

# MEMORIES OF

BLACK CITIZENSHIP, ANTI-RACISM, AND RESISTANCE

# THE FUTURE



*All texts were produced for the exhibition  
Memories of the Future: Black Citizenship,  
Antiracism and Resistance, held at the  
Memorial da Resistência de São Paulo from  
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The exhibition ***Memories of the Future: Black Citizenship, Antiracism and Resistance*** presents to the public of the Memorial da Resistência de São Paulo a historical overview of more than a century of struggles for the rights of the black population in the state of São Paulo, covering the period from 1888 to the present. By inviting sociologist and writer Mário Medeiros to curate this exhibition, the Memorial turns the museum space into a place of reading and reference, housing an extensive research that brings together through photographs, posters, newspapers, police documents, manifestos, and artistic manifestations the struggles of the black Brazilian population, which has always been one of the main forces to stand against the repression and human rights violations committed in the history of our country. As Medeiros reminds us, "black experience is part of the history of Brazilian citizenship and its struggle for rights, and that story must be told so we can know who we are and what we aim to be as a society."

The show was set up in collaboration with invited organizations and collectives, such as Coalização Negra por Direitos, *O Menelick 2º Ato* magazine, Capulanas Cia de Arte Negra, and Ilú Obá de Min, and in a partnership with the black culture archives and collections at AEL - Unicamp, the Public Archive of the State of São Paulo, Museu da Imagem e do Som, Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo, the Memorial da Resistência and CONDEPHAAT. Showcasing works by artists such as Bruno Baptistelli, Geraldo Filme, Itamar Assumpção, João Pinheiro, Moisés Patrício, No Martins, Renata Felinto, Sidney Amaral, Soberana Ziza, and Wagner Celestino, among many other voices, ***Memories of the Future*** brings to light the continuity and persistence of black associationism and its forms of resistance over the years.

As a *place of memory* whose mission it is to fight for democratic principles, the exercise of citizenship, and education in human rights, the Memorial da Resistência deems it urgent that we as citizens ask ourselves about our responsibility in perpetuating racism and how we can engage in the anti-racist struggle in order to build a truly democratic society. This exhibition is an invitation to follow the threads woven by black women and men around their memories and dreams for a future.

### **Ana Pato**

Coordinator of the Memorial da Resistência

### **Jochen Volz**

General Director of the Associação Pinacoteca Arte e Cultura (APAC)

# **MEMORIES OF THE FUTURE: BLACK CITIZENSHIP, ANTI-RACISM, AND RESISTANCE**

**“While there is racism, there will be no democracy!”**

Black Coalition for Rights

**“Black fury comes alive once again”**

Racionais MC's

In their experience, black lives in São Paulo have always imagined a better future on the basis of their present. This has often meant a struggle against several forms of violence and silencing orchestrated by racism and segregation. It has also meant above all an affirmation of life and a quest for rights that should rightfully belong to all.

The future has materialized in marks and signs that still overtake us in the landscapes of the city and of the state as a whole. Furthermore, we are not talking about a rectilinear kind of time. The time of the imagination is circular and folds over itself, mirroring itself and inviting us to look attentively at the markings or signs of permanence, continuity and change in the black lives that have crafted it.

The markings of colonial São Paulo, crafted by black hands, by master builders such as Tebas, talk to monuments, buildings and memorials belonging to the 20th and 21st centuries and now claimed as black spaces inside the city. Current black press, circulated through the internet and social networks, celebrates and takes up certain projects initiated before the Republican era, around the time of the Abolition, that have been put on paper and passed on from hand to hand throughout the 20th century, in ballrooms and associations.

Calls for education, health care, decent housing, and the right to citizenship and to the city, which have now become catchwords, are backed by a long history of demands, activisms, projects, and collective organizations. “As long as there is racism, there will be no democracy:” this strong statement is a challenge that was presented to Brazil as a whole decades ago – to a country that denies discrimination and racial prejudice, both in its authoritarian, dictatorial periods and in those marked by democracy and respect for differences. The flame of the black uprising for rights never goes out.

Black movements and associations were present throughout those periods. It is important to recognize them, to celebrate them, and to learn from the impressive black lives that brought them to being. They fought in order to live in a better age, and in so doing they were thinking about themselves and their descendants – about all of us in general, because their practice was that of anti-racism. We should also reflect on the historical erasure and invisibility against which those black experiences had to fight. Why do we ignore them?

Why have we never heard of certain stories, places, people, and groups? Why do we know nothing about their exemplary lives and extraordinary actions?

The circularity of time doesn't deny progress. On the contrary, that spiral of lived experiences and radical struggles has produced a long thread of black collective memory which has been summarized here in 8 interconnected axes. This is an act of justice and an affirmation of the right to social memory – a living, radiant memory that must be known, debated, and shared by all of us. The struggle for rights never ends; it is also public and fair and will meet with victory by means of our actions and our public anti-racist commitment as regards the past, the present, and the future. The art panel outside the Memorial is also a challenge. Inspired on the strength of the words of the black women of Geledés, it states: "The 21st century is black, female, and ours. All we have to do is to take it into our hands."

**Memories of the Future** shows several different collective experiences organized around that thread and connected by the struggle for rights, anti-racist solidarity, and the affirmation of black lives as a form of resistance. Black females and males that engage in a dialog with us, showing us the collectively envisioned paths they have taken, looking for alternatives and fighting for better days yesterday, today, and always. It is not enough not to be a racist: one must be anti-racist. Let's get to know a little portion of the black history of São Paulo and its struggles, its victories, its joys, and its sorrows. The present and the future call for that courage in all of us.

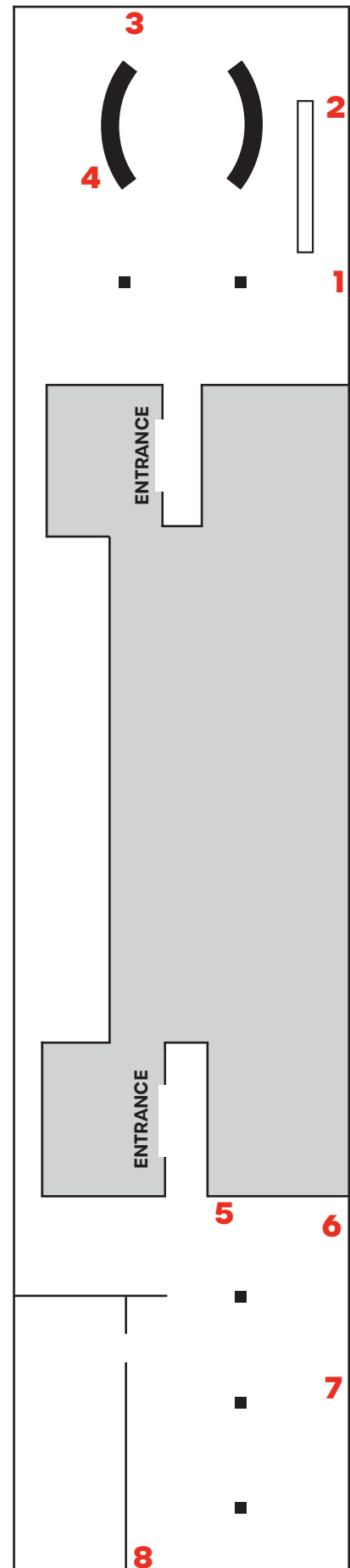
**Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva**

Curator

**THE  
FUTURE  
WILL BE  
WHAT WE  
MAKE  
TOGETHER**

*Sentence included in the "I State Meeting in  
Defense of the Black Race" event poster.  
MNU Magazine, n. 03, 1981*

# FLOOR PLAN



## AXIS TEXTS

- 1** BLACK TERRITORIES AND MEMORIES IN DISPUTE:  
PERSISTENCE IN SPACE
- 2** ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, INSTITUTIONS, AND  
BROTHERHOODS: COLLECTIVE STRENGTH
- 3** SPACES OF SOCIALITY AND RESISTANCE: STREETS,  
HALLS AND STAGES AS LOCI OF RIGHTS
- 4** THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW REPUBLIC:  
DEMOCRACY IS A BLACK STRUGGLE
- 5** BLACK PRESS AND CIRCULATION OF IDEAS IN SÃO PAULO:  
COMMUNICATION AS A MEANS OF STRUGGLE
- 6** BLACK LITERATURE: THE RIGHT TO IMAGINATION
- 7** REPRESSION, SURVEILLANCE AND RESISTANCE,  
1930-1980
- 8** CONFRONTING TRIPLE OPPRESSION: THE 21ST  
CENTURY IS BLACK, FEMALE, AND OURS

## **BLACK TERRITORIES AND MEMORIES IN DISPUTE: PERSISTENCE IN SPACE**

Signs of the black presence in São Paulo since the colonial period are still visible in buildings and in current ritual transmissions. The city was built by many hands, many of them black: the hands of enslaved Africans, black freedmen or black citizens. Churches, palaces, fountains, sidewalks, public buildings and spaces, private residences, roads and paths both to the countryside and to the sea. Blacks were builders of materiality in a city about which it has already been said that at the dawn of modernity it had neither a past nor a present, only a future. This is confirmed by the rapid pace in which many spaces are destroyed by governmental and private interests in default of the common good.

In this way, the future always looms on the horizon, burying what could be seen as backward in the face of modernity – and also burying the black presence together with this improper backwardness. That presence, however, lives and throbs among us today, questioning us through the work of Joaquim Pinto de Oliveira, also known as Tebas; through Black People's Rosary churches and brotherhoods, colonial chapels engulfed in small alleys or lost in the middle of glazed buildings in the city center, in territories of black history such as the Liberdade neighborhood; through the physical and intangible memory of candomblé and umbanda terreiros, which – in spite of discrimination, attempts of removal, and racism – persist in reminding us of the black references of São Paulo's memory.

Such places are located in areas that used to be outlying but that now dot the central spaces of the city, becoming focuses for meetings and demonstrations, for the ritualization of familiar memories, recalling the present of ancestral black life, injustices suffered and the persistence of black struggle. Largo da Forca (Gallows Square) and Beco dos Aflitos (Distress Alley) have these names because they were places of torture and executions promoted by slavery in São Paulo. But they have also come to be re-signified for the wider population as places of memory, devotion, resistance, and fulfillment of vows. As the appearance and the names of neighborhoods change, the dispute over the memories of places looms on our horizon. Culture is alive and dynamic, but its movements should not erase the history of places, or else social practices of erasure will be perpetuated.

The persistence of this presence is also an occupation of public spaces. Racist invisibility has not managed to erase the faith and traditions passed down by black generations.

Gradually, and due to a long struggle, these spaces came to be belatedly recognized by the State through policies of cultural heritage listing. It is important to get to know these spaces, visit them, and pay homage to the meaning of their experiences.

## **Tebas**

A master mason and architect, former slave Joaquim Pinto de Oliveira (1721-1811), best known as "Tebas," created works of vital architectural and historical value in the city of São Paulo. Tebas is credited with the facades of the São Bento Monastery Church, the Carmelite Third Order Church, the old Sé Cathedral Church, and the Church of the Stigmata of the Seraphic Father São Francisco, as well as the Misericórdia Fountain. Built in the early 1790s, the fountain is seen as one of Tebas' most emblematic contributions, since in addition to functioning as a regular public water supply for São Paulo, it became an important socialization hub for enslaved women and men. Despite Tebas' undeniable importance for colonial Brazilian architecture, only in 2018 his name was included in the roster of the State of São Paulo Architect's Union.

## **Demolition of the old church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Black People**

The church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Black People was originally built in the 18th century and was located at the current Antônio Prado Square, central region of São Paulo. The church's demolition and its subsequent reconstruction in Paissandu Square occurred during a time of intense urban change and modernization that took place in São Paulo in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This process reportedly reached its peak during the administration of Mayor Antônio da Silva Prado, who saw to the transfer of the church in 1904.

## **Our Lady of the Rosary of the Black People church, in Largo do Paissandu**

The church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Black People, located in Largo do Paissandu, has an undeniable historical and architectural importance for the city of São Paulo, not least because since its foundation it has served the black community as a place for religious practice, sociality, and resistance. Besides Catholic festivities, the Bonequinha do Café (Coffee Doll) contest, the Rosário Festival and the Mãe Preta (Black Mother) devotions took place in the church and its surroundings.

## **Black Mother Monument**

The Black Mother Monument is a 1955 bronze statue located in Paissandu Square, central São Paulo. The history of this monument is related to Clube 220 and specifically to Frederico Penteado Jr., who sent a request to the City Council of São Paulo to build a bust of the Black Mother. In December 1953, a model contest was held for the monument. The winner was sculptor Júlio Guerra. In the 1960s, with the help of candomblé members, Clube 220 started celebrating Black Mother's Day on May 13 by performing rituals and festivities around the statue.

## **Our Lady of the Rosary church of Penha de França**

The church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Black People was built in the 19th century and has since been located in the Penha de França neighborhood, East São Paulo. Built by the Black Men's Brotherhood, the church was listed for preservation by CONDEPHAAT (1982) and CONPRESP (1991). Besides its undeniable architectural value, the church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Black People is one of the symbols of black resistance in the city of São Paulo. Over the decades, important cultural events were and still are held in the church and its surroundings, such as the Rosário Festival and presentations of the Dona Micaela Carnival Street Group.



### **Church of the Holy Cross of the Souls of the Hanged**

The Church of the Holy Cross of the Souls of the Hanged or “Souls Church” is a 19th century building located in Liberdade, central region of São Paulo. Its history is related to the death by hanging of the black soldier Francisco José das Chagas, known as Chaguinha. According to custom, a cross was erected at the place of death and candles were lit around it, on the spot where the church is today. Despite many legends and conflicting information surrounding this episode, documents in the Archive of the Metropolitan Curia indicate that the church underwent deep changes and was de-characterized during the 20th century.

### **Chapel of the Afflicted**

Built in 1779, the Chapel of the Afflicted is located in Liberdade, a central neighborhood of São Paulo. Its origin was directly linked to the Aflitos Cemetery, built in 1775 for burying the destitute, slaves, and those sentenced to hanging. With the deactivation of the cemetery in 1858, the Aflitos Chapel progressively lost its original structure and was neglected by public authorities. Listed by CONDEPHAAT and CONPRESP for preservation, the Aflitos Chapel represents an important material record of the neighborhood’s black history and the struggle against the many attempts to erase it.

### **Terreiros Hub / CONDEPHAAT**

In 2019, CONDEPHAAT created the work group “Traditional Listed African-Influenced Territories in São Paulo” and listed for preservation five spaces seen as traditional territories of African influence, places of resistance where knowledge was transmitted and identities and cultural activities were preserved. Located in the city of São Paulo or in the metropolitan region, they are Casa de Culto Dambala Kuere-Rho Bessein; Templo de Culto Sagrado Tatá Percio do Battistini Ilê Alaketu Asé Ayra; Centro Cultural Ilê Afro-brasileiro Ode Loreci; Centro Cultural Ilê Olá Omi Asé Opo Araka; and Terreiro de Candomblé Santa Bárbara. In addition, the National Umbanda Sanctuary, located in São Bernardo do Campo, was listed as an intangible heritage of the state.

### **Terreiro Axé Ilê Obá**

Terreiro Axé Ilê Obá was founded in 1950 by Caio Egydio de Souza Aranha, Pai Caio de Xangô. Located since 1975 in the Jabaquara neighborhood, South São Paulo, the terreiro’s land comprises a usable area of about 400 m<sup>2</sup>, with spaces reserved for each orixá, a common shed for holding ceremonies and festivities, and rooms linked to worship. Axé Ilê Obá carries in its history the fact that it was the first *terreiro* in the state of São Paulo to be listed by CONDEPHAAT, due to the recognition of its value as an important space for struggle, resistance and sociality of the black community.

### **Ivaporunduva Quilombo**

The Ivaporunduva Quilombo is located in Eldorado/SP, and is considered the oldest community in the Ribeira Valley. Its origin dates back to the 17th century and is related to mining activity. Due to the decline of mining and the progressive disinterest of the white population in remaining in the area, the *quilombo* soon began to attract freed slaves. It was recognized as a *quilombo* in 1997, and its organizational capacity, the awareness of the *quilombola* condition, and the appreciation of the collective memory and of education stand out as positive marks of its present structure.

## **ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, INSTITUTIONS, AND BROTHERHOODS: COLLECTIVE STRENGTH**

Black life is permeated by association and solidarity, and this confronts the ordinary prejudiced Brazilian sense according to which blacks will never unite towards a common ideal. This is very far from the historical reality of daily black life.

Recreational guilds, charitable societies, leisure clubs, institutions for mutual aid or for health and burials, savings banks, and common efforts to acquire property: Brazil has a history of black associations spread over almost the entire national territory, which are part of "Black Social Clubs," as they are called today.

São Paulo towns have a history told by association headquarters with names honoring black historical milestones or important personalities, such as Treze de Maio (May 13, date of the Abolition of Slavery), 28 de Setembro (September 28, Black Mother's Day and date of the Free Womb Law of 1871), Princesa Isabel, José do Patrocínio. São Paulo has at least 20 black clubs spread over the capital and 21 inland towns.

Names have changed over the years and the struggles for rights, as in Clube Negro de Cultura Social (Black Social Culture Club, 1928), Associação Jabaquara (1940s), Associação José do Patrocínio (1947), Clube 220 (1950s to 1970s), Associação Cultural do Negro (Black Cultural Association, 1954-1976), or Aristocrata Clube (Aristocrat Club, created in 1961), but the principles have been the same: solidarity, collective work, the right to leisure, safe spaces for sociability and respect, affection and family appreciation, handing down experiences, organizing collective struggles – as well as the fight against discrimination and the historical racism of Brazilian experience.

In different periods, associations on the interface between black life and the civic experience of fighting for rights or political participation, such as the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front, 1931-1937) and the Legião Negra de São Paulo (São Paulo Black Legion, 1932), are also important. All of them deserve to be known and are connected to similar associations in different Brazilian states, forming a network that allows us to tell the story of black participation in Brazilian citizenship and in struggles for civil, social, and political rights. This story of the ancestors of contemporary black movements is part of a memory thread that reaches into our own times.

### **Clube 13 de Maio**

In 1901, the Sociedade Beneficente Antônio Bento (Antônio Bento Beneficent Society) was created in Piracicapa/SP to annually celebrate the Abolition of Slavery. In 1908, the association changed its character and even its name to Sociedade Beneficente 13 de Maio (May 13th Beneficent Society), with the purpose of providing medical, pharmaceutical, legal, and educational services to its members. Operating in different spaces until its headquarters were built, between the 1930s and 1950s the club was a venue for music lessons and adult literacy classes and housed two newspapers of the São Paulo black press: *O Patrocínio* and *Nosso Jornal*. Between the 1930s and 1960s, the Society also held soccer events, with “White v. Black” matches.

### **Sociedade Beneficente e Recreativa Princesa Isabel**

In July 1952, a group of black people got together in the city of Batatais/SP in order to create a beneficent and cultural association focused especially on “colored men.” Thus was born the Sociedade Beneficente e Recreativa Princesa Isabel (Princess Isabel Beneficent and Recreational Society) in order to circumvent the racism of other clubs at the time. Despite the adverse scenario for the city’s black population, the association did more than resist invisibility and did not limit itself to creating its own sociality. The founders recorded in their registers that they would accept “all people” at their dances, “with no difference of nationality, race or color”.

### **Grêmio Recreativo Familiar Flor de Maio**

Grêmio Recreativo Familiar Flor de Maio (Mayflower Recreational Family Guild) was founded on May 4, 1928 in São Carlos/SP. The association was idealized by Alfredo Gonçalves and a group of railroad workers from the Paulista Company who were discriminated against in other town clubs and felt the need for a space for black socialization. It was only in the 1940s that then mayor Luiz Augusto de Oliveira donated land for building the clubhouse. Relying on financial support from the railroad company, Flor de Maio’s floor design resembles the layout of railroad tracks.

### **Sociedade Cultural e Beneficente 28 de setembro (Sorocaba/SP)**

The Sociedade Cultural e Beneficente 28 de Setembro (September 28 Cultural and Beneficent Society) was created in 1945 in Sorocaba/SP after the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front) was dismantled by the Estado Novo. At the time of its foundation, the association was located far from the city center. Nowadays, it is located in its perimeter. The association’s headquarters were built with bricks donated by the National Stamping Company (Cianê). Active for 76 years, this association has stood out in the organization of associative activities in order to increase consideration for Afro-Brazilian culture.

### **Frente Negra Brasileira**

Founded in 1931 by Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, Isaltino Benedito Veiga dos Santos, José Correia Leite, and Raul Joviano do Amaral, among others, the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front) is known as one of the main black associations created in the 20th century. Despite having its origin in the city of São Paulo, the FNB grew rapidly and had branches in several Brazilian states. The work of the Black Front included discussing the insertion of blacks in the national debate, in addition to promoting

cultural and educational activities. In 1937, with the Estado Novo, the Black Front was dissolved and its attempt to become the first black political party in Brazilian history came to naught.

### **Legião Negra**

Created in 1932 by Joaquim Guaraná de Santana, the Legião Negra (Black Legion) was a military squadron formed by black people with the aim of gathering combatants to fight against the government of Getúlio Vargas in the so-called Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932. Headquartered in Barra Funda, central region of São Paulo, the Black Legion gathered around 2,000 civilian volunteers in its ranks. Before going to battle, volunteers received a precarious initial training and were given clothing and ammunition.

### **Clube 28 de Setembro (Jundiaí/SP)**

The Clube Beneficente Cultural e Recreativo Jundiaense 28 de Setembro (September 28 Cultural and Recreational Beneficent Club of Jundiaí) is taken to be the earliest black associative association in the state of São Paulo. Founded in 1897, some documents recently brought to light indicate, according to its current members, that its creation was intended as early as 1895. The history of the 28 de Setembro is linked to the expansion of the São Paulo railroad to Jundiaí and especially to the need to provide assistance to former slaves and freedmen. Hence its charitable character, with medical, burial, educational and other kinds of assistance. The club's current headquarters date back to 1946. A Golden Book was created listing the members' contributions for its construction.

## **SPACES OF SOCIALITY AND RESISTANCE: STREETS, HALLS AND STAGES AS LOCI OF RIGHTS**

Black art is political because the imaginations and bodies of black people on stage, occupying either public spaces or established spotlights, are forms of insubordination and affirmation of historically separated rights to existence. The history of the capital and inland São Paulo towns is marked in different moments by the curtailment of the right to occupy the streets, to come and go in certain areas and times considered "noble," to go to places of leisure and art with monochromatic habitués belonging to specific social classes. When actors and actresses, visual artists, revelers, carnival directors, dancers, *congadeiros*, and many others affirm that these streets and stages also belong to them, the curtain of discrimination and prejudice falls and the anti-racist fight takes the stage.

Carnival street groups; samba groups and schools; folk, experimental, feminist theater; dance spaces, black and funk dance crews; hip hop: black arts are plural and as diverse as the history of black expression. Black women and men in the public spaces of São Paulo towns, with their bodies, songs, musical instruments, texts and expressions of religiosity occupying streets, sheds, and stages, organizing festivals, competitions, and leisure venues, as well as spaces for confronting worldviews, exchanging ideas, organizing politics, and claiming rights.

The historiography of black arts incorporates everything from records of the *congadas* and the samba of São Paulo through the forms of the *samba-lenço* and the *tambu*, in historic photographs of black pilgrimages to Pirapora do Bom Jesus, to the beginnings of carnival, with its street groups, to the little-known history of the Teatro Experimental do Negro of São Paulo and the Teatro Popular Brasileiro, ancestors of current theater companies such as the Capulanas Companhia de Arte Negra or Os Crespos.

São Paulo's hip hop scene in the 1980s, whose adepts used to gather at São Bento subway station, as well as the contemporary scene composed of groups such as Ilú Obá de Min, reaffirm the street as the public space claimed by black life to show its art and defend its rights. Streets, stages, galleries, canvases, cities: a long memory thread of occupation of rightful spaces for rights that cannot be interdicted.

## **Black dances**

In the 1970s and 1980s, so-called “black dances” (disco events with black music) multiplied in the Rio-São Paulo music scene. In São Paulo, Chic Show, Transa Negra, Zimbabwe and Black Mad stand out as the major producing teams of those events. With a direct influence of American black music rhythms, these spaces soon gained a strong appeal among the youth, as they functioned as an important space for sociality, resistance, and the production and reaffirmation of identities. During the civil-military dictatorship, the regime’s intelligence and security community produced extensive dossiers on the “subversive” character of these dances, and many of their members were filed and persecuted.

## **Samba de lenço in Rio Claro**

The history and legacy of the black community in inland São Paulo during the post-abolition period are directly linked to the city of Rio Claro and its artistic and cultural manifestations, such as the samba lenço, in which sambistas each hold one end of a handkerchief. Considered one of the forms of rural samba from São Paulo, the samba lenço, as well as the samba de *umbigada*, was danced during celebration festivities, such as in May 13.

## **Ilú Obá de Min**

Founded in 2004 by percussionists Beth Beli, Adriana Aragão, and Girlei Miranda, the Afro-Brazilian group Ilú Obá de Min has as one of its aims the promotion of black culture in Brazil, as well as the empowerment of women. A women-only drum group, Ilú Obá reoccupies the streets of São Paulo as public spaces claimed by black people to show their art and defend their rights.

## **São Paulo Carnival**

The *cordões* (street groups), *blocos carnavalescos* (carnival blocks), and what would later be called *escola de samba* (samba school) parades in São Paulo originated in the early 20th century with the founding of Cordão da Barra Funda by Dionísio Barbosa. At that time, the population that attended those festivities was mostly black and working class. Between the 1930s and the 1960s, still under the influence of the *cordões* and São Paulo’s rural samba, the first samba schools emerged, such as Camisa Verde e Branco, Nenê de Vila Matilde, Vai-Vai and Unidos do Peruche.

## **Pato n’Água**

Walter Gomes de Oliveira, popularly known as Pato n’Água (Duck on Water), was a well-known drum whistler for Vai-Vai, a samba school created in the Bexiga neighborhood in the central zone of São Paulo. In 1969, during the civil-military dictatorship, Pato n’Água was murdered in circumstances that have not yet been clarified. The samba “Silêncio no Bexiga” (Silence in Bexiga), written by Geraldo Filme, is a tribute to Pato n’Água and his whistle that went silent.

## **Madrinha Eunice**

Deolinda Madre, better known as Madrinha (Godmother) Eunice, was born in Piracicaba/SP in 1909. At the age of 11 she came to live in the capital city of São Paulo, more precisely in the Liberdade district. Besides having been a merchant, Madrinha

Eunice's life history is closely related to the history of samba in São Paulo, for in 1937 she founded the city's first samba "school," the Sociedade Recreativa Beneficente Esportiva Escola de Samba Lavapés. Madrinha Eunice died at 87, but her legacy and memory live on, both in the samba school's activities and in the recently unveiled bronze statue at Liberdade Square.

### **Dionísio Barbosa**

Dionísio Barbosa was born in Itirapina/SP in 1891. He settled in the Barra Funda neighborhood and in 1914 he founded the first carnival street group in São Paulo, called Cordão da Barra Funda. At a time in which samba schools did not yet exist, groups of people took to the streets during carnival to sing and play samba. In addition, Barbosa introduced in the capital some elements of the music that was produced inland, such as the so-called *samba de bumbo*.

### **Street Samba in Pirapora do Bom Jesus**

Pirapora do Bom Jesus, located in inland São Paulo state, is known for its historical cultural and religious manifestations. Although the São Paulo samba did not arise in Pirapora, over the centuries the town has been an important meeting point and place of sociality for mostly black groups from different regions of the State of São Paulo. In the 1930s, this systematic movement caught the attention of Mário de Andrade, Mário Wagner Vieira da Cunha, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, who prepared analyses and photographic documentation of the festivities in Pirapora for the then São Paulo Department of Culture.

### **Teatro Experimental do Negro de São Paulo (TENSP, 1945-1966)**

The Teatro Experimental do Negro of São Paulo (São Paulo Experimental Black Theater) was not as well known as the theater company it was inspired by, the Teatro Experimental do Negro of Rio de Janeiro, created in 1944 by Abdias do Nascimento. Directed by Geraldo Campos de Oliveira and Dalmo Ferreira, for two decades TENSP trained and revealed black actors and actresses in the city of São Paulo, such as Áurea Campos, Samuel dos Santos, Dalmo Ferreira and Jacira Sampaio. In spite of the lack of information and academic work on TENSP, it is no exaggeration to affirm that it was one of the longest black theatrical experiences in the city's history, staging plays by Brazilian and foreign playwrights.

### **Capulanas**

Created in 2007, Capulanas Cia de Arte Negra was formed by former students of the Body Arts course at PUC/SP. Since 2012, its headquarters - Goma Capulanas - have been located in the southern suburbs of the capital. Adriana Paixão, Débora Marçal, Flávia Rosa and Priscila Preta, creators of Capulanas, intend to establish connections between African rites, values and traditions and the reality of black Brazilian women. Capulanas' performances are not meant to be presented on a traditional stage, but rather at their headquarters and in the spaces where they circulate and perform.

## **THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW REPUBLIC: DEMOCRACY IS A BLACK STRUGGLE**

The struggle for democracy in Brazil is a fundamental component of the agenda of black political experience. To tell the story of citizenship and the return to democracy without addressing the activism and political resistance of different black movements is a serious error that incurs in the social practice of forgetfulness and invisibility motivated by the idea of one single history.

The long thread of black memory and black collective struggle for rights in São Paulo reaches back to the early 1980s with its different agendas of political mobilization of organized black movements, intellectuals and activists, men and women committed to the return to democratic life and the right to vote, without forgetting the necessary critique of the myth of racial democracy, racism, and different forms of violence that run through the black experience.

The mobilization for collective memory revolved around the Zumbi dos Palmares Memorial, together with the proposal of November 20 as the National Black Consciousness Day. The quilombos are also a distinctive component of this struggle, and it is common to see on posters the images of quilombola warriors, calling for pride and connecting past and present to the struggle.

The topic of racial violence was central in the anti-racist struggle of the late 1970s and the following decade, as well as participation in the Constitutional Assembly (1986-1988) and in the Constitution itself (1988), in which black movements took center stage. The Abolition Centennial (1988) was also critiqued.

Unemployment and discrimination in the labor market, anti-racist education policies, the health of the black population, AIDS and sickle cell anemia, the need to strengthen domestic and international solidarity – all were recurrent topics in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The National March for the 300 years of Zumbi in 1995 was an important landmark, as well as the Durban World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, in 2001.

Still, the violence of racism persists, which explains the fact that more than 234 contemporary black movements have organized themselves in the Black Coalition for Rights since 2019. Its motto summarizes the project and the age-old demand: "As long as there is racism there will be no democracy."



### **Coalizão Negra por Direitos**

Created in 2019, the Coalização Negra por Direitos (Black Coalition for Rights) is an organization that gathers together more than 234 contemporary black movements. Since its founding, it has organized an agenda of activities and mobilizations of national and international scope that takes up the long history of black struggle for rights, in the past and also in the present. In the context of the covid-19 pandemic in Brazil, the Coalition organized food distribution campaigns for needy families, in addition to demanding emergency handouts.

### **Zumbi dos Palmares March (1995)**

The Zumbi dos Palmares March was organized by several black movements that had participated in Brazilian civic life since 1978 and especially after the re-democratization. The year 1995 was chosen not only to commemorate the 300th anniversary of Zumbi's death, but also to discuss the current anti-racist struggle and demands for rights. At the time, around 30,000 black activists marched through the Ministries Esplanade with slogans such as "React to police violence," "Blacks also want power," "Zumbi lives on, no more racism." The balance achieved was the creation of the GTI - Interministerial Working Group for the Appreciation of the Black Population.

# **BLACK PRESS AND CIRCULATION OF IDEAS IN SÃO PAULO: COMMUNICATION AS A MEANS OF STRUGGLE**

In 1889, after the abolition of slavery and in a republican context, there was already a black press in São Paulo. Its pages reflected the desires and uncertainties of men and women of color, blacks, browns and negroes, with the transformations then underway, in which they were directly interested and often played leading roles. There were also notes on daily life, solidarity and leisure, family life, poems and short stories, love messages, and photographs of well-known personalities and common people. This press remained strong in the 20th century, with newspapers connected to dance societies, charitable societies, and political organizations.

They sought to inform blacks about the local, national, and international scenes. In this way, a circulation of ideas about black life can be seen in the transnational space. We have just a few copies or fragments of some newspapers, but others have reached us in complete editions. All of them represented an understanding of communication as a means of struggle in modernity.

A common thread throughout the whole history of the black press in São Paulo, which begins in 1889 and reaches the present day in the 21st century, is black life being narrated by its protagonists. Another one is the claim for rights, the fight against racial prejudice. Denunciations of discrimination in public spaces, demands to authorities, calls for community unity around a common ideal. There are also calls for unity through advertisements for businesses and initiatives run by black men and women, encouraging the circulation of money among equals in order to strengthen the group.

The history of the black press in São Paulo is a history of printed citizenship, of different moments in our authoritarian and democratic, violent and racist experience, in a diverse community that sets up a self-portrait by means of writing and the right to freedom of speech.

This is the memory thread of the current black information and communication media through social networks and podcasts by black communicators. Its reason remains the same: "A press that arises from the black man's life and tries, above all, to speak for the black man himself" (Oswaldo de Camargo).

# **BLACK LITERATURE: THE RIGHT TO IMAGINATION**

The right to literature is the right to the imagination and the right to convey human experiences.

It is as key as the right to life, the right to come and go, and the right to freedom, especially creative freedom. It is important as an expression of diversity, and therefore is marked by class, gender, and color. Throughout the 20th century, different generations of black poets, novelists, short-story writers, and playwrights defended the existence of a Black Literature, produced by black authors, with the project of narrating the lives of black people in a non-stereotypical, non-subordinationist way. And, above all, a Black Literature in which black life holds center stage and is capable of conveying complex experiences and allowing reflection on our human condition.

The history of Black Literature in Brazil is mostly a struggle for the right to exist and the search for recognition. It is self-published and self-financed, often created within black associative spaces and in open combat against racism and racial discrimination. Memoirs, rural and urban novels, erotic poems, fantastic literature, black female literature, collective projects, short stories, comics, graphic novels: black literature is the long thread of the search for freedom of speech and the right to black fabulation.

A constant must be noticed in this production: its uninterrupted will to narrate and to be read. Self-publishing, directly through printing houses, is part of this literary history, because Brazilian publishing has operated in a discriminatory way against black production for decades. The exceptions confirm the rule.

From the key books by Lino Guedes (1896-1951), one of the first black Paulista authors published in book form in the 20th century, to Oswaldo de Camargo (1936-), Carolina Maria de Jesus (1914-1977), Carlos Assumpção (1927-), Ruth Guimarães (1920-2014) and the *Cadernos Negros* series (1978-), to the new generations represented by authors such as Elizandra Souza, Allan da Rosa, Akins Kinté, Catita, Dinha, and Sacolinha, there are many and many to be read.

## **Oswaldo de Camargo**

Oswaldo de Camargo was born in Bragança Paulista/SP in 1936. Multifaceted, he is a poet, journalist, critic and historian of literature. In 1959, already living in São Paulo, he started working as proof-reader for *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper. In the same year, he made his first incursion into literature by publishing the poetry book *Um homem tenta ser anjo*. In 1972 he published the short-story volume *O carro do sucesso*. With other works in his portfolio, Oswaldo de Camargo is seen as one of the great names in black literature in Brazil. His trajectory is also linked to activism in the black movement, taking active part in the Associação Cultural do Negro (Negro Cultural Association) and collaborating with newspapers in the black press.

## **Lino Guedes**

Lino Guedes was born in Socorro/SP. His birth date is a matter of controversy. He was one of the first black authors published in book form in the 20th century. Between the 1920s and 1950s, he self-published his own books, bringing to the public a poetry in which past and present blacks are the central characters. His works include *O Canto do Cisne Preto*, *Negro Preto Cor da Noite*, *Urucungos*, *Vigília do Pai João*, and others. Lino Guedes was also one of the founders of the newspaper *O Getulino*. He worked as a proof-reader in important periodicals in São Paulo, being mentioned in newspaper notes as the poet of the black race.

## **Carolina Maria de Jesus**

Carolina Maria de Jesus was born in Sacramento/MG in 1914, but spent most of her life in the capital city of São Paulo in the slums of Canindé, Osasco, Santana, and Parelheiros. As a black female who worked as a waste paper picker, Carolina began to record her daily favela life in the notebooks she collected. After a meeting with journalist Audálio Dantas in the 1950s, Carolina's writings were put together into a book and published. In 1960, with the release of *Quarto de Despejo: Diário de uma favelada*, Carolina gained national and international prominence, selling a record 30,000 copies of the first edition alone. In the following years she would also release *Casa de Alvenaria* (1961), *Pedaços de Fomes* (1963), *Provérbios* (1963) and the posthumous publication *Diário de Bitita* (1982).

## **Cadernos Negros**

The *Cadernos Negros* (Black Notebooks) series, published since 1978 in São Paulo, is the most comprehensive example of the persistent desire to publish, to be read and to form a reading public. Created by writers Cuti, Oswaldo de Camargo, Mário Jorge Lescano, and Hugo Ferreira, it was continued by the Quilombhoje collective as of 1982; Quilombhoje writers Esmeralda Ribeiro and Márcio Barbosa are still heads of publication. During all these decades the series has been published through a cooperative effort of the authors, with no editorial support other than the structure of Quilombhoje.

## **REPRESSION, SURVEILLANCE AND RESISTANCE, 1930-1980**

The surveillance and repression of black movements in São Paulo has gone hand in hand with the history of São Paulo's political police. Between 1924 and 1983, through the Department of Political and Social Order (DEOPS), repressive agents monitored meetings, carried out investigations, produced files and records, arrested, tortured, and murdered black men and women not only because of their political beliefs, but also because they were black people and activists against racism and racial discrimination.

Repression also targeted African and Afro-Brazilian religious practices through the Vice Police. Authorities of candomblé or umbanda terreiros were arrested and imprisoned; the ritual spaces of these religions were dismantled in a spectacular manner reported by newspapers, with public exposure of those people – presented as “macumbeiros”, “sorcerers” or “healers” – and their ritual objects and practices, accusing them of charlatanism and exploitation of the faith of the naive and ignorant. Religious discrimination against Afro-Brazilian religions has a long history, but so does their capacity for resistance.

In spite of this, authoritarian regimes have denied the existence of racism, and democratically elected governments have affirmed the existence of a racial democracy in Brazil. Neither of these responses by State power has been enough to ensure the basic rights of black citizens in São Paulo or in Brazil as a whole.

We hope that the daily experiences, the diverse organizations, and the different moments of the black political struggle for citizenship rights can become interconnected not only through surveillance and punishment, but also through resistance. The fight against Brazilian authoritarianism is a daily struggle of different aspects of the black experience, which we seek to honor in this part of the exhibition.

## **Movimento Custo de Vida**

The Movimento Custo de Vida (Cost of Living Movement) or Movimento Contra a Carestia (Movement Against Famine) was created in 1973 by a group of women living in the outskirts of São Paulo. With the support of Base Ecclesial Communities, the Clube de Mães da Zona Sul (South Zone Mothers' Club) got together to question the high cost of food and demand a freeze on the prices of basic items, as well as the creation of day-care centers and schools. The movement gradually achieved greater prominence and ultimately incorporated other associations and their demands. In 1978, during the civil-military dictatorship, the Cost of Living Movement managed to gather around 20,000 people at Praça da Sé, São Paulo.

## **November 20th and May 13th**

In the 1970s, an important debate took place among organized black militants in Brazil: the replacement of May 13, Slavery Abolition Day, by November 20 as the national reference date for the black population. Drawn up by the Palmares Group and coordinated by poet Oliveira Silveira, the idea was to put the negro at the center of the debate, and to this end the figure of Zumbi dos Palmares was adopted as a symbol of resistance, celebration, and reflection on the status of the negro in Brazil.

## **Isaltino Benedito Veiga dos Santos**

Isaltino Benedito Veiga dos Santos was born in the city of Itu/SP in 1901. He worked as a journalist and was an important black activist in São Paulo, having been among the founders of the Centro Cívico Palmares (Palmares Civic Center) and the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front), in which he took up the position of General Secretary. Due to his prominence, Isaltino Veiga dos Santos' activities were constantly monitored by the political police. According to DEOPS records, he remained imprisoned between November 1935 and December 1936 in the Maria Zélia prison in São Paulo. During this period he wrote a series of letters to police authorities denying his involvement in communist or "subversive" activities.

## **Carlos Marighella**

Carlos Marighella was born in Salvador, Bahia, in 1911. In 1946, he was elected federal representative for the Brazilian Communist Party; however, Eurico Gaspar Dutra's government put the party underground and he lost his mandate. In the 1960s, during the civil-military dictatorship, Marighella decided to found the National Liberation Alliance, one of the main guerrilla organizations operating in the country at that time. Considered the number one enemy of the military, it did not take long for the repressive structure of the regime to strive to capture him. In November 1969, Marighella was murdered in an ambush at Alameda Casa Branca in the central region of São Paulo, in an action coordinated by DOPS chief Sérgio Fleury.

## **Esmeraldo Tarquínio**

Esmeraldo Soares Tarquínio de Campos Filho was born in São Vicente on April 12, 1927. Besides being a lawyer and journalist, Esmeraldo Tarquínio also held public office. In 1959 he was elected councilman of the city of Santos for PSB. In 1962, he was elected state representative in the same city. In 1968, he was elected the first black mayor, also for the city of Santos; however, his political rights were revoked by the civil-

military dictatorship and he was prevented from taking office. In 2017, almost 50 years after the suspension of his political rights, Esmeraldo Tarquínio was declared mayor of Santos in a symbolic ceremony.

### **Helenira Resende**

Helenira Resende de Souza Nazareth was born in 1944 in Cerqueira César/SP. Student leader, former vice-president of the UNE (National Union of Students), militant of the Communist Party of Brazil, and member of the Araguaia Guerrilla War, Helenira's trajectory was marked by struggle and resistance against the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil. Between 1967 and 1968, Helenira was arrested three times and spent time in Tiradentes Prison, DOPS, and Carandiru Women's Prison. On the eve of AI-5, her family managed to get her released through a *habeas corpus*. Helenira has been considered politically disappeared since 1972. In that year, at the age of 28, she was murdered in the Araguaia region.

### **Santo Dias da Silva**

Santo Dias da Silva was born in 1942 in Terra Roxa/SP. A worker and member of the Workers' Pastoral, he was murdered in October 1979 by military police officer Herculano Leonel while picketing in front of the Sylvania plant during a strike in the south zone of São Paulo. Santo Dias' wake was held at Consolação Church and was attended by thousands of people. He was buried in Campo Grande Cemetery, not far from the defunct factory where he was murdered, and even today family and friends pay him homage by writing on the pavement: "Worker Santo Dias da Silva was murdered here on October 30, 1979 by the military police." Besides this tribute, his memory lives on in the Santo Dias Committee and in the many streets, squares, schools and bridges that bear his name.

### **Quinzena do Negro**

The Quinzena do Negro (Black Fortnight), held in 1977 at São Paulo University, was organized by sociologist Eduardo de Oliveira e Oliveira, the last president of the Associação Cultural do Negro (Black Cultural Association). In the midst of the civil-military dictatorship, it organized lectures, discussions and an exhibition of newspapers by the São Paulo black press, as well as an exhibition about blacks in Brazilian filmography. This event was an important meeting point for militants, scholars, and activists in the anti-racist struggle and included names like Clóvis Moura, Beatriz Nascimento, Hamilton Cardoso, José Correia Leite, Milton Barbosa, and Sueli Carneiro, among others.

### **Esquadrão da Morte (Death Squad)**

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, already in the context of the civil-military dictatorship, death squads emerged in cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Among its members were corrupt police officers who acted for different interests, practicing torture and murder against common prisoners and political prisoners, among them black people. According to an investigation published by the Rubens Paiva State Truth Commission, the largest number of prisoners murdered by these extermination groups had been locked up in Tiradentes Prison. The great majority were tortured and killed in the city outskirts; corpses were marked with the initials

"E.M." (Esquadrão da Morte). Former DOPS chief Sérgio Paranhos Fleury was accused of commanding the Death Squad in São Paulo.

### **The murder of Robson da Luz**

In 1978, young black Robson Silveira da Luz, 21 years old, was arrested and sent to the 44th Police Department at Guaianazes, east São Paulo. According to a report published in the newspaper *Folhetim* and registered in a DOPS document, Police Chief Luiz Abdala said "A nigger gotta go to the rack!". Accused of stealing fruit, Robson was severely tortured and died days later. This episode is emblematic for the history of the black movement in Brazil because of its repercussion, and also because it led to the creation of the Movimento Negro Unificado (Unified Black Movement) in July of the same year.

### **Movimento Negro Unificado**

In 1978, during the civil-military dictatorship, some emblematic episodes marked the black community: the murder of Robson da Luz; the discrimination suffered by four black players at Regatas do Tietê club; and the murder of Newton Loureiro, a working man, in the Lapa neighborhood. The immediate reaction was the creation and articulation of the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU – Unified Black Movement). On July 7 of that same year, around 2,000 people marched towards the Municipal Theater in São Paulo, in a public act against racism and the recent episodes of violence against the black population. The history of MNU is related not only to the demands of the past, but also to the present, since in its over 40 years of existence it has contributed – as it still does – to inform public debate on the importance of the black movement in the Constitutional Assembly, the demarcation of *quilombola* lands, and even the teaching of African history in schools.

### **Jornegro**

Created in 1978, *Jornegro* was a publication linked to the Centro de Cultura e Arte Negra (CECAN – Center for Black Culture and Art). At the time, during the civil-military dictatorship, the creation of independent newspapers like *Jornegro* was an important means for denouncing the persistence of police violence and the racism suffered by the black community, even after the abolition of slavery.



## **CONFRONTING TRIPLE OPPRESSION: THE 21ST CENTURY IS BLACK, FEMALE, AND OURS**

Both theoretically and politically, black feminism and different black women's movements are among the most powerful topics in contemporary debate, and the presence of Brazilian and foreign black intellectuals in debates, publications, and in the publishing market has fortunately become increasingly common, inspiring the creation of collectives of non-black women and black youth in general. Memory politics takes up the trajectories, projects, and works of pioneering black women and their continuators.

This is not only an act of historical justice, but also a way to demonstrate that those and other anonymous women "have always been there," side by side with their black male partners, and sometimes in their absence, since antiracist solidarity does not historically exclude the dimension of machismo and misogyny inside the black movement. On the other hand, the recognition of a common agenda with non-black women in the feminist movement, in the struggle against patriarchy as a form of power and its consequences, such as machismo, feminicide, inequalities in the labor market, and so on, does not eliminate the specificity of the black female agenda and the particular ways in which black women experience discrimination. Thus, black women's movements and black feminism incorporate a triple articulation of gender, race, and class.

This long path runs through all moments of this exhibition and does not let us forget that black women have been historical protagonists in struggles for rights in Brazil.

The exhibition holds many tributes to such experiences, having as its core the collection of posters and textual documentation of Geledés - Instituto da Mulher Negra, founded in São Paulo in 1988 and active since then in important areas: black health; violence against women; reproductive rights, the right to safe abortion and the fight against black sterilization; the threat of AIDS; the right to sexual and gender diversity; legal assistance to victims of racial violence; the Rappers project and the magazine *Pode Crê* in the early 1990s; the rights of black motherhood, childhood and youth; and affirmative action. The Geledés poster collection shows how this organization also works as a locus of memory for national and international anti-racist struggles. As they affirmed in 1997: "The 21st century is black, female, and ours. We just have to take it into our hands."

## **Mulherio**

Published between 1981 and 1989, *Mulherio* was a feminist journal created by researchers at the Carlos Chagas Foundation interested in discussing topics involving the status of women in Brazil, such as women's health, daycare, housing, and female participation in politics and in the labor market. Furthermore, it functioned as an important means for the exchange of ideas with other study centers which wanted to debate governmental inaction in the fight against gender inequality. *Mulherio* included in its ranks women from different areas of activity, such as Eva Alterman Blay, Ruth Cardoso, Maria Rita Kehl, and Lélia González, the only black intellectual to participate in the publication. In her articles, Lélia denounced the absence of race in feminist debates and talked about the status of black women.

## **Geledés**

Founded in 1988 by a group of women, Geledés – Instituto da Mulher Negra is a civil society organization that fights for the rights of the black community, denouncing racism and sexism as structural elements of Brazilian society. Based in the city of São Paulo, Geledés is still active, engaging in Brazil and abroad with the dilemmas and challenges of the contemporary world and fighting forms of discrimination against minorities such as women, blacks, and the LGBTQIA+ population. The Geledés poster collection, stored at the AEL/UNICAMP, serves as an important historical record of this organization's activities and of its connections with organizations that no longer exist.

## **Black women's health**

Over the past decades, Geledés – Instituto da Mulher Negra has been making it clear that black women's health has been historically neglected by public authorities. Some diseases such as diabetes, hypertension, and sickle-cell anemia, for example, have a much greater impact on the black population, and for this very reason there is a lack of health policies to ensure dignified care. This fight also involves the right to legal and safe abortion as a public health issue, the fight against sterilization of the black population, the threat of AIDS, and the rights to life and sexual and gender diversity.

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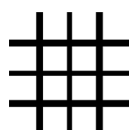
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MEMORIAL DA  
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