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From Silence to Radical Politics: Ethics, Affect and *Becoming-disobedient*

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Abstract

This article seeks to map out the notion of disobedience as it is conceptualised and practiced by the recently formed Argentine collective "Historias Desobedientes. Hijas, hijos y familiares de genocidas por la memoria, la verdad y la justicia" and its eponymous Chilean counterpart. To do so, it explores the published writings and artistic expressions of some of the collective's members, as well as citing recent ethnographic work with some of the women who have publicly broken this "family mandate" by openly condemning their own fathers' crimes against humanity. The analysis aims to better understand the complex interactions between ethics, affect and politics in these disobedient becomings. The article takes a comparative, transnational approach. By exploring dialogues that have been opened up between the Argentine collective and disobedient women located in Chile and Germany respectively, it asks what has enabled the emergence of these new public actors within the local sphere of human rights activism decades after the dictatorships ended? It considers not only how the Historias Desobedientes have been shaped by local human rights struggles, but also the ways in which they offer their own contours to the increasingly intersectional and transnational agenda. Particular attention is paid to the seminal influence of contemporary, intersectional feminism in articulating this specific praxis of disobedience as a non-violent challenge, not only to the resurgent discourses of reconciliation, impunity and/or denial, but furthermore to the long-embedded patriarchal and capitalist structures underpinning them.

Keywords

Southern Cone; Memory; Historias Desobedientes; Feminism; Ethics; Affect.

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From Silence to Radical Politics: Ethics, Affect and *Becoming-disobedient*

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"[N]omadic 'remembering' is not indexed on the authority of the past"

Rosi Braidotti 2011, 34

"*hablar* para defender lo justo, *repudiar* para no ser cómplices, *desobedecer* para romper mandatos"

Escritos desobedientes 2018, 14, original emphasis

Introduction

"Speak out," "condemn," and "disobey." These three calls to action close the collectively authored manifesto published by the group Historias Desobedientes, which was formed in 2017. Together, they state an emphatic and unambiguous public condemnation of crimes against humanity committed by its members' own relatives—predominantly, though not exclusively, fathers—during the 1976-83 civic-military dictatorship in Argentina. In its increasingly transnational network of affiliations, the group also brings together a growing number of disobedient family members of repressors who acted in the 1973-1990 dictatorship in Chile and, more recently, the 1964-1985 and 1973-1985 dictatorships in Brazil and Uruguay respectively.[1] Yet, entwined in the collective's unequivocal statement of disobedience—personal and public—are as many individual pathways to dissensus as there are members. Full appreciation of the praxis of disobedience in all its complexity and nuance—"oponerse colectivamente, en primera persona, y a partir de la propia experiencia," to cite the group's own words (Historias Desobedientes 2018, 155)—can only be achieved by paying close attention to the various personal experiences that lace together to compose this public voice. The intimate life stories that pour into this group manifesto and that are included alongside it in the publication *Escritos desobedientes* (2018) highlight the complex and intimate textures of a praxis of disobedience located at the interstice of the public and the private, of the personal and the political, in a space of possibilities nestled in between ethics, politics and affect (Furió 2020, n.p.).

This article aims to map out both the conceptualisation and practice of disobedience as multiple intimate threads that converge in the public and political arena of human rights activism. It explores the published writings and artistic expressions of some of the collective's members, as well as citing recent ethnographic work with some of the women who have publicly broken this "family mandate" by openly condemning

[1] The majority of the Historias Desobedientes' members are Argentinean, with a small (albeit expanding) group of Chilean members, who have developed their own local branch of the collective. More recently, disobedient children of perpetrators during the Brazilian and Uruguayan dictatorships have come forward.

their own fathers' crimes against humanity.[2] It seeks to better understand the complex interactions between ethics, affect and politics in such expressions of disobedience. To do so, it takes a comparative, transnational approach. By exploring dialogues that have been opened up between the Argentine collective and disobedient women located in Chile and Germany respectively, it asks: what enabled the emergence of this new public actor within the local scape of human rights activism in Argentina—the voice thereunto "negada por el mandato del silencio" (2018, 10)—some 35 years after the dictatorship ended? It considers not only how the Historias Desobedientes have been shaped by local human rights struggles, but also the ways in which they offer their own contours to the increasingly intersectional and transnational agenda (Furió 2020, n.p.). Notably in Argentina, the collective's position in relation to "the symbolic and political dominance of 'familism'," that is so often evoked to define agency or legitimacy with regard to memory politics (Jelin 2008, 177), is complex. If, as Elizabeth Jelin argues, "[t]he paradox in the Argentine Military regime of 1976-1983 was that the language and the image of the family were the central metaphor of the military government but also the central discourse and practices of the most visible part of the human rights movement" (2008, 182)—the emblematic civil disobedience of the Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo, most notably—then the emergence of the Historias Desobedientes points to another paradoxical fold in this narrative. The rupture of "familial and genetic bonds" (Jelin 2008, 178), as expressed by the Historias Desobedientes, seems at once to be impelled by the logic of "literal kin relations" (Jelin 2008, 182) to politically defined genealogies of victimhood or perpetration, as it rejects a subject position mandated by such lineages, seeking instead alternative affiliations. In many ways, the Kirchner period from 2003-2015 laid a stepping-stone for this process. The articulation of the public memory of the dictatorship not only as a matter of state but also a central tenet of government discourse, throughout the successive Kirchner mandates,[3] widened participation in public debates and commemorative acts by cultivating alternative forms of relating to Argentina's difficult past (Sosa 2014).

Particular attention needs to be paid to the seminal influence of contemporary feminism in articulating this specific praxis of disobedience. It is perhaps no coincidence that the majority of the *Desobedientes* are women—something the founding members are quick to point out (Furió 2020, n.p.). This open and radical collective voice articulates disobedience as a non-violent challenge, not only to the resurgent discourses of reconciliation, impunity and/or, in their extreme, denial, but furthermore to the long-embedded patriarchal and capitalist structures underpinning them.[4] The transversal and transnational dialogues enabled by the feminist movement, as it seeks to dismantle the patriarchal, militarised and neo-colonial imaginaries upon which the nation and the family have traditionally been based, make for a conducive partnership (Gago 2020). This is captured clearly in Rita Segato's articulation of patriarchal violence in the term "femi-geno-cidio," (2012, n.p.), or "gendercide" (Hudson 2016, n.p.), a poignant reminder that gender-based violence marks a constant

[2] The ethnographic fieldwork that informs part of the analysis in this article was carried out with Cecilia Sosa as part of the AHRC-sponsored research project 'Screening Violence: A Transnational Study of Post-Conflict Imaginaries' (2018-2023).

[3] Néstor Kirchner's single-term presidency ran from 2003-2007; Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's consecutive mandates ran from 2007-2011 and 2011-2015.

[4] Such regressions in official discourse and policy on human rights and memory are characteristic of the governments of former president Mauricio Macri (Argentina, 2015-2019) and incumbent presidents Sebastián Piñera (Chile, 2010-2014; 2018-) and Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil, 2019-).

violation of human rights both during and outside periods of dictatorship.[5] It is important to note that gender-based violence under democracy is rarely framed as a type of civil conflict (Hudson 2016, n.p.). Likewise, it is only very recently that violence against women committed during the dictatorship was recognised and prosecuted as a specific kind of crime against humanity, rather than being subsumed within the broader category of crimes resulting from state terrorism (Sosa and Page 2019, n.p.). With this in mind, what is suggested here, then, is that this particular expression of disobedience might be envisioned more fruitfully as a kind of *becoming-disobedient*—a Deleuzean becoming in the sense that feminist philosophers, such as Rosi Braidotti (2011), Verónica Gago (2020) and Elizabeth Grosz (2017), make of the term. "[B]ecoming-woman is to leave one's assigned place," posits Gago, "to get down from the family tree, to escape the patriarchal mandate. In this sense, becoming has nothing to do with progressing or adapting, nor with enacting a model or reaching a goal (there is no evolution, as the philosophers [Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari] say). Becoming, to the contrary, 'is the process of desire'" (2020, 88). Within her methodological and conceptual frame of "nomadic" thinking, Braidotti ties this becoming into the question of memory and remembering. "What matters ultimately about the job of remembering," she suggests,

> is the capacity to engender the kind of conditions and relations that can empower creative alternatives. […] It is whatever works to create sustainable lines and productive planes of transversal interconnection among entities and subjects that are related by empathy and affective affinity, not by some generic moral model or idealized paradigm. This type of remembrance is not identity bound or ego indexed, but rather impersonal or postidentitarian. It is linked to a radical process of defamiliarization or disidentification from dominant representational and even self-representational practices.
>
> (Braidotti 2011, 33)

The postidentitarian character of becoming is of particular relevance to the Colectivo Historias Desobedientes.

In addition to the vital inspiration offered by the contemporary feminist movement, it is also important to consider the role that the 2003 annulment of the amnesty laws played in liberating these disobedient *hijes*[6] and relatives from this mandate of silence. It is arguably no coincidence that, once the Full Stop Law (1986) and the Law of Due Obedience (1987) had been repealed, once the prosecution and trial of perpetrators had resumed, this opened up the possibility for other, more private, forms of "due obedience" to be dismantled and disavowed. Indeed, it was the renewed

[5] It is important to note here that human rights violations committed under dictatorship of a sexual and gender-based character have only very recently been recognised as such. They had previously been categorised under the broader crimes of illegal detention, torture and forced disappearance.

[6] I use here the increasingly prominent gender-neutral formulation of the noun "hijas/hijos" in Argentine Spanish, which replaces the masculine "o" and feminine "a" with an "e". The collective's manifesto and several of the individual chronicles in the *Escritos desobedientes* are written entirely in gender-neutral language. This is something that is acknowledged explicitly in the volume. The choice should be seen as integral to the intersection of feminism and disobedience. As Elizabeth Grosz argues: "Discourses refuse to acknowledge that their own partiality, their own perspectivity, their own interests and values, implicitly rely upon conceptions of women and femininity in order to maintain their 'objectivity', 'scientificity', or 'truth' – that is, their veiled masculinity" (1990, 180).

spectre of reconciliation and impunity, epitomised in the discursive replication of the "two-demons theory"[7] during Macri's presidency that motivated the group's "salto a lo público" (Dopazo 2019, n.p.).[8] In Chile, trials have also taken place, though the synonymity of memory, truth and justice has been more problematic throughout its transition to democracy. Unlike the successive Kirchner presidencies, the governments of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010; 2014-2018), whilst the most committed to the cause, were unable to promote trials and a public culture of memory as central matters of state policy in the same way (Collins 2013, n.p.); furthermore, the 1978 amnesty law established during the dictatorship has never been fully revoked. It is common practice for the presiding judge to waive application of the preventive 1978 amnesty law for crimes against humanity. This has been common practice since the Supreme Court ruled in 1998 that it should not apply to crimes against humanity, but has yet to be constitutionally inscribed (Marengo 2015, n.p.). Indeed, it is her aunt's arrest for participation in human rights violations perpetrated by the state during the dictatorship that triggers filmmaker Lissette Orozco to document her family's "secret" and, as she does this, her own personal journey towards disobedience. This documentary is the focus of the second part of this article.

Having explored the ways in which disobedience might be understood and exercised as a form of ethical and affective becoming on both a personal and collective level, the final part of this piece focuses on the broader and longer-term issue of how we might choose to deal with difficult inheritances in an active and transformative way. It asks what can be learned—or perhaps what needs to be unlearned—beyond the specific socio-political and historical conjuncture that marked the Historias Desobedientes' emergence nearly 35 years after the transition from dictatorship to democracy began in Argentina and some 30 years after Pinochet relinquished the presidency (though not power) in Chile.[9] As the discussion considers the longer-term implications of inherited family (hi)stories, it calls once again upon the non-teleological, "zigzagging" (Braidotti 2011, 35) notion of becoming to capture the complex "affective temporalities" (Macón 2019, n.p.) of inheritance. A linear understanding of the temporalities of inheritance fails to account for the spectral resonance of the past in the present, even (perhaps especially) when that past has been suppressed by silence. The personal, the political and the geopolitical intersections implied in the transnational encounter between Alexandra Senfft, the granddaughter of a Nazi perpetrator, and Liliana Furió, a founding member of the Historias Desobedientes, during the anti-G20 demonstrations in Buenos Aires in November 2018 serve as inspiration for such discussions. The intergenerational and intersectional character of this exchange offers much food for thought when it comes to approaching the decolonial and the de-patriarchal collectively in a responsible and affirmative way.

[7] The much debated and discredited "teoría de los dos demonios" emerged at the time of transition. It sought to evoke what its advocates argued had been violence perpetrated on both sides. This dangerously apologetic "theory" underpins discourses of reconciliation, which have become synonymous with impunity and oblivion (Page and Sosa 2019, n.p.).

[8] Mariana Dopazo is the self-determined "ex-hija" of convicted perpetrator, Miguel Etchecolatz, Director de Investigaciones de la Policía Bonaerense. Etchecolatz was sentenced in 2016. It was during his trial that the term "genocide" was used in legal proceedings. Dopazo legally changed her surname to take her mother's maiden name and thereby officially defiliate herself from her former father.

[9] One of the most striking images of Chile's transition from dictatorship to democracy is the ceremonial handshake and handover of power between incoming and democratically elected president, Patricio Aylwin and the former dictator, Augusto Pinochet, who had gained power via a violent coup. Pinochet remained as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces until 1998, whereupon he was sworn in as a Senator for life. He was never put on trial for his crimes against humanity.

Argentina 2017: Due Disobedience

The Historias Desobedientes made their public début as a collective on 3rd June 2017, notably during a mass demonstration called by the feminist group Ni Una Menos.[10] Thousands of women in cities across Argentina and Uruguay marched in protest against growing rates of femicide, as well as increasing debt levels and socio-economic precarity that were making women and children, in particular, more vulnerable (Gago 2020, 70). On that day, seven women marched amidst the burgeoning crowds of the so-called "marea feminista'" under the banner "Historias Desobedientes. Hijas, hijos y familiares de genocidas por la memoria, la verdad y la justicia." Given the collective's strong affiliation with the feminist movement, as proud and defiant wearers of the green headscarf—the ubiquitous symbol denoting support for the subsequently-vindicated pro-choice campaign for the legal right to abortion—it represented a logical and congenial space for their first public appearance. Liliana Furió notes their reception in her chronicle on the early encounters between members of the collective: "Nos resultó sumamente fuerte y conmovedor atravesar esa marea de gente que mostraba, en algunos casos, miradas de asombro desconcertado y, en otros, señales de admiración acompañadas de muestras explícitas de afecto, al ver nuestra pequeña columna avanzar" (2018, 88). "The key to the feminist strike is disobedience in a broad sense," affirms Verónica Gago, a founding member of the Ni Una Menos collective, in her compelling critical essay/manifesto, *The Feminist International: How to Change Everything* (2020, 36-7). Indeed, she cites the "former" daughters of the perpetrators of genocide as an example of collective feminist disobedience dismantling the "heteropatriarchal" construction of the domestic space of the home (113), though the individual narratives of the disobedient daughters and "former" daughters reveal a spectrum of contours in relation to this matrix, as will be discussed further below.

The choice of the Ni Una Menos feminist march as the collective's first public appearance was an occasion most fitting for a group that challenges what might be thought of as two concomitant iterations of the "law of the father." The first, operating within the personal sphere, is mandated by inherited familial bonds that tie one generation in complicit silence to previous ones. The second, operating within the public realm, is a silence that is legally predicated by articles 178—"nadie podrá denunciar a su cónyuge, ascendiente, descendiente o hermano"— and 242—"no podrán testificar en contra del imputado bajo pena de nulidad"— of the Argentine Penal Code. Together, these articles effectively prevent anyone from testifying against an immediate family member in a court of law even if they were to hold crucial evidence that could be used against them (cit. Rivero 2017, n.p.). "Lo que no se puede decir tampoco se puede callar" (2017, n.p.) is the defiant response to this intersticial impasse. To this effect, one of the earliest collective actions taken by the Historias Desobedientes was to present a proposal to the National Congress for the reform of articles 178 and 242 of the Penal Code; they state that "la necesidad de esta reforma se plantea al momento que una hija, hijo o familiar de genocida, tomamos conciencia de la información que tenemos y que puede aportar al esclarecimiento de una causa, teniendo muy en cuenta la obligación ética que sentimos, por tratarse de crímenes de lesa humanidad" (REF). This brings us to another complex fold in this particular articulation of disobedience: unlike certain, more classic definitions of civil disobedience that seek to disregard the law as a morally informed act of conscientious objection, the Historias Desobedientes'

[10] Ni Una Menos or Not One Woman Less, meaning quite literally not one more victim of gender-based violence, is a powerful collective movement that has led public demonstrations against femicide and in favour of the pro-choice right to abortion campaign.

emergence in public was, in many ways, enabled by the repealing of the amnesty laws (Bartalini 2018, 26; Kalinec 2018, 32). They fully support the trials of the perpetrators and, indeed, it was the threat of a reduction in sentences that impelled making their voice public. "Civil disobedience may seem like a simple 'opting out,' but it makes public a judgment that a legal system is not just," argues Judith Butler in her recent work, *The Force of Non-Violence* (2020, 184). This particular expression of disobedience relies on the law. Yet, at the same time, it also challenges those aspects of the penal code, based on the socio-legal assumption that "los lazos filiatorios [existen] como vínculos incuestionables" (Bartalini 2018, 22), that continue to bind them in a pact of silence and complicity to their family members who are guilty of crimes against humanity.

The embracing of a radical "feminine imaginary" (Irigaray 1985, 164), which might be appropriately re-termed as a feminist imaginary, has created the possibility of breaking open the circuits of discourse from their enveloping silence, tracing lines of flight out of the patriarchal lineage that establishes continuity from generation to generation (Irigaray 1985, 24-28). In a world shaped by the "masculine imaginary," Iriagaray argues that

> [w]e need to listen (psycho)analytically to its procedures of repression, to the structuration of language that shores up its representations, separating the true from the false, the meaningful from the meaningless and so forth. … What is called for instead is an examination of the *operation of the 'grammar'* of each figure of discourse, its syntactic laws or requirements, its imaginary configurations, its metaphoric networks, and also, of course, what it does not articulate at the level of utterances: *its silences*.
>
> (Irigaray 1985, 75)

The importance of affect and embodiment in the multitudinous gatherings called by the contemporary feminist movement has enabled new kinds of intersubjective "attachments" to be imagined and forged in the public arena (Ahmed 2014, 170). It might be argued that the emergence of the Historias Desobedientes has been nurtured by these possibilities.

But this first public appearance also needs to be contextualised in relation to another multitudinous public demonstration of outrage that had taken place just a few weeks prior to the Ni Una Menos march. On 3rd May 2017, the Argentine Supreme Court had made an extremely controversial and unpopular ruling that had enabled retrospective use of the so-called "2-for-1" law (officially inscribed as 24.390) in the case of convicted repressor Luis Muiña. This was the first time that this law, passed by President Carlos Menem in 1994 and repealed by President Fernando De la Rúa in 2001, had been invoked to reduce the sentence for a prisoner convicted of crimes against humanity during the dictatorship. The law was introduced in 1994 in response to overcrowding in prisons, where as many as half the inmates were still awaiting sentence (*BBC Mundo* 2017, n.p.). The law stipulated that, once a prisoner had spent two years in prison without receiving sentence, every year spent in jail afterwards would count as two years spent of the sentence. Although neither a new nor an active law, its use was in this instance enabled by Article 2 of the Penal Code, which states: "Si la ley vigente al tiempo de cometerse el delito fuera distinta de la que exista al pronunciarse el fallo o en el tiempo intermedio, se aplicará siempre la más benigna"

(cit. Badeni, 98). The ruling was widely condemned, across political divides, and was met with a public demonstration of condemnation on a massive scale. The ruling was eventually overturned and the threat of more convicted "genocidas"—meaning the authors or perpetrators of genocide, as they are referred to in Argentina—walking free was swiftly quashed. For the first time, the white headscarf worn by the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo became a widespread symbol that thousands of people carried with them as an accessory to activism (Pertot 2017, n.p.). Demonstrators did not wear the scarf on their heads but held them up in the air in a synchronised gesture of defiance, known locally as the *pañuelazo*. It was the first time that the iconic white headscarf had been held as a symbol of memory, truth and justice beyond the Madres and Abuelas of Plaza de Mayo, though the object of the headscarf in a range of other colours has been adopted for other causes.

It is within the context of this broad societal condemnation that the Historias Desobedientes were able to find each other and articulate their collective voice. This is clearly marked as a defining moment in the emergence of the collective: "En mayo de 2017, después del fallo de la Corte Suprema de Justicia conocido como el "2 x 1," muches de nosotres empezamos a buscar la manera de alzar la voz, entendiendo el retroceso que el gobierno actual estaba llevando a cabo en materia de derechos humanos" (2018, 9). If, as Mariana Tello Weiss suggests, the repealing of the amnesty laws and the ensuing trials displaced the responsibility that these disobedient family members felt for their relatives' actions, then it would seem logical that the renewed threat of impunity would be the final motivation for their emergence in public (cit. Sosa and Page 2019, n.p.).[11] In fieldwork conducted in 2018 and 2019, in order to explore the broader social imaginaries of dictatorship in Argentina, one of the threads that emerged was an apparent differentiation between high-ranking military leaders and personnel acting under order, or what has been termed "due obedience". In contrast, the Historias Desobedientes reject any sort of "grey zone" (Levi 1989, 22) in relation to the figure of the perpetrator. They adopt a very clear position: anything that may indicate reconciliation means impunity. This unambiguous stance with regard to the politics of reconciliation is reiterated emphatically in the collective manifesto: "las hijas, los hijos y familiares de genocidas repudiamos sus crímenes, sus prácticas represivas, sus pactos de silencio e impunidad. Nosotres no nos reconciliamos. No perdonamos. Y no nos callamos" (2018, 12). "La única casa para un genocida es la cárcel. Cárcel común y efectiva para los genocidas. Memoria, verdad y justicia. NO NOS RECONCILIAMOS" (2018, 168). The rejection of any possibility of reconciliation, the rejection of a distinction between "due obedience" and perpetration, and the assertion that the family home should replace the prison cell are the most adamant gestures of disobedience.

Chile 2017: Ethics and Affect in Lissette Orozco's *El pacto de Adriana*

"¿Te amo o te llamo?" jokes filmmaker Lissette Orozco as the audio fails to connect at the beginning of a Skype call and she is forced to lipread the figure we see on screen. "Nos va a pasar lo mismo otra vez," she adds. This opening scene of the powerful (auto)biographical documentary *El pacto de Adriana* (2017) captures the affective bond between Orozco, a documentary filmmaker and now member of the recently formed

[11] At the time of the interview, on 8 August 2019, Mariana Tello Weiss worked at the Museo de Antropología in the central city of Córdoba, Argentina. She is a researcher for Argentina's national research council, CONICET, and President of Argentina's National Memory Archive: https://www.argentina.gob.ar/anm.

Chilean branch of the Historias Desobedientes, and the woman with whom she is trying to speak: her aunt, Adriana Rivas, also known affectionately to her as la tía Chany, "la valiente de la famila," as she is introduced early on in the film, "esa mujer bella y poderosa […] mi ídola […] la que me enseñó a decir lo que pensaba, la que me enseñó a ser mi misma." The muted sound forces them to gesture through the silence as they agree to hang up and relaunch the call. The semantic slippage caused by trying to decipher the words as they are mouthed not only foreshadows the devastating realisations that will emerge from Adriana's "pact" of silence, but captures from the very beginning the tensely tangled relationship between discourse and truth, words and gestures, and ethics and affect that will characterise the exchanges between these two women. Orozco's documentary chronicles her aunt's arrest, her flight from justice and the request for her extradition from Australia when she is accused of active participation in the torture of citizens detained by Pinochet's National Intelligence Directorate (known as the DINA), an organisation for which she worked during the dictatorship.[12]

Just three months before the threat of impunity in Argentina was impelling the public vocalisation of disobedience, Orozco was releasing her first feature-length film. Like many of her Argentine counterparts, the momentum of *becoming-disobedient* had built within a private, domestic sphere over time. Filmed and edited over a period of approximately 7 years, Orozco pieces together a document that chronicles a series of conversations between her and her aunt, following the latter's "unexpected" arrest for human rights violations during the four years in which she worked for the DINA. Orozco knew that her aunt had worked for the Chilean Air Force but had no idea that she had worked as secretary to none other than Manuel Contreras, Director of the DINA, one of the dictatorship's most prominent figures and one of the relatively few to be successfully convicted of crimes against humanity.[13] Clearly seduced by the affluence and social standing afforded to those who worked for the dictatorship—circles to which she believes she would never otherwise have had access—Rivas openly describes her years at the DINA as her "best," whilst simultaneously denying any knowledge of what was going on inside the institution and building in which she worked. Several interviewees assert that it was impossible not to have known what was going on inside the DINA. Notably, the whistle blower Jorgelino Vergara—known as "el mocito de la DINA" and the protagonist of Marcela Saïd's eponymous documentary (2011)—is able to identify Rivas and her colleagues as active participants in the interrogation and torture of detainees.[14] This is further reinforced by one researcher who argues that active participation in human rights violations was used strategically as both a test of loyalty and to implicate personnel in a manner that would guarantee their complicity with the pact of silence. Yet, Rivas defiantly reasserts her innocence throughout—as indeed she continues to do so—denying any knowledge of human rights violations taking place at the DINA. At the same time as she denies all knowledge of what was going on, she threatens to incriminate other former colleagues who refuse

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[12] An Australian court approved Rivas' extradition to Chile in October 2020. Rivas continues to assert her innocence and has appealed the ruling. She remains in Sydney.

[13] Contreras was convicted in

[14] The nickname, "El mocito," refers to the task that Jorgelino Vergara carried out whilst working for Manuel Contreras at the DINA at the age of 16 years old. Although beyond the scope of this article, Felipe Granifo Molina's analysis of the El mocito's discourse from the perspective of obedience provides insight into the way in which he saw his role within the organisation: "El mocito se definía a sí mismo como un "funcionario;" cumplía horarios, recibía órdenes, debía dar cuenta de éstas y lo hacía a la perfección, mientras tanto en las piezas contiguas del cuartel Simón Bolívar, lugar en el cual vivía, se torturaban y asesinaban a los detenidos" (2019, 36).

to speak to her and confirm her innocence. On a separate occasion, she also justifies the use of torture as "necessary" revealing her continued commitment to the discourses underpinning state terrorism. Rivas never reveals the truth about what happened inside the building in which she worked.

As Rivas documents her version of events from Australia, Orozco listens to her aunt. She also documents her own personal investigation and, with it, her own version of *becoming-disobedient*. The narrative progressively bifurcates over time. At the start, the frontier between the family and the public sphere seems impermeable. Rivas is clearly much loved and the family seem unwilling to question her past or her actions outside the familial sphere, on account of the values that they share. Certain faces that appear in the family photos and home video footage have been deliberately blurred out and, although the specific reasons for this remain unexplained, these family members clearly do not wish to be associated with Rivas. The widening breach between the filmmaker and her aunt is inscribed into the materiality of the documentary. Orozco introduces interstitial fissures into the visual track of the film throughout, using both the montage and cinematography to illustrate the fissures and layers that compose this document of the past. By the end of the documentary, these interstitial veins have become the location of a nascent becoming disobedient. These might be read as what Nelly Richard terms "those residual particles of a convulsive, unreconciled memory that tumultuously exceed the frame of institutional memory" (2018, xxiv). These interstices are initially introduced into the visual track of the documentary through the montage of materials from the family archives. Clips from home videos and photographs from the family photo archive are edited in sequence as snippets from the past. The montage between each image is far from seamless and it is the filmmaker's voice-over narration that progressively gives the images their narrative glue. There is a sense that something sits in between the images—"el secreto familiar," mentioned in the voice-over of the film's opening sequence.

Several of these images and fragments of footage are repeated throughout the documentary. It is the (re-)iterative narrative structure that enables Orozco to go over and over her aunt's testimonies. In a further attempt to achieve critical distance, Orozco films herself watching her aunt's testimony. As Orozco films herself scrutinising the documentary footage again and again, the duplicitous discourse begins to emerge from a fog that Orozco captures in the varying focus of her camera's lens. What is, in many ways, most powerful about this documentary is not the way in which other interviewees or former colleagues incriminate Rivas, but the way in which Orozco's reiterative editing demonstrates her aunt's shifting discourse over time. Images and video clips from the family archive, and fragments of her interviews with Rivas are repeated in the film, each time illuminated with new light. Orozco also inserts herself into the film's diegetic world as not only a witness but also a meticulous spectator, demonstrating the ways in which her aunt incriminates herself through a manipulative, double discourse. The documentary may fall short of revealing the truth, but it does bring to the fore very clearly the interstitial spaces in which the truth is located.

The tension between ethics and affect is increasingly laid bare in this documentary as Orozco records her aunt's testimonies over the period of several years. As one person interviewed remarks: "La verdad objetiva es una"—that her aunt knew full well what happened to detainees in the DINA and probably participated in crimes against humanity—"Lo que te pasa con los sentimientos es otra" (Orozco 2017, 00:22:24 to 00:22:33). In a recent conversation with a group of students studying at UC Davis, Liliana Furió drew attention to the complex and often tense relationship between

ethics and affect that traverses many of the personal trajectories towards disobedience.[15] "[L]os matices del afecto se hibridan con los territorios de la verdad", remarks Bibiana Reibaldi (Reibaldi cit. Bartalini 2018, 26). Orozco's documentary certainly maps out this interstice in between ethics and affect. Many of the *escritos desobedientes* confirm this, too, laying bare a complex set of ties and tensions between ethics, politics and affect, as "la dimensión privada y humana de quienes perpetraron los crímenes más atroces en nuestra historia social" (Bartalini 2018, 21) is woven into this collective, public voice. In some cases, the perpetration of state violence was replicated in the home. "Son historias cotidianas de la presencia del horror en el seno familiar," affirms Carolina Bartalini, "la familia como núcleo de silenciamiento, sumisión y violencia patriarcal" (2018, 21). This unequivocal mirroring of violence inside and outside the home can be felt in texts, such as Lorna Milena's poem "Odio, ahora sos pañuelo blanco" (2018, 101-2). Published initially in her blog, *Hija de milico*[16] the poem's forceful verse evokes the emotive action of cutting one of her father's white shirts into a white headscarf: "Por fin te gané. / ¿Sabés por qué?, / te convertí en pañuelo blanco, / en pañuelo blanco de las Madres, / y fue el día histórico en que el pueblo argentino dijo NO a la impunidad" (Milena 2018, 101). The version included in the blog contains a photo of Milena holding up the homemade scarf in a gesture of defiance. For other members of the Historias Desobedientes—including founding member Analía Kalinec—ethics and affect are much more entangled. One of the most evocative examples of this comes in the closing paragraphs of Lizy Raggio's contribution to the *Escritos desobedientes*, entitled "Como dos extrañas en la noche":

> Amé profundamente a mi padre, con sus aciertos y errores. También repudié con la misma intensidad sus actos como hombre. Me va a doler en el alma siempre, siempre, lo que hizo durante la dictadura. Sé que puede ser difícil para algunos comprender lo que digo, pero esta es mi verdad, así de simple. Tal vez sea esto, el amor y el repudio, lo que me permite cumplir con mi misión: acabar con la condena de cien años de soledad para mi estirpe, para que mis hijos y mis nietos no carguen con el peso del horror y el silencio. Esa mochila es mía. La voy vaciando, hoy, como orgullosa *desobediente*: alguien que puede mirar los ojos sin vergüenza, por la hija de… yo, que puedo romper el silencio para pronunciarme; yo, que puedo salir con un cartel en la calle pidiendo, exigiendo memoria, verdad y justicia para las víctimas de ese hombre que fue mi padre.
>
> (Raggio 2018, 93-97)

Raggio captures the friction between ethics and affects. Yet, what is also clear is that she acknowledges the contradictory feelings. She lays bare the friction in a way that it may be confronted rather than suppressed. Orozco's non-linear approach to montage achieves a similar effect whereby existing narratives can be deconstructed and new ones rewritten into the documentary's interstices.

In other testimonies, the affective responses seem almost to be reflexive—scripted by convention or habit. During her visit to the former Clandestine Detention Centre, known as "La Perla," Silvia Villegas also recounted a similar contradiction.

[15] Statement made during a virtual seminar with students at the University of California, Davis, 19 November 2020.
[16] http://hijademilico.blogspot.com/2017/08/odio-ahora-sos-panuelo-blanco.html

When confronted with the exhibition display that informs visitors about the trials of perpetrators—including a large image of Luciano Menéndez, the General in charge of the repressive apparatus in the Province of Córdoba—she recalls what would be the last time she ever saw her father. On this occasion, he wanted to offer her something to remember him by and offered her a framed photograph of himself dressed in military attire, standing side-by-side with Menéndez. Silvia refused to accept her father's memento stating that there was no way that she would take such an image into her home. She concludes the anecdote by recalling "y nos despedimos con un abrazo" (Villegas 2019, n.p.). The force of habit that is evoked, as she describes giving her father a hug at the end of this tense encounter, is recounted with a tone and gesture of incredulity.

Enveloped in the notion of becoming is a very specific approach to ethics, drawn from the Spinozan premises of affirmation and immanence (Deleuze and Guattari 1994, 169). By incorporating the non-dialectical imagination of affective becomings into their respective enquiries into ethics, both Braidotti and Grosz enable the conceptualisation of an ethics of affect, rather than a conflictive relationship between an ethically defined public position and affective or emotionally inflected family ties to which some of the *desobedientes* allude. "Ethics," Braidotti suggests, is "the discourse about forces, desires, and values that act as empowering modes of becoming, whereas morality is the implementation of established protocols and sets of rules" (2011, 300). Grosz echoes this approach: "thinking about ethics, not in terms of morality, a code of conduct or a set of principles to regulate conduct from the outside, but in terms of the exploration of becoming, what kind of a new ontology—an ontogenesis—we must develop in order to understand the becomings that underlie and make being possible" (Grosz 2014, n.p.). It is easy to see why a feminist ethics cast in the forms of immanence and affirmation (Spinoza) might be preferable to the Historias Desobedientes as they seek to abjure the corrupt moral structures that functioned as pillars of what they term the "civic, military and ecclesiastical" dictatorship of 1976-83 (Villegas 2019, n.p.).

Approximately two years since the release of Orozco's documentary, which has circulated widely in international film festivals and won many awards, a more public voice of disobedience has emerged in Chile, the eponymous sister organisation to the Argentine Historias Desobedientes. Some of its members had already been associated with the Argentine collective. Both Pepe Rovano and Verónica Estay Stange contribute pieces to the *Escritos desobedientes*. This new collective has developed its own voice, which projects a similarly unambiguous public position, whilst acknowledging the complex affective undercurrents to this outwardly-facing discourse:

> Aunque en el plano afectivo unos y otros miembros puedan atravesar distintos estados, muy contradictorios incluso, en el plano político y ético nosotros llevamos un discurso firme y que no admite concesiones ni ambigüedad posible. […] Desde posiciones diversas, con relatos de vida muy distintos; con vergüenza, con culpa o con rabia, con pena o con ternura, cada uno de nosotros ha decidido romper con el mandato de silencio que hasta ahora ha reinado entre los perpetradores, tanto civiles como miembros de la *familia militar*.
>
> (Estay cit. 2019, n.p. Original emphasis)

The Chilean *desobedientes* express their collective voice in terms that are similarly unequivocal to their Argentine counterparts. This includes, within the specific local

profile of human rights activism, the call to modify the constitution and to repeal the 1978 amnesty law. There is also a strong emphasis on gender equality and the recognition of sexual and gender-based violence as a human rights violation (Jaime 2019, n.p.). As in the case of many *desobedientes*, the intervention of official judicial procedures plays a key role in initiating Orozco's dialogue with her aunt, unlocking the "family secret" and, with it, her disobedient becoming.

Orozco's relationship to the patriarchy and the sense of a family mandate is, however, very different. In one of the autobiographical voice-overs early on the documentary, Orozco describes her position within a matriarchal constellation of women who raised her whilst also discursively situating herself as an outsider, an orphan within the family: "llegue sin aviso a esta familia cuando mi papá era adolescente de 15 años y mis abuelos se transformaron en mis padres. […] Cuando me preguntaban quién era mi madre, explicaba que tenía varias. La que me tuvo y se fue, mi abuela que me crió y mi bisabuela, Marina, la madre de todas. […] Crecí rodeada de mujeres y madres. Siempre me sentí diferente: la hija de nadie y a la vez de todas" (Orozco 2017, 00:03:17 to 00:03:56). There is a sense that Orozco is protecting her grandmother throughout the film. She is introduced in the film's second scene. Whilst Orozco may have a different appreciation of what family might mean, Rivas appeals to the blood ties that unite them in her final conversation with Orozco in the documentary: "soy sangre de tu sangre de tu sangre". Verónica Estay, one of its founding members and the spokesperson cited above, is a disobedient niece like Orozco. Yet her parents were the victims of repression during the dictatorship. The genealogies of victimhood or repression that have dominated human rights discourses in Argentina (Jelin 2008) seem to apply less in these particular cases in which the families are internally divided.

The Personal, the Political and the Geopolitical: A Transnational Encounter Between Liliana Furió and Alexandra Senftt at the Anti-G20 Demonstration

In this final section, the focus thus shifts from ethical and affective becomings to the question of disobedience as it is fostered (intergenerationally) through time and (transnationally) across space. The discussion here takes inspiration from the encounter that took place between Liliana Furió and Alexandra Senfft in Buenos Aires, in November 2018. Liliana[17] is one of the founding members of the Historias Desobedientes collective in Argentina and the daughter of a convicted perpetrator, Paulino Furió, who served as head of the army's G2 Division of Intelligence during the dictatorship. A documentary filmmaker and feminist activist, she is a pioneer of queer tango in Buenos Aires. Alexandra is the granddaughter of Hanns Ludin, a Nazi diplomat who was tried, convicted and hung for his war crimes during World War II in 1947. A writer and journalist, she has published two important works that reflect on her own direct family ties to state-perpetrated violence—*Silence Hurts: A German Family History* (2007)—and what she sees as the broader societal spectre of Nazism that haunts the families of perpetrators and bystanders—*The Long Shadow of the Perpetrators*

[17] In a break with editorial protocol, this section refers to Liliana Furió and Alexandra Senfft by their forenames. The reason for this is twofold: first, the fieldwork referenced took place in person and on first name basis; second, in the case of Liliana, although she made a conscious decision not to change her surname as Mariana Dopazo chose to do, her disobedience with regard to the family mandate is very much directed at the patriarchal lineage of which the surname is a mark. In the case of Lissette Orozco, no personal contact has been established through interview. Orozco does not share a surname with Adriana Rivas. Her relationship to her family and her parents is also very different.

(2016).[18] Both titles evoke, aurally and visually, the complexities of private and public life lived in the spectral presence/absence of a difficult past that is at once "eloquently" silenced and unintentionally transmitted from generation to generation (Senfft 2020a, 75).[19]

As Bibiana Reibaldi suggests very clearly in her contribution to the *Escritos desobedientes*, a family mandated inheritance is not something that we choose. Nevertheless, it belongs to us and we have a choice and a responsibility as to what we do with that inheritance: "[s]omos herederxs de una historia con la que no elegimos nacer, pero sí elegimos qué hacer con ella," she affirms (2018, 52). Reibaldi's statement clearly evokes what Hannah Arendt termed "vicarious responsibility for things we have not done" in her essay "Collective Responsibility" (2003, 157-158), and what Michael Rothberg has since developed through the notion of "implication" (2020).[20] Indeed, Rothberg frames his work on implicated subjectivity with an epigraph cited from Arendt's essay.[21] He builds on Arendt's work, using his own "multidirectional" methods (2009), to develop this idea of collective responsibility transnationally, intersectionally and diachronically as he addresses questions of responsibility and implication within "interlocking systems of oppression" (Rothberg 2020, 200). He argues that "implication emerges from genealogies and structures: from the different ways that historical legacies and contemporary conflicts, intimate inheritances and diffuse social forces, intertwine" (2020, 201). Rothberg indeed credits intersectional feminism for multiplying such perspectives. The meeting of intersectional feminism and disobedience, as explored above, offers much food for thought when it comes to analysing the complexities of implication "beyond the most often invoked figures of victims, perpetrators, and bystanders" (Rothberg 2020, 202). The disobedient daughters, sons and family members do not coincide with any of these categories. Likewise, their position considers the memory of state terrorism and genocide in more contemporary times as part of a continuum of societal violence and injustice perpetrated historically and transnationally (Gago 2020, 29, 61).

The transnational and, some would argue, "multidirectional" (Rothberg 2009) engagement between the cultural memories of the genocides perpetrated in Nazi Germany and Argentina under dictatorship is well established. Memory, postmemory and trauma studies of the Holocaust have long provided a frame of reference within

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[18] The original titles are: *Schweigen tut weh: Eine deutsche Familiengeschichte* (Berlin: Claassen, 2007); *Der lange Schatten der Täter: Nachkommen stellen sich ihrer NS-Familiengeschichte* (München/Berlin: Piper Verlag GmbH, 2016). The latter has been translated into English and it is the English edition that is referenced above.

[19] The term "silencio elocuente" is adopted from the psychologist Birgit Rommelspacher. In this case, it describes a scenario whereby it was not unusual for Alexandra's mother or other family members to talk about Hans Ludin, but rather that he was talked about in a way that deliberately obscured the truth; what Alexandra refers to as "los patrones de sentimientos y pensamientos" heredados precluded any questions being asked and any countenance of him being labelled an author of genocide (Senfft 2020a, 75-77).

[20] Rothberg provides this basic definition of implication, which he then goes on to develop through a series of case studies: "[i]mplicated subjects occupy positions aligned with power and privilege without being themselves direct agents of harm; they contribute to, inhabit, inherit, or benefit from regimes of domination but do not originate or control such regimes. […] neither a victim nor a perpetrator, but rather a participant in histories and social formations that generate the positions of victim and perpetrator, and yet in which most people do not occupy such clear-cut roles" (2020, 1).

[21] "This vicarious responsibility for things we have not done, this taking upon ourselves the consequences for things we are entirely innocent of, is the price we pay for the fact that we live our lives not by ourselves but among our fellow men, and that the faculty of action, which, after all, is the political faculty par excellence, can be actualized only in one of the many and manifold forms of human community" (Arendt 2003, 157-158; cit. Rothberg 2020, epigraph).

Argentine memory studies, albeit not without lively debate surrounding the nature of the dialogue and the need to pay attention to the specifically local context of crimes against humanity (Jelin 2002). Some authors have also explored direct links between the two genocides. In his article, "'Silence is Health': How Totalitarianism Arrives," Uki Goñi (2018) traces several direct, albeit obscured or overlooked, connections between Nazi Germany and a broader societal context in which dictatorship was able to take hold in Argentina:

> Argentines' forced cohabitation with Nazi fugitives resulted, I came to believe, in a normalization of the crimes that the German émigrés had committed. "He came to our country seeking forgiveness," Argentina's Cardinal Antonio Caggiano told the press when Israeli operatives captured the Nazi arch-criminal Adolf Eichmann and spirited him out of Argentina in 1960 to stand trial in Jerusalem. "Our obligation as Christians is to forgive him for what he's done." Some fifteen years later, Argentina began its own descent into full-blown totalitarianism, and its military embarked on a mass killing program that differed in scale, though not in essence, from the Nazis': an estimated 30,000 people were made to "disappear" by the dictatorship. The same politicians and religious leaders who had turned a blind eye to the presence of Nazi criminals in Argentina looked away again as blood-soaked generals kneeled to receive their blessings in Buenos Aires Cathedral. Much of my adult life has been haunted by the need to answer the question of how this could have come to pass in Argentina. And how it might come to pass elsewhere.
>
> (Goñi 2018, n.p.)

Framing the *Escritos desobedientes* as testimonies to "la dimensión privada y humana de quienes perpetraron los crímenes más atroces en nuestra historia social," Carolina Bartalini equates the latter to Arendt's notion of the "banality of evil" (2018, 21-22). This was of course Arendt's interpretation of Adolf Eichmann as she observed him on trial. Furthermore, *Escritos desobedientes* opens with an epigraph cited from Argentine-German author Mónica Müller's autobiographical book, *Mi papa alemán. Una vida argentina* (2018), a narrative that sets out to chronicle her father and grandparents' experience of immigration from post-World War One Germany to Argentina, but which ends up as a journey of discovery that narrates a family history of complicity through denial and silence. The citation that is chosen captures the author's conclusions from this journey: "*[l]os humanos tenemos la obligación de recordar y compartir crudamente lo que sabemos por doloroso o vergonzante que sea. No creo que haya otra forma de empezar a comprender lo incomprensible*" (Müller cit. Colectivo Historias Desobedientes 2018, 7, original emphasis).

Alexandra travelled to Buenos Aires in November 2018 to participate in the first symposium held by the Historias Desobedientes at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires. Part of this event also involved making their first ever visit as a group to the Memory Museum, housed at the former clandestine detention and torture centre on the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (ESMA) site. This all took place just a few days before Argentina hosted the G20 summit. As part of a documentary film project, researcher Cecilia Sosa, filmmaker Alejo Moguillansky and I accompanied Liliana Furió and Alexandra Senfft as they participated in the anti-G20

demonstrations and gatherings held in the Plaza de Mayo and the Plaza del Congreso. The personal, the political and the geopolitical interlaced in this trans-Atlantic and trans-Hemispheric exchange, opening up valuable questions about ways of dealing with difficult (her/hi)stories on both a personal and public/collective level. The encounter was interpreted by Liliana's wife, Julie August, adding a further, more intimate link between the two contexts.

As Liliana and Alexandra sit down for refreshment in a café along the Avenida de Mayo, they exchange experiences. The conversation that was recorded between these two women affords a fascinating dialogic engagement with the question of disobedience across time and space. There are many similarities in the two women's *becoming disobedient*. Both women were always aware of the systematic perpetration of crimes against humanity that were committed in Germany and Argentina. Yet, for both women, it took longer to acknowledge and reveal their own personal ties to those who had committed such crimes. "Yo siempre estuve en contra del gobierno militar de la dictadura," Liliana affirms, "pero no podía, no quería, no me podía enterar de lo que había hecho mi padre" (Furió and Senfft 2018, n.p.). Liliana's initial question to Alexandra seeks to understand at what point she really knew that her grandfather had been implicated:

> Liliana Furió: Me gustaría preguntarle a Alexandra, ¿desde qué momento de su vida ella tiene el recuerdo de haberse dado cuenta más o menos, qué edad tenía, en qué circunstancias ella se dio cuenta de que su abuelo realmente había tenido mucha más responsabilidad en el nazismo de lo que a ella le habían dicho en la familia o lo que ella pensaba?
>
> […]
>
> Julie August [translating Alexandra's response into Spanish]: "Que siempre sabía que su abuelo era Nazi. […] Pero creía como que no había hecho nada, que era un diplomático y, bueno, como diplomático no estaba haciendo nada. Pero, era en el momento en que fallece su mamá, en condiciones bastante trágicas, que ella toma la decisión de investigar lo que había hecho.
>
> (2018, n.p.)

Both women recall engaging in an exhaustive investigation into their progenitor's crimes which marked their passage to open condemnation: Liliana recalls:

> El momento que fue un quiebre, no había vuelta atrás, que para mi fue tremendo, fue cuando lo llevan al juicio y yo empiezo a leer la causa y las declaraciones de muchísimos sobrevivientes, testigos, y ahí dije… [heavy sigh – she cannot find the Word to complete the sentence]. Ahí no pude estar más en esa situación de 'bueno, no sé lo que hizo mi papá,' ahí fue… […] ahí no paré, no paré de investigar, me vi todos los documentales, me leí todos los libros, me contacté con toda la gente que pude y, bueno, fue tremendo.
>
> (2018, n.p.)

Alexandra grew up enshrouded in a similar kind of silence that pervaded many of the homes belonging to the disobedient family members, but being a generation further removed from the state violence that was perpetrated makes her relationship to the past somewhat different. Alexandra never met her grandfather in person. Her relationship to her grandfather was never marked by impunity, but rather a familial desire to bury a past that called into question a family's integrity. The perspective that she brings to this dialogue with the Argentine *desobedientes* is thus one that equates to a third, or "postmemory" generation. One of the questions that Alexandra has often asked herself, and posited during her public appearances, is how she would have reacted, what she would have done had she met her grandfather in person, had she sat on his knee and learned to love him (Senfft 2020a, 77). Julie conveys this in her translation: "Para ella, es increíble pensar que tu padre está en vida y que vos puedas hacer todo esto, porque ella, bueno, nació 14 años después de que lo están ahorcando a su abuelo en 1947. Y todavía faltaba mucho hasta que pudo… [interjection from Liliana: "ser crítica realmente"] empezar a investigar los fundamentes" (Senfft 2018, n.p.). The question will always remain hypothetical, but Liliana as the daughter rather than the granddaughter of a perpetrator is, in many ways, able to respond as she shares the painful process of uncovering her father's hidden past. Liliana was able to confront her father, despite his continued denial of having done anything wrong. The possibility of confronting her father was, she recalls, instrumental in finding some sort of "peace" (Furió and Senfft 2018, n.p.).[22]

Unlike Liliana, Alexandra's open condemnation of her grandfather's war crimes is less defined by the fact that he was tried, convicted and sentenced to death. This has happened before she was born. It has more to do with what she terms "the long shadow of the perpetrators" (2020, 77), the effect that the hidden legacy of her grandfather's crimes, despite his conviction, had on her mother's mental health, in particular, as well as her relationship to the rest of her family. She writes of her mother:

> 'Querido papá –o temido y horrible nazi–': […] [m]i madre murió de las consecuencias de su trauma, invadida por conflictos internos y sentimientos de culpa. Solo más tarde me di cuenta de que sus aflicciones eran un grito desesperado en el silencio. […] Sin quererlo, mi madre me transmitió la tarea de hacer frente a nuestra historia nazi.
>
> (Senfft 2020a, 71-75)

Alexandra has not been engaged in the same struggle for justice as some of the Argentine *desobedientes*. She is, however, engaged in a longer-standing struggle to maintain truth and memory over time. She is very aware of the personal, political and cultural implications of these family histories being silenced, as expressed in her account of visiting her grandfather's unmarked grave with a victim who had survived a deportation and imprisonment ordered by him. This was part of the documentary, *Close to Evil* (Gerry Gregg, Ireland, 2014). "[M]y family wished to prevent the grave from being desecrated by keeping it unmarked, they might consider the fact that I am now exposing rather than protecting it as an act coming close to disgrace," Senfft writes. "I

[22] "Mi tranquilidad de alguna manera también fue que yo, antes de que él se enfermara y que no pudiera seguir, yo lo pude confrontar y decir lo que pensaba y pedir que hable. La respuesta fue horrible, pero por lo menos tengo esa tranquilidad de conciencia de haber podido…" (Furió 2018, n.p.).

am very conscious of my move, which amounts to a final breach of loyalty with the 'clan.' I stand up to it, because with Tomi I could share what wouldn't be possible with my family: the truth" (Senfft 2014, n.p.). Alexandra is acutely aware of the importance of acknowledging implication on both an individual and collective level. Otherwise, she suggests, justice becomes ephemeral. Silence, she argues, cultivates what she refers to as "*la larga sombra* de la era nazi en todas sus facetas: formas de pensar y de sentir, así como patrones de comportamiento. Las víctimas y los sobrevivientes permanecerán vivos en la memoria a largo plazo solo si los victimarios y los espectadores también se vuelven visibles como personas individuales y como familias" (Senfft 2020a, 87, original emphasis). Liliana recalls: "hay gente, ese señor, esa señora que yo me he encontrado y que le cuento mi historia y me dice "no, nena, pero yo sé que te cuesta, es difícil de entender, pero tu papá hizo lo que tenía que hacer" (Furió and Senfft 2018, n.p.). This is a discourse that is familiar to Alexandra: "los famosos 'otros tiempos'," as she puts it, a phrase that she believes is replicated in many families across Germany when it comes to the issue of personal ties to the violent past.

As the two women shared their experiences of investigating their father's and grandfather's respective participation in genocide, the conversation moves seamlessly to the immediate context of the G20. For Liliana, the exculpatory discourses cited above are part of "esa cultura machista y patriarcal, armamentista, capitalista, todo está en la misma línea" that continues to reproduce itself. "Por eso, para mí es tan importante también el feminismo," she adds (2018, n.p.). As the personal, the political and the geopolitical intersect, Liliana clearly sees a link between the crimes against humanity committed by her father and other forms of structural violence and inequality. "¡Cultura imperialista de mierda!" she exclaims in her final intervention. She then looked directly at the camera filming this encounter: "Esto, escuchame, ¡no lo edites!" (2018, n.p.). The two women agree that there is need for profound structural changes. The *desobedientes* actively engage with the issue of complex individual and collective inheritances. They do so in a way that advocates a deep rethinking of history and cultural heritage within the public sphere. Disobedience at the very heart of the military family raises very poignant questions at the level of nationhood. "Mi padre reivindicaba la Campaña del desierto," recounted Liliana (Furió 2020, n.p.), a decade-long genocide perpetrated against indigenous communities that, until only recently, figured on the 100 peso bank note and continues to be represented in public by countless statues built to honour General Julio Argentino Roca as a national hero.[23] As Gago argues, "origin' stories,"—in this case posited as the conquest and population of deserted, fertile land—"are mounted over material expropriations: conquests and appropriations of communal and Indigenous lands, conquests and appropriations of female and feminized bodies (of both slaves and migrants)" (2020, 61).

Orozco's documentary also traces this intersection. As part of her search to understand her aunt's own ambivalent relationship to her past, Orozco not only attends events commemorating the anniversary of the 1973 military coup on 11 September, she also goes to an event celebrating the legacy of Pinochet. The footage is reminiscent of Marcela Saïd's 2001 documentary, *I Love Pinochet*, which takes the spectator into the shocking imaginary of those who continue to perceive Pinochet as Chile's hero and saviour. Orozco's position as an unsettled onlooker is apparent at both public events, although the reason for her unease is very different at each. As we accompany her at

[23] These statues are often the focus of protests demanding indigenous rights, especially on the controversial 12 October national holiday celebrated across the Americas (North and South) and in Spain marking the anniversary of Columbus's arrival on the American continent and the beginnings of the colonial period.

the sparsely populated celebration of Pinochet's legacy, the presenter attempts to whip up the crowd. He does so, not only by encouraging the spectators to hail Pinochet using a Nazi-style salute, but also hails Francisco Franco, Spain's former military dictator. The neo-colonial rhetoric marked by these transnational links between dictatorial figureheads makes the link between disobedience and its intersections not only with feminism, but also with the decolonial all the more clear.

A Brief Conclusion

This article sought to explore and map the collective praxis of disobedience—in part personal/familial and in part civil—as an important emerging contour on the map of contemporary, intersectional human rights activism in the Southern Cone. The collective energy and conviction that has emerged in this effervescent public voice of disobedience offers much food for thought, particularly when it comes to reflecting on the constant need for us to address complex, controversial and often contradictory inheritances that are bestowed upon us. "[N]omadic remembering is not indexed on the authority of the past," affirms Braidotti. Returning to this nomadic methodology, we might conclude that the Historias Desobedientes are putting into practice the kind of becomings that not only elucidate and deconstruct "implicated subjectivities" (Rothberg 2020), but do so in a way that can model structural change. Becoming, becoming-woman and becoming-disobedient, are "a time bomb at the very heart of the social and symbolic system that has welded together being, subjectivity, masculinity, compulsory heterosexuality, and (western) ethnocentrism. The different becomings are lines cutting open this space and demanding from us constant remapping" (Braidotti 2011, 31). The intersecting lenses of contemporary intersectional feminism and disobedience trace different forms of violence as part of a continuum (through time and across space). This, in turn, enables the possibility of a much deeper rethinking of the long-entrenched socio-political, economic and cultural structures that shape everyday lives along decolonial, de-patriarchal and de-neoliberal lines.

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