further evidence of detention during the dictatorial regime. The authors of the dossier were also able to register the existence of a catwalk connecting the second floor to the yard next to the police station, a triangular patch containing a parking lot and a maintenance area.

Figure 4: Map showing the catwalk (*passarela*) connecting the police station to the building next to it, with a cell (*cela*) a 'swimming pool' (*piscina*) and "sauna" (Source: De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015)



The catwalk, made of a long metal surface with metallic grids on both sides, accesses a structure containing another room, clearly identified as a torture chamber. Inside this building, two structures were identified. The first consists of a cavity excavated into the original floor, which, from the outside, reveals a circular hole of 1m. to 1.5m. in diameter. The cavity was later covered with white tiles, and the difference in materials from those of the floor, as well as their irregular cut, clearly indicates that this modification occurred after the original floor had been laid. Later, when the police station was no longer operating as the DOPS, the cavity was covered in cement, but the authors of the dossier calculate that the hole is deep enough to fit an adult. The dossier describes this hole as a 'swimming tank', a term taken from a police officer who chose to remain anonymous. The term is a clue as to the 'tank's' true purpose, contrasting with what was usually described to visitors - that it had recreational uses. Next to this cavity is a 'cubicle' large enough to fit several people standing upright. The same police officer described this place as a 'sauna'. The entire assemblage was identified as a structure that enabled the 'hot and cold torture' that would result from alternating temperatures.

Figure 5: Photograph of the area where the torture described by an unidentified policeman as “hot and cold” was allegedly perpetrated. On the floor is the concrete filling covering the “swimming pool” (piscina) and in the background is the “sauna” room (Source: authors' own photographs, 2018)



The material experiences of survivors inside the space of the police station provided the authors of the dossier with the information necessary to confirm the dictatorship's use of torture. But the level of detail in which victims described their experience of the police station's space and material culture can also shed light on the allegedly scientific character of the type of torture that they suffered at the hands of the Minas Gerais state authorities. In particular, their experiences confirm one of the themes stressed above, concerning the development of 'scientific torture' and sensory deprivation: its subtlety. The three testimonies gathered in the dossier describe the use of the 'reversed building' structure of the police station, which combined the more traditional function of classifying individuals considered 'critical' with innovations that include the swift use of torture apparel and extreme isolation.

The first testimony collected in the dossier was that of Mrs. Emely de Oliveira, then a psychology student and member of the organization Ação Católica Brasileira. During the dictatorship, this Catholic organization collected donations and personally assisted opponents of the military regime.

Emely sometimes provided refuge in her own house or in those of friends and relatives. Her account describes the strategic use of space inside the DOPS at the time of her internment: detainees were divided by gender into separate floors:

'the women were locked inside rooms located on the second floor of the DOPS, while men were incarcerated in the prison cells of the first floor' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 29).

Emely also characterized the more sophisticated use of torture apparel in terms of subtlety. In Emely's experience, torture took place at night. It was then that portable material culture used to come into action: electric shock machines, and the dreaded *pau-de-arara* were quickly mounted for nights of torment only to be quickly dismantled the next morning to recreate an atmosphere of daily normality. This was, in Emely's view, one of the technical issues that these techniques aimed to 'solve'.

Figure 6: Painter Jean-Baptiste Debret portrayed several scenes of life in nineteenth-century Brazil, including this (1835) depiction of *Overseers punishing negroes*, where the man in the foreground is tied to a *pau-de-arara* ('parrot's perch'). As described by Emely, twentieth century *pau-de-araras* were mounted horizontally onto two chairs or tables, leaving the victim suspended in the air.



To illustrate these objectives, Emely reminds her interviewers of the time she remained incomunicando inside a small cupboard below the staircase. The cupboard-turned-cell not only kept her isolated but also served to create an appearance of normality in the eyes of an investigative commission attempting to make the Minas Gerais forces accountable for their actions.

'A commission went there. And they (the people in charge of the DOPS) showed them the entire DOPS, and they said that there was no one there, and that there was no torture, you see...Because torture consisted basically of electro-shocks with the machine, for which they would take people into a room at the back, and as for the pau-de-arara... they used to set it up then in there. They used to put a stick up on a chair and set up the pau-de-arara and put us there' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 29).

In Emely's account the only sophisticated technical element about these practices was that, operating around portable material culture, they fulfilled the main objective of obscuring the use of torture. Emely's own body, evidence of these practices, was thus hidden from the members of the commission.

'I had been hurt badly from being tortured, and this eye here had gone all red. They tied me up and put me like that... under the staircase were they keep the brushes, that kind of thing. They opened that place and put me in there, and I was stuck in there for I don't know how long. Only later did I find out what had happened that day: they'd opened the DOPS to prove to everyone that they weren't keeping anyone in there, that there was no torture and there was nothing there, you see? And there I was, tied up under there' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 29).

Figure 7: The wardrobe inside the police station where E. was hidden from a commission supervising the police station in search of traces of torture (Source: De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015)



The second survivor interviewed in the dossier, identified by the initials H.R.C., was tortured in a room next to the “head inspector’s room”, and also describes having been subjected to methods which were a mixture of those leaving clearer marks on the body – electroshocks, *pau-de-arara*, beatings – with more discreet ones:

'At a certain time Lieutenant Melo sprayed something on me that made your flesh burn inside, without leaving traces on your skin. It must be an American product, I never found out what it was' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 33).

The third testimony collected in the dossier is that of Tim Garrocho, a rural worker and unionist from the nearby town Teófilo Otoni. Garrocho was detained in 1970 and told his experiences to his son, who wrote a book about the episodes of torture experienced by his father. References to a particularly interesting passage were included in the dossier:

According to Tim Garrocho there was a small room inside the DOPS building, a small cubicle, all coarse inside. A very thick and pointy coarse mortar. Before being thrown into that dungeon to be tortured, prisoners were flashed very strong lights in their eyes; and they would take off their clothes and leave them naked. The prisoner could not see anything, and it was dark everywhere. After a few minutes the prisoner would begin to notice that there was something strange inside that dungeon and, to their despair, it was lots of snakes. As they tried to avoid the snakes, and because they were naked, their whole body was hurt by the spiky points of the dungeon' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 39).

Garrocho’s experience is very similar to accounts from in Central America in the 1980s. As is Emely’s denunciation of what the *Kubark* called the “Mutt-and-Jeff technique”. Head inspectors sometimes used to “offer a shower and better food, saying she needed to “relax” (De Oliveira Souza, Magni et al, 2015, p. 28). Yet Emely remained very far from ‘compliance’. On offering her testimony for the dossier, she even put forth her own understanding of psychological torture.

'About psychological torture, for example, I had a 5-year-old niece who was in kindergarden. They used to say: "we're going to get your niece, your sister, your mother." They used to threaten me, and they knew all about me and my family. So it's a truly horrible thing, because you never knew what was going to happen, you never know what will become of these threats' (De Oliveira Souza, Magni, et al, 2015, p. 28).

Emely's own theory of psychological torture is fascinating, not only because she was herself a psychology student at the time, but also for what it tells us about relationships defined by and in the very building where internment took place. Anchored in the inmate's point of view, Emely's theory refers to the basic opposition between her situation and that of her torturers. Held captive, there was nothing she could do for her family. Her torturers' conduct inside the building, in contrast, had caused her to believe they were capable of anything. Much could be said about her courage and clear-mind during these moments of agony. But with respect to 'scientific torture', her fears definitely combined a basic (some might say pre-modern) sense of helplessness, compounded with a heightened sense of unlimited knowledge and means in the hands of her captors. This enhanced sense of helplessness was the ultimate aim of experiments in 'mind control'.

In retrospect, and in the light of similar technological efforts elsewhere, the practices confirmed by Emely's experience and that of the other survivors reveal the hybrid character of practices hidden behind the façade of 'psychological' or 'scientific' torture. They confirm and materialize the dichotomy of 'modern' vs 'old' torture techniques. A false dichotomy, where sensory deprivation was combined with the *pau de arara*, which dates back to Brazilian slavery. Where sound-proofed rooms and water tanks were fitted into a building that became infamous for its nightly beatings. And where interrogators overstimulated detainees' eyesight only to have them immediately thrown into what one of them described as a "dungeon" filled with snakes.

Since they left less visible marks on the buildings and bodies where they took place, the tortures denounced by detainees were more effective. They relied on portability and the fact that torture devices could be hidden. The torture techniques suffered by Emely, H.R.C. and Tim Garrocho could be used while official discourse denied their very existence or downplayed their importance. It must be remembered that, as Martins Filho's (2017) book and the work of other historians have shown, pressure from national and international organizations denouncing torture was key at several moments in the course of the regime's history. In the face of such denunciations, being able to state that more refined interrogation methods were being used, without asserting nor denying that these were in fact torture techniques, must have been very useful to the regime. The use of the material culture of 'scientific torture' enabled the same obscurity.

Received: October 16, 2017

Approved: March 05, 2018

Revision: Luiz Costa

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank PhD candidate Juliana Brandão of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and Cristina Mendanha, for their help with access to the dossier, which saved us hours of archival searches.

References

- COLOMBO, P. 2016. "Espacios de desaparición: cuando la teoría crítica del espacio ayuda a pensar la violencia." In: *Estudios para la no-violencia 2: pensar las espacialidades, el daño y el testimonio*. Puebla, México: Afínita Editorial. pp. 147-163.
- _____. 2017. *Espacios de desaparición. Vivir e imaginar los lugares de la violencia estatal. Tucumán, 1975-1983*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila.
- COMISSÃO NACIONAL DA VERDADE. (2014) *Relatório Final*. Brasília. Brasil. online version <http://cnv.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/index.php/outros-destaques/574-conheca-e-acesse-o-relatorio-final-da-cnv>
- COSTA, D. 2017. *O Passado que ninguém quer Lembrar: Uma Arqueologia dos Espaços de Repressão em Belo Horizonte. Monografia (conclusão de curso)*. Belo Horizonte: Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas.
- DE OLIVEIRA SOUZA, F.; MAGNI, T.; DE SOUZA MARQUES, R.; DOLABELA CANFORA, A.; BATISTA FIORAVANTE, B.; HENRIQUE RANGEL, C.; DIAS MURTA, C.; ROCHA SILVA, D.R.C.; LIMA DE SÁ FORTES, R.; FERREIRA RUBEM, G.; MOREIRA DALFIOR, T.M.; GRZYBOWSKI, Z.; PERILO, M.C.; MAIA, L.D.; DE ALMEIDA, J.R.; COSTA, M.; FAJARDO DE OLIVEIRA, D.; MELLO GRZYBOWSKI, A.C 2015. *Dossiê de Tombamento do Edifício da Antiga Sede do DOPS de Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: IEPHA-MG.
- FOUCAULT, M. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House.
- FUNARI, P.; HALL, M. & JONES, S. 1999. *Historical Archaeology: Back From the Edge*. Londres e Nova Iorque: Routledge.
- GASPARI, E. 2009. *As Ilusões Armadas. A Ditadura Escancarada*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- GONZALEZ-RUIBAL, A. 2011. "The archaeology of francoist concentration camps (1936-1952)". In: MOSHENSKA, G. and MYERS, A. (eds.), *Archaeologies of internment*. London and New York: Springer. pp. 53-75.
- HARVEY, D. 2006. "Space as a Key Word." In: CASTREE, N. & GREGORY, D. Castree (eds.), *David Harvey: a critical reader*. New York: Wiley Blackwell. pp. 315-335.
- HILLIER, B. & HANSON, J. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KLEIN, N. 2008. *A doutrina do choque. A ascensão do capitalismo de desastre*. Tradução de Vania Cury. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.
- LATOUR, B. 1999. *A esperança de Pandora*. Bauru: EDUSC.
- _____. 2013. *Jamais fomos modernos*. 3a ed. São Paulo: Editora 34.
- MARKUS, T. 1993. *Buildings and Power. Freedom and Control in the Origins of Modern Building Types*. Londres: Routledge.
- MARTINS FILHO, J. 2008. "Tortura e ideologia: os militares." In: *Desarquivando a ditadura. Memória e Justiça no Brasil*. São Paulo: Aderaldo e Rothschild. pp. 179-203.
- _____. 2017. *Segredos de Estado: O governo britânico e a tortura no Brasil (1969-1976)*. Curitiba: Prismas.
- MASSEY, D. 1994. *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MCCOY, A. 2005. "Cruel Science: CIA Torture and US Public Policy". *New England Journal of Public Policy*, 19(2), article 15. pp. 209-254.
- MYERS, M. & MOSHENSKA, D. 2011. *The Archaeology of Internment*. Nova Iorque e Londres: Springer.
- PATTO SÁ MOTTA, R. 2010. "Modernizando a repressão: a Usaid e a polícia brasileira". *Revista Brasileira de História*, 30(59): 237-266.
- UNKNOWN, 1963. *Kubark*. Unknown: CIA.
- ZARANKIN, A. 2002. *Paredes que Domesticam: Arqueologia da Arquitetura Escolar Capitalista*. Campinas: IFCH-UNICAMP.

- _____.; NIRO, C. 2008. “A materialização do sadismo: arqueologia da arquitetura dos Centros Clandestinos de Detenção da ditadura militar argentina (1976-83).” In: *Arqueologia da repressão e a resistência na América Latina na era das ditaduras (décadas de 1960-1980)*. São Paulo: Annablume. pp. 183-210.
- _____.; SALERNO, M. 2011. “The Engineering of Genocide: An Archaeology of Dictatorship in Argentina” In: MOSHENSKA, G. and MYERS, A. (eds.), *Archaeologies of internment*. London and New York: 207-229.

Pedro Fermín Maguire

Federal University of Minas Gerais, Post graduate Program of Anthropology

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4739-7979>

E-mail: pedritofmaguire@gmail.com

Denise Neves Batista Costa

Federal University of Minas Gerais, Post graduate Program of Anthropology

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3853-2286>

E-mail: denisenbc@gmail.com

Dossier

Gramáticas de la (¿post?) violencia:
identidades, guerras, cuerpos y fronteras

The Guarani Farm: indigenous narratives about removal, reclusion and escapes during the military dictatorship in Brazil

*Celeste Ciccarone*¹

¹ Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Centro de Ciências Humanas e Naturais,
Departamento de Ciências Sociais, Vitória/ES, Brasil

Abstract

This article presents some of the results of a critical exercise concerning the multiple uses of the past, considering the relations between indigenous peoples, state power structures and sectors of regional society. It reveals how the complex interplay between the construction of a regional mythography and the notion of “demographic voids” (Moreira, 2000) was created at the expense of the forced removal and reclusion of Guarani and Tupinikim groups and the expropriation of their lands in Espírito Santo state, Brazil. The study focuses on the indigenous versions of historical situations, the multiple forms of relationship between the state and indigenous peoples and the conditions of production of ethnographic data (Oliveira Filho, 1999:9).

Keywords: Military Dictatorship; Indigenous Lands; Guarani Farm; Guarani and Tupinikim Narratives.

Fazenda Guarani: narrativas indígenas sobre remoção, reclusão e fugas no período da ditadura militar no Brasil

Resumo

O artigo apresenta resultados parciais de um exercício crítico sobre os múltiplos usos do passado, no âmbito das relações entre povos indígenas, estruturas de poder estatizadas e segmentos da sociedade regional. Desvenda como o complexo jogo entre a construção da mitografia regional e os “vazios demográficos” (Moreira, 2000) foi criado ao preço da remoção forçada e reclusão de grupos guarani e tupinikim e da expropriação de suas terras no Espírito Santo (Brasil). A pesquisa está direcionada para as versões indígenas de situações históricas, as múltiplas formas de relacionamento entre o Estado e os povos indígenas e as condições de produção dos dados etnográficos (Oliveira Filho, 1999: 9).

Palavras-chave: Ditadura militar; Terras Indígenas; Fazenda Guarani; Narrativas Guarani e Tupinikim.

The Guarani Farm: indigenous narratives about removal, reclusion and escapes during the military dictatorship in Brazil

Celeste Ciccarone

Introduction

This preliminary study was conducted after an invitation to participate in the collaborative national research project “Indigenous peoples and the military dictatorship: support for the National Truth Commission (CNV) 1946-1988”. The Truth Commission was established in 2011 by Law 12.528 (cf. Relatório Parcial, 2012) and in 2012 a working group was formed to investigate “human rights violations, committed for political purposes and related to land struggles or against indigenous peoples” (Resolution nº 5/2012). Using a wide network of investigations, the collection and analysis of testimonies, written and audiovisual documental sources and the production of regional and at times interconnecting historiographies of differing scales, the process acquired political relevance by constructing a public memory of violations of indigenous rights.

The inclusion of indigenous peoples in the transitional process underway in Brazil to seek justice (despite the limitations in this process),¹ the reparation of violated individual and collective rights;² and the continuation of investigations of situations that have not been clarified, are indispensable for recognizing and addressing the constant and growing demands of indigenous collectives. These demands have been silenced by the national state in different moments of the country’s redemocratization and strengthened by the investigative opportunities and release of previously confidential documents made possible by the working group of the Truth Commission and by the collaborative research.

While the majority of investigations of violent actions by the military regime highlighted the exposure of crimes committed in urban contexts, considering the limits of investigative interests and of the subjects who were the targets of violence, little has been documented about the violence suffered by indigenous peoples during the dictatorship.³ A strong need existed to decolonize and trigger the plurality of memories of suffering and resistance. The rewriting of a hegemonic history, characterized by mute, dead, absent and intermittent Indians, was urgently required, which would focus on the protagonist role of indigenous narratives, and recognize their non-linear constructions of the work of memory; in an authorship densely woven by intersections, variations and suspensions through traumatic trajectories enclosed in silence. To face the absences provoked by the politics of terror of the state of exception, it was necessary to recall, “The right to remember doesn’t figure among the human rights consecrated by the UN, but today more than ever it’s necessary to reinvigorate it and put it in practice: not to repeat the past, but to avoid repeating it” (Galeano, 1999: 216).

1 Such as the lack of recognition that ethnicity is inseparable from human rights violations against indigenous peoples (Calheiros, 2015:4).

2 E. Cofacci de Lima and Rafael Pacheco (2017:237-238) stress the recommendation of the Truth Commission to alter the regime of political amnesty to allow just reparations that consider the damages caused to indigenous groups by the violence of the regime and its effects.

3 On this topic, see: CTI, 2014; Comissão Estadual de Direito à Verdade, à Memória e à Justiça do Amazonas (2015); Revista Aracé, 2017.

With the establishment of the working group for the Truth Commission, the explosion of denunciations in the media focused mainly on the terrorizing practices of physical elimination and torture,⁴ with less emphasis on other forms of violence that had yet to be registered and recognized as practices of ethnic extermination. If the memory of the military regime needed to be reexamined by considering the rise of multiple actors and situations, other memories were painfully revived by indigenous peoples. In their narratives: faces of violence emerged, in addition to the territorial usurpation and devastation, the deceit, persecution and forced removal, the reclusion, slave labor and abandonment. Confronting the invisibility of aggressive and abusive practices, the concealment of crimes and systematic violation of indigenous rights during the dictatorship is a necessary element of making a commitment to their recognition, justice and reparation. It is part of a constant political struggle against the legacy of impunity and collective anesthesia that returned to unsettle Brazil in another violent assault of ethnocide (Viveiros de Castro, 2017).

Since my PhD studies,⁵ I have had the opportunity to collect accounts from a group of Guarani Mbya who during the military regime, and along with a Tupinikim⁶ family, had been forcibly removed from their lands in the municipality of Aracruz, in the northern coast of Espírito Santo, which were allocated to agroindustry. These people were confined for six years in a penal colony known as the Fazenda Guarani (the Guarani Farm),⁷ an institution created to “reeducate” imprisoned Indians - who had been sent there for a *period of recovery* or a *period of reeducation*, and labeled as *delinquents, degenerates or criminals* (Corrêa, 2003: 130). Indians were sent to the Guarani Farm from different areas of Brazil and, most had been involved in land conflicts triggered by the colonization on their lands.

The accounts continued to accompany me on my periodic field trips, haunting a promise that they would be revived, to continue the work of registering the countless terrifying and traumatic situations of violence against indigenous peoples. The narratives focus on their endless resistance struggles against the characterization by the state and the media of traditional indigenous territories as “demographic voids” (Moreira, 2000) - used to feed the hegemonic regional mythography. The Guarani Mbya and Tupinikim held at the Guarani Farm had accepted to revisit their memories of removal, detention and struggle⁸ and, during the conversations, on several occasions expressed a desire to tell even more stories. Although they had seemed destined to be forgotten, the accounts began to flow in a field of utterances and listenings that became increasingly broader, participating in the recomposition of a collective memory and of an other historiography.

4 Examples of media coverage: PASSOS, N. Houve extermínio sistemático de aldeias indígenas na ditadura. Carta Maior, 08 Feb.2012; CAMPOS, A. Denúncias apontam o Reformatório Agrícola Krenak, em Minas Gerais, como centro de tortura de índios durante regime militar. Brasil de Fato 10 Sep. 2012; BALZA, G. Comissão da Verdade apura mortes de índios que podem quintuplicar vítimas da ditadura. <https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2012/11/12/comissao-da-verdade-apura-mortes-de-indios-que-podem-quintuplicar-vitimas-da-ditadura.htm>. Accessed in November, 2017.

5 Besides research in press archives, I have collected microfilm from the National Indian Foundation’s (FUNAI) internal correspondence found at the Museu do Índia (in Rio de Janeiro), which related to the Guarani Mbya migratory group that reached Espírito Santo lands during the 1960s and whose surviving members are the interlocutors referred to in this article

6 Tupinikim is the spelling used by the indigenous people itself, while *Tupiniquim* is the most common spelling found in non-indigenous documents consulted.

7 The naming was justified, according to a news report from the time: “as an homage to the realization of many dreams and hopes of the remaining Guarani. Therefore, the time of uncertain walks, ended, replaced by the present they desired most: fertile and healthy lands, ready for hunting and fishing, to distance them from the whites and make them, therefore, their own bosses” In: *Revista Espírito Santo Agora*, set. 1973.

8 The gathering of narratives was conducted among the Guarani Mbya of the villages of Boa Esperança, Três Palmeiras and Piraquê Açu, and the Tupinikim from Caieiras Velhas and Irajá, located in the Caieiras Velhas and Caieiras Velhas II Indigenous Lands, in the municipality of Aracruz (ES). The work included the participation of the Guarani teacher Sandra Benites, master in anthropology (MN/UFRJ), and Ana Paula Gonçalves, who has a bachelor’s degree in the social sciences (UFES) and is a master’s student in Anthropology (FFLCH/USP), who transcribed the accounts.

However, few non-indigenous interlocutors were willing to collaborate, including researchers. Requests for information were blocked by silence, attitudes of distrust and evasion, or even explicit refusal, which aroused the suspicion that examination of this theme continues to be taboo.⁹

Antecedent

To map the context in which the violent practices against the Guarani Mbya and the Tupinikim, who had been owners of land along Espírito Santo's north coast, it is necessary to understand a bit of the regional mythography about the indigenous and about the action of the state governors who were indirectly elected during the military regime.

Coffee production gave Espírito Santo worldwide projection, stimulating the policy for demographic whitening, which since the early twentieth century encouraged immigration of Europeans to whom lands were granted that were considered to be "demographic voids" (Moreira, 2000). These lands were gradually cleared of their legitimate inhabitants, who were indigenous peoples, *quilombolas* [collectives of African descent] and other traditional communities.

The official narrative claim that "*there were no Indians in Espírito Santo*" was corroborated by the Indian Protection Service (SPI), which had not recognized the presence of Tupinikim in its area of operation,¹⁰ because they were considered, according to categories in force at the time, "*remnants in promiscuous coexistence*" with the regional population. The SPI would produce other "demographic voids" in collusion with government and settlers. This involved the removal of the Krenak, Pataxó and Maxacali, who were forcibly removed from their lands, together with a Guarani Mbya group that was intercepted as it was walking to the Pancas Indian Attraction Post, in northern Espírito Santo (Ciccarone, 2001: 253).¹¹ The Indigenous Protection Service was thus involved in the decimation of the indigenous population, resulting in over 200 deaths.

The official version presented by the indigenist agency attributed the annihilation to devastating outbreaks of malaria, which led to the extinction of the Pancas Attraction Post in 1937 and SPI's withdrawal from the state. This version is challenged by Antônio Carvalho *Vera Kwaray*, chief of the Guarani village Boa Esperança (ES) who since childhood had heard stories about "*the great killings at Pancas*" (Ciccarone, 2001: 254). The fertile land in Espírito Santo's northwest under SPI jurisdiction were target of an intense colonization process. With the collusion of government agents, the extermination of Indians assured the appropriation of the "free" areas.¹² In the wake of these processes, during the 1940s, the state company for the production of vegetal charcoal (COFAVI) was established in the territory of the Tupinikim. In the mid twentieth century, local researchers (Ruschi, 1954; Pacheco, 1955) had already challenged the government's official narrative that "*there were no Indians in Espírito Santo*".

While Governor Christiano Dias Lopes (1967-1971) planned the modernization of the state via industrialization, as a response to the collapse of coffee cultivation – which was a persistent idea in the hegemonic regional historiography (Daré, 2010) – a group of Guarani Mbya in a migratory process, guided by shaman Maria Candelária *Tatatki Ywa Rete*, once again reached Espírito Santo in the 1960s. They settled in Caieiras Velhas, a Tupinikim village on the north coast of the municipality of Aracruz.

9 Term used by Prof. Dr. John Monteiro (UNICAMP) in a personal conversation during the research.

10 The main area of operation of the SPI since the beginning of the 20th century extends from southern Bahia, to the Rio Doce region in Minas Gerais, and the north of Espírito Santo, due to the construction of the Bahia-Minas and Vitória-Minas railroads (Paraíso, 1992:420).

11 The Attraction Posts were created as initiatives of the Indigenous Protection Service to confine and integrate the indigenous peoples in regions of recent colonization. The Attraction Post at Pancas was created in 1913 and terminated in 1937.

12 The tragedy of Pancas was the subject of the documentary *Genocídio guarani* (2013), a collaborative work between chief Antonio Carvalho and the journalist and photographer Rogério Medeiros.

Along their walks (*oguata*) by the sea through their wide territory,¹³ small family groups took turns in the search for their ancestors' lands. Those lands were revealed in dreams of the shaman leaders and were located in regions of the Atlantic forest that met the requirements for the creation of villages (*tekoa*) and the exercise of their way of life (Ladeira, 2001; 2007[1992]). The coexistence with the Tupinikim was characterized by a strengthening of political alliances and the avoidance of tensions, as the group occupied a separate space in the community.

Since 1967, the intervention of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), the indigenist agency that had replaced the Indian Protection Service (SPI) - which had been riddled by accusations of corruption and violence against Indians - involved collusion with the interests of the colonization projects through omission and a posteriori interventions in indigenous territories. FUNAI maintained the SPI practices of "pacification" and forced removal, conducted in partnership with the military police and other armed forces of the regime. Of all the districts of FUNAI operations, the Ajudância Minas-Bahia (AJMB), under the command of state Military Police Captain Manoel dos Santos Pinheiro from 1969 to 1972, was the scene of some of the period's greatest terror and violence against Indians. Much of the actions were executed in the realm of the notorious "reeducational" institution known as the *Reformatório Krenak* [Krenak Reformatory] (1969-1972). The *Guarda Rural Indígena* GRIN [Indigenous Rural Guard] (1969-1979), a militia formed by Indians removed from several regions of Brazil, participated in the actions. The Indians recruited for the militia were forbidden to speak their native languages, reduced to obedient bodies, and trained to commit violence against other Indians, capturing, torturing and disciplining fugitives from the reformatory.

- Are you Indians?

- Yes, we are Indians.

- Where are you from?

- We are from Espírito Santo.

- Do you have a village in Espírito Santo? How is this land of yours?

- There is forest and the company is breaking everything, ruining everything.

- My God, this can't be so. You can't stay here, pack your things, there is a place for you to stay

(Nilson Joaquim da Silva, 2013).

Since the Guarani had arrived at the Caieiras Velhas village, Nilson Joaquim da Silva, a Tupinikim, had joined the Guarani as they moved about to sell their crafts. He was 13 years old when the group was approached by military policemen, in Belo Horizonte. This episode begins, in Nilson's version, the trajectory that led to the forced removal of the group of Guarani Mbya and Tupinikim to the *Guarani Farm*, and reiterates the practices of interception, control and repression of Guarani territorial movements,¹⁴ which had been used regularly by the Indigenous Protection Service in areas of recent colonization, as in the case of Pancas (ES), mentioned above. The fact that they were stopped by the police indicates the prejudice against the indigenous presence in urban space, and how they were persecuted as suspects¹⁵ violating their freedom of movement and removing the group to the National Indigenous Foundation headquarters in Minas Gerais.

13 The Guarani world-territory (*ywy rupa*) encompasses "the paths taken, the places occupied by the ancestors, the areas dreamed of, the temporarily unoccupied spaces, the places to still be appropriated" (Darella, 2004: 80) and ranges from Argentina and Uruguay, to Brazil's South and Southeast, until Pará, with the ocean its sole limit.

14 The circulation in cities, to sell crafts, combines efforts to earn money with relations of reciprocity in economic and social practices of indigenous collectives (Pissolato, 2016).

15 Vagrancy was considered at the time a misdemeanor by art. 59 of the Brazilian Criminal Code of 1942. Vagrancy had been considered a crime since colonial times to provide a mechanism for state control over individual freedom and the occupation of time in a productive manner, related to the rise of free labor, the end of slavery and the formation of a reserve army for the emergent capitalism (Ribeiro, 2000). It triggers the arbitrary framing of a type of suspect, the legitimation of prejudice and the ethnic racial persecution (Goettert, 2006). Vagrancy was only decriminalized in 2012.

Refusal and removal

The last narrative cited was presented in August 2013, at a public hearing of the Memory and Truth Commission of Espírito Santo, in the presence of Maria Rita Kehl, coordinator of the Peasants and Indigenous Working Group of the National Truth Commission. At the event, the testimony of Guarani Mbya and Tupinikim elders about their forced removal and imprisonment at the Guarani Farm caused surprise and discomfort among the public, which was composed mostly of urban victims of regime violence, who were still unfamiliar with the Indians experience, in a complacent ignorance of the events that reiterated the fable that “*there were no Indians in Espírito Santo*”.

In a secluded location, Maria Rita Kehl heard the account of Guarani elder Marilza Carvalho *Keretxu Endy* about what happened at the AJMB headquarters, in Belo Horizonte, where the group was received by Captain Pinheiro, as he was known among the Indians. He had invited the Indians to go by plane to Brasília, where he said FUNAI administrators would take measures concerning their lands in Espírito Santo.¹⁶ As she told of the group’s refusal of Capitão Pinheiro’s invitation, the Guarani leader was categorical about attributing a genocidal function to this means of transport under the regime. This fact was widely corroborated by the press and by the Figueiredo Report,¹⁷ which resurrected “countless ghosts, including hunts for humans, with machineguns and dynamite thrown from airplanes, deliberate smallpox contamination of isolated peoples and donations of sugar mixed with strychnine” (Santo Martins, 2015).

The active resistance of Guarani leaders and their refusal of the invitations and proposals sent by state agents was reiterated on several occasions, exhibiting their determination to remain on and protect their land on the north coast of Espírito Santo. The Guarani Mbya consider the areas of Atlantic Forest by the sea to be “elected places” (*tekoa pora*), which carry mythical and historical meaning, and where the original creations that were not destroyed by the flood are preserved, as well as signs (geographical formations, rocks, ruins) of the previous occupation by their ancestors, and the supporting elements of an imperfect and unstable earthly world (*yvy vai*). Therefore, they understand that for this world to exist, and for them to exist as Mbya in this world, that their access to these seaside forests (*ka’aguy*) must be guaranteed and they must be preserved (Ciccarone, 2011: 142).

- The guys were saying that they were Indians (...)
- *What are they doing here?*
- *We are looking for our lands.*
- *But it was [during] the military regime, and the governor refused to meet them* (Rogério Medeiros, 1998).

The testimony of journalist Rogério Medeiros was not an isolated fact. The military regime continued to monitor, watch and punish Indians who denounced and clashed with the national land settlement program. The Tupinikim were classified as dead Indians, declared extinct by the SPI and the local researchers’ account of their existence was ignored. The Guarani were labeled as “foreigners” considering the trans-border nature of their vast territory, they were destined to the place of the other without land or any rights.

The developmentalist delirium promoted by the ideology of the military regime, with its moral ethnocide, had no room for difference. The linear and immutable positivist history that promoted “order and progress” was “followed in military lockstep in single line” (Rolnik, 1989: 191), as in the shocking scenes

¹⁶ Maria Rita Kehl received documentation about the forced removals and reclusion of the Guarani and Tupinikim at the Guarani Farm. But the Relatório Final da Comissão Nacional da Verdade, V. II, texto 5 – Violações de direitos humanos dos Povos Indígenas (dezembro 2014) [Final Report of CNV, V. II, text 5 – Violations of Indigenous Peoples human rights (December 2014)] has only a short mention of them (p. 245).

¹⁷ The Figueiredo Report, which was found in 2013 at the Museum of Indian (RJ), by researcher Marcelo Zelic, has over 7 thousand pages written by prosecutor Jader Figueiredo Correia. It is the most important document produced by the Brazilian government during the dictatorship to investigate the complaints of crimes committed against indigenous peoples. A first reading did not find relevant data for this study.

of the parade of the first class of the Indigenous Rural Guard (GRIN), at their graduation ceremony in Belo Horizonte in 1970, which celebrated torture as a disciplinary practice in the capture of Indians by Indians themselves.¹⁸

In 1972, at the UN Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm, Sweden, the Brazilian government delegates invited polluting industries to establish themselves in the country. While international observers focused on the devastation of the Amazon, the military regime was impudently assaulting and slaughtering peasants, *quilombolas* and indigenous groups. In times of an exacerbated appetite for land (Santos et al., 1994), the confrontation intensified against indigenous peoples. They were expelled from their territories that were expropriated, and transformed through economic and technocratic assessments, so the lands would acquire new social shape and thrive in the growing market of illegally seized and subdivided lands.

The accounts of the Guarani Mbya and Tupinikim who were imprisoned at the Guarani Farm concentrated on the most repressive period of the military regime, when Espírito Santo, governed by engineer Arthur Gerhart dos Santos (1971-1975), felt as if it was at the center of the world. For the new governor, the social and environmental losses represented “inevitable costs”, considering the incomparable advantages of progress.¹⁹ The great sprint towards the modernization and integration of Espírito Santo came from eucalyptus, an exotic product, like coffee, confirming the state’s “vocation” to produce and export raw materials.

Supported by a Forest Code (BRASIL, 1965) that assured tax incentives and exemptions, the reforestation company Aracruz Florestal (which later became the multinational company Aracruz Celulose) had the support of development agencies and governments, and received tremendous state and federal funding to produce a monoculture of eucalyptus in the state. The hegemonic narrative that “*there were no Indians in Espírito Santo*” became more powerful by transforming indigenous lands into a “demographic void”, which were technically defined as an “*extensive region of unoccupied and economically inexpressive lands*”.²⁰

With the complicity of governments and the hiring of armed gangs, the company expropriated and devastated indigenous lands on the coast of the municipality of Aracruz (ES),²¹ using forgery of land deeds and violence against local populations (Calazans, M. (coord.), 2002; Gomes, H. & Overbeek, W. (Orgs.), 2011). As the terror spread, the Tupinikim were coerced to abandon their villages, and scattered through the region, settling in the pockets of poverty of urban slums, while the traces of indigenous presence in the territory were erased.²² Despite being cornered, some Tupinikim families refused to abandon the village of Caieiras Velhas²³ from where, amid rising tensions, the Guarani group temporarily left for Guarapari to sell crafts. From Guarapari, and on their frequent wanderings, they continued to accompany the events in the Aracruz indigenous lands.

18 This is a reference to the film *Arara*, directed by Jesco von Puttkamer, about the graduation ceremony of the first class of the Rural Indigenous Guard (GRIN) in 1970. The film was found at the Museum of the Indian (RJ), in 2012, by Marcelo Zelic, vice-president of the group Torture Never Again and coordinator of the project Memory Warehouse.

19 Arthur Gerhart dos Santos would later become a director of Aracruz Celulose.

20 Technical report produced by the consulting company ECOTEC, whose co-owner, Antonio dias Leite was one of the mentors of the Forest Code (DALCOMUNI, 1990: 186).

21 In 1967 the state government handed over to Aracruz Florestal the 10 thousand hectares explored by COFAVI, amplifying to 30 thousand hectares the size of indigenous lands dispossessed as if they were vacant lands and negotiated for “the symbolic amount of eight tenths of a hundredth of a cruzeiro per square meter” (Guimarães, 1982: 143).

22 Thirty-seven of the 40 Tupinikim villages scattered over the 40 thousand hectares of indigenous territory were destroyed. Only Caieiras Velhas and Pau Brasil remained, each with 25 hectares. The village of Comboios was preserved because it was in a restinga (a coastal forest). (...) Over the ruins of the Tupinikim village Macacos, the first pulp factory was built and inaugurated in 1978 by General Ernesto Geisel (Gomes, H. & Overbeek, W. (Orgs.), 2011: 60).

23 A Parliamentary Investigative Commission (CPI) was established in 2002 by the Legislative Assembly of Espírito Santo to investigate frauds and socioenvironmental crimes during the establishment of Aracruz Cellulose. The work of the CPI was suspended in the next year, by a decision of Brazil’s Supreme Court.

We were working and explaining the history. Then, the people, the authorities, said to be patient: 'In another year, maybe three, it's possible that we'll find a piece of land for you'. The elders told us that this was truly an indigenous area. They said that there were Guarani here many years ago as well. The area here was a Tupinikim indigenous land and there was also other Indians, at that time there was the Tupinambá (João Carvalho, Kwaray Mymby, 1998).

The Tupinikim and Guarani organized to demand from FUNAI in Brasília their rights to the lands that were invaded and destroyed by the multinational company, and held the indigenist agency responsible for enhancing the terror in the region. This might have been the trigger for the state agents to evacuate the indigenous area and try to transfer the Guarani group to villages in other states. But they met a firm refusal of the indigenous who were determined to assure their rights over the lands in the northern coast of Espírito Santo.

In March 1973, chief Paulo Benites *Vera mirim Piriria*, son of the shaman *Tatatxi*, went to the press to seek a hearing with the governor and claim the concession of an area close to the village of Caieiras Velhas that was recognized as an ancient site of occupation of his people. The Guarani group was getting public visibility in the state with media coverage of the events. In addition to the indigenous rights over the lands, the chief claimed documents existed that proved the legitimacy of his claims (A Gazeta, Mar. 17, 1973: 7).²⁴ The press published the position of the agents of the military regime, who promised to find “an” area for the group and especially “*any other solution, providing that it would be favorable to the Indians' claims, considering the government interest in the matter*”. (A Gazeta, Mar. 21, 1973).

In this new farce, employees of the Social Adjustment Center of the state Secretariat of Labor and Social Promotion monitored the group, claiming they did not have the resources to assist the Indians who “*wandered in search of shelter*” (Ministério do Interior, Aug. 13, 1973). At the same time, the state government declared that they were aiding the group of Guarani in Guarapari - who were living in a dramatic situation of hunger, sickness, destitution and harassment - providing them with clothing, food and medical, dental and sanitary assistance, “*from the moment they arrived in the state*”.

The discriminatory discourse that referred to the Guarani Mbya as “foreigners, vagrants and nomads” still echoes, as a device for denial and violation of their rights over the lands which they affirm belong to them. The indigenous people challenge the state assaults that sought to control, submit and integrate a people who for centuries struggled to assure their autonomy and preserve their original territory (Melià, 1997).

With media coverage of attempts by the municipality of Guarapari to exploit the indigenous group as a touristic attraction in exchange for a land where they could settle,²⁵ a new character of the military regime appeared, perpetuating the tutelary character of the indigenist policy. This served the state's developmentalist plan by administrating the forced removal of the Indians to the *Guarani Farm* (A Gazeta, Aug. 09 1973). The new deputy of the Ajudância Minas-Bahia (AJMB), João Geraldo Itatuitim Ruas, a Juruna Indian and former employee of the Indigenous Protection Service, like the majority of FUNAI's staff, following orders from Brasília, gave priority to the removal of the Indians from Caieiras Velha. He was thus challenged to face the resistance of the Guarani, who were determined to remain on the Espírito Santo coast and return to the land of their ancestors.

In the internal communication from FUNAI previously mentioned (Ministério do Interior, Aug. 13 1973), deputy Ruas referred to the Guarani as “*a group bamboozled by the Jesuit mystique that presents a series of psycho-religious complications (...) they are fanatical in relation to religious communitarian life*”. He said that

²⁴ The documents referred to a *sesmaria* (a colonial land grant) from 1760, marking 237,900 hectares of the original Tupiniquim territory in the north of Espírito Santo (VILLAS, 2011: 20).

²⁵ During their stay in Guarapari, the state military police prohibited the Guarani from selling crafts and the Navy expelled the group from a seaside area, so they found shelter with evangelic churches (CICCARONE, 2011:305).

to persuade them to accept the “transfer” to Minas Gerais, he enacted a religious ritual, and was convinced of the success of his farce. The performance proved to be a failure and an insult to the group guided by shaman *Tatatxi Ywa Rete*, which refused to move. The indignant resistance of the Guarani sharply emerges in the following account:

I did not know that Tatatxi went against her will; Itatuitim said to me that the farm was wonderful for them (...) The buses did not leave because Vera miri (Sérgio Carvalho dos Santos, Tatatxi's grandson) didn't arrive, he had been drinking (...)

Itatuitim said: Let's convince this boy, because the old woman is being very resistant.

I responded like this: Now we are leaving to the land of the Indians, you'll disappear.

Then he spit in my face. You white motherfuckers, you already took all the Indians' land (Rogério Medeiros, 1998).

The forced removal to the Indigenous Agricultural Colony *Fazenda Guarani* [The Guarani Farm] took place in August 1973, financed by the Espírito Santo state government (Ministério do Interior, Aug. 26 1973). The elder leader Marilza Carvalho, *Keretxu Endy*, recalled with irony the extensive efforts and resources engaged to expel the Guarani from the state. “*The police, the army put them in the bus*” (2013), while the press turned the violent action into a celebration of the indigenous people finding their “Promised Land”. This was a manipulated characterization of their arrival at the Indigenous Agricultural Colony in the municipality of Carmésia (MG) (Jornal do Brasil, Aug. 19 1973), as part of their search for a “Land without Wickedness” - a cosmological category substantialized by the Guarani in their territorial mobility.²⁶

The persecution by the military regime spread through the state, to suppress all evidence of indigenous presence, to guarantee the lands would be vacant and issued to agroindustry. Maria da Silva was taken by force from her home, in Vitória, by military police and led to a police station. There she waited together with her family group - led by chief Tupinikim from the Caieiras Velhas village, Benedito Joaquim Silva, and his wife, Almerinda Pinto Joaquim, who had been removed by force from their lands - for the arrival of buses “*full of Guarani*” (2013), that would transport them to the *Guarani Farm*.

At seven a.m., they came to my house; I was three months pregnant with my older son, Tatu, the police knocked on my door. It's the federal police.

- But I did nothing! I was scared.

- No, it's because you are Indian; you have to go to the *Guarani Farm*.

(Maria da Silva, 2013).

Maria worked as a housekeeper in the city, like many Tupinikim women expelled from their lands on the north coast of the state. She was married with a white man, yet “I knew I was daughter of Indians”. However, her recognition as Tupinikim was a punitive attribution, when she was found and arrested.

The memory of the event and the recollections of the interactions with the state agents marked the production of personhood and kinship, with the attribution of names and nicknames. She came to be known as Maria *Tupinikim* and her older son as *Itatuitim*, “in homage” of the FUNAI deputy who, in turn, was identified by the nickname *Tatuitino*. These nominal bonds create associations that include the nickname (Viegas de Matos, 2008: 77) acquired by Maria's son, who the Tupinikim refer to as *Tatu* [Armadillo], in a symbolic reference to a telluric condition that illustrated the indigenous memories of the experience of reclusion.

²⁶ The search for the Land without Wickedness (*yvy* = earth and *marae'y* = without end, imperishable) has a prominent place in Guarani ethnology. Its multifactorial comprehension has a strong presence in works from the 1980s, with the mobilizations for regulation of land rights. There was a questioning of its ideologization, from the perspective of an earthly place with better living conditions, free from suffering and deprivation, during their territorial displacements. It was presented as an imperishable place that can be reached in life by crossing the “great water” that separates the earthly world from the eternal home.

The imprisonment hole

The *Guarani Farm* began its operations as an Indigenous Agricultural Colony in 1972, after the closure of the Krenak Reformatory that was under the command of Captain Pinheiro from 1969 to 1972. In a combined action between the state military police and the Indigenous Rural Guard (GRIN), which was a Krenak group that had been forcibly removed from their territory that was invaded by the Forestry Police and by farmers²⁷ and confined to the Reformatory, which was established in 1969, at the Indigenous Post Guido Marlière, in Resplendor (MG). Together with Indians from other regions of the country detained at the institution to “assure their protection and reeducation”, the Krenak were taken in 1972 to the Guarani Farm, in Carmésia (MG), where FUNAI planned to continue the recovery and forced integration plan by means of community development projects and the training of community leaders.

Located in an area of 120 “alqueires”, the *Guarani Farm* - a former torture facility for political prisoners and a counter guerrilla training center of the Minas Gerais state military police - was ceded to FUNAI in exchange for the lands of the Krenak, in Resplendor, despite the fact that in 1971 the Krenak had won a reintegration lawsuit for 4 thousand hectares. The exchange arranged by Captain Pinheiro with the federal and state governments, as celebrated by the press, guaranteed the colonization of indigenous lands and the emission of propriety titles to the tenants (Estado de Minas, Jun. 24 1971).

Most studies and news stories focus on the Krenak Reformatory, with rare attention given to the *Guarani Farm*. Studies by Soares (1992) and Matos (1996) draw on indigenous accounts about the Reformatory. Soares focused on the land conflicts that triggered arrest and imprisonment, denouncing the violence practiced by the militias, while Matos followed the trajectories of interethnic relations of the Krenak with settlers and indigenist agents. Caixeta de Queiroz (1999) examined the disciplinary character of the institution, as a materialization of the colonial policy of physical and symbolic violence perpetrated against the Krenak, practicing the culture of terror as a strategy of domination and control. Corrêa (2003; 2003) highlights the confidential character of the state agents’ reports that deny charges of human rights abuses, and news reports. Reviewing the trajectory of the Indigenous Protection Service in the actions of recovery and reeducation of “criminal” and “unadjusted” Indians and in providing assistance and control of those considered “normal” (2003: 174), the author reveals the continuity of the existence of reformatories and their role in supporting the tutelary policy of the state.

The few and brief references to the Guarani Farm found in these studies are from a dissertation by Matos (1996), which focuses on the importance of the “demographic void” strategy in the appropriation of Krenak lands, highlighting the indigenous narratives about their violent removal to the Guarani Farm. Corrêa (2003) refers to the Guarani Farm as he questions the exclusive approach of the institution and the Reformatory as a prison system.

- Why did they bring you here? - Other Indians who were imprisoned asked (...). There were guards, 30, 40 Xavante, Karajá, Krenak Indians imprisoned, more than 100 people. (Marilza Carvalho, Keretxu Endy, 2013).

In August 1973 some 120 Indians from different peoples were detained at the Guarani Farm whose lands were occupied by non-Indian tenants and squatters. The groups removed from their lands in Espírito Santo were composed of 7 Guarani families, with 46 persons, and a Tupinikim family, with ten people, according to an internal FUNAI correspondence, in which deputy J. G. Itatuitim Ruas expressed his intention to remove to the institution another contingent of 22 Tupinikim.²⁸

²⁷ The Krenak fought against the colonization of their lands, returning to the area from where they were repeatedly expelled (Soares, 1992; Matos, 1996).

²⁸ MINISTÉRIO DO INTERIOR. FUNAI. Sep. 12 1973. The document written and signed by J. G. Itatuitim Ruas, makes an explicit reference to the Tupinikim, and the new unsuccessful attempt to remove another 22 people.

During the trip, and at the arrival to the Indigenous Agricultural Colony, the Indians received false promises about the abundance of the location: the supposedly farmable lands of the Guarani Farm were arid pastures, not suitable to planting. The few forests had little fish and game, there was a lack of raw material for crafts.

It was dawn when we arrived and I came smiling to talk to her: Oh, Tatatki, what a good land - She stared at me with a severe look, didn't return my smile, then Aurora (Tatatxi's daughter) said that she had dreamt that that would be a place of disgrace for the Guarani (...). I went there several times: she was always very sad, very sad.

(Rogério Medeiros, journalist, 1998)

The memory of the facial expressions of *Tatatxi* is a powerful image, evoked in the narratives of the whites about the shamanic leader. In those dramatic times, it manifest the intense experience of pain from being in a dark place, without joy, the sudden interruption and limitation of their freedom of movement and the end to their seaside walks, which are conditions vital to their existence. In the premonitions of the shamanic dreams, the announcements of death, conjugated in the oneiric space/time of visions of the future the memory of conflicts they had experienced together with the Krenak, in Resplendor (MG), when the migratory group had passed through the location in the 1960s. The memories of the violent dispossession from indigenous lands, which were subdivided into lots, and the tension, aggression and forced confinement of the Krenak, fed *Tatatxi's* dire premonitions.

There at the Guarani Farm, my nephew went hunting in the woods and stepped on an armadillo's tail. He walked further and stepped on a rattlesnake; there are many rattlesnakes. Then, he went close to the armadillos' hole and stepped there. Ten days went by (...) the doctor said: You are still alive? Still alive? - And he said he was fine. Twenty-four hours later the doctor came, gave him an injection, and that was it, he dropped dead. That's how my nephew Sérgio died.

(Paulo Benites, *Vera mirim Piriria*, 1998)

Outraged by the whites' deceits, Sérgio Carvalho dos Santos, *Vera Guyra*, *Tatatxi's* grandson who had spit in a journalist's face when embarking on the bus that took the group to the Guarani Farm, would be the first fatal victim of the imprisonment in a land inhabited with insidious deadly elements, that were manifest in a deadly attack by a poisonous snake and in a fall into the dark space of an armadillo hole. Snakebites were common, afflicting humans - like Aurora and Jonas, the mother and brother of the late Sérgio - and non-humans, like cows, oxen and dogs. The repeated deaths associated to medical assistance were expressed in other narratives of the same Guarani groups, which told of aggressive and neglectful attitudes suffered mainly in hospitals in the interior, from where "it's easier to leave dead than alive" (Aurora Carvalho, *Keretxu Miri*, 1998).

The indigenous accounts of the imprisonment at the Guarani Farm evoke traumatic memories; they are fragmented, marked by gaps and forgotten elements; while they express tacit suffering, marks of coercion as violent as physical torture. The register of these accounts became a dialogical experience that overflowed with specific non-signifiable intensities (Favret-Saada, 2005). As I wrote this article, I continued to experience a sense of the profound inadequacy of the common analytical categories, as I had felt since my fieldwork. And though I have still not been able to address this conceptual gap as I had hoped, I knew that I at least could express the absence of registers of these experiences and insist on the right to recall them.

The Guarani narratives reiterate the deceit of the false promise that they would be given good land, yet were instead confined to a dangerous place unsuited to their way of life. In a space enclosed between hills, under the control of white men - military police, FUNAI employees and squatters - the "confinement" was a suffocating experience described as like *being inside a hole*, with no vital signs of movement or opportunities, contrary to the freedom of their wanderings (*oguada*) as a mode of existing on the horizon of

becoming. The memory of a suffocating experience in a place with no horizons emerges in the Tupinikim accounts about the Guarani Farm as a final destination and location of forced exile that brutally interrupted their life trajectory.

There were many guards there (...) they didn't let anyone leave. Everything was surrounded by hills, there was no view (...). So, there, oh dear, it's no place...! My grandmother (Tatatxi) said: This is no place for us to live, no!
(Jonas Carvalho, Tupa Kwaray, 2013)

They said that it was Indian land; that there was no danger (...). There was nothing even to plant (...) it was cooler, hillier, there was no distant horizon, it seemed like being in a hole (...) There was no stream, nothing, there were settlers, squatters; military police took over the Guarani Farm (João Carvalho, Kwaray Mymby, 1998).

There was a bunch of houses, with a street in the middle, an avenue, houses on both sides. They were farmer's houses (...) Krenak, Pataxó, Maxacali also lived there (...) Here, now it is your place, where you are going to live – said Tatuitinho (Itatuitim Ruas) and other persons that we knew (...). Then, we went there for that reason, never to return.
(Maria Tupinikim, 2013)

Fragments of memories repeat images of a desolate inhospitable land, torn by cracks, holes, tunnels, which the narrators had seen and walked over, boys at the time, confined with their families, who wandered in curiosity, hearing stories and exploring the underground places.

That tunnel, many holes underground. It is a rich land, there was a lot of malachite, many precious stones there; It still has (...) Some of the old white men said – this is where the Army did their target practice.
(Nilson Joaquim da Silva, 2013)

There were big rifle bullets with lead, powder, large bullets, some not fired (Pedro da Silva, Karai, 2013).

There was a, a tunnel there, people went inside. We watched too, we were small and curious. There were bullets, shrapnel.
(Agostinho da Silva Oliveira, Kwaray, 2013)

There is a munitions depot, rifles, all stored there. There are arms stored (Jonas Carvalho, Tupa Kwaray, 2013).

In that dangerous land, of violence, deceit and torture, the name of Captain Pinheiro echoed relentlessly in the narratives of Krenak and Tupinikim women.

My father died of disgust, he wanted to die at Krenak. Capitão Pinheiro brought many prisoners from all over the country, it was a jail. They deceitfully took us to the Guarani Farm; they said that there was a lot of fish, game to hunt, that it was a good place, all that gibberish. My father-in-law was handcuffed, the old man, they took him. Captain Pinheiro drank cachaça, they said they would talk, they came close to cuff them. They chained the Indians in jail and beat them (..) We lived like dogs there (Dejamira de Souza, Krenak, 1981).²⁹

The time of Captain Pinheiro was harsh. They said they were whipped(...) There was a solitary cell in a big house where Captain Pinheiro hanged people (Maria Tupinikim, 2013).

29 Narrative collected at the Guarani village Boa Esperança (ES), where the Krenak and Karajá that had joined the group at Guarani Farm were living. In: RELATÓRIOS DO CTI EM ARACRUZ POR LILIA VALLE. São Paulo: Centro de Trabalho Indigenista. – 1979 à 1984.

In contrast to the accounts of the indigenous silenced in “confinement”, the press released stories that emphasized the humanitarian contribution of the indigenous agent of the military regime, the Juruna J. G. Ituatitim Ruas. The continuity of the image presented by the Indigenous Protection Service of a protectionist and tutelary nation-state that implemented a “great siege of peace” (Souza Lima, 1995) over indigenous peoples and their territories, was enhanced by the alliance with the press. Elevated to the heroic executor of the national project of integration and emancipation, Deputy Ruas claimed to be an Indian in the name of Indians: *Above all, I am an Indian. My role is to help them to find and keep their freedom (...) I try to be an example as an Indian and encourage them (...): the Indian struggles and integrates or is swollen by civilization.* (Revista Realidade, Dec. 1973; Revista Espírito Santo Agora, 1973).

Against the announced death, facing the misfortunes and strengthening themselves with daily prayers and songs, led by shamanic leader *Tatatxi*, guided by her guidance and dream revelations (Taussig, 1993) Guarani leaders led actions of revolt and mobilization for the recovery of the lands on the northern coast of Espírito Santo.

My mother did not want to stay, she wanted to come here, we like it here, by the sea, and that’s why we returned (Paulo Benites, Vera mirim Piriria, 1998).

An intense confidential correspondence from the indigenist agency was produced a few months after the group from Espírito Santo arrived at the Guarani Farm. Antônio Vicente, chief of the Indigenous Post, requested the intervention of the deputy of AJMB, considering the *continuous dissatisfaction of the Guarani who complained about their extremely precarious state and that they are determined to leave (...) the Indians sleep on the ground, suffering from cold and lack of food* (Ministério do Interior, Oct. 31 1973). *The most aggressive and rude are the Guarany, who are always dissatisfied with everything and everyone* (Ministério do Interior, Jan. 28. 1974).

With the lack of funding for community development projects and to train community leaders, the purportedly exemplary integrationist “reeducation” laboratory for the Indians quickly proved to be a place of repressive practices, in conditions of poverty and suffering; a segregationist and punitive penal facility. The complaints and rebellions of the Indians were punished by charges of contempt for authority, vagrancy and drunkenness, and the accused were placed in solitary confinement, for as long as the arbitrary chief of the Indigenous Post wanted, and depending on the ability of the Indians to pressure for the prisoners’ release.

While the Guarani narratives focus on the motives for and time of detention, due to the total privation of freedom of movement, among the Tupinikim the emphasis was on the mobilization of prisoners to demand their freedom:

He was drunk and Vicente ordered him to be placed in a cell (...). Lots of Indians were jailed, they couldn’t leave (...) (Mario Carvalho, Vera Miri, 2013)

There was one that was never released. He was always there, I think he was from Amazonas, all the Xavantes were arrested, a Tucano Indian was arrested (...). Once, my uncle Mario got drunk, then he was put in jail, but wasn’t beaten. (Jonas Carvalho, Tupa Kwaray, 2013)

A jail that is in the ground, underneath (...) it was the Coronel’s (Captain Pinheiro) who locked people up (...) I had a fight with Vicente (the Chief of the Post) he threw me in there, with other people, threw me in there (...). The Guarani relatives, my relatives, got together and went to fight there, and they let me go (Nilson Joaquim da Silva, 2013).

In December 1973, the approval of the Indian Statute (Law 6001/1973) by defining “indigenous land” as a juridical category – although the legal structure remained adherent to the previous indigenous policy – set the foundation for the indigenous people’s struggles for land rights (Souza Lima, 2015). The military regime was pressured into passing the bill by international sponsors of the “Brazilian miracle” (including the World Bank), which in turn were embarrassed by organizations who fought for human and indigenous rights (Souza Lima, 2015: 439).

In this context, despite the scarce visibility of regions of Brazil not within the international focus on the Amazon, controlling the release of news about the violent practices at the Guarani Farm became an urgent task of the indigenous agency, which contacted the press to release declarations from the AJBM deputy about the protection of the Indians detained at the institution, defending the emergency and temporary character of the action. While he announced that the reclusion was close to an end, and remained silent about the fate of the “recovered” Indians (O Globo, Dec. 6 1973; Mota; Waldemar, 1973), deputy Ruas also repressed escape attempts, prohibited the indigenous from leaving the facility and blocked the arrival of a group of Guarani Mbya from São Paulo who came to support their arrested kin (Ministério do Interior, 11 abr. 1974).

The announcements of freedom resounded like shots from machine guns at the old counter guerrilla training center.

Citizens useful to slavery

The Guarani Farm wasn't only for Guarani, it was FUNAI's, and there was slave work as well (...). It was a place of slavery. There are houses there from the time of slavery. There was one with chains for binding a leg, the foot.

(Jonas Carvalho, *Tupa Kwaray*, 2013)

In addition to the weapons, ammo, stray bullets, in the layers of violence sedimented in the lands of the Guarani Farm, the remnants of iron chains echoed the time of captivity, when slave labor became present again.

In the beginning of 1974, an internal FUNAI correspondence indicated that 88 Indians classified as “acculturated” who were detained at the Guarani Farm were found: naked, hungry and submitted to slave labor at nearby farms, working with crops and cattle (Ministério do Interior, Apr. 20 1974).

I had to work for the farmer, it happened. It was in exchange for something, an exchange for something that I wasn't paid. (FUNAI) didn't care anymore about supplies, the chief of the post disappeared (Nilson Joaquim da Silva, 2013).

The FUNAI deputy at AJMB Minas justified the slavery as a way for Indians to become *useful citizens*.

The Indian cannot live only receiving, like an inactive element. It is necessary to teach him to produce, to show that if the white produces and develops to survive, he can do the same (João Geraldo Itatuitim Ruas, *Jornal do Brasil*, Mar. 03 1974).

While in the internal mailing of the indigenist organ, the state agents seemed to be committed to assuring the survival of the prisoners, through donations, and the buying and selling cattle with local farmers, the indigenous narratives stressed the collusion of the state agents with the slavery. In the context of tensions and threats from the settlers who occupied and invaded the lands of the Guarani Farm, the false promises of free lands were renewed by disguising the slave work on the *plantations* in eventual exchange of food for the Indians to stay alive.

I also worked a lot there and didn't get paid. There was no stream, nothing (...) There were small peccary and pacas in the woods, there was little forest. It was grasslands and hills (...) We couldn't even walk in the woods, we couldn't even hunt (...) there was a farmer, there in the area, the Guarani Farm, very angry (...) he promised he would kill Indians (...) The farmer took his cattle there, the cattle came in and destroyed everything. FUNAI let them.

(João Carvalho, *Kwaray Mymby*, 1998)

*(FUNAI agents) told us: We have a farm in Valadares; you are going to plant, to bring back for yourselves – Later, they said they would give us as well, for every family who worked there, and they gave nothing (...) We drove (the cattle), the cattle ran and fell into a hole (...) And they said: You can kill it for you to eat – So we ate it (...) We even worked on a eucalyptus plantation (...) Far from Carmésia, about two hours (Jonas Carvalho, *Tupa Kwaray*, 2013).*

*(FUNAI) sent trucks full of Indians to lands near Valadares, to crops of beans, corn, rice. Then took them back to the Guarani Farm. Every day they sent two full trucks. Working in exchange for food. If you didn't work, you didn't receive food. Little food and no money. (Marilza Carvalho, *Keretxu Endy*, 2013).*

In 1981, the anthropologist Lilia Valle recorded a narrative by Aurora Carvalho, *Keretxu miri*, daughter of the shamanic leader, about an emblematic episode that took place at the Guarani Farm. There was a confrontation of Guarani women and National Indian Foundation agents who were in collusion with the land invasion at the Agricultural Colony, in a persistent violation of its policies and false promises.³⁰

The cattle was there, but when it got in, it ate all the corn, cleared the land (...) I went to the Post, where the men were, the chief of the Indians, and I spoke with them: Oh, our leader, why are you our leader, you have to complain when something happens to us. He said: I will sell the calf so you can buy wire to fence your crop.

Well, if it's true, I'll wait.

*So, he was lying; until now, we never got the wire (...). So, I asked my mom and, then, she said: 'Then we are going back to Caieiras Velhas again, where there are no cattle and we can work for us to earn at least a small plot of earth to farm. (Aurora Carvalho, *Keretxu miri*, 1998)*

Guarani people used to say in their sacred utterances and daily teachings that the forests, with their living beings, were destined to them in the creation of the world, to protect them and they would reproduce on earth; while the fields, with its plain areas and creatures, like cattle, goats and horses, were reserved for the white people, whose numbers had grown so much and they began to covet and invade, with violence and lies, the indigenous lands, clearing forests and turning them into cattle pastures and city. Even if they are becoming scarce, small and scattered among white occupations, the areas of forest where they maintain and perfect their way of life, hunting, farming, guide the walks of the Guarani and their struggles for land to safeguard their territory.

Alliances and Escapes

In the authoritarian times of the policy to integrate Indians to as slave farmworkers and cow hands after expelling them from their lands that were given to settlers; the Guarani, Tupinikim and other imprisoned Indians launched a counter attack, with escape plans and denunciations of the living conditions on the *Guarani Farm*. The conviviality among Indians of different peoples, who had also been removed from their lands and isolated from their collectives in a scheme of domination and exploitation

³⁰ The audiovisual recording of the narrative was made during a trip to Espírito Santo by anthropologist/filmmaker Andrea Tonacci in 1979, after the retaking of the area claimed by the group led by shaman *Tatatxi Ywa Reteé*.

inherited from the times of the Jesuit reductions, had multiple well-known effects such as alienation and tension. However, there were less explored effects: the preparation and emergence of leaders, agencyings of alliances, friendships and marriage. The times of reclusion shared at the Indigenous Agricultural Colony established networks of relations that escaped the control of state agents and the time-space limits imposed by the confinement. The alliances strengthened the daily resistance (Scott, 2000) like the pressure placed on employees and the monitoring of the guards so that they could escape their control. To contain the rebellions, FUNAI agents engaged the militias to detain prisoners and prevent escapes. They also tried strategies like monitoring cultural presentations at charity events held so the indigenous could earn some resources (Jornal do Brasil, Apr. 20, 1974).

At the Guarani Farm, a prisoner couldn't go any where and came from any place (...) They escaped and returned. My uncle João came and left. (...). They said: Here you will be safe. They returned to the Guarani Farm (Marilza Carvalho, Keretxu Endy, 2013).

They didn't let us, they said there was nothing left, no more places for Indians. But later we left, without an order, without asking for an order (João Carvalho, Kwaray Mymby, 2013).

We began to escape; we also worked, but couldn't leave (Joana Carvalho, Tatatxi, 1998).

If the efforts of regime agents' sought to help the fulfillment of the plan announced by the deputy to make the Indians *useful citizens* – mostly housekeepers and underpaid farmworkers (Ministério do Interior, Apr. 1974) – a reserve of slave labor to support development and progress, FUNAI's internal communications include numerous references to requests, mainly from the Guarani detainees, for resources to sell their crafts in the cities and at the facility entrances (Ministério do Interior, Jun 14 1974). It was essential to have the ability to travel between villages to be able to organize and engage people for a return to the village of Caieiras Velhas. In the movements between the north coast of Espírito Santo and the Indigenous Agricultural Colony, the alliance between Tupinikim and Guarani leaders fed an information network about the events on the indigenous lands in Aracruz and helped to denounce to the press the conditions of extreme poverty and aggressions from the settlers at the Guarani Farm (A Gazeta, Oct. 20, 1975).

After the failure to control the indigenous mobilizations, in order to block the return of the Guarani group to the north coast of Espírito Santo, the AJBM deputy prepared to send them to an area on the Bahian coast, but the group firmly refused, as they were determined to return to the place revealed in a dream to the shamanic leader and destined to them. In a new effort to preserve the humanitarian image of the FUNAI deputy, the press never presented the political agency of active resistance by the Indians, developing a mystical narrative about the nomadic life of the group (*Espírito Santo Agora*, Apr. 1975). The stereotypes nourished by the press acted as symbolic handcuffs, justifying their detention and the interests of the developmentalist state, which strengthened itself by denying the Guarani's cosmopolitics, and their forms of territoriality that weave networks of reciprocity and mobilize the search through Atlantic forest remnants for dreamed vital ancestral and therefore sacred spaces that configure their world-territory.

We went to the Guarani Farm in 1973 and stayed until 1978, but the people that went there never got used to staying there, because the walk of the Guarani was always by the sea as far as Pará, close to Marajó Island. This is the path of the ancestors (Antônio Carvalho, Vera Kwaray, 1998).

Since 1975, the amount of internal FUNAI correspondence about the situation of complete abandonment of the facility was diminishing, amid a situation of intensifying tensions between Indians and settlers. The press did not give up controlling news about any denunciations and depoliticizing the Guarani determination to return to the coast, producing the image of a harmless and domesticated a group that had converted to Pentecostalism, once again misconceiving the category Land without Wickedness as their return to the coast because of the climate (Petrolli, Medeiros, Farman, 1976).

The arrival at the Guarani Farm of the Guarani Mbya group from São Paulo that had been barred entrance by the Juruna deputy, would strengthen the organization and engagement of the Indians guided by *Tatatxi*. In early 1977, they continued to denounce the alarming situation at the facility (*Jornal do Brasil*, 04 dez. 1977) and there were continuing escapes by small groups that in a series of steps returned to Caieiras Velha, where they found intense deforestation underway. The prompt denial by Governor Élcio Alves (1975-1979), of a new claim to the area on the coast of the municipality of Aracruz would launch a trip by Guarani and Tupinikim leaders to Brasília, to question the indigenous agency about the intention to remove the Tupinikim once again, with whom they had been articulating the struggle to retake their lands.

When we returned from the Guarani Farm, they were already starting to cut down the trees, the forest, with the tractor. We continued to fight and there was about eight tractors, bigger than this one, pulling chains to tear down the forest. One night, they knocked down an entire crop! This is what has happened. They were in a hurry, they tore it down. They destroyed all the animals living in the woods (João Carvalho, Kwaray Mymby, 1998).

The long and secret fate of the Tupinikim was broken in 1975, at a meeting of the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC) in Curitiba, where the AJMB deputy J. G. Itatuitim Ruas announced the “discovery” of the Tupinikim as *remnant Indians*. But over the years of silence about this people, their forests on the north coast of Espírito Santo were being frenetically devastated and transfigured into a broad eucalyptus monoculture, transforming the great diversity of life in the region into a vast desert.

We endured and when we came here, when we arrived here the woods were gone; it was canceled (Nilson Joaquim da Silva, 2013).

In the second half of the twentieth century, in Espírito Santo, the military regime reproduced an updated version of Brazil’s origin myth: the “conquest” of lands and “discovery” of original peoples. In neocolonial times, the policy was to convert the others into a subproduct of themselves, accompanied by a developmentalist assault in defense of the hegemonic narrative that “there were no Indians in Espírito Santo”. This was nourished by presenting stereotypes of the Tupinikim as “remnants” of an “authentic” original identity and of the Guarani as “nomadic and foreign” Indians. These were force-images rooted in the persistent violations of their human and territorial rights.

The denouncements of the abuses and violence against the Indians committed at the Guarani Farm were released in the press (*Jornal do Brasil*, Dec. 03 1978), without the state assuming any responsibility. And the denouncements were brief enough to allow forgetting the traumatic memory of years of human rights violations, and to draw the attention of the press to the acts of resistance by the Tupinikim to the new attempts to remove them from their lands. Despite the denouncements, the *Guarani Farm*, according to Matos (1996: 86) continued to receive *criminal Indians* until 1986.

The events that followed the return of the Guarani and Tupinikim who had been detained at the Guarani Farm to the north coast of Espírito Santo are known to those who are familiar with the literature in the field (Silva, 2000; Calazans, M., 2002; Gomes & Overbeek (Orgs.), 2011). Here, they are briefly evoked in the account of one Guarani leader, addressing the indigenous mobilization that demanded their lands in the late 1970s, still under the military regime.

We gathered Guarani and Tupinikim, we united ourselves; we must unite the spirit of Tupinikim and the spirit of Guarani. All united so there is no fight, no war and then the land has to be given back for the Indian to feel happy. This is what happened. That is why we fight together, but we took many years to have a small piece of this forest, so we could feel happy (João Carvalho, Kwaray Mymby, 1998).

Conclusion: memories in becoming

Three thousand hectares of the *Guarani Farm* were approved as an Indigenous Land in 1991, inhabited by the Krenak and mostly by Pataxó who, during the military regime, had been forcibly removed to the facility, due to land conflicts near Porto Seguro (BA). The memory of the place with the same name lingers and has been transformed, domesticated by the territorial practices of the indigenous collectives, including the appropriation of the facilities of the prison colony for housing and food storage.

The relations forged in times of imprisonment have also been renewed and recreated in kinship networks, festivals, encounters of generations and leaders, in the wanderings and exchanges, such as those between the Krenak and Guarani, in their circulations through their territories, that traverse regional borders.

We stayed in Resplendor (MG) before we arrived here in Espírito Santo and there we met Sete Salões. There, there are houses under the rocks to hide, many animals, good water that flows from the rocks. My grandmother (Tatatxi) said that Sete Salões was a place to be safe. If war came, we should hide with children at Sete Salões. It is a place for the enchanted, you cannot see, it never dies (Marilza Carvalho, Keretxu Endy, 2013).

Narratives of resistance like those transcribed in this article continue to circulate, revising and strengthening the right to remember, which has been recognized too late for the indigenous people by the Brazilian state. The accounts flourish in fragments and powerful images, as in Maria Tupinikim's³¹ dreams and in the Guarani cosmography (Little, 2002:274), drawn by the elder Marilza, weaving the threads of heroic biographies of indigenous women, who domesticate territories of terror, as protagonists of another historiography, yet to be produced.

Received: September 17, 2017

Approved: March 04, 2018

Translation: Jeffrey Hoff

³¹ Maria Tupinikim requested the complete photographic collection from the time of imprisonment at the Guarani Farm from journalist and photographer Rogério Medeiros, some of which has been delivered to the Guarani Mbya and the Tupinikim of the villages in the municipality of Aracruz (ES).

References

- CAIXETA, C. Queiroz de. 1999. *Punição e etnicidade: estudo de uma “Colônia Penal Indígena”*. Master’s dissertation, FAFICH, UFMG- Belo Horizonte.
- CALAZANS, M. (coord.) 2002. *Violação de direitos econômicos, sociais e culturais na nonocultura do eucalipto: a Aracruz Celulose e o Estado do Espírito Santo*. Vitória: FASE.
- CALHEIROS, O. 2015. “No tempo da guerra’: algumas notas sobre as violações de direitos dos povos indígenas e os limites da justiça de transição no Brasil”. *Revista Verdade, Memória e Justiça*, (online), 9: 4.
- CICCARONE, C. 2001. *Drama e sensibilidade: Migração, Xamanismo e Mulheres Mbya Guarani*. PhD Thesis. PPGCS, PUC- São Paulo.
- _____. 2011. “Um povo que caminha: notas sobre movimentações territoriais guarani em tempos históricos e neocoloniais”. *Dimensões*, 26: 136-151.
- CORRÊA, J. G. Silveira. 2003. “Política indigenista, tutela e deslocamento de populações: a trajetória histórica dos krenak sob a gestão do serviço de proteção aos índios”. *Arquivos do Museu Nacional*, 61(2): 89-105.
- _____. 2003. “A proteção que faltava: o reformatório agrícola indígena krenak e a administração estatal dos índios”. *Arquivos do Museu Nacional*, 61(2): 129-146.
- DALCOMUNI, S. Maria. 1990. *A implantação da Aracruz Celulose no Espírito Santo principais interesses em jogo*. Master’s dissertation in agricultural development. UFRJ, ICHS - Rio de Janeiro: 186.
- DARÉ, Raquel. 2010. *A “crise” do café e a ideologia desenvolvimentista no Espírito Santo*. Master’s dissertation. UFES, PPGG- Vitória.
- DARELLA, M. D. P. 2004. “Territorialidade e territorialização Guarani no litoral de Santa Catarina”. *Tellus*, 4(6): 79-110.
- DOSSIÊ Violações de Direitos os Povos Indígenas. 2017. *Revista Aracé, Direitos Humanos em revista*, 4(5).
- FAVRET-SAADA, J. 2005. “Ser afetado”. *Cadernos de Campo*, 13: 155-161.
- GALEANO, E. 1999. *De pernas pro ar. A escola do mundo ao avesso*. Porto Alegre: L&PM. English version from GALEANO, Eduardo. *Upside Down: A Primer for the Looking-Glass World*. Picador USA, New York, USA (1998).
- GOETTERT, J. Dari. 2006. “Aos ‘vadios’, o trabalho: considerações em torno de representações sobre o trabalho e a vadiagem no Brasil”. *Formação (on line)*, 2(13): 109.
- GOMES, H. & OVERBEEK, W. (orgs.) .2011. *Aracruz Credo*. Vitória: Rede Alerta contra o Deserto Verde / Rede Brasil v. 40.
- GUIMARÃES, E. M. 1982. “Sobre a situação de bens imóveis pertencentes ao patrimônio indígena no Estado do Espírito Santo”. In: S. Coelho Santos (org.), *O índio perante o direito*. Florianópolis: UFSC. pp. 143-150.
- LADEIRA, M. I. 2001. *Espaço geográfico Guarani Mbya: significado, constituição e uso*. PhD Thesis - Geography. USP, FFLCH- São Paulo.
- _____. 2007 [1992]. *O caminhar sob a luz: o território Mbya à beira do oceano*. São Paulo: UNESP.
- LIMA, E. Coffaci de; PACHECO, R. 2017. “Povos indígenas e justiça de transição: reflexões a partir do caso Xetá”. *ARACÊ – direitos humanos em Revista*, 4(5): 219-241.
- LITTLE, P. E. 2002. “Territórios sociais e povos tradicionais no Brasil: por uma antropologia da territorialidade”. *Série Antropologia*, 322 :274.
- MATOS, I. Missagia. 1996. *Borum, Bugre, Kraí: constituição social da identidade e da memória étnica Krenak*. Master’s dissertation - sociology, UFMG - Belo Horizonte.
- MOREIRA, V. Maria Losada. 2000. “Vazios demográficos ou territórios indígenas?” *Dimensões*, 11: 137-144
- MELIÀ, B. 1997. *El Paraguay Inventado*. Asunción: CEPAG.
- OLIVEIRA FILHO, J. Pacheco. 1999. *Ensaio de antropologia histórica*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ: 9

- PACHECO, Renato. 1955. “Caieira Velha, onde os índios não andam despidos”. *O Diário*. Ano I, Vitória, Sep. 25.
- PARAÍSO, M. Hilda Baqueiro. 1992. “Os Botocudos e sua trajetória histórica”. In: M. Carneiro da Cunha (org.). *História dos índios no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras. pp. 413-430.
- PISSOLATO, E. 2016. “Trabalho, subsistência e dinheiro: modos criativos na economia mbya (Guarani) contemporânea”. *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 22(45): 105-125.
- RIBEIRO, L. R. Pereira. 2000. “Vadiagem”. *Âmbito jurídico* I, n. o. Disponível em: <http://www.ambito-juridico.com.br/site/index.php?n_link=revista_artigos_>. Access in Nov. 16 2017.
- ROLNIK, Suely. 1989. *Cartografia sentimental. Transformações contemporâneas do desejo*. São Paulo: Estação Liberdade.
- RUSCHI, Augusto. 1976 [1954]. “Grupos antropológicos indígenas do E. E. Santo. Causas de seu desaparecimento. Dados sobre a população e a área de floresta para sua sobrevivência”. *Boletim do Museu de Biologia. Serie Proteção à natureza*, 18: 1-20.
- SANTO MARTINS, F. do Espírito. 2015. “A justiça distributiva como práxis da Comissão Nacional da Verdade: uma possibilidade de reparação às sociedades indígenas no Brasil”. *Revista Direitos Humanos e Democracia*, 3(5): 4-28.
- SANTOS, M.; SOUZA, M. A. A. de; SILVEIRA, M. L. (orgs.). 1994. *Território, globalização e fragmentação*. São Paulo: HUCITEC.
- SCOTT, J. C. 2000. *Los dominados y el arte de la resistencia. Discursos ocultos*. Mexico: Era Edições.
- SILVA, S. J. da. 2000. *Tempo e espaço entre os Tupiniquim*. Master’s dissertation. IFCH, UNICAMP - Campinas.
- SOARES, G. Chaves. 1992. *Os Borum do Watu, os índios do Rio Doce*. Contagem (MG): CEDEFES.
- SOUZA LIMA, A. C. de. 2015. “Sobre tutela e participação: povos indígenas e formas de governo no Brasil, séculos XX/XXI”. *Mana, Estudos de Antropologia Social*, 21(2): 425-457.
- TAUSSIG, M. 1993. *Xamanismo, colonialismo e o homem selvagem: um estudo sobre terror e cura*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- VALLE, Lilia. *Relatórios Do CTI Em Aracruz*. São Paulo: Centro de Trabalho Indigenista. – 1979 à 1984.
- VIEGAS DE MATOS, S. 2008. “Pessoa e individuação: o poder dos nomes entre os Tupinambá de Olivença (Sul da Bahia, Brasil)” *Etnográfica* [online], 12(1): 71-94.
- VILLAS, Fabio. 2011. “Tupiniquins e Guaranis: símbolos de resistência”. In: H. Gomes & W. Overbeek (orgs.), *Aracruz Credo*. Vitória: Rede Alerta contra o Deserto Verde / Rede Brasil v. 40, pp. 17-30.
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, E. B. 2017. “Sobre a noção de etnocídio, com especial atenção ao caso brasileiro” <https://www.academia.edu/25782893/Sobre_a_noção_de_etnoc%C3%>. Access in Nov. 14 2017.

Official papers and press stories

- BALZA, G. Comissão da Verdade apura mortes de índios que podem quintuplicar vítimas da ditadura. *UOL Notícias*. <https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2012/11/12/comissao-da-verdade-apura-mortes-de-indios-que-podem-quintuplicar-vitimas-da-ditadura.htm>. Access in Nov. 2017.
- BRASIL. Federal Law nº 4.771 de 15/09/1965. Institui o novo Código Florestal. Brasília, DF, nov. 1965.
- CAMPOS, A. “Denúncias apontam o Reformatório Agrícola Krenak, em Minas Gerais, como centro de tortura de índios durante regime militar”. *Brasil de Fato*, Oct. 09 2012.
- CNV. Resolution n. 5 Nov. 16 2012 D.U.O.
- COMISSÃO ESTADUAL DE DIREITO À VERDADE, À MEMÓRIA E À JUSTIÇA DO AMAZONAS. *A ditadura militar e o genocídio do povo Waimiri-Atroari*. 2015.
- CONCESSÃO de terras para índios guaranis depende dos arquivos. *A Gazeta*, Vitória, Mar. 17 1973. p.6.
- É A BUROCRACIA, *Piririá*. *A Gazeta*, Vitória, Mar. 21 1973.

- CTI. *Violações aos direitos humanos e territoriais dos Guarani no Oeste do Paraná: subsídios para a Comissão Nacional da Verdade*. Relatório do Centro de Trabalho Indigenista. 2014.
- FUNAI decidiu: não expulsar colonos. *Jornal Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, Jun. 24 1971.
- GUARANIS chegam à terra prometida. *Jornal do Brasil*, Aug. 19 1973. 1º Cad.
- GUARANIS dão festa em Valadares. *Jornal do Brasil*, Apr. 20 1974.
- GUARANIS abandonam reserva para fugir de vida sub-humana. *A Gazeta*, Vitória, Oct. 20 1975. p.5.
- ÍNDIO quer terras em Aracruz. *A Gazeta*, Vitória, Mar. 17 1973, p.7.
- ÍNDIO vem de Carmésia fazer denúncia. *Jornal do Brasil*, Dec. 4 1977.
- ÍNDIOS levados de Guarapari a Minas. *A Gazeta*, Vitória, Aug. 09 1973. p.4.
- ÍNDIOS recuperados voltam às tribos. *Jornal O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 06 1973. p.10.
- ÍNDIOS em busca da terra. *Espírito Santo Agora*, Vitória, n. 17, Apr. 1975.
- ITATUITIM e os índios. In: *Revista Espírito Santo Agora*, Vitória, n. 10, 1973
- MINISTÉRIO DO INTERIOR. FUNAI. Ajudância Minas-Bahia, de Aug. 04-13 1973. Mailing to the regional deputy to the DGO, on the report of Prof. José de Aguiar, state secretary of Labor and Social Promotion of Espírito Santo, Aug. 1973.
- _____. FUNAI. Ajudância Minas-Bahia. Sedoc, 247. *Relação das despesas realizadas com os índios Guaranis*. Belo Horizonte, Aug. 26 1973.
- _____. FUNAI. *Encaminha relatório de remoção dos índios Guaranis no estado do Espírito Santo (Guarapari)*. Ofício n. 373/AJMB/73. Belo Horizonte/Brasília, 12 set. 1973.
- _____. FUNAI. *Relatório de Antônio Vicente Segundo, chefe do posto indígena Crenack (Fazenda Guarany) ao Sr. João Geraldo Itatuitim Ruas – chefe da AJMB/Gov. Valadares*. Brasília, Oct. 31 1973 (Fl307/Ft.00728/00729).
- _____. FUNAI. *Lembrete. Do chefe do PI Crenak/Fazenda Guarany, ao Sr. João Geraldo Itatuitim Ruas — chefe da AJMB/ Gov. Valadares*. Brasília, Jan. 28 jan. 1974 (Fl 307/Ft.0848).
- _____. FUNAI. *Apresentação*. Ofício n. 054/74. Brasília, 11 abr. 1974 (Fl307/ft 01144)
- _____. FUNAI. Ajudância Minas-Bahia. Colônia Agrícola Indígena Guarany. *Relatório sobre a situação da Colônia*. Apr. 1974 (ft307/fl839)
- _____. FUNAI. *Apresentação de índios*. Ofício n. 077/74. Brasília, Mai. 25 1974.
- _____. FUNAI. *Apresentação*. Ofício n. 084/74. Brasília, Jun. 14 1974.
- MOTA, G. e WALDEMAR, S. “Nostalgia do mar tirará os guarani de Minas”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Dec. 09 1973.
- O ÍNDIO chegou ao poder. “O super-cacique da FUNAI pagará sua promessa?” In: *Revista Realidade*, ano VIII, n. 93, Dec. 1973.
- PASSOS, N. “Houve extermínio sistemático de aldeias indígenas na ditadura”. *Carta Maior*, Aug 02 2012.
- PETROLI, C.; MEDEIROS, R.; FAERMAN, M. “Os últimos tupiniquins (a ilusão da terra sem males)”. *O Estado de São Paulo*, São Paulo, Mar. 30 1976.
- PRESIDENTE da FUNAI confirma violências contra nossos índios. *Jornal do Brasil*, Dec. 03 1978.
- POVOS Indígenas e Ditadura Militar: subsídios à Comissão Nacional da Verdade 1946-1988. Partial Report. 01 Nov. 30 2012. Available in: https://idejust.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/povos-indc3adgenas-e-ditadura-militar-relatc3b3rio-parcial-30_11_2012.pdf. Access in Nov 2017.

Celeste Ciccarone

Federal University at Espírito Santo (UFES),

Center of Humanities and Natural Sciences (CCHN), Department of Social Sciences

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1133-6285>

E-mail: celeste.ciccarone@gmail.com