

WOMEN IN RESISTANCE!

Archives of political memory



MEMORIAL DA
RESISTÊNCIA
DE SÃO PAULO

All texts were produced for the exhibition *Women in Resistance! Archives of political memory*, held at the Memorial da Resistência de São Paulo, 2023-2024.

FLOOR PLAN

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WOMEN IN RESISTANCE! ARCHIVES OF POLITICAL MEMORY

Let's make them count

Let's make it

Our rights

With love and pleasure

Amelinha Teles^[1]

The thread that weaves this exhibition is facing the Civil-Military Dictatorship from a gender perspective. Focusing on the Memorial da Resistência oral history collection, we approach women's collective fights for Memory, Truth and Justice, and also for fundamental rights. What do they fight for? How do they fight? What are their stories?

We begin with an invitation to listen to some testimonials from the Memories of the Civil-Military Dictatorship Collection, in the installation *partitura da escuta* (2023), by Bianca Turner. These women's narratives lead us through another archives, such as Inês Etienne Romeu's, the only survivor from a clandestine torture center, also known as Casa da Morte (House of Death), in Petrópolis/RJ.

Her bravery in confronting the dictatorship repressive apparatus raised an international campaign from freedom, of which Delphine Seyrig's movie *Inês* (1974) offers an important historical document. Inês' denunciations bring us closer to the story of Heleny Guariba, a case of enforced disappearance. Her memory is presented in the movie settings *Cadê Heleny?* (2022), from Esther Vital, embroidered in arpilleras.

The fighting imaginary of the black activist, poet and thinker Beatriz Nascimento is present in three poems written in the 1980s, which bring an urgent and contemporary portrait of ways to resist violence, impunity and racism.

The deep traces of the dictatorship mingle past and present, such as shown in *Do luto à luta* (2023) series, directed by Val Gomes. The videos gather testimonials from Coleção Memórias da Violência na Democracia (Memories of Violence in Democracy Collection) with members of Mães da Leste, Movimento de Familiares das Vítimas do Massacre de Paraisópolis and Mothers of Osasco/Barueri collectives.

From the mid-1970s onwards, women's activism for rights gained momentum. Demands such as for health, education and decent housing, present in the meetings of the Mother's Clubs from Zona Sul (Clubes de Mães da Zona Sul), met feminist agendas of São Paulo Women's Union. Nowadays, they keep inspiring projects such as the Popular Legal Prosecutors (Promotoras Legais Populares).

The visual record of popular struggles is essential to the construction of the country's political memory, as Nair Benedicto's photographic collection unfolds. Exhibiting images of the workshops *Conhecendo o Corpo Feminino* (1984) in the headquarters of Deops/SP, where many of the women here were tortured, is a gesture of freedom.

Achievements in the fight for rights are a result of entire lives dedication, such as the one from Laudelina de Campos Mello in defense of domestic workers, and from organizations like IN.FORMAR, created to support and document social movements.

Oral history, circle meetings and groups connect us with *Escola de Testemunhos*, by Contrafilé Group, and with the memory journeys mediated by Acervo Bajubá, around actions of Mulheres da Luz collective and experiences of LGBT+ communities in defense of their own sexualities and identities.

From life stories fractured by pain to the affection networks built in resistance, this exhibition is a memory act devoted to women's political strength.

Ana Pato
Carolina Junqueira
Curators

[1] Excerpt from the marchinha song by *Bloco de Carnaval Casa de Dona Yayá*, from São Paulo Women's Union.

FIGHT FOR MEMORY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE

After the years of Civil-Military Dictatorship (1964-1985), carrying out reparation actions makes us think about the challenges of establishing politics of memory in a country where Amnesty Law and impunity in favor of committed crimes are extended to the present day. In a society deeply marked by state violence and authoritarian practices, the quest for memory, truth and justice has become a common expression in the political vocabulary of people devoted to demand detailed clarification of human rights violations. The voices of survivors and relatives of killed and missing people are central in this process, to properly denouncing crimes and seeking for explanation.

Many are their acts of democratic resistance, whether occupying public spaces in rallies, protests and leafleting, pressuring entities such as the Comissão Nacional da Verdade-2011-2014 (National Truth Commission) or recognizing in the power of listening and oral history a way of sharing their testimonies, as prisoners, politically persecuted during the Civil-Military Dictatorship, and mothers who lost their children in recent acts of violence by the Brazilian state here do. Neither does their fight end after the crimes have been solved, as shows Inês Etienne Romeu's persistence in identifying and punishing her torturers even throughout the years of re-democratization.

REGULAR TESTIMONIES COLLECTION: MEMORIES OF THE CIVIL-MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Active since 2009, the Programa Coleta Regular de Testemunhos (Regular Testimonies Collection) is responsible for integrating the institution collection and, today, it maintains more than two hundred interviews with former political prisoners, relatives of those who were killed and went missing during the Civil-Military Dictatorship, activists of social and cultural movements and professionals who, because of their work, have frequented the state's repressive structures. Beyond that, the Program records the memories of several other social actors, who, having experienced in many ways episodes of repression and resistance in the dictatorial context, help to reconstruct aspects of Brazilian political memory through Oral History – a significant research methodology created in the 1950s and established among researchers from the 1970s onwards, which became popular in Brazil in the 1990s, when it begins to be widely employed by researchers from different areas of knowledge.

At Memorial da Resistência, testimonies are recognized as a fundamental source to think about our historical past (and to think about social processes in the present), based on the importance of memories, in their individual and collective dimension, as a singular way to recapture the past. Throughout this continuous listening, the Programa Coleta Regular de Testemunhos contributes as a channel to record non-hegemonic memories, especially of those who emerged out of traumatic processes and of those who have faced brutal forms of silencing.

REGULAR TESTIMONIES COLLECTION: MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE IN DEMOCRACY

Since 2009, the Programa Coleta Regular de Testemunhos (Regular Testimonies Collection) has been dedicated to carry out audiovisual interviews with people who can testify about aspects of their experiences during the last Brazilian dictatorship, helping to expand a historical understanding of events, social processes, political conjunctures, ways of life and countless other issues relating to the individual and collective experiences that have shape social life within this context. It also raises knowledge about the history of Deops/SP, social control in the republican state and the spaces, memories and traces of repression and political resistance in São Paulo state.

However, taking into account the permanence and constancy of police violence and extermination practices against important portions of Brazilian society, the Programa Coleta Regular de Testemunhos, always focused on listening to victims from state violence, could not help but look at contemporary processes as well. In this regard, since 2023, they carry out interviews that compose Coleção Memórias da Violência na Democracia (Memories of Violence in Democracy Collection), which addresses the impacts of the last dictatorship on the political, social, cultural and public security scenarios, guiding present debates. Therefore, this new collection aims to update the work from Coleta Regular de Testemunhos as an important resource to think about the fight for right and for memory, truth and justice in the confrontation of police impunity.

MÃES DE MAIO (MAY MOTHERS)

May 2006 determined one of the most violent events committed by the Brazilian state since the country's re-democratization. The confrontations between Primeiro Comando da Capital-PCC (Capital's First Command), public security agents and paramilitary groups culminated in hundreds of deaths over a period of ten days, throughout the whole state of São Paulo – numbers show more than fifty agents and five hundred civilians, many of them young black and peripheral people. The lack of investigations and accountability for these murders encouraged the creation of May Mothers movement, founded by Débora Silva and composed by victims' mothers, family members and friends looking for justice and reparations. Its work is a reference in denouncing crimes committed by the state and keeps inspiring the creation of countless other similar movements more than fifteen years later.

OSASCO AND BARUERI MASSACRE

On August 8 and 13, 2015, hooded state agents ran into peripheral neighborhoods in São Paulo Metropolitan Region and carried out a series of murders as a retaliation for the deaths of two security agents, victims of armed robberies a few days earlier. Young people living in Osasco and Barueri, randomly chosen in places with no connection between each other, were targeted within this action, and deaths were also reported in Itapevi and Carapicuíba, totalizing 28 victims according to family members. Three military police officers and a civil guard were accused of these crimes: Military Police Victor Cristilder and Civil Guard Sérgio Manhã had their condemnations overturned by a popular jury in February 2021, while MPs Fabrício Eleutério and Thiago Henklain remain in prison. In 2023, Cristilder's request to return to the Military Police was accepted.

MÃES DA LESTE (MOTHERS FROM LESTE)

Established in 2019, Mães da Leste movement brings together mothers from different neighborhoods of São Paulo's East Zone who have lost their children in several police raids, which still have not been properly clarified. The state's silence and its denial of committed crimes have become a common factor in these women's lives, who have built a powerful network of affection, solidarity and support between themselves. With protests and mobilization actions, the mothers denounce the state crimes, demanding transparency and accountability of the guilty and transforming their personal losses into a collective call for justice, truth, memory and reparation. The presented testimonies bring together some of their members, including Márcia Gazza, founder and organizer of Mães da Leste movement.

PARAISÓPOLIS MASSACRE

DZ7 Ball brought together around 5,000 people in Paraisópolis, in the South Zone of São Paulo, when it was violently shut down in the early hours of December 1, 2019 by Polícia Militar do Estado de São Paulo-PMESP (São Paulo State Military Police). The action to disperse the crowd led to numerous injuries and the death, in an alleyway, of nine young people aged between 14 and 23. The police narrative, which turns agents unaccountable,

is contested: images and recordings do not indicate violent opposition from the participants, contrary to what was reported by the institution; necroscopic reports of the victims differ from the cause of death, initially pointed out as accidental stomping; and the victims removal, already lifeless, by the police is understood not as an attempt to help, but as an interference on the investigations. In July 2023, the trial began: of the 31 police officers involved, twelve are sued for murder and bodily injury. A separate investigation is also taking place in the Justiça Militar (Military Courts).

DEFENSIVE INVESTIGATION AND THE WORK OF CAAF/UNIFESP

The videos from the partnership between the Centro de Antropologia e Arqueologia Forense da Universidade Federal de São Paulo-CAAF/Unifesp (Anthropology and Forensic Archaeology Center at Federal University of São Paulo) and the Núcleo Especializado de Cidadania e Direitos Humanos-NECDH (Specialized Center for Citizenship and Human Rights) of the Defensoria Pública do Estado de São Paulo (Public Defender's Office of the State of São Paulo) result from the defensive investigation on police's intervention at the DZ7 Ball in Paraisópolis on December 1, 2019. Carried out with victims' relatives, the work is based on document analysis, expert and material evidence collected by the police investigation. This investigation manifests violence perpetrated by security agents, as well as the institutional instruments that aim to provide them with broad support within the justice system. The complete series, composed by nine videos, is available on CAAF/Unifesp YouTube channel.

PUPPETS

The puppets, shown at the exhibition, are part of the actions mobilized by mothers' movements and they symbolize their children, who were victims of police violence. They were made by seamstress Cicera das Dores Quirino with the help of Maria Cristina Quirino Portugal, Márcia Gazza and the children Gabriel Quirino Lopes (13 years old), Heitor Silva de Oliveira (11 years old), Heloísa Silva de Oliveira (13 years old) and Sabrina Lorayne Quirino Vieira (11 years old) for Cordão da Mentira (String of Lie), an annual act parading on April 1, April Fools' Day and of the 1964 Coup, in order to denounce dictatorship legacies in our daily lives, state violence and oppression against the working classes in Brazil.

BEATRIZ NASCIMENTO

Historian, poet and activist, Maria Beatriz Nascimento (1942-1995) composed a fundamental work for ethnic-racial debates in the country. The experience of African diaspora, the body-territory in exile, researches about *quilombos* formations in Brazil, the re-signification of *quilombo* notion as a territory of resistance and freedom, and the oppression suffered by black women composed some of her themes. This intense production came to an early interruption at the age of 52, when Beatriz was the victim of femicide. Among Beatriz Nascimento's legacies are the poems that occupy the walls of this exhibition, included in the book *Todas (as) distâncias: poemas, aforismos e ensaios de Beatriz Nascimento* (2015), organized by Alex Ratts and Bethania Gomes. Her words are asserted as territories of black struggle, memory and resistance, where political action unveils, above all, as a genuine act of creation.

INÊS ETIENNE ROMEU

Recognition of the crimes committed by the Brazilian Civil-Military Dictatorship would not exist without many witnesses who dared to raise their voices and to denounce such atrocities, as did Inês Etienne Romeu (1942-2015). Retelling her life is facing all the most serious violence perpetrated by the state itself in this period, but also the remarkable courage, strength and determination of a woman in her fight for memory, truth and justice.

The only survivor from Casa da Morte (House of Death), a clandestine center of detention, torture and disappearance located in Petrópolis/RJ, Inês revealed the previously secret address, pointed out victims who have passed through the place and relentlessly fought for the accountability of its torturers, identifying many of them during the investigations of the National Truth Commission.

Her efforts have produced an extensive and valuable personal archive, made up of reports, letters received from prison, legal files, photographs and photocopies of criminal records currently held by the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (Public Archives of the State of São Paulo). Although in a tiny sample, the documents presented in this exhibition attest to the value of Inês Etienne's struggle and the trust she, a historian and archivist by education, places in the archive as an unquestionable resource for preserving memory and obtaining the truth.

ACTIVISM AND KIDNAPPING (1964-1971)

Inês Etienne Romeu joined Federal University of Minas Gerais (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais-UFMG) in 1961 and, since 1964 civil-military coup, she took part in different opposition organizations which were persecuted by the regime, including Popular Revolutionary Vanguard (Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária-VPR), of which she was a leader. Investigated by repression agents, she was kidnapped in São Paulo on May 5, 1971, when she had already left VPR, and she was illegally arrested at Deops/SP. After being tortured on political police's building, the following day she was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, where she attempted suicide. After being hospitalized, she was taken to a clandestine torture and disappearance center in Petrópolis/RJ, known as Casa da Morte (House of Death).

CASA DA MORTE (HOUSE OF DEATH) IN PETRÓPOLIS/RJ (1971)

As the Comissão Nacional da Verdade-2014 (National Truth Commission) confirmed, the Casa da Morte was a clandestine torture and extermination center occupied between 1971 and 1974 by the Centro de Informações do Exército-CIE (Army Information Center), in Petrópolis/RJ. Inside an apparent residential building, the repressive structure was used for kidnappings, torture, murder and to hide corpses. Inês was its only survivor, having spent 96 days in the building. During this period, without knowing where she was, family and friends searched for her amid vague and baseless information shared by military and state representatives, including her pretended murder.

RECOVERY AND TESTIMONY (1971)

Pretending to accept an agreement with her torturers, Inês was released on condition to operate as an infiltrator in subversive organizations. In August 1971, she was taken from the Casa da Morte to her sister's house in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, under state agents' surveillance. Given her fragile health, weighing just over thirty kilos, she spent three months in Casa de Saúde Santa Maria (Santa Maria Nursing Home). During her hospitalization, Inês wrote down details of her kidnapping, identified the torturers by their aliases and pointed out possible victims killed at the address in Petrópolis/RJ. Refusing to collaborate with state agents and fearing for her safety, she chose to have her arrest legalized, supported by family members and her lawyer, Augusto Sussekind de Moraes, in November 1971.

COMISSÃO NACIONAL DA VERDADE (NATIONAL TRUTH COMMISSION, 2014)

In 2014, from Comissão Nacional da Verdade's (National Truth Commission) request, Inês recognized six torturers and prison officers of Casa da Morte through photographs. Investigations by the Ministério Público (Public Ministry) and by journalists also helped in other agents' subsequent identification. Altogether, they are: Freddie Perdigão Pereira, "dr. Roberto"; Rubens Paim Sampaio, "dr. Teixeira"; Ubirajara Ribeiro de Souza, "Zé Gomes"; Jairo de Canaã Cony, "Marcelo"; Rubens Gomes Carneiro, "Laecato"; Antônio Fernando Hughes de Carvalho, "Alan"; Antônio Waneir Pinheiro Lima, "Camarão"; Amílcar Lobo, "dr. Carneiro"; Luiz Cláudio do Azeredo Viana, "Laurindo".

TRIAL AND IMPRISONMENT (1972-1979)

Having her arrest legalized in November 1971, Inês was transferred to Rio de Janeiro/RJ and her trial happened the following year. She was sentenced to life imprisonment for the crime of killing one of Giovanni Bucher's security agents, the Swiss ambassador kidnapped by the ALN in 1970, and she was transferred to Instituto Penal Talavera Bruce (Talavera Bruce Penal Institute) in Bangu, in Rio de Janeiro's capital city. The sentence was later modified to thirty years in prison, when the conclusion came that Inês had not committed a death crime, and again adjusted to eight years, the minimum sentence under the National Security Law of 1978 (Law n.6620/78).

PRISON FILES

During her imprisonment in Talavera Bruce, Rio de Janeiro/RJ, Inês used Manchete magazines as storage for an important journalistic history of the Civil-Military Dictatorship. The articles cover the period between July 1977 and April 1980, indicating Inês kept collecting them after she was released. Gathered in chronological order and taken from diverse media outlets, they compose a unique timeline about political prisoners' situation in the country and family members' fight for amnesty.

END OF PRISON (1979)

Inês is reputed to be the last political prisoner released in the country during the Civil-Military Dictatorship, after spending eight years in prison. She was released on August 29, 1979, a day after the Amnesty Law was enacted. Although much has been said about her amnesty condition, Inês was only able to benefit from this law in 2001: as the kidnapping crime for which she was condemned excluded her from the law, she could leave prison because she had concluded her sentence.

RETURNING TO PETRÓPOLIS (1981)

On September 5, 1971, a week after her release, Inês went to Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (Brazilian Lawyers' Association) at Rio de Janeiro to testify and show documents related to her kidnapping and imprisonment. An inquiry was opened by the Association in order to investigate the facts, but filed later by the Ministério da Justiça (Ministry of Justice). Inês' fight to denounce those responsible for the crimes, however, was not over: during her kidnapping, she heard and memorized four telephone digits of the house where she was imprisoned. This fact was determinant to find Casa da Morte's address, ten years later. Gathering an entourage composed by family members, friends, OAB representatives, political disappeared relatives and the press, Inês returned to Petrópolis/RJ in 1981 to locate and publicly denounce the state crimes of which she had been a victim.

THE HOUSE OF HORRORS

From collective actions such as the film Inês (1974) to television and newspaper reports, public denunciation was an important strategy employed to expose crimes committed in the Casa da Morte. Inês decided to return to the address in Petrópolis/RJ in 1981, almost ten years after her kidnapping. There, in front of the press, she personally confronted the residence owner, Mário Ladders, responsible for giving the property to repression agents. The action was recorded in the article "A Casa dos Horrores" (The House of Horrors),

written by her sister, the journalist Lúcia Romeu, and the former political prisoner and journalist Antonio Carlos Fon for IstoÉ magazine. The article won the Prêmio Vladimir Herzog de Anistia e Direitos Humanos (Vladimir Herzog Award for Amnesty and Human Rights), dedicated to the work of journalists who collaborate in the defense and promotion of democracy, citizenship and human and social rights.

CONFRONTATION WITH AMÍLCAR LOBO, “DR. CARNEIRO”

Inês’ journey to identify those responsible for her kidnapping, torture and imprisonment did not end in Petrópolis/RJ. Two days after visiting the clandestine torture location, she went with her sister Lúcia Romeu, deputy Modesto da Silveira and photographer A. Fontes to psychoanalyst Amílcar Lobo’s office, an Army doctor and collaborator in the crimes committed during that period. Recognized by Inês, he used to introduce himself as “Dr. Carneiro” and he was responsible for giving her the “truth serum”, treating her wounds and ensuring that she would spend more time being tortured inside Casa da Morte. After Inês’ public denunciation, Amílcar Lobo had his professional registration revoked in 1989 by the Conselho Federal de Medicina (Federal Council of Medicine).

TRIAL OF TORTURER ANTÔNIO WANEIR PINHEIRO LIMA, “CAMARÃO”

Among Casa da Morte torturers is “Camarão”, an alias mentioned by Inês Etienne Romeu in 1971 and identified decades later as Antônio Waneir Pinheiro Lima, an Army soldier. In 2016, Antônio was formally accused for kidnapping, private imprisonment and rape, but the denouncement was first rejected by the 1ª Vara Federal de Petrópolis (1st Federal Court of Petrópolis). An appeal from Ministério Público Federal-MPF (Federal Public Ministry), however, led to an unprecedented decision by Tribunal Federal da 2ª Região-TRF2 (2nd Region Federal Court) of not acquitting the crimes, based on the argument that the actions could not be supported by Amnesty Law (Law N° 6,683/1979). The Federal Court keeps prosecuting the accused, on the first rape criminal process by an agent of the Civil-Military Dictatorship in the country.

CASA DA MORTE LISTING PROCESS

With the end of House of Death’s occupation by the Centro de Informações do Exército-CIE (Army Information Center) in 1974, the building remained as a private property by different residents. As a result of ongoing fights by organized civil society movements, which are fighting to turn the place into a memory center open to public, the building was provisionally listed in 2023 by the Instituto Estadual do Patrimônio Cultural-Inepac (State Institute for Cultural Heritage) because of its “memorial and historical value”. The procedure was made official in the Diário Oficial do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Official Gazette of Rio de Janeiro State) on June 26th this year, the same date remembered as the International Day in Support of Victims of Torture. The property currently remains as a private property.

A LIFE DEVOTED TO MEMORY

Inês resumed her studies after released from prison, graduating in 1981 with a degree in History from the Universidade Federal do Ceará (Federal University of Ceará). An interest in archival science and research led her to return to São Paulo/SP and work at

the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (Public Archives of the State of São Paulo), where she became a director between 1988 and 1990. In 2002, Inês has also contributed to the early research project for the creation of a Prison Memorial – a place of memory that would later become Memorial da Resistência de São Paulo. In 2003, in an episode that remains unclear today, Inês was attacked in her apartment by an alleged service provider and suffered permanent neurological sequelae. She died on April 27, 2015, at the age of 72, at her house in Niterói/RJ.

CADÊ HELENY? (WHERE IS HELENY?, 2022), BY ESTHER VITAL

The scenarios, costumes and puppets presented are part of the short documentary *Cadê Heleny? (Where is Heleny?, 2022)*, directed by Esther Vital (1983-). Created by a team of women, they come from arpilleras workshops held at the Memorial in 2018. The textile technique, originated in Chile, became a powerful means of expression to denounce human rights violations during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990). In this film, sewing is the leading thread of Heleny Guariba's (1941-1971) story, a philosopher, teacher, theater director and political activist who disappeared during the Brazilian Civil-Military Dictatorship. Her story is connected to Inês Etienne Romeu's, the only survivor of Casa da Morte in Petrópolis/RJ: in her testimony, Inês says that Heleny was also there.

HELENY GUARIBA

Born in Bebedouro/SP, Heleny Ferreira Telles Guariba (1941-1971) graduated in Philosophy at Universidade de São Paulo-USP (University of São Paulo), conducting side studies in theater. She taught and directed plays, but stopped to work due to censorship in the Civil-Military Dictatorship. A member of Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária-VPR (Revolutionary Popular Vanguard), she was arrested for the first time in March 1970, in Poços de Caldas/MG, and she was transferred to the DOI/CODI in São Paulo/SP, where she was tortured for three days. When her arrest became official, she served the sentence in Tiradentes Prison until April 1971. On July 12 of this year, she was kidnapped by DOI/CODI agents in Rio de Janeiro/RJ, and possibly transferred to Casa da Morte in Petrópolis/RJ, according to Inês Etienne Romeu's testimony. Heleny is recognized by the state as political disappeared and, a report by the National Truth Commission recommends to keep the investigations about her murder going.

***INÊS* (1974)**

There are still several gaps about the creation and development process of the short film *Inês* (1974), screened for the first time in Brazil in this exhibition. Produced in support of Inês Etienne Romeu during her imprisonment in Instituto Penal Talavera Bruce (Penal Institution Talavera Bruce, Rio de Janeiro/RJ), the video mobilized an intense international campaign for her freedom and it is an indisputable document about the women's power of protest and network fights.

It is known that the film is the result of a close collaboration between actresses and filmmakers Norma Bengell (Brazil 1935-2013) and Delphine Seyrig (Lebanon 1932-France 1990). In 1974, Seyrig began an intense audiovisual production as the founder of the feminist women's collective Les Insoumuses – a wordplay uniting “muses” and “insubmissive”, in French. Over the years, the group made a large list of movies with sharp social criticism and feminist point of view, to which *Inês*, considered the first movie ever directed by Seyrig, would initiate.

Exhibited at the First International Women's Congress in Frankfurt, in November 1974, the short film mobilized the integrating women and started a wide international movement. The content brutality, a sort of replay of torture performed by an actress and a narrator who remain unidentified until today, was held as a sensitive dispositive in order to reconstruct this period's memory and to unveil the misogynistic crimes committed by the repressive apparatus.

CAPTION

AMNESTY POSTCARDS

The screening and circulation of the movie *Inês* (1974) at several events in Europe and in the context of the International Women's Year, proclaimed by the UN in 1975, raised a broad international campaign in solidarity and support for Inês' release. This mobilization resulted in thousands of postcards being sent to Brazilian embassies and to Talavera Bruce Penal Institute in Rio de Janeiro, where Inês was imprisoned. On the back of many of these messages was a drawing of a white dove, an image that became the great symbol of the campaign for broad, general and unrestricted amnesty in Brazil.

FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

Women have always fought against the permanence of old and new forms of authoritarianism. An attentive look to Brazilian reality shows a constant struggle for rights, brought together by multiple subjects and social movements occupying the public scene in order to build a fairer and more equal society.

Along with demands for memory, truth and justice in the fight against the Civil-Military Dictatorship, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the empowerment of a feminist agenda in the country that took place among the changes women felt related to work, family and political life. A lot of autonomous spaces for debate emerged from their articulations and mobilizations, organized by collectives, associations and clubs that recognized in education a way for women's emancipation.

The right to one's own body and to pleasure, the reproductive health issue and an end to domestic violence joined the protests for more places in child care and for guaranteed workers' rights, having as an example the domestic workers. In the period of re-democratization, demands integrating the 1988 Constitution arranged the public debate, such as healthcare, education and decent housing access, black population demands to confront racism and police violence, and also LGBT+ community fighting against prejudice and rights violation. Thus it is worth reaffirming women's fight for rights in Brazil constitutes an ongoing process, including to raise public awareness about urgent matters, such as guaranteed access to quality public services for the entire population, regardless of class, race or sexual identity.

NAIR BENEDICTO

Engaged in political issues and firmly committed to the struggle for rights and social justice, Nair Benedicto (São Paulo, 1940) produces for decades a sensitive and attentive record of popular fights and the reality of groups made invisible historically throughout the whole country.

Her story behind a camera also tells about her resistance during the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Accused of being involved with Ação Libertadora Nacional-ALN (National Liberation Action organization), Nair was arrested in September 1969 and taken to Deops/SP, in this building, where she was tortured and interrogated. She was later transferred to Tiradentes Prison and released in 1970, but not without physical, psychological and also professional consequences, since the requirement for certificates of moral suitability by that time was an obstacle for her working in video and movie companies.

The path of independent photography, one of the few practicable options for Nair, became an instrument for documenting and expressing Brazilian social memory. The result is an ever-expanding photographic archive of popular organizations and street protests, original peoples and *quilombolas*, working classes, unhoused people and women condition.

The photographs composing the series *Conhecendo o Corpo Feminino (Knowing the Female Body)* in this exhibition are a fragment of many meetings with Nair, at workshops produced by feminist organizations in São Paulo, in 1984. Devoted to the acknowledgment of the female body, the meetings were safe and supportive spaces to discuss some themes such as gender, health and sexuality, including names like the writer and intellectual Rose Marie Muraro (1930-2014) and the collectives SOS Corpo – Instituto Feminista para Democracia (SOS Body – Feminist Institute for Democracy – Recife/PE) and *Mulherio* newspaper.

CAPTION

CONHECENDO O CORPO FEMININO (KNOWING THE FEMALE BODY, 1984)

Conversation circles, theoretical classes and sexuality and body workshops, dance and theater dynamics were some of the actions captured by the photographer Nair Benedicto (1940-), following her participation in workshops by feminist organizations in São Paulo in 1984, devoted to discuss and to share knowledge about gender, health and sexuality within that context. Promoted by feminist intellectuals like Rose Marie Muraro (1930-2014) and collectives such as SOS Corpo and *Mulherio* newspaper, these meetings were safe spaces for the members to exchange and discover between themselves, as well as powerful invitations for them to get to know their bodies and their rights as women.

ACERVO BAJUBÁ

Acervo Bajubá is a community project to record memories of Brazilian LGBT+ communities. It brings together a collection of items which document sexual diversity and plurality of expressions and gender identities in Brazil, and it also develops actions and projects to produce, mediate and disseminate memories and stories of sex and gender dissident people.

In 2022, it carried out an immersion experience in Centro de Pesquisa e Referência of Memorial da Resistência (Research and Reference Center) to analyze gender perspectives the institution deals with on its actions and projects and, from there, it proposes articulations that would enable the discussion about other women's experiences during the Civil-Military Dictatorship and their resonances in present experiences.

This survey is presented here in two window displays with materials from the curatorial journey carried out by Bajubá Collection at the Reference Center and with a work that will be developed from *Women in Resistance!* exhibition, in partnership with ONG Mulheres da Luz (NGO Women of Light). As a whole, the window displays will indicate possible ways of thinking about the women participation in political, social and cultural processes in the country's recent history.

GRUPO CONTRAFILÉ

The *Escola de Testemunhos* (*School of Testimonies*) is an artistic-educational dispositive based on the premise that each person is a school and, therefore, one possesses one's own profound knowledge and sensitivities, which talk about a singularity while express social and collective processes.

In this exhibition, this dispositive will be activated with the voices of three women in fight, who invite us to learn, to listen and to reflect on issues regarding memory and resistance. At the end, the School of Testimonies concludes with a meta-class, a meeting on the importance of the public practice of testimony.

If testimony is a school, how can we learn from it? What to learn? What is a witness teaching? The meetings are open, held in the exhibition space, and everyone is invited to take notes on blackboards, thus participating in a collective record of classes teaching powers.

Program:

Class 1: with Ana Dias, "Everything is politics!" — October 14, 10am

Class 2: with Rita Sipahi, "The silence pact and ways of breaking it" — October 14, 2pm

Class 3: with Neusa Maria Pereira, "Anti-racist fight and resistance to dictatorship" — October 20, 10am

Class 4: with Janaína Teles, Márcia Gazza e Rudinei Borges, "Sharing circles, public testimony and the collective production of memory" — October 21, 2pm

UNIÃO DE MULHERES DE SÃO PAULO

The União de Mulheres de São Paulo - UMSP (Women Union of São Paulo) is an autonomous organization created in 1981, aiming to defend women's rights by encouraging and promoting popular feminist education. The founding process, including political activists such as Kátia Antunes, Criméia Alice S. de Almeida, Maria Amélia A. Teles, Terezinha de Oliveira Gonzaga and Maria de Lourdes Rodrigues, is directly connected to a context of fight for re-democratization in the country and to the rearrange of social movements in late 1970s and early 1980s.

By that time, left-wing parties activists, former political prisoners and autonomous women took over to the public scenario demanding better work conditions, child care centers, living costs reduction, greater female participation in the political field and the end of violence against women – flags still raised today. With uninterrupted activity since its founding, the UMSP keeps facing the challenges on women's emancipation providing courses, workshops and activities.

THE ANT, A FIGHT SYMBOL

The ant, a symbol of women's persistent and collective work, was the image chosen by the Union members for a series of paintings on Elevado Costa e Silva pillars, known as "Minhocão", in February 1987. The action, part of a campaign in defense of women's rights during the Assembleia Nacional Constituinte (National Constituent Assembly), culminated in participants' arbitrary arrest. Sent to Federal Police to give evidence for graffiti, they became the only group known to have been arrested for graffiti in Constitution defense.

MOVIMENTO FEMININO PELA ANISTIA (WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FOR AMNESTY)

The work of people and organizations in order to open space for political action against dictatorship marked the second half of the 1970s and, progressively, amnesty became a central slogan in opposition's demands. Women's Movement for Amnesty (MFPA), created in 1975 in São Paulo/SP, was very active during this period. Defending broad and general amnesty for state's victims, MFPA groups appeared all over the country and brought students, left-wing leaderships and a network of solidarity abroad together. The leading role played by women is undeniable, especially mothers, partners, sisters and daughters of political prisoners, who went out on the streets and prisons searching for information about their relatives.

A CASA DE CULTURA DA MULHER NEGRA (BLACK WOMAN'S HOUSE OF CULTURE)

Black women's movements and black feminism play a leading role in the fight for rights in the country, always pointing out discrimination experienced in a racist society, proposing a political agenda that articulates itself between gender, race and class and also supporting common flags against violence and inequality. One of the spaces used to organize and mobilize this fight was Casa de Cultura da Mulher Negra, founded in 1991 by Alzira Rufino (1949-2023) in Santos/SP. Until its closure, in 2019, the House was a place aiming at unity and support, offering courses, cultural events and legal and psychological assistance services to women who were victims of sexual and domestic violence. The partnership with Women's Union led to the 1º Encontro Nacional de Entidades Populares contra a Violência à Mulher (1st National Meeting of Popular Organizations against Violence to Women), having as their motto "Impunity is violence's accomplice".

DIRETAS JÁ (WOMEN FOR DIRECT ELECTIONS)

Thousands of Brazilians gathered throughout 1984 for the rallies concerning *Diretas Já* campaign, as the result of a process of democratic opening in the country, after years of political and electoral restrictions imposed by the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Besides claiming for presidency direct elections, the movement covered demands for greater female representation in national politics. Although the presidential succession in 1985 was indirect, under Electoral College's responsibility, women's organizations kept active and were responsible for institutions focused on public policies aiming at gender equality, such as the creation, in the first year of José Sarney's presidency, of Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Mulher-CNDM (National Council for Women's Rights).

WOMEN'S MINI-CONSTITUENT

Having as their the motto “Constituent: there must be women!”, Women’s Miniconstituent was promoted by São Paulo Women’s Union in 1986 and brought together more than three hundred people at São Paulo City Council (Câmara Municipal). On this day, 38 women deputies were symbolically elected by women’s groups and rural and urban unions to debate Constitution’s proposals. The resolutions were forwarded to the Encontro Nacional da Mulher pela Constituinte (National Women’s Meeting for Constituent Assembly), held on August 26 in Brasília/DF.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND LIPSTICK LOBBY

Having as their the motto Mulher In 1985, Brazil experienced the end of a long dictatorship and a new Constitution’s arrangement, integrating women from different political and ideological backgrounds. The creation of Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Mulher-CNDM (National Council for Women’s Rights), with the slogan “Constituent Assembly without women is halfway”, was an important space to dialog and to pressure for equality in politics. The result came in 1986 elections, from eight to 26 elected parliamentarians. The disparity with men, although wide, led to the formation of a caucus focused on female deputies and senators in Congress, known as “Lipstick Lobby”. Many of their demands were incorporated into the final text of 1988 Constituent Assembly, such as the expansion of women’s civil, social and economic rights, legal equality regarding men and 120 days’ maternity leave.

PROMOTORAS LEGAIS POPULARES

Started in the 1990s as a partnership between the União de Mulheres de São Paulo (Women Union of São Paulo) and Themis - Gênero e Justiça (Gender and Justice) organization from Rio Grande do Sul, Promotoras Legais Populares - PLPs (Popular Legal Prosecutors) project's mission is to foment women's access to justice and bring them closer to public authorities. Political education, inspired by formation initiatives from countries like Peru and Chile, is based on the idea that education is a powerful tool in the fight for rights and it provides basic notions of law, state organization, Sistema Único de Saúde-SUS (Unified Health System) operation, feminisms, sexual and reproductive rights and more.

The course happens every year since 1994 in the city of São Paulo, promoted by União de Mulheres, but there are groups of prosecutors working independently in the state of São Paulo and also in other states. Today, thousands of women have been trained and are active in their territories, opening up access to essential services, rights and policies to improve life within their communities.

CAPTION

NAIR BENEDICTO MEETS PROMOTORAS LEGAIS POPULARES

Nair Benedicto has been following the work of São Paulo Women's Union since its foundation, in the 1980s. The photographs presented are the result of a recent meeting she held with representatives of Popular Legal Prosecutors' groups coming from several cities of São Paulo, which took place at the beginning of 2023 on the staircases of Bixiga, the neighborhood where São Paulo Women's Union headquarters is located. Nair has also photographed *Bloco da Dona Yayá* in 2023 Carnival parade, organized by the Union. Created in 2000, this *bloco* has been roaming Bixiga's streets for more than twenty years, echoing *marchinhas*, carnival songs, about gender issues and women's rights.

CLUBE DE MÃES DA ZONA SUL

With eloquent women participation, popular organization in the outlying areas of São Paulo's South Zone became an important force for mobilization and political action, even in the period of strong control by the Civil-Military Dictatorship in the 1970s and 1980s. Influenced and supported by sections of the Catholic Church, especially those linked to Liberation Theology, the Clubes de Mães (Mothers' Clubs) were spaces for social, political and religious fight and reflection in countless neighborhoods in this city area.

Over time, sewing and housework classes became gatherings for discussion and education with a contestatory bias, focused on demands for structural improvements in the neighborhoods where these women lived, such as access to electricity, potable water, sanitation and child care centers, besides the reduction of essential food prices. The Clubes de Mães played a fundamental role at the roots of Movimento do Custo de Vida-MCV (Living Cost Movement), which gained national repercussion by denouncing economic policies of the military regime, as well as a strong participation in the campaign for women's representation in the Assembleia Constituinte (Constituent Assembly).

MOVIMENTO DO CUSTO DE VIDA (LIVING COST MOVEMENT)

The Movimento do Custo de Vida-MCV (Living Cost Movement) was shaped in the early 1970s, among women's meetings in Mothers' Clubs of Zona Sul. Questioning the prices of basic necessities, low salaries and the lack of health and education services, the movement grew by including another entities. In 1978, a petition organization united more than 20 thousand people at Praça da Sé for a symbolic act and, in September of that same year, representatives went to Brasilia to present 1.3 million collected signatures. The absence of authorities on that day did not allow to accomplish the delivery, but the movement kept its activities and became one of the greatest examples of popular participation in the political context of that period.

MOVIMENTO DE LUTA POR CRECHES (MOVEMENT FOR CHILD CARE CENTERS)

The mobilization of women in different peripheral regions of São Paulo/SP was decisive to establish the Movement for Child Care Centers, which was structured in 1979 during the 1º Congresso da Mulher Paulista (1st Congress of São Paulo Women). The event, bringing together around eight hundred women at Ruth Escobar Theater, considered the demand for state-funded child care centers as a priority. Besides demanding guarantees for working mothers and their exhausting double shift at home, such as houseworkers and seamstresses, the flag fought for adequate social and development spaces for children, greater family participation in child's guidance, pay equity and better working conditions.

REDE MULHER DE EDUCAÇÃO (WOMAN NETWORK FOR EDUCATION)

Devoted to political and popular education, Rede Mulher de Educação (Woman Network for Education) has promoted several events, courses, alliances and social movements strengthening of the fight for women's rights since 1980, when it was founded in São Paulo/SP. This organization's activity, founded by the sociologist, writer and feminist activist Moema Viezzer (1938-), was also at the core of mobilizations for the 1987 Constituent Assembly, including meetings with collectives in São Paulo's Zona Sul. Among them, the event "Nós e a Constituinte" ("Constituent Assembly and Us"), held in June 1986, aimed to discuss popular causes of women and to ensure some strategies for spokespeople's elections.

ELIZABETH TEIXEIRA

The fair fight for land has always guided Elizabeth Teixeira's activism (1925-), an essential figure in the defense of rural workers' rights. The demands for land reform, social justice and an end to violence were also on the agenda of her husband, João Pedro Teixeira (1918-1962), leader of the Liga Camponesa de Sapé/PB (Peasant League of Sapé/PB). After her partner was murdered at the behest of landowners, Elizabeth kept fighting and took over the organization. Persecuted and imprisoned, she moved to Rio Grande do Norte in 1964 and adopted a fake name for seventeen years, when her story, João Pedro's and their eleven children's, was rescued in the film *Cabra Marcado para Morrer* (1984), by Eduardo Coutinho (1933-2014). The family home in Sapé is now the Memorial das Ligas e Lutas Camponesas (Peasant Leagues and Fights' Memorial).

LAUDELINA DE CAMPOS MELLO

Laudelina de Campos Mello (1904-1991) left a legacy of fundamental achievements in the fight against racism and for women's rights in the country. Born in Poços de Caldas/MG, as a child she was a domestic worker, by the time this category had no right to unionize or protection of labor laws. In the 1930s, in Santos/SP, she joined the Brazilian Partido Comunista Brasileiro (Communist Party) and Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front), an important organization for the black movement. In Santos, she founded the first Associação de Empregadas Domésticas do Brasil (Brazilian Association of Domestic Workers), in 1936. Her political activism, attentive to women, black population and underprivileged working classes demands, was also pioneered in 1940, during the Second World War, when she willingly served the Brazilian Armed Forces.

She moved to Campinas/SP and created, in 1961, the Associação das Empregadas Domésticas de Campinas (Association of Domestic Workers of Campinas), which would become later the Sindicato das Trabalhadoras Domésticas de Campinas e Região (Union of Domestic Workers of Campinas and Region). As a tribute and prolongation of Laudelina's work, in 1989, Laudelina de Campos Mello House – Organização da Mulher Negra (Black Women's Organization) was founded in the city, gathering women and young black educators who still operate today.

ORGANIZING A WORK CATEGORY

Founded by Laudelina in 1961, the Associação das Empregadas Domésticas de Campinas (Campinas Houseworkers' Association) raised the protection and representation for this category in the city and region, as well as educational, sporting and cooperative activities. During the Civil-Military Dictatorship, with its political restrictions, the organization assumed a charitable aspect, carrying out courses and distributing food. Due to internal issues, Laudelina left the organization in 1968 and came back in the 1980s, at the period of re-democratization. With the Constitution's promulgation, the Associação became Sindicato das Trabalhadoras Domésticas de Campinas e Região (Campinas and Region Domestic Workers' Union) in 1988, committed to Laudelina's fight to point out racial discrimination in the workplace, demanding equal rights and reinforcing these women's role, mostly black, in Brazilian society.

CONGRESSO NACIONAL DAS TRABALHADORAS DOMÉSTICAS (NATIONAL CONGRESS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS)

The 1st National Congress of Domestic Workers (1968) is an example of women workers strength and persistence, under the surveillance and control of the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Laudelina was directly involved in the first event's organization, in São Paulo/SP, devoted to recognize labor rights and unionization in the profession. Action plans on a national scale were discussed among the approximately forty workers present from nine states across the country. Since then, National Congresses keep their activities alive: in August 2021, the 12th National Congress of Domestic Workers took place in virtual format.

LABOR RIGHTS FOR ALL

The struggle of domestic workers for the category's regulation made significant progress in 1972, with the conquest of a few – but fundamental – rights, such as a signed employment contract, the right to paid vacations of twenty working days and access to social security services. Other achievements were also guaranteed in the 1988 Constitution, although the category was only granted nine of the more than thirty rights granted to other workers. Laudelina died in 1991, at the age of 86, without witnessing one of her work's greatest fruits: the Constitutional Amendment N° 72 of 2013, known as the PEC das Domésticas (Domestic Workers' PEC), guaranteed rights such as a 44-hour working week, paid extra hours and FGTS.

BAILES PÉROLA NEGRA (BLACK PEARL DANCES)

Laudelina's work in Campinas/SP, where she lived her whole life, included demanding for meeting, leisure and sociability spaces that reinforced black women's participation and protagonism in the city's cultural agenda. One of her contributions was the creation of Black Pearl Dance, a ball held for the first time at the Municipal Theater of Campinas, in 1957. Dedicated to young black women, this debutante ball was a straight reply to these kind of celebrations in the city, which were exclusive for white girls. The event is still an important local tradition today. In 2023, it was held at Bonfim Club.

IN.FORMAR CULTURA E EDUCAÇÃO POPULAR

Founded in 1980, aiming at supporting the critical analysis and position-taking in social movements, IN.FORMAR Cultura e Educação Popular (IN.FORMAR Popular Culture and Education) was a non-profit civil organization strongly present in São Paulo. Sociologists, social educators and photographers worked as members, committed to document popular fights and to produce support materials for educational and awareness-raising activities in an accessible and easily transmissible language.

The content assumed diverse formats, such as slideshows and audiovisual assemblies, and it was employed as foundation work with groups of women and mothers, unhoused children education, youth collectives, neighborhood friends societies and housing movements, in a joint and permanent exchange of experiences until the organization's closure, in 1992. Through the donation of one of its founders, Maria Célia Vieira Rossi, what remains of IN.FORMAR collection is currently with IIEP – Intercâmbio, Informações, Estudos e Pesquisas (Exchange, Information, Studies and Research).

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