

The White Coup

TEXTS, DRAWINGS, AND DIAGRAMS by Daniel Lima President Dilma Rousseff committed no crime of tax liability. The vast majority of politicians who judged her are being themselves prosecuted for crimes that harm society and are cited several times for further investigation by the informants informers in the biggest anti-corruption investigation in Brazil's history. The president has not been cited once in this process. Yes, there is an ongoing coup in Brazil! Recordings disclosed after the impeachment vote in Congress clearly showed an articulation of politicians linked to the new government and linked to right-wing opposition for a "national pact/deal," aiming to depose the democratically elected president from power. Recordings show the vice president himself, in a Machiavellian gesture of political betrayal, building the "Temer solution" and in one blow setting forth the coup against President [Rousseffs government] and seeking to freeze ongoing investigations of corruption involving himself and his allies.* The 2014 elections divided the country. In May 2015 the impeachment process began, which culminated in August 2016, and the political forces defeated in the 2014 election gained power. The coup is now

USA and George Bush election

In the 2000 US presidential election, the dispute between Republican candidate George W. Bush (Texas Governor) and Democratic candidate Al Gore (vice president) ended up being decided in court. This election was marked by the controversy over the granting of 25 votes to the Florida Electoral College, the subsequent ballot recount in that state, and the unusual occurrence of the winning candidate receiving fewer popular votes than the loser: Gore added 50,999, 897 votes to 50,456,002 from Bush. But that's not what it's worth: It was the fourth election in which the winner in the Electoral College did not also receive a majority of the popular vote... Gore formally contested the results and the Florida Supreme Court ordered the manual recount of more than 70,000 votes. The Supreme Court, however, overturned the ruling, proclaiming the final outcome of the lawsuit in favor of the Republican.

Venezuela and Haiti? An unsuccessful military coup attempt in Venezuela occurred in 2002. The people went to the streets and prevented the continuation of the coup. It is interesting to note that the strategy of military intervention that did not work out indicated the need for new strategies: the military route will be replaced by the "parliamentary and legal" route. In Haiti, however, we have a historical inflection with US direct and military intervention, removing President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004, in the middle of the night and taking him to the middle of Africa! Shortly thereafter, Brazil is invited by the UN to head Minustah, Haiti's peace and stabilization mission. Brazil remains a 12-year military occupation force in Haiti. Currently the struggle of the Haitians is for a real democracy without the interference of the "Core Group" (USA, Canada, France, Spain, US and Brazil) in the presidential elections.

Honduras and Zelaya

In 2009, when Honduran President Manuel Zelaya was removed from his home by the military forces following a warrant issued by the Judiciary and placed in a plane that took him to Costa Rica. "Hours later, the Honduran Supreme Court issued a statement saying it had ordered Zelaya to be deported in the army. The National Congress accepted what they said was Zelaya's resignation letter," although the president said that the letter was not written by him. Then, the president of the Congress, Roberto Micheletti, was named President of the Republic.

Paraguay and Lugo

"Three years after the fall of Zelaya in Honduras took place in Paraguay a coup that resembles more the climate of Brazil today. By 39 votes in favor and 6 against, the Senate approved on June 22, 2012 the removal of Fernando Lugo from power, opening spaces for Vice President Federico Franco of the Autonomous Radical Liberal Party, a year after breaking the coalition with Lugo. The decision crowned the approval in the Chamber of Deputies, with 73 votes in favor and 1 contrary to the process of impeachment. According to the official argument, Lugo was removed from power by the 'weak performance of his functions'."

Yes, the Prospects for Culture are Elitist and Antidemocratic

One of the first actions of the coup government was the dissolution of the Ministry of Culture, seen as a "stronghold" of resistance. After weeks of pressure and the occupation of federal cultural spaces by protesters and mass demonstrations by artists, the interim government finally relented and re-established the Ministry of Culture. In the meantime, a zombie ministry was created, solely as a judicial and institutional facade. The ministry's activities, despite its re-establishment, were de facto interrupted and there are no prospects of cultural policies ever being democratically discussed, debated, and constructed. Instead, we have a Ministry of Culture that refuses to build a political project for culture, and which is barely continuing the functions outlined for it by the previous government. By so doing it is cutting off the majority of the population's access to culture. This government's stance in the arts and culture is less relevant than its other priorities. Cultural policies that have been maintained are mostly in place due to private funds and tax incentives (Rouanet Law).



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consummated. Specialists, technicians, and even the judiciary admitted that there was no crime of tax liability, and that this is a purely political process. So this is an explicitly juridical-and-mediatic coup, a white coup that dispensed with weapons and army but which was nevertheless able to remove a legitimately elected president in the middle of her term. The legitimization and acceptance of most international governments in relation to the coup challenges the notion of democracy and makes us ask what new geopolitical structure has begun to emerge. In Latin America, we've had the precedent of Paraguay and Honduras. The question that now arises is how these white coups in which the judiciary power and the mainstream media replace direct military intervention are reconfiguring the world in an even more authoritarian, conservative, and exclusionary direction. In cognitive capitalism, nothing is more natural than the seizure of power accomplished by influencing public perception through fictitious accusations of illegality. What is the future of democracy when it is legitimated by a judiciary often tending to the right wing, to conservative and anti-democratic ideas?

*<https://theintercept.com/2016/05/23/new-political-earthquake-in-brazil-is-it-now-time-for-media-outlets-to-call-this-a-coup/>

Yes, the Coup is Juridical

But this is not a coup that resorts to weapons, but a coup with new features, a legal and media coup. It is a bloodless coup. A parliamentary coup. The legitimization and acceptance of the coup by most international governments challenges democracy and makes us question what new type of geopolitical structure has begun to emerge in the region. We have had in Latin America the precedent of Paraguay, that of Honduras, and we now see the same prospects come to a country with a greater role in the leadership of the region. How can anti-democratic coups without direct military intervention, with the consent of the judiciary and media penetration, so-called juridico-mediatic coups, can reconfigure the world in a more authoritarian, conservative, and excluding sense? In a cognitive capitalism, nothing more natural than taking power with the force of perception and legal legitimacy. What is the future of Democracy when legitimized by a Judiciary that is often on the right, conservative and antidemocratic ideas?

Judicial Collusion with the Murderous Military Policy

The Brazilian judiciary system is in collusion with the extermination of black youth by the police forces: the lack of prosecution of police crimes legitimates further infractions by the state police. This is a form of state terrorism. Take, for example, the case of the May 2006 attacks in retaliation for the murders of policemen by the PCO (a criminal organization initially formed by inmates within São Paulo's prison system). In May 2006, the organization ordered the killing of over forty policemen, and the police force followed suit by killing around two hundred civilians in the city in the following months. These became known as the "May Crimes" (Crimes de Maio). With the obvious collaboration of military police officers, São Paulo's prosecutors dismissed the case. On May 25, 2006, seventy-nine prosecutors of the city of São Paulo signed a letter addressed to the general commander of the military police in which they acknowledged the Military Police's inefficiency in their response [to the police killings], its concern in re-establishing the violated order, and uncompromisingly defending the State" and affirmed that "eventual excesses practiced individually by the police officers involved in the operation" would be ascertained. This document was sent nine days after the military police officer Alexandre André Pereira da Silva and another five hooded men stormed a car wash in the north of São Paulo screaming "we are in command" and executed three youngsters. Ten days after in Santos (SP), four hooded men, identified as police officers, shot nine-month-pregnant Ana Paula Gonzaga dos Santos in the head and abdomen and claimed "children of crooks are crooks" ... This was written right after what is known as the May Crimes, when São Paulo's military police was suspected of perpetrating one of the worst massacres in the history of Brazil. The Prosecutor Office's letter was in effect a demonstration of support from those who should instead be requiring the police officers' actions. As the Mothers of May movement recalls, these are the same prosecutors who are trying to jail former president Lula, rendering him unelectable.

SQUATTERS, SECUNDARISTAS (HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN PROTEST), BLACK AND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS
Recent uprisings by high school students (Secundaristas) have led to the occupation of hundreds of schools across the country. These events attest not only to the nascent political creativity of these young adults but also to the birth of a transversal political practice capable of representing these various voices and the diverse needs of this particularly vulnerable segment of society. Occupy! This occupation is also the outcome of an ongoing flux of protests—e.g., anti-discrimination "flash mob" [rolézinjo] protests to support the feminist, black, and suburban struggles. (These flash mobs consist of very large groups of people, sometimes in the thousands, from the poor suburbs of Brazilian cities, who converge in middle class shopping malls. Once they began, the flash mobs were immediately perceived as a threat by authorities).

This government has suspended open calls for artistic projects (previously the most democratic way to access funding for culture in Brazil) and has sneakily removed this funding from its annual budget and plan. The prospects look grim for pop and contemporary culture, urban and techno-digital art alike. The political project for culture has become an orphan. At the same time, the pre-existing tax incentive laws continue to reveal their antidemocratic nature, something that was there from before. Leaving decisions regarding cultural incentives to companies has only led to further accumulation of power by these companies, and the prioritization of megalomaniac projects. It has led to a general retreat from popular culture, and an abandonment of small- and medium-scale cultural activities. It has concentrated the decision-making processes in the hands of the marketing departments of these private companies, that are ultimately in it only to support their profits.

Dilma Rousseff awaits trial as a terrorist during the military dictatorship in November 1970, while the military in the position of judge seals the face before the photo.

Military Coups in South and Central America

There are times when the Americas have suffered coups against the democratic process. In the second half of the twentieth century, military coups in South and Central America were "sponsored" by the US as a way to combat the spread of communism in the postwar world. Between mid-1950s and 1980s, South and Central America were largely dominated by military regimes. Haiti, Paraguay, Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Brazil, Bolivia, and Chile saw the military seizing power by force of arms. Thousands of people died, were persecuted, imprisoned, and tortured in the struggle for democracy. This period deeply traumatized Latin American societies. In Brazil, Dilma Rousseff established the Truth Commission to collect testimonies from this period throughout the country for nearly three years.

Yes, the Coup is Misogynist

Yes, the coup is misogynist, as is evident in the sexist attacks of the opposition against president Dilma Rousseff. The president had her image publicly tarnished, deconstructed and shamed. Gender-based attacks and imagery of Rousseff in humiliating situations have attempted to diminish her political credentials. Dilma's political career was already an exception to the workings of Brazilian politics: she has only 10 percent female representation in congress, and this process of defamation became one of utter aversion and hatred. As Márcia Tiburi put it: "What happened to Dilma Rousseff made us aware that the violent power of patriarchy does not only turn against women, but against democracy as whole, especially in the increasingly radical version of democracy, with its intimate connection with the feminist propositions and continued struggle for rights. What happened to Dilma Rousseff helps us understand the inner workings of a true misogynistic machine, the patriarchal power machine, at times an oppressor, at times a seducer. A machine composed of many different institutions, from the state to the family, from the church to the school. A machine whose function is to preclude women from reaching and remaining in power." The coup is misogynist, as was made evident by the political framing established by the currently illegitimate interim president Michel Temer, right after the impeachment. Temer solely nominated Temer to his cabinet of ministers. The coup is misogynist because it takes a conservative stance that is also mostly white and male.

Wall of Shame

In Brasília, during the process of vote for the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, a wall was installed dividing opponents.

Yes, There is Poetry in Resistance!

Throughout the whole time the Left was in power and since the beginning of Lula's government in 2002, culture became one of the areas where the right- and left-wing political projects were clearly differentiated. In the last election, artists and cultural producers organized and practically single-handedly reversed the imminent defeat of the Left in the presidential elections. Cultural producers and artists had a fundamental role in maintaining the Left in power and it is this form of resistance that is today being challenged by the coup. What can art do in the midst of a white coup that not only has connections with the most fascist sections of the military, but is also convinced of its own "legality"? Different groups have since appeared in this context as a way to denounce and warn against a dystopic future, a future holding many negative perspectives of culture: organizations like Arte pela Democracia ("a movement made by artists, collectives, associations, entities, workers and people related to art and culture for the defense of democracy"), Aparelhagem (a project created by visual artists for self-sustaining acts of resistance and against the current government) and isolated performances like Confio, which we developed to present during its impeachment vote in Brasília. It is important to mention also all the artistic resistance during the post-coup period, which began when several organizations and artists occupied federal cultural spaces (Furacão) throughout the country in protest and to propose new ways of managing public goods. Yes, there is a poetic mode of resistance taking place. And this resistance is active, though disarticulated and almost completely taken by a melancholic feeling of defeat. This resistance is preparing itself for a time when the political opposition can be criminalized and preparing itself against the demonization of artistic gestures by evangelical crusaders.

Yes, the Coup is Based on the

Genocide of Black Youth

The eradication of black youth is at the core of all the illegality the state perpetuates in Brazil. Here a direct criticism should be made of the previous left-wing governments that did not prioritize the fight against the eradication of black youth at the hands of Brazil's police force. How can one speak of the legitimacy of the state, the legality of democratic processes, when no one secures the physical integrity and life of the youngest and most vulnerable segment of the population? Brazil's police force is the deadliest in the world, according to a report by Amnesty International. Here the nation and its institutionalized racism is at its most perverse: the violent

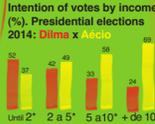
death of youth by state agents. "Brazil is the country with the highest number of murders in the world. In 2012 alone there were 56,000 murders. In 2014, 15.6 percent of these murders were perpetrated by police officers. According to Amnesty International, the police shoot at people who have already surrendered, who are already wounded, without giving any warning signal that would allow a suspect to surrender before being shot." On top of the deaths caused by the police force, during recent decades black youth has been systematically eradicated. There's been an epidemic of murders in the outskirts of the largest cities in the country.

Dilma Rousseff

Elected with more than 54 million votes

Yes, the Coup is Elitist

In Brazil, we've created a battle between opposing political projects. One side is invested in maintaining a tradition of segregation that comes from colonial Brazil, that is the conservative project; and the other side fights for democratization and income distribution. This latter project has been winning at the ballot box for the last sixteen years and only now, with the coup, has it been subjugated by the conservatives. These two political projects have coexisted for many years through concessions and deals. The Left has abdicated on many issues and has embraced the conservative forces in order to maintain "governability." These deals distanced the left-wing leaders from their popular support. We now know we are amidst an image war designed to influence the nation's perception. The differences between both projects have become clearer and divisive across the country. And rightly so, because this highlights the differences between both political projects and alerts us to the fragility of our democratic ideal. In discussing these two opposing projects, it is important to recall and continue to reiterate that Brazil was the biggest slave-based production system in history and continues to this day to be one of the most unequal countries in the world. It is now clear: Brazil is politically divided and will remain politically divided. This is the class struggle at stake here. But this is an unequal struggle between political projects because the conservative right's stance gained acceptance due to the major role played by the highly concentrated mainstream media's bias. The media's bias convinced the public that an extreme politico-economic situation was reached, legitimizing the impeachment and ousting of the president, despite the absence of proof of Dilma's alleged crime.



Yes, the Coup is Mediatic

From manipulating data to misleading headlines, the extreme bias of Brazilian media has played a fundamental role in the coup. In cooperation with the judiciary system and its selective leaks, the mass media was able to manipulate information in the most efficient way: by only giving visibility to certain crimes and by obscuring the crimes that involved their right-wing allies. The media did more than just strengthen one of the sides, they constructed the coup's narrative. They gave the names, they turned the force into a convoluted novella, they made up chapters and characters, created a climate of doom and crisis. During Dilma Rousseff's time in office, the hegemonic media created a parallel campaign that favored the conservative forces, and made a spectacular investigation of the Petrobras corruption scandal that allegedly implicated the PT, Dilma's party, its preferred theme in manipulating information and exploiting the situation. The complexity between the media and the judiciary system has been its peak with the leak of conversations between president Rousseff and former president Lula in a special edition of the most popular news program in Brazil. This biased approach—where journalists commemorated the approval of the impeachment at the voting in Congress. In addition to this extreme media bias in Brazil, the Left's made its own mistakes when in power. The Left did not establish an agenda to democratize the media—a significant and fundamental struggle.

COUNTER-NARRATIVE

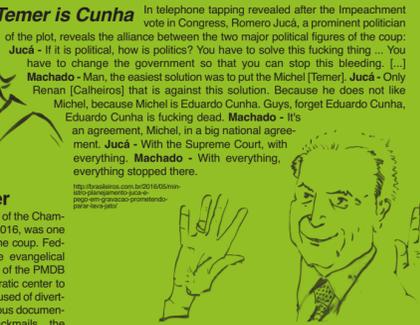
Independent media has self-organized and created a new way to tell their stories. This media, although not organized in a collective and collaborative manner, has been on the ground. Instead of transmitting demonstrations from above, filmed from rooftops or helicopters, independent media has shown the faces of the people on the streets, their character, apprehensions, doubts, their strength and their struggles. And it has revealed the mainstream media's force to the outside world. Independent media used the networked environment of the internet as a broadcasting platform, and soon the internet became an outlet for the immediate relay of events taking place offline. This mediatic explosion was felt in the pages of *Jornalistas Livres*, *Mídia Ninja*, *Imprensa, R.U.A.*, *FotoColetivo*, *Democratize*, *Valdipáe*, *Brasil de Fato* and in other progressive media sources. The counter-narrative creates its own game pieces amidst the coup's grand board game. A sense of urgency is in the streets! By Fernando Sato - *Jornalistas Livres*

Yes, the Coup is Economic

The Pré-Sal oil fields (discovered in 2006 and one of the largest oil reserves in the world) are perhaps the main economic factor at play in the white coup that deposed the Left in Brazil. The Left, in keeping with its tradition, bet on nationalizing natural resources; and the Right, on the contrary, seeks to open these resources to the international market—that supports part of this conservative political opposition. The future of Pré-Sal, post-coup, starts to become evident with the diminished participation of the state-owned Petrobras, simultaneously showing greater openness to foreign companies in the concession of this natural richness.

The number of murder victims between the ages of one and nineteen grew 475 percent in twenty-three years. Black youth were the most affected by this increase. The Brazilian Left didn't correctly evaluate the problem, and by not prioritizing the issue it in effect dismissed it altogether. Today this police state has borne fruit. It's no wonder that the coup against the president sprang from police operations and judicial actions. We are witnessing a police state taking over Brazil, which has its origin in the illegal, fascist, and genocidal acts against black youth.

<http://globo.com/globo-vestibulo/2015/09/forca-policial-brasil-e-que-mata-no-mundo-de-releitorio.html>
http://brasil.sbs.com/brasil/2016/06/29/policia/147272156_206-022.html



Temer, the traitor

Scene 1: Fear and his wife "beautiful, modest and home", forty-three years younger, ex-miss of the small town of Paulínia. Scene 2: In the middle of the political crisis, Temer leaves "leaking" a letter to Dilma: "This is a personal letter. It's an excitement I should have done a long time ago. I tell you right away that it is not necessary to publicly proclaim the need for my loyalty." Personal letter? Venirino? Loyalty? Scene 3: Temer smiles alongside his man-white-brained gang, while winning the presidency without even having a vote. And so the PMDB, Temer's party, without winning any presidential election, was third president in 30 years.

Media Family Family Media

The name "Media Family" is used because all the major media in Brazil are conservative, sitting in the armchairs of fake Sunday family morals. "Family Media" is used because its families are indeed—along with Pentecostal churches—what holds the hegemonic power of mass communication.

FOLHA Folha de São Paulo newspaper: Headed by the Frias family. Perhaps the most influential of all newspapers. Folha de S. Paulo is intimately connected to the PSDB (liberal conservatives); it's the essential cultural reference of the middle class. It's the major aggregator of the PT's (Worker's Party) opponents.
ABRIL: Headed by the Civita family. It's the largest news imprint in Brazil. Under its coordination, Veja, the magazine with the largest circulation in the country, showcases conservative discourses and personalities. It uses its magazines as part of the campaign against left-wing parties and discourses.
SBT: Headed by the Abravanel family. A popular TV broadcaster. It is owned by television presenter and a self-made man Sílvio Santos. Its shows with an audience are a major example of the alienation of the public by the media.
RECORD: Led by Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UKG). The interdiction on churches to acquire media broadcasters didn't prevent pastor Edir Macedo from building an empire on the triad of faith, media, and church tax. Recurring to homophobic condemnations and religious persecutions of Afro-Brazilian religions, this radically conservative broadcaster defends the Bible in the manipulative media.
BAND: Led by the Saad family. The broadcaster is connected to agribusiness. Its shows and broadcast journalism engage mostly with the Bulls, Bulls, and Bible formula (the acronym designates three political forces that have at times lobbied together: military forces, police, armament lobby; religious fundamentalists; and predatory agribusiness, deeply rooted in a settler mentality). It openly opposes all the Left.
Rede Globo: Headed by the Marinho family. This network has been monopolizing TV broadcasting since the military dictatorship. Roberto Marinho, a Brazilian Citizen Kane-type, who died in 2003, consolidated an immense media complex. Globo constructs crises, takes down presidents, and its journalists often need to take cover during major leftist demonstrations in which protesters can be heard shouting: "The people aren't stupid, out with the Globo Network!"

Participation: Fernando Sato, Eida Lima, Maurineite Lima, Marie Ange Bordas and Jornalistas Livres, Translated by Catarina Oliveira, Mariana Silva e Daniel Lima.

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TEMMER

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