

The Staging of War

(Regarding the work of Clemencia Echeverri)

By: Carlos Jiménez

The work of Clemencia Echeverri centers to a large degree on the war that raged in Colombia for over half a century¹. That war that was never called as much but was rather euphemistically referred to as "violence" or "armed conflict," obeying the interests of those in power who claimed that normality prevailed when in fact war, by definition, deranges and fractures normality. This chicanery—the reiterated insistence on the euphemism—is neither trivial nor of merely semantic importance. On the contrary, it reveals the elliptical manner in which most Colombians have related to the war that has divided them and placed them face to face with death for so many years. Clemencia Echeverri herself is affected by this mode, since she rarely calls war by its name, nor does she represent it directly and unambiguously.

Hence, to refer to war—as is common among analysts and commentators, a group to which I belong—she usually resorts to the figures of rhetoric, forced by the elliptical nature of its relationship to the harsh reality that she evokes or invokes. Echeverri's works do not feature the topical images of the war or its usual consequences: devastated fields, demolished villages, the dead, the injured, the mutilated, the widowed, the orphaned. Instead, she uses allegorical images, the most striking of which evoke mourning, ruins, and ghosts.

El duelo, asumido en el doble sentido fijado por el *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Primera acepción: "Duelo. Del b. lat. *Duellum*, 'guerra, combate'. Combate o pelea entre dos, a consecuencia de un reto o desafío". Segunda acepción: "Del lat. tardío *dollus*, 'dolor'. 1. Dolor, lástima, aflicción o sentimiento. 2. Demostraciones que se hacen para manifestar el sentimiento que se tiene por la muerte de alguien".

The *Diccionario de la lengua española* offers two acceptations for the Spanish word *duelo*: duel and mourning. The first meaning, from the Latin *duellum*, indicates combat; a fight or duel between two parties following a challenge. The second meaning, from the Latin *dollus*, is that of grief; pain, pity, affliction, or feeling; shows of feeling over the death of a person.

Among the works by Echeverri dedicated to duels is the video installation *Exhausto aún puede pelear* (Exhausted he still can fight) from the second Luis Caballero Prize in the year 2000 at the Santa Fe Gallery in Bogotá². It consisted of a circle formed by large screens that project images of the death duels between roosters in a cockpit, intercut with those of an almost forgotten game called *pico y monto*, in which the duelers approach their opponent step by step until the winner places his bare foot on that of his opponent. The juxtaposition of images from these two varieties of confrontation, so different from each other, associates the cockfight with the duel between men. This is connected to von Clausewitz's thesis that the essence of the battle, and even of the war itself—its decisive nucleus—manifests itself in the duel between individuals³.

Clemencia Echeverri also recognized the importance of individual grief when she stated that with this installation she intended to investigate "what fighting is about⁴." And Sol Astrid Giraldo Escobar concurs, commenting: "In her search for the living image that would allow her to speak of violence—'metaphors that would account for the tone, rhythm, strength, temporality, and space that are germane to our manner of expelling'—she arrives at the cockfight⁵."

Violence is duplicated and intensified in this complex video installation. The images of cockfights, beaks, feet, spurs, feathers, angles, and shots of the cockpit are juxtaposed in such a dizzying fashion as to convey the experience of witnessing a live duel to the death. Or at least it reproduces the discombobulation typically experienced in the face of violence.

You might even say that *Exhausto aún puede pelear* is also an attempt to nullify or neutralize the crucial differences, both in art and in politics, between presence and representation, between expectation and participation, between agency and patience. This work subverts or challenges the contemplative attitude proposed and enabled by the white cube, the characteristic exhibition space of modernity⁶, which remains hegemonic in contemporary museum practices. Aseptic space—white—both given its color and the absence of it, given its *tabula rasa* relationship to the historical and cultural contexts in which the works it exhibits were generated. The space belongs to a programmatic silence that in this case is broken by the powerful sound of the spurs of the gamecocks, tearing the air that dominates the

soundscape of a video installation that subjects viewers to a thrilling experience of total immersion as opposed to of a harmonious, purely optical, contemplative experience.

A historical digression here may help to better understand the nature of the cockpit. I will begin by noting that, from a formal perspective, places of confrontation or conflict can be recast as theaters for duels or battlefields⁷. In the history and culture in whose tributaries we continue to navigate, the Roman circus is the archetypal place for the duel. It was the location par excellence of the death duel between gladiators who deployed their power in combat as physical strength, corporal resistance, skill in the handling of weapons, cunning, and intelligence used to attack and defend in the most effective manner possible⁸. Their power was, however, a delegated power—a vicarious power—that could only be put on display because it was authorized by the imperial power, incarnate in the emperor, who retained the prerogative to decide on the life or death of the defeated gladiator and every one of his remaining subjects. The imperial power also determined the rules that governed the duel between gladiators, the behavior of audiences, and an architecture designed for such duels, the centerpiece of which was the arena. That is to say, the duel between gladiators, even being to the death, was regulated and as clearly outlined as the arena or ring by the closed figures of the circle or the ellipsis.

This exercise of strictly regulated violence by delegation has been bequeathed to the bullring, where what is at issue is the power of the bull—the only untamed agent involved in the duel—as it is subjected to *picadores*, *banderilleros*, and the bullfighter himself, who together waste the bull's strength until the bullfighter is able to deliver the last mortal thrust. It has been bequeathed as well to the cockfight, in which, as with dogfights, the dueling animals face each other on equal footing in some sense, even if there are differences in terms of vigor, training, and combat experience, or even a prosthetic advantage which may be affixed to the cockspurs.

Evidently, the vicarious character of this display of violence—allowed and controlled as far as is possible by men—is preserved, but there are no further stops on the power of the fighter beyond that inflicted by the attacks of the opponent. In fact, the ferocity of a cockfight demonstrates the extent to which the relationship between power and its proxy is not unidirectional or merely passive. The rooster deploys its power with such intensity that it

seems limitless, like the power of the emperor. In this case, the position of delegated power must not be confused with submission or unrestricted obedience.

Combat has another price. And not because there is no duel to the death or because its scale is so different, but because the battle literally destroys the space it creates. In battle there is no place for the geometric ordering that so decisively characterizes dueling spaces; combat in fact shatters the space. To begin with, the battlefield is never established beforehand and can be either a village or a city, a mountain as much as a valley, a plain or a delta, the bend in a large river or a desolate steppe; nor does it remain a battlefield indefinitely. Battles can last for months, like those of Verdun or Stalingrad⁹, but are ultimately won or lost, and when they are the field where they have been fought disappears as quickly as it appeared. All that remains is the mammoth damage wreaked. And even that will eventually be erased.

This lack of regularity and impermanence, the invariably unexpected irruption of the battlefield, have given rise to efforts to discover or establish the laws of war and to subject the always perilous course of battles to them. To these theoretical efforts can be added those of the armies that attempted to introduce Euclidean geometry to the battlefield by arraying themselves in geometric fashion. Take the Roman legions, who entered the battlefield under strictly geometric combat formation that they labored to maintain to the end of the battle, persuaded as they were that this order was their most powerful weapon¹⁰. Or the absolutist armies of the European Enlightenment, who deployed their meticulous rows of troops on the battlefield, accepting the enormous cost in casualties that maintaining that combat formation under the devastating fire of enemy artillery supposed¹¹.

This kind of attempt to geometrize the battlefields no longer takes place in modern wars and less in postmodern or fourth generation wars¹². The impressive increase in the firepower of the weapons, together with the refinement and diversification of warplanes and means of enemy observation and detection, affected the arrangement of armies in the battlefield so deeply that in modern times it is no longer planned by the logic of a visibly ordered display of power, but that of camouflage. The tactic of warriors is no longer to stand tall and defiant, as the gladiator did in the center of the circus arena, but, on the contrary, to conceal himself, hide, and blend in with the natural surroundings of the battlefield.

The relationship between camouflage and the fracturing of geometry was anticipated and promoted by Pablo Picasso, if we follow Bertold Brecht who noted in his diary that the inventors of camouflage in France during World War I¹³ heeded the painter's advice, who urged them to subvert Euclidean geometry and its effects in the fields of figurative representation and ordinary perception. Picasso's Cubism had already discarded the figure/ground opposition inherited from the Renaissance and geometrically articulated by perspective¹⁴. He had taken apart the unity and integrity of the figures, the better to intertwine and confuse them with the background. In military applications, camouflage performs the same cancellation of the figure/ground opposition and the same deconstruction of the usual figures of the troops and their weapons, allowing them to blend in or be confused with the natural features of the land where they are deployed. The ultimate camouflage, then, is to mask the war or hide its existence.

Given this context, it is not surprising that Picasso's *Guernica* can be seen as a highly appropriate representation of the modern battlefield. Certainly, it refers us to its theme: the bombing of Guernica, in Euskadi, by the Luftwaffe, Nazi Germany's air force. But the painting goes beyond that explicit motif and exposes the deranged spatial structure of the modern battlefield: the impossibility of reducing its heterogeneity to the terms of representation governed by the unity and homogeneity characteristic of Cartesian space. If Picasso's *Guernica* achieves an appropriate representation of the battlefield, it is because it is a county of dissimilar spaces inhabited by disjointed figures that also manages to capture the absence of discrimination between battle and massacre, soldiers and civilians, that air bombing introduces.

The battlefield has become n-dimensional as a product of the decisive intervention of satellites, planes, missiles, and computers that process in real time information about the battle, or the use of airborne troops, whose interventions many miles from the battlefield may force the adversary to abandon it and retreat. The extraordinary importance that information and propaganda have taken on in war contribute as well, taking warfare literally into homes, in the form of direct televised transmission of combat, as happened with the Vietnam War, the first Gulf War, and the attack on the Twin Towers.

The war waged in Colombia for so many years did not avoid the evolution of modern warfare and the growing impossibility of distinguishing the battlefield from what, in principle, lies outside of it. It could even be said that large tracts of the Colombian countryside—especially the plains, jungles, moors, and rivers—have been battlefields at some point, and that peasant farmers have been more affected by the cruelty of combat than the combatants, as proven by the millions of farmers and villagers forced by the war to abandon their lands and homes¹⁵.

However, the experience of the big city folk was different. With the exception of certain violent events—such as the M-19's storming of the Palace of Justice, the equally bloody bomb at the DAS headquarters, and the terrorist attack at Club El Nogal, all three in Bogotá—the relationship of citizens to the prolonged war waged in the Colombian countryside was usually one that, in addition to being biased by the political slant of the media, was a distant, cold, telematic relationship.

It is this relationship that Clemencia Echeverri attempts to subvert with the unique spacial setup of *Exhausto aún puede pelear*. She does this first through the raw violence of the cockfight, exacerbated by the aggressive treatment of the images, which shock the spectator to the point that he feels completely immersed in this cockfight, this duel to the death; and second, through that same spatial device that nullifies the inside/outside opposition that normally articulates our experience of space. The most destabilizing spatial effect that this work produces is the uncertainty, the uneasiness of not knowing if you are inside or outside. Upon entering, one immediately feels outside because the shocking images of the cockfight transformed the video installation into a cockpit and its counterpoint: the dueling space for a game of "pico y monto."

The unsettling sense of being simultaneously inside and outside is furthered by the soundtrack, the disturbing sound of cockspurs tearing at the air, which, being itself a spatial thing, aggressively invades other spaces, subjugating them, altering them, adding, or intensifying their violent connotations.

Exhausto aún puede pelear works as an allegory, a scale model of the spatial conflicts that have characterized the Colombian civil war, which as much as anything has been a struggle for the possession of land. The war originated in a ruthless and frequently deadly struggle to keep or lose the virgin lands that were opened to the economy over half a century through

processes of colonization involving landless peasants who wanted to stake a claim. They were forced to resist or suffer the often violent attempts to expel them from the land they had managed to possess. The latter stages of this struggle included systematic aerial bombardments with glyphosate, under pretext of combat, directed at the illicit coca crops that allowed many of those settlers scrape by¹⁶.

In this and other video installations, Clemencia Echeverri offers the experience of getting involved—suffering, if you will—through that scale model to an urban public, for which the war was as alien as the information about it broadcast by the media, so remote that it seemed to arrive from another country, one for which it seemed appropriate to use the euphemisms mentioned at the start, which the media made intensive use of in order to hide the ruthless and murky reality of the war.

Earlier I said that Clemencia used her work to interrogate the relationship between war and the two meanings of *duelo*: mourning and dueling. We have just analyzed violent confrontation. Now it is time to analyze grief and mourning, an exploration that achieves remarkable expression in *Treno*¹⁷, a video installation from 2007 in which the grieving is as much over the loss of a loved one as over impotence and the loss of all hope. The artist has stated that that the work is the result of a phone call she received from a peasant woman, informing her that some men, possibly paramilitaries, had arrived at midnight and taken her son away. "In the conversation, I felt the voice to be dry in the air, a harsh, arid echo. A complaint with no response ... That voice remained ... on my eardrum, here on this shore¹⁸"

Sol Astrid Giraldo notes that the river, whose powerful imagery plays a central role in this work, does not have a documentary purpose nor is its importance merely anecdotal. Its presence the result of the artist's intention "to explore through images and sound a very concrete sensation¹⁹." As Echeverri explains it, "What this woman brought to me when she told me that story was the quality of distance. She revealed to me the situation of impotence we were experiencing in the country, of not being able to solve or help someone with a problem. She asked me for help, but I had no way to help her. In saying so, I speak to the country's condition. How is it possible that we have no recourse? That there is nowhere to go to ask someone to set things right? What does that even mean? Then the place with two shores was revealed to me, like a 'you are there and I am here.' And the river was revealed to

me. It wasn't there initially. This revelation had nothing to do with the river. Later, when I went to Cauca to shoot, I became aware that the river is the address of the disappeared²⁰."

The image of the untamed, overwhelming river, multiplied and enhanced by the four large screens of this installation, is transformed into an impressive metaphor of the apparent or truly insurmountable gap that separates the majorities of urban Colombia—residents of Bogotá and other large cities—from the peasantry for whom war was an ominous daily reality. The names of the disappeared shouted from one shore by local farmers and preserved in the audio of this work evoke the howls of pain and despair, the cries for help, issued by the victims of war, unheard by those who live across the gap, regarding the conflict from a distance. What is worse, the other face of impotence may take on the shape of indifference, in Echeverri's experience. Or there may be resistance to discover what is really going on as a bid to avoid pain or obligation. The Cauca River is also the river of the disappeared, one of the perverse basins chosen by the paramilitaries dispose of the corpses of those they judged to be guerrillas or their accomplices. The artist refers to this sinister practice by showing the mourners fishing clothes out of the waters brought by the river, clothes that may have belonged to the disappeared.

Clemencia Echeverri has offered other readings of the theme of the disappeared in terms of phantology or spectrology²¹, which connects to a popular belief in apparitions and ghosts. Among these works, I would point first to the video installation *Supervivencias* from 2013. It portrays a country house in the traditional style of Viejo Caldas. The house appears deserted, its silhouette blurred by the mists that frequent the mountain where it is emplaced. Various reasons could account for its abandonment, but the artist's treatment of the subject moves us to consider that war, once again, is the explanation. The camera passes through the exterior corridors, interior corridors, rounds corners, enters rooms, climbs stairs ... and the lens encounters no one until the audio is invaded by the increasingly vehement sound of ominous male footsteps, which end up invading the home, silencing everything else. The figure that appears is paradoxically an apparition, one who disappeared into the shadows of death and has returned to again threaten the living. The chilling effect produced by the installation evokes the feeling produced by armed fighters among defenseless peasants.

The other work that makes a theme of the figure of the ghost is *Nóctulo* from 2015. Its protagonists are again the apparitions, ghostly voices that emerge from the large black cube that was set up in the middle of the gallery space at NC Arte in Bogotá, formed by four screens that received the projections of fleeting human silhouettes, as phantasmagorical as the truncated phrases that seemed to emerge from the throat, evidently belonging to victims of the conflict more than to the ruthless victimizers. The funereal, post-mortem character of the scene was reinforced by the squeals of bats mingling with the ghostly voices. They were the voices of the disappeared—(re)appeared, as in Juan Rulfo's exceptional novel *Pedro Páramo*. Only that Clemencia Echeverri has chosen a positive interpretation, against the negative connotations the Judeo-Christian tradition's assigns to the bat.

Soledad Astrid Giraldo has stressed the difference in these terms: "In *Nóctulo*, Echeverri goes against the grain of those associations with death and evil that the bat has carried in Western culture. For the artist, the most important thing is rather the regenerative, reconstructive, revitalizing capacity of this animal and its way of working in silence²²." In support of her interpretation, she offers these remarks by Echeverri herself: "The night is the bat's ally in flight, in eating, and in sowing. It flies through areas it has mapped, where it establishes cultivation corridors. Silently, it participates in the conservation of natural equilibrium. It rebuilds and propagates plant life in an orderly manner and uses sound to orient itself. Behind what we hear, what we perhaps do not even see or know, there is slow, daily, persistent work that contributes to ecological sustainability²³."

This positive valuation sits within an American Indian tradition that has a history or at least a certain relationship with China. In that country's tradition, the bat is associated with happiness and profit. In Chinese, the suffix "fu" means both happiness and bat²⁴. And among many of the first peoples of North America, this flying mammal is associated with dreams, intuition and the glimpsing of the hidden or impenetrable. The Yanomami consider them envoys of the shadow world inhabited by the dead, holding the power to return them even to life²⁵, which is in a way what happens in *Nóctulo*: the return from the shadow realm, from the perpetual uncertainty of the victims of forced disappearance. They return, although as disembodied voices and inaudible bodies.

In conclusion, we return to *duelo* as duel to the death and inquire about its festive dimension, the enjoyment it invokes and satisfies. Clemencia Echeverri does not address this issue directly, but it somehow breaks into her work when, as part of a project presented to the National University of Colombia in 1999, titled *Nature of the violent: structure, image*, she proposes a trip through the country to record parties and popular rituals²⁶. The project was never completed, but it gave rise to *Juegos de herencia*²⁷, a work that builds from the Fiesta del Gallo, a particularly cruel rite that takes place on the Pacific coast. It involves burying a rooster, leaving the head unburied so that men armed with machetes and blindfolded may locate and sever it. Here there is no duel in the strict sense of the term, but rather a competition over the pleasure of cutting off the rooster's head, overcoming the handicap of blindfolded eyes. But the question of enjoyment, of Lacanian *jouissance* if you will²⁸, is obviously central to this particular rite and concerns not only the cockfights or the bullfights, but war itself and the pleasure of witnessing or even participating in acts of extreme violence.

The first person in Colombia to investigate this relationship was the poet Jorge Gaitán, who wrote and published an essay in the first issue of the magazine he edited—*Mito*—called "Contemporary Sade." In this piece, he openly argued for the revindication of the yet-damned writer and issues an invitation to use his celebration of perverse enjoyment as a way of approaching the intelligence of the atrocities committed during La Violencia²⁹, a historical period that began with the murder of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán (1948) and ended with the first presidential elections held within the agreements of the National Front (1958). It is not surprising, then, that the publisher of the magazine that Gaitán edited published alongside the synthetic title of Sade the essay *Must We Burn Sade?* by Simone de Beauvoir. Neither is it coincidence that in issues 15 and 17 the magazine published "Story of a peasant marriage" in two installments, a reconstruction by Hernando Salamanca Alba of the case of a farmer who sealed his wife's vagina with a padlock.

The international antecedent dates from before the interwar period and is registered in the correspondence between Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud about the reasons for the war and how to conjure them²⁹. Both thinkers were concerned by the fact that so many people accepted the war, were even enthusiastic about it. In the course of this exchange, Freud refers to his discovery of the two basic drives that govern psychic life: Eros and Thanatos, the life

drive and the death drive, whose interplay would explain why we feel pleasure with aggression and dismemberment.

Estanislao Zuleta asked the same question more recently in relation to the war in Colombia, and his response deserves to be cited at length:

"Various types of pacifism speak abundantly of the pain, the misfortune, and the tragedies of war—and this is all very well, although nobody ignores these—but they usually keep silent about that other aspect that is so unconfessable and so decisive: the happiness of war. Because should we want to avoid for mankind the fate of war, we must begin by confessing, serenely and severely, the truth: war is a festival. Festival of the community at last united by the strongest of bonds, of the individual at last dissolved in it and freed from his solitude, his particularity and his interests, able to give his all, even his life. Festival to be able to measure oneself without shadows and without doubts against the wicked enemy, to foolishly believe oneself to be on the side of the right, and to believe even more foolishly that we can render testimony to the truth with our blood.

"If this is not taken into account, most wars seem extravagantly irrational, because everyone understands ahead of time the lack of proportion between the value of what is pursued and the value of what we are willing to sacrifice. When Hamlet reproaches himself for his indecision with regards to the seemingly clear enterprise before him, he remarks: 'While, to my shame, I see the imminent death of twenty thousand men that, for a fantasy and trick of fame, go to their graves like beds, fight for a plot whereon the numbers cannot try the cause, which is not tomb enough and continent to hide the slain.' Who can ignore that this is often the case? It must be said that great and solemn words—honor, homeland, principles—almost always serve to rationalize the desire to surrender to that collective drunkenness³⁰."

The party is over. The sadistic pleasure produced by the tearing of the flesh and the shedding of blood—and by the exaltation of the self driven by the unbridled exercise of power over life and death that goes beyond the scope of the simple fulfilment of orders received from a higher authority—has come to an end. The victims of ruthless murders and killings will not come back to life and may not even be remembered nor their relatives repaired as they ought to be. For victimizers, it is the hour for guilt, remorse, and exculpatory confessions, even for repentance and for asking forgiveness. It is the hour that Clemencia Echeverri refers to in her work *Versión*

*libre*³¹, in which former combatants—paramilitaries and guerrillas, clad anonymously in black uniforms and a balaclava that barely allows to us see their eyes and only half of their mouths—render testimony to the camera of their participation in a war that was denied its proper vocabulary and during which were committed atrocities and massacres that many would prefer to forget forever.

Notes

1. In writing this essay, I have reviewed Clemencia Echeverri's works as they appear on her website:

<http://www.clemenciaecheverri.com/clem/index.php/proyectos>.

I have also referred to the works Sol Astrid Jaramillo Giraldo analyzes and comments on at length in her monograph dedicated to the artist, *La imagen ardiente*.

2. I have consulted the information on the work *Exhausto aún puede pelear* at

<http://clemenciaecheverri.com/clem/index.php/proyectos/exhausto> — an in situ project. Four projections on curved screens that form two circles in the space. Video proportions: 4.3. Two modes of exhibition: A. Video installation and B. Flat screen. Duration: 13 minutes. Sound: 5.1. Year: 2000.

3. In the first chapter of Book I of his work *On War*, von Clausewitz offers a definition. "We shall not enter into any of the abstruse definitions of war used by publicists. We shall keep to the element of the thing itself, to a duel. War is nothing but a duel on an extensive scale. If we would conceive as a unit the countless number of duels which make up a war, we shall do so best by supposing to ourselves two wrestlers. Each strives by physical force to compel the other to submit to his will: his first object is to throw his adversary, and thus to render him incapable of further resistance." Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, p. 6.

<http://clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/TOC.htm>

4. Quoted by Sol Astrid Giraldo Escobar in *La imagen ardiente: Clemencia Echeverri*.

Bogotá, Ministry of Culture, Republic of Colombia, p. 116.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

6. See Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: Ideology of Gallery Space* (expanded edition). Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

7. I have argued the distinction between places of dueling and battlefields in the essay "Clemencia Echeverri y el conflicto de los espacios:"

[http://www.clemenciaecheverri.com/estudio/archivos/textos/articulos/exhaustos/.](http://www.clemenciaecheverri.com/estudio/archivos/textos/articulos/exhaustos/)

8. See Roland Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games*. Barcelona, Orbis, 1985, and Alfonso Mañas, *Gladiadores: El gran espectáculo de Roma*, Barcelona, Ariel, 2011.

9. The battle of Verdun was the longest of World War I and the second bloodiest, after the battle of the Somme. In it, the French and German armies clashed from February 21 to December 19, 1916, near and around Verdun, in northeastern France. The result was a quarter of a million deaths and around half a million wounded on both sides.

https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batalla_de_Verdun.

The battle of Stalingrad pitted the armies of the Soviet Union against those of Germany and its allies from August 23, 1942 to February 2, 1943. With casualties estimated at over two million people between soldiers of both sides and Soviet civilians, it is considered the bloodiest battle in the history of mankind.

https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batalla_de_Stalingrado.

10. Julio Rodríguez González, *Historia de las legiones romanas*, Madrid, Almena Ediciones, 2006.

11. "War in the 18th Century was a bloody business. A line of infantry would slowly march to the beat of a drum into a hail of enemy fire. Whole ranks would be wiped out by cannon fire and musketry." Christian Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason*, New York, Routledge, 1987, p. 269; *The Art of War of Revolutionary France 1789-1802*, Greenhill Books/Lionel Lovental, 1998.

12. "Postmodern War. 1) Group of theorists talking about 'postmodern war' or something like it include: Chris Gray, Jean Baudrillard, Paul Virilio and Michael Ignatieff. Term means different things to different people, but these seems [sic] to be important qualities: Lack of distinction between military and civilians. Importance of information as sinew of war. Media saturation – war as spectacle. Confusion of the real and the virtual. Sense of absurdity. Originated somewhere between WWII and

Vietnam." https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/anthropology/21a-217-anthropology-of-war-and-peace-fall-2004/lecture-notes/AfterVietnam_PostmodernWar.pdf; Christopher

Coker, "The Collision of Modern and Post-Modern War," *The Oxford Handbook of War*, Yves Boyer and Julian Linley-French (eds.). Online publication date: Sept. 2012.

13. Bertold Brecht, in his *Arbeitsjournal*—his work journals—writes the following entry under 12.6.40: "According to Cocteau, the idea of camouflaging the tanks came from Picasso, who would have suggested it to a French war minister before the world war, as a way of making the soldiers invisible." Quoted by Georges Didi-Huberman in *Images in Spite of All*.

https://www.google.es/search?q=Brecht+sobre+Picasso&rlz=1C1GGRV_enMA766MA766&oq=Brecht+sobre+Picasso&ags=chrome..69i57.17561j1j4&sourceid=ch.

14. "... from Descartes to Kant, philosophy has schematized an 'epistemic' space that defines the possibilities of knowledge of the outside world, either by affirming the extensionality of a space whose dimensions can be geometrically dimensioned, or already as a necessary and a priori condition of the perception of things, which relativizes their positions according to the point of view of the observer." Adryan Fabrizio Pineda R, *La producción del espacio en la época clásica*, Bogotá, Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2008, p. 11. And Erwin Panofsky on precise perspective: "If we want to guarantee the construction of a totally rational—that is, infinite, constant and homogeneous—space, the 'central perspective' presupposes two fundamental hypotheses: first, that we gaze with a single, immobile eye, and second, that an intersected plane of the visual pyramid must be considered an adequate reproduction of our visual image." Erwin Panofsky, *La perspectiva como "forma simbólica"*, Barcelona, Tusquets, 1992.

15. Report on internal displacement in Colombia: <https://www.acnur.org/es/datos-basicos.html>.

16. "The drive to possess land along with the new contents and functions of the violence unleashed the recent process of expropriation of property rights, and with it, the consolidation of the inequitable structure of rural property." Report on Human Development in Colombia 2011, Chapter 8, Violence and the persistence of rural social order.

http://www.undp.org/content/dam/colombia/docs/DesarrolloHumano/undp-co-ic_indh2011-parte3-2011.pdf.

17. See <http://www.clemenciaecheverri.com/clem/index.php/proyectos/treno>.

18. Sara Astrid Giraldo, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 78-79.

20. See Jacques Derrida. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, Madrid, Trotta, 2012; Mark Fisher, *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures*, Madrid, Caja Negra, 2018.

21. Sol Astrid Giraldo, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

23. See "El murciélago, símbolo de la buena suerte en China."

<http://espanol.cri.cn/1/2003/12/08/1@1084.htm>.

24. See Jacques Lizot. *Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua Yanomami*, Puerto Ayacucho, Venezuela, Vicariato Apostólico, 2004.

25. Sol Astrid Giraldo, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

26. <http://clemenciaecheverri.com/clem/index.php/proyectos/juego-de-herencias>

27. "... the notion of enjoyment that Lacan assembles, in addition to the notion of the satisfaction of the drive in general, the more specific notion of the death drive that Freud introduces in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* in 1920. From this work on, Freud refuses to explain human behavior according to the pleasure principle and discovers that subjects somehow 'want' to suffer, unconsciously satisfying themselves in the suffering that their symptoms, their nightmares, their traumas afford them."

Francisco Conde Soto, "Cuerpo y feminidad: 'Goce Otro' de Jacques Lacan y 'Devenir-mujer' en Deleuze y Guattari."

http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0101-31732016000400085.

28. In an article regarding the investigations of Orlando Fals Borda, Monseñor Guzmán, and Eduardo Umaña Luna as published in the book *La violencia en Colombia: Estudio de un proceso social* (Tercer Mundo, 1962), Alberto Valencia remarks: "Chapter IX set a precedent for later studies of La Violencia, due to its detailed descriptions of the multiple forms of killing that were practiced in that period: to chop for tamale, to *bocachiquiar*, to leave not even the seed, the flannel

cut, the tie cut, the 'corte de mica,' the French cut, the ear cut, forms of dismemberment, possible anthropophagy practices, impalement, sexual crimes, pyromania, genocides, among many others. (...) the detailed journey through this type of practices allows several fundamental questions to be posed that the literature so far has not been able to answer: Why do peasants kill each other the way that they do? How is it possible to account for the excesses of brutality and horror that are associated with bipartisan confrontations?" Alberto Valencia Gutiérrez, *"La violencia en Colombia, de M. Guzmán, O. Fals y E. Umaña, y las transgresiones al Frente Nacional."* [file:///C:/Users/AzComputer/Downloads/37195-161020-1-PB%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/AzComputer/Downloads/37195-161020-1-PB%20(1).pdf).

29. The correspondence between Einstein and Freud regarding the war took place in 1932 and was first published by the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation in 1933.

https://resistenciacolombia.org/pdf/Correspondencia_Sigmund_FREUD_Albert_EINSTEIN.pdf.

30. <http://www.elsalmon.co/2016/06/solo-un-pueblo-esceptico-sobre-la.html>.

31. <https://vimeo.com/94465393> (free viewing).