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Indigenous Video and Social Justice in Colombia

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‘Reconciliation en minga:
Indigenous Video and Social Justice in Colombia’

No habrá paz para los indígenas si no hay paz para Colombia,
no habrá paz para los colombianos y colombianas
si no hay paz para los pueblos indígenas.

There will be no peace for Indigenous people
without peace for Colombia.

There will be no peace for Colombian men and women
without peace for Indigenous people.¹

The Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación (National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation) (CNRR) in Colombia, was the state body tasked with overseeing the dismantling of paramilitary and guerrilla forces, supervising reparation mechanisms for victims of the armed conflict, and producing public reports – an official narrative – on the emergence and actions of the illegal armed groups. The arduous task of historicizing the conflict from 1964-2005 was entrusted to the Grupo memoria histórica, a sub-branch of the now-dissolved CNRR, created as part of the controversial Ley de Justicia y Paz (Justice and Peace Law) for a mandate of six years (2005-2011). While the CNRR was certainly not the first commission to investigate the conflict in Colombia,² the 2000s have witnessed an increase in public debate on memories of violence from diverse perspectives, which some have termed a ‘boom de la memoria’ (‘memory boom’).³ The public dissemination of reports produced by the Grupo memoria histórica on emblematic chapters of the conflict, the broadcast of *Nunca más* (a television series on the conflict), the annual celebration of ‘la Semana por la Memoria’ (‘Memory Week’) across the country (since 2008), and the inauguration of state-sponsored memory museums in both Bogotá (Centro de Memoria, Paz y Reconciliación) and Medellín (Museo Casa de la Memoria), render this

conjunction particularly germane to the analysis of cultural production regarding historical memory and social justice.

This article explores how Colombian Indigenous video, as an oppositional sphere of cultural production, intervenes in these debates, creating and disseminating productions that express a broader discourse of reconciliation than that articulated in the state's version of transitional justice. In 2002, the government of Uribe Vélez began to negotiate and implement the collective demobilization of the paramilitary organisation Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (the United Defence Forces of Colombia) (AUC), culminating in the Congress's approval of the Ley de Justicia y Paz in June 2005. This project was questioned by national (MOVICE) and international (Amnesty; United Nations) human rights and victims' organisations at the time, but nonetheless established the judicial framework for demobilization, offering reduced sentences in exchange for telling the truth about some of the most atrocious crimes.⁴ Yet for its harshest detractors, the Ley de Justicia y Paz could be said to ventriloquise international vocabularies of peace and reconciliation without evidencing real commitment to the victims' demands for justice. The negotiations, and the widely-disseminated TV footage of the mass surrender of arms, provided a smokescreen for the reconfiguration of 'new' paramilitary blocs and the deepening of resource and land-driven conflict in the Colombian countryside.⁵ Thus, the simulacrum of peacetime was conjured, with the significant particularity that episodes of violence among the diverse armed actors continue to this day. As María Victoria Uribe notes, 'Colombia's unique circumstances not only complicate such issues as the specification of heinous crimes, reparations or victims, and reconciliation, but also pose new challenges for the construction of truth and memory, key instruments in transitional justice processes'.⁶

Truth and memory are central to the concerns of the collectives analysed here, the Tejido de Comunicación para la Verdad y la Vida (Communication Quilt for Truth and Life)

and Cineminga, both largely (but not exclusively) Nasa-oriented organisations operating in the southwest Andean region of the Cauca. These collectives, which emphatically place peace and dialogue at the centre of their work, present their videos at community screenings in video-foros, online, and at festivals alongside ritual ceremonies, workshops and panel discussions, wherein social justice is often framed in spiritual terms, as the restoration of balance to la Madre Tierra (Mother Earth). Examining the discourses employed in the productions and mobilised through their distribution, I argue that the collectives recodify reconciliation, focusing specifically on the symbolic recuperation of territory, and environmental and spiritual connections with the land. In particular, I highlight how the overarching demands of the heterogeneous Indigenous movement in Colombia are channelled through audiovisual production, and how these videos may be seen to unmask the contradictory peace-building strategy employed by the government.

Indigenous video

Like many identity-based categories of cultural production, such as women's film or LGBT cinema, Indigenous film and video is a slippery rubric to define, not least because of the myriad experiences and cultures enveloped in the term. A dynamic and evolving social practice, intersected by circuits of community, (limited) state, and international state and NGO patronage,⁷ this wide-ranging collection of political interests and aesthetic styles is generally known by the terms *cine indígena* (Indigenous film), *video indígena* (Indigenous video), or *audiovisual indígena* (Indigenous media).⁸ As Amalia Córdova and Juan Salazar remark, the different terms employed 'carry distinct social meanings', reflecting the particularities of the development of Indigenous self-representation in diverse contexts.⁹ Indeed, the validity of the aforementioned categories is often called into question by the communicators and stakeholders themselves, who sometimes resist the field's

ghettoization as a category separated from the mainstream in (national) film festivals and exhibition circuits, while celebrating it as an oppositional and alternative praxis.

How individual filmmakers and communities make use of video evidently depends on their personal and collective agendas, but this social practice is rarely viewed as an art form separated from other arenas of life and political struggle. As Córdova and Salazar argue:

Indigenous peoples take up audiovisual technologies of information and communication according to their own cultural logics. Thus, the structuration of Indigenous media as discursive practices must be contextualised in these broader and complex processes of cultural activism, including the new processes of ethnic resurgence sweeping the region.¹⁰

Colombian Indigenous video's close relationship to these 'processes of ethnic resurgence' dates from the 1970s, when the mobilisation of Indigenous communities around land claims coincided with the period of revolutionary and socially-oriented filmmaking distributed and networked under the banner of New Latin American Cinema. This movement, and its related ideologies of Third cinema, imperfect cinema and the aesthetics of hunger, would embrace the work of a number of directors, notably for this article the Colombian documentarian, Marta Rodríguez. Marta Rodríguez and her husband Jorge Silva became recognised for their brand of socially-committed filmmaking, and with their films *Planas: testimonio de un etnocidio* (1971) and *Nuestra voz de memoria, tierra y futuro* (1974-80), Rodríguez would embark on a lifelong commitment to documenting injustice and resistance among Indigenous communities [in Colombia](#).¹¹

The early adoption of media by the Colombian Indigenous movement, which formally emerged in the Cauca region with the creation of the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC) in 1971, certainly appears to have been influenced by the couple's close collaboration with the organisation on *Nuestra voz*.¹² In 1986, the CRIC would recognise the importance of media for the movement with the founding of a dedicated communications department.

During the 1990s, it produced videos with the Fundación Sol y Tierra, a cultural organization that was created following the peace accords made in 1991 between the Gaviria government and an Indigenous self-defence guerrilla, the Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame (MAQL).¹³ In 1992, the Bolivian Ivan Sanjinés, the tireless promoter of Indigenous film and video, travelled to the Cauca to co-direct the documentary *Memoria viva* with Marta Rodríguez (1992-1993), a harrowing account of the aftermath of the Nilo massacre, which left 20 people dead from the Huellas-Caloto community at the hands of paramilitary/state forces.¹⁴ In addition to the experiences of Marta Rodríguez, Jorge Silva, and Iván Sanjinés in the region, the Caucan resguardos, or reserves, were well practised in the art of Indigenous radio.¹⁵ This would eventually lead to the establishment of the Escuela de Comunicación del Norte del Cauca in 1999, which provided training in producing radio, video, photography and press materials for the communications teams of local authorities until 2002, and of which the ACIN's Tejido de Comunicación (analysed below) is a direct heir.¹⁶

Since Rodríguez and Silva's early work in the Cauca, however, Indigenous media in Latin America, as in other regions of the world, have experienced significant growth as information and communication technologies (ICTs) have become more accessible and the push for self-representation and determination has gained in momentum. The format of video in particular has dramatically impacted levels of participation among Indigenous communities, first with analogue video and later (and more significantly) in its digital form. Cheaper than its celluloid 35mm and 16mm forebears, video is lighter, more transportable, and for many offers a more visceral and direct experience of reality owing to the intimate relationship fostered between director and filmed subject. It also facilitates the editing process through portable computer software, permitting production in rural communities where before the editing of material was exclusively reserved for urban centres.

The CLACPI (Coordinadora [then Consejo] Latinoamericana de Cine y

Comunicación de Pueblos Indígenas), has accompanied this process, with its transition from celluloid to video, and remains to this day the umbrella organisation for Indigenous film and video in Latin America. Established in Mexico City in 1985 (Marta Rodríguez was among the founders), the organisation was propelled by sympathetic anthropologists, ethnographic filmmakers, and Indigenous activism across the region, creating a vehicle to galvanize the efforts of those spearheading the movement, and offer greater visibility to their work. While recent Latin American filmmaking tends to have moved away from the militant principles of its predecessors, it may be argued that Indigenous film and video ‘embody and enact a much more radical and sustainable model of such community-based media’.¹⁷ The experimental aesthetics characteristic of the vanguard productions of the 1960s and 1970s may not be readily discernible in much Indigenous video, but the innovative and socially-committed praxis of Indigenous video is no less than extraordinary.

Still, the perceived transition from filmed Indigenous subjects to Indigenous authors that the emergence of Indigenous (as opposed to indigenista) video as a field witnessed, as David Wood is careful to point out, ‘rests on a problematic elision of the practical, methodological, political and aesthetic collaboration between indigenous and mestizo film practitioners that has frequently marked audiovisual production in, with and about indigenous communities since at least the early 1970s’.¹⁸ Over the years the CLACPI has advocated greater Indigenous participation, ownership and authorship in film and videomaking, with its festival in Bolivia in 1996 marking a change in the dynamics of the organisation,¹⁹ but cooperation between Indigenous producers and mestizo sympathisers remains common and is not considered detrimental to the movement.²⁰ This reflects the organisation’s foregrounding of ethical and consensual modes of working, and Indigenous-oriented thematics and politics, considerations which are prioritized over directorial identification.²¹

Alongside the influence of political cinema from the 1960s and 1970s on the development of Indigenous video, the longstanding discourse of *comunicación para la paz* (media for peacebuilding) must be taken into account in the Colombian context. The co-existence of armed actors and civilian-led social movements has spawned a plethora of media projects that strive to combat fear in the community through cultural production. Clemencia Rodríguez's recent ethnography, *Citizens' Media Against Armed Conflict* (2011), provides an in-depth account of a number of grassroots organisations that contest violence through cultural initiatives and reclaim public space and discourse as a means to challenge the logic of war. Like the associations Rodríguez discusses, the collectives I analyse attempt to 'reconstruct symbolic universes that have been disrupted by violence'.²² Both the Tejido and Cineminga are collective enterprises that generate community discussions as to what should, and should not, be included in the videos, and how certain things should be represented. These groups enable a counter-hegemonic sphere in which divergent ideas can be shared and in which participation and dialogue is a key component of effective and respectful audiovisual production. What is distinctive here, however, is the way in which violence in the Indigenous movement's discourse is refracted through the interrelated spheres of neoliberal capitalism, free trade, and colonialism, a story which goes back far beyond the mid-twentieth century, but which is played out daily in the present conflict driven by the accumulation of wealth and land. In this scenario 'neoliberal politics and free trade are pivotal components of a contemporary framework of power that extends beyond economics to the spheres of knowledge, life, and nature'.²³

Historicizing the conflict

The contrasting historiographies that distinguish Indigenous and national narratives of violence crystallise some of the key differences between state and Indigenous approaches to

reconciliation. As the former CNRR president and esteemed historian Gonzalo Sánchez asserts, 'la temporalidad es la primera batalla de la memoria en Colombia' ('periodisation is the first battleground of memory in Colombia').²⁴ The Colombian armed conflict, with its entangled motives and multiple actors, runs a long and complex course. Predicated on the extreme violence of colonisation, the country suffered repeated civil unrest throughout the nineteenth century, articulated through the rival political aspirations of a centralised state (the *Conservadores*) or a federal state (the *Liberales*), and accentuated by extreme social stratification and unequal land tenure. However, it is the *Bogotazo*, an uprising provoked by the assassination of Liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948, which many regard as the detonator for the conflict Colombia now suffers. The bipartisan violence which ensued, taking the lives of some 200, 000 Colombians along the way, became known as *la Violencia* (1948-1964), and cemented the creation of self-defense communities that would later form the illegal armed organizations.²⁵ The country's first guerrilla groups surfaced in the mid-1960s, with the creation of the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército Popular* (FARC-EP), and the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN). The mutation of state-sponsored anti-insurgency groups into paramilitary troops, further fuelled the violence, bolstered by the rise of the drugs trade in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁶ In the mid-1990s, the paramilitaries became a nation-wide umbrella organization with the name *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (the United Defence Forces of Colombia) (AUC), coordinated by the notorious commander Carlos Castaño and responsible for some of the country's most atrocious massacres.²⁷

The situation in 2012 – involving guerrilla, paramilitaries, state forces, multinational corporations, drug mafias, and international entities (financial support from the US through Plan Colombia, for instance) – appears more complex than ever, with deep-seated social inequalities exacerbated by neoliberal capitalism. The Cauca constitutes one of the most hotly

disputed regions in Colombia, with Indigenous, Afro-Colombian and peasant civilians infiltrated by different armed groups and regularly caught in the crossfire.²⁸ Yet Joanne Rappaport observes that despite the region's devastating war, 'peaceful utopias, and not violence, are the central trope that comes across in indigenous political discourse'.²⁹ In contrast to the schema proposed by the violentólogos, who separated out the conflict into three distinct 'violencias' (that surrounding the Bogotazo and bipartisan violence; the rural violence that emerged with the rise of the guerrilla and paramilitary organization since the 1960s; and urban violence, associated with the cocaine boom and socio-economic deprivation in the cities), Indigenous analyses typically situate the recent waves of violence in the country within a long memory of injustice dating from colonialism.³⁰ The movement's focus on imagining alternatives, on building a future, constitutes a significant challenge to the politics of extermination that has traditionally refused Indigenous futurities. Indeed, as Catherine Walsh argues, 'the association of colonialism with the negation of future has long defined indigenous struggle in the Andean region – a struggle intimately tied to concerns of identity and territory or land, including the inextricable elements of knowledge and being'.³¹ The enclosing of contemporary violence and injustice within long-lasting grievances against colonialism and the state appears to be at odds with official reconciliation initiatives devoted to the recuperation of historical memory within a designated time frame; the issues such discussions raise, and the violent episodes they seek to repair, exceed the temporal boundaries established by the Commission.

In light of the CNRR's mandate to support victim claims, and reveal the 'truth' of the human rights abuses that have occurred, the Commission had a responsibility to honour the 1991 Constitution and respect the pluricultural fabric of the Colombian nation. The Poblaciones específicas ('Special Populations') department of the CNRR conducted pilot studies with Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities in different regions in order to

model a guide that could be used to develop reconciliation strategies with different ‘ethnic’ populations across the country. In the introduction to the guide, it states: ‘Verdad, justicia, reparación y reconciliación adquieren significados particulares en las diferentes poblaciones específicas. Indagar y asumir sus cosmovisiones es nuestra responsabilidad y una oportunidad de encontrar caminos para la reconciliación de Colombia’ (‘Truth, justice, reparation and reconciliation acquire specific meanings among the different specific populations. Understanding and accepting their cosmovisions is our responsibility and an opportunity to discover paths towards the reconciliation of Colombia’).³² The Indigenous groups who were consulted as part of this programme used the opportunity to foreground their understanding of reconciliation: ‘Más allá de lo judicial, la reconciliación es espiritual, más allá de reconciliarse con el victimario, es garantizar el respeto de los derechos y la autonomía de los pueblos y de la naturaleza’ (Beyond a judicial meaning, reconciliation is spiritual; beyond reconciling with the victimiser, it signifies the guarantee of and respect for Indigenous peoples rights and autonomy and of those of nature’).³³ Similarly, for the Indigenous videomakers examined here, any search for peace and justice is embedded in a broader quest for the recognition of difference, and the respect for ancestral rights and cosmological principles.

Reterritorialising Truth and Justice

In 2005, the Tejido de Comunicación para la Verdad y la Vida was created as a dedicated media division of the Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca (ACIN).³⁴ The Tejido has a horizontal structure that integrates radio, internet, the press and video into a consolidated communication strategy that supports the ACIN’s political goals.³⁵ With limited resources – collected from community activities and assemblies, DVD sales, sporadic funding from the state and international organisations and a significant proportion of labour

and resources donated in-kind – they produce a range of materials that have a dual orientation: towards local community consumption, through itinerant screenings, and towards the wider world, with their videos circulating through the internet, and occasionally at national and international film festivals.³⁶ The Tejido Video team performs a consensual form of videomaking; that is, they discuss the material and make decisions as a group, after discussing the different perspectives. They also generally fulfil different roles, although many members, such as, for example, Harold Secué and Mauricio Acosta, have particular areas of expertise (editor and director, respectively). In other words, the structure of the collective enables the diversification of skills, so that all the different media strands – video, radio, press materials, photography and internet – are covered.³⁷

Since its inception, the Tejido has produced numerous video-clips (viewable on their website) that record discrete episodes in the movement's mobilization and resistance in the area, denounce violence in the communities, or which accompany regional meetings and cabildo assemblies. The collective has also produced three longer documentary videos which present urgent records of territorial disruption and violence, while insisting upon the pacifist option as the future for a united Colombia. *Pa' poder que nos den tierra* (Power to Give us Land) (2005), *Somos alzados en bastones de mando* (Raised by Our Own Authority) (2006) and *País de los pueblos sin dueños* (Country of Peoples without Owners) (2009) – all officially attributed to Mauricio Acosta of the Tejido – could be termed a trilogy dramatizing territorial resistance and collective mobilization, documenting in the visual realm the communities' right to land. These productions at once articulate pointed critiques toward the government, armed actors, freetrade policies or multinational corporations, and frame these denunciations within a vision of reconciliation between all sectors of society that challenges the state's disregard for human rights under the doctrine of *Seguridad democrática* (Democratic Security).

Pa' poder que nos den tierra, documents a land repossession, the peaceful, yet principled, occupation of the Hacienda Japio, in the Caldono area of northern Cauca. In particular, it condemns the use of force employed by the special Anti-Disturbance police (ESMAD) in their attempts to 'negotiate' with the Indigenous protestors, causing the death of a sixteen-year old Nasa boy, Belisario Camayo Güetoto, in the process. The opening sequence of this twenty-minute documentary arrestingly opens with just the soundtrack, the disturbed voice of a woman, who speaks agitatedly and quickly: '¿Qué está pensando el Gobierno? ¿Qué está pensando el Gobernador del Cauca?' ('What on earth is the Government thinking? What's the Governor of Cauca thinking?') The sounds of distress eventually materialise, as a woman's enraged testimony discloses the human rights abuses committed by the state in the area. Her voice continues off-screen while white text on a black background informs the spectator that on 13 September 2005, the government agreed to compensate the community for the Nilo massacre which took place in 1991. The video then proceeds to inform the spectator that today, on the 23 November 2005, sixteen estates are in the process of being reclaimed by Indigenous communities in the area. This all takes place following the reparations agreement, during the months of September, October and November 2005.

The contrast between the call for peace and right to land voiced in the testimonies included in the video, and the violent methods employed by armed actors in the area to suppress the resistance, is made clear from the outset. An intertitle announcing the events of 10 November informs us of the death of Belisario Camayo Güetoto, which is then visually engraved onscreen when a composite image made from an ESMAD shield and baton is captured, evoking a cross (Figure 1). This image segues to a shot of a roughly cut wooden cross, equating the presence of state actors with the loss of life (Figure 2). Examples of repression in the form of teargas, grenades, and nail bombs

punctuate the documentary, and the video's shakiness resembles television reportage in war zones. The repeated cries and wailings, and the gunshots and helicopter noises that permeate the narrative, further index the extreme violation of rights in the Cauca region and the disruption that these military encounters engender among the civilian population. Since descriptions of encounters between Indigenous protestors and state forces in the dominant media are notoriously biased,³⁸ and often legitimize the violence as a necessary method in the state's battle to subdue the guerrilla, these videos become channels of 'counter-information', offering an alternative version of events. These video-activists, acutely aware of their (mis)labeling as sympathizers of the guerrilla, juxtapose footage taken from the dominant media's account of events with their own, emphasising the distortion of the Indigenous protestors' demands and grievances in televised news reports.³⁹

The combination of white intertitles on a black screen for historical context, on-location testimonies, footage borrowed from televisual reports, and shots of collective mobilization and resistance, is common to all the films in the Tejido trilogy. Audiovisual testimony acts out a politics of recognition, offering a symbolic recuperation of these marginalised voices where state-led mechanisms and mainstream media have drowned them out. In this context, where presence (testimony) and embodied practices (mingas, music, dance, scenes of customary law) are particularly prized in the Tejido's videos, it is noteworthy that the collective also grants relative importance to text within their narratives. Indeed, it has been argued that audiovisual media are better designed to communicate Indigenous realities as a form that 'largely bypasses literacy requirements'.⁴⁰ While reading subtitles may present issues in certain contexts, such screenings usually involve ad hoc translation to overcome any obstacles to communication.⁴¹ The text's function in the Tejido videos is often contextual, providing names, places and dates to frame the viewer's understanding of events. This format provides a neat, episodic structure to the footage that is

assembled in chapters, usually marked by dates or pronouncements in the development of the mobilization and repression, and has the effect of disclosing information in instalments to the spectators, forcing them to witness the events as they unfold on the screen. Further, the incorporation of activist communiqués into the videos explicitly locates the narratives within the movement's political discourse, making broader claims regarding the potential of societal transformation.⁴² Indeed, the Tejido members appear unanimous on the idea that video must be used critically to further the broader political aims of the movement.⁴³

Like the mass marches convoked by the Indigenous movement, the statements and manifestos incorporated into these videos contribute to their 'performance of peacebuilding'.⁴⁴ Clemencia Rodríguez puts forth the idea that 'Colombian citizens' media involve audiences in, and subject audiences to, the felt, embodied experience of peace'.⁴⁵ In País de los pueblos – the most substantial video of the trilogy and awarded the top national prize for a Colombian documentary by the Ministerio de Cultura in November 2011 – the opening three minutes of the film are framed through text, with excerpts borrowed from the pronouncement the ACIN made on the eve of the historic minga march on 12 October, 2008.⁴⁶ The text, interspersed with images of young members of the CRIC guardia indígena (Indigenous Guard) as they contemplate and polish their staffs, establishes a continuum between the violence of European colonization and what the ACIN militants name 'the neoliberal conquest': 'Hoy se cumplen 516 años de resistencia frente a una agresión ininterrumpida. La conquista neoliberal, más cruenta y tecnificada que la que comenzó con la llegada de Europa, avanza con su afán insaciable y codicioso de acumulación' (Today marks 516 years of resistance to an uninterrupted aggression. The neoliberal conquest, while more bloody and technologically advanced than the one the Europeans initially brought, advances with the same insatiable greed and frantic desire for accumulation').⁴⁷ This

statement illustrates the extent to which contemporary human rights abuses and violent episodes are seen as additional layers of an already long horizon of memories, which, Espinosa Arango argues, forge a moral connection between past and present.⁴⁸

The communiqué that opens *País de los pueblos*, and which bestows the whole video with a spirit of political change, employs a theatrical metaphor that calls for societal transformation: ‘No podemos seguir siendo espectadores, somos víctimas ahora, seamos libres por nuestros propios actos’ (We cannot continue to be spectators; we are victims right now, but let us free ourselves through our own actions’). The desire to move beyond the category of victim evinced here – related both to the armed conflict but also to the long-standing construction of Indigenous communities as places of despair in the dominant imaginary – propels a form of agency that refuses victimhood and precisely maps an alternative platform upon which dialogue and exchange may occur. Moreover, it urges the spectator to become an active participant in this process, in the same way that the communiqué originally called upon society to join the Indigenous movement in the minga. The separation between the directors of the video, the protagonists of the march, and the spectator is dissolved as everyone is being encouraged to participate in change. To return to Clemencia Rodríguez’s formulation, ‘citizens’ media trigger communication performances that encourage people to transform the way they go about their lives’.⁴⁹ This mechanism foregrounds hope as the means to enact transformation, and appears to refuse a dependency relationship vis-à-vis the state in order to implement such change. Images of singing, dancing and playing in the documentary further enhance the hopefulness of the video, demonstrating vitality at the heart of these communities despite harsh circumstances (Figure 3: communal shower/dancing feet).

According to a recent study on *justicia étnica colectiva* (collective ethnic justice; JEC) mechanisms in Colombia, the temporal projection of change is key in measures of redress:

Una diferencia adicional entre la JEC y la justicia transicional es que la primera no sólo mira hacia el pasado, sino también hacia el futuro. Esto es así porque busca transformar, en lugar de restaurar, las relaciones históricas entre grupos étnico-raciales.⁵⁰

An additional difference between collective ethnic justice and transitional justice is that the former not only looks towards the past, but also towards the future. This is because it seeks to transform, instead of restore, the historical relations between ethno-racial groups.

The *minga*, in its expanded understanding as a collective protest, may be considered a symbolic detonator for such transformation, an Andean practice that has become central to the political action of the Indigenous movement and its engagement with other sectors of society. The 2008 *Minga social y comunitaria*, one of the largest marches in recent years to involve non-Indigenous sectors of society, publicly affirmed a kind of embodied sovereignty, a vitality that stands in defiance of the annihilative practices the conflict and neoliberal extraction enact on Native territory. For this reason, it is perhaps not surprising that *mingas*, and other examples of collective gatherings such as the *Cumbre Nacional Itinerante* held in 2006 and mentioned in *Somos alzados*, feature commonly in Indigenous videos from the region. Similar scenes of protest featured in the 1992 video *Memoria viva*, co-authored by Marta Rodríguez and Ivan Sanjinés, with ‘the banners held up by the Indian marchers betray[ing] an acute awareness that the rights pronounced in the new constitution may well be little more than political tokenism’.⁵¹ Like the march featured in *Memoria viva*, a protest held during the quincentenary, the tactical scheduling of *minga* marches on October 12 constitutes a counter-memorial, a ‘ritual of resistance’ to the celebration of the ‘discovery’ of the Americas and a reminder of the continuous presence of the continent’s first peoples. Jelin

observes that ‘participating in public rituals of remembrance involves a performance of the feelings of belonging to the community and the reaffirmation of a collective identity’.⁵² The march, and its mediation through video, suggests that despite the complex tensions among branches of the Indigenous movement and hegemonic society, another Colombia is possible.

In País de los pueblos sin dueños, the 2008 Minga is characterized by ground level perspectives of feet marching, overhead shots of the multitude advancing along the Panamerican highway, and repeated images of the lorries and vans transporting large groups of people. Sequences are often accompanied by a soundtrack of rousing speeches and Andean music, with moments of music and dance within the march itself emphasizing the cultural resilience and continuity of Indigenous groups, testament to their enduring and evolving practices. Particular affiliations picked out from the mass – as for instance, the delegation from La María Piendamó resguardo – further highlight the unification of diverse communities of people in the march. These shots literally fill the screen with people who are acting in resistance as they march towards the centre of state power in the Plaza Bolívar in Bogotá, all the while critiquing the state for its treatment of marginalized communities (Figure 4). The repetition of the shots of the minga in the video magnifies the scale of resistance against the state, aided by the splicing together of different angle shots of the mobilization.

The performative use of black coffins and gravestones in the gatherings also serves as a powerful inscription of those who have been lost to the conflict. Head stones with the names of prominent Indigenous activists, such as the Nasa priest Father Alvaro Ulcué, who was assassinated in 1984, are captured on camera and resonate with the refrain of ‘¡Presente!’, as the names of the absent are called among the crowd (Figure 5). Massacres that have not been settled with the state, despite accords that have been signed, also appear engraved on headstones in the background – Masacre del Nilo 1991, Masacre del Naya 2001

– insisting on the course of justice in the minga campaign. Much like the testimony included in *Somos alzados en bastones de mando*, the deceased are invoked in the present, for the future: ‘mi pueblo cree que los muertos no quedan atrás sino que van adelante mostrando el camino’ (‘My people believes that the dead do not remain in the past but rather go ahead, showing the way’). In this way, the past is mobilised to create Indigenous (and Colombian) futures, pragmatically joining allegiances with other social movements, and articulating its discourse in opposition to a shared enemy, notably neoliberalism and the free trade agreement. In place of despair and victimhood, the *Tejido* videos propose agency and hope, movement, change, and dynamism, while nonetheless underlining the unfinished business of decolonisation. In particular, the environmental and spiritual repercussions of the conflict on Indigenous territory are jointly mobilized through the motif of Mother Earth.

Decolonising *Madre Tierra*

The recurrent motif of truth and justice is not only glimpsed in the films themselves and activist communiqués, but also in the staging of festivals, screenings and interviews that constitute the field of Indigenous video. The *Cumbre Continental de Comunicación Indígena del Abya Yala*, held in the Cauca in November 2010, employed the concept of truth and the word in its slogan: ‘Tejiendo la palabra que comunica verdad para la vida de nuestros pueblos’ (‘weaving the word that communicates truth for the life of our peoples’). The declaration delivered by the organizers during the event specifically located the participants’ presence in topographical and territorial terms: ‘cobijados en este territorio de convivencia, diálogo y negociación, bajo la guía de los espíritus de la Madre Tierra, Fuego, Agua y Viento....’ (‘sheltered in this territory of dialogue and negotiation, guided by the spirits of Mother Earth, Fire, Water and Wind...’).⁵³ Here the space of dialogue and negotiation refers

to the meeting's location: the highly politicized Misak resguardo of La María, Piendamó, locally denominated 'Territorio de Paz' since 1999. This resguardo has featured prominently in political protest marches along the Panamerican Highway for at least the past 10 years, and has also been the stage for official debates and dialogues with the government, notably one with former President Uribe during the Minga in 2008, as portrayed in *País de los pueblos*. In addition to the Cumbre held in 2010, other Indigenous film gatherings have emerged in the region, such as the annual Daupará Indigenous film festival (since 2009) and the Rodolfo Maya Festival of Cinema and Video (since 2011) named after an ACIN Nasa communicator who was selectively killed by paramilitary forces in the area. Daupará in particular, as a conglomeration of a number of entities invested in Indigenous media – Cineminga, Accionar and Pablo Mora of Zhigoneshi Communications – performs a key role in mediating with national publics in different regions of the country.⁵⁴ In addition, in September 2012, the eleventh edition of the Festival Internacional de Cine y Video de los Pueblos Indígenas, convened by the CLACPI, was hosted in Colombia, and included a community tour to the Cauca (also facilitated by Rosaura Villanueva of Cineminga and the II Festival Rodolfo Maya).

Indigenous film and video festivals in Colombia as a specific field are a relatively new phenomenon, although there has long been a circuit of itinerant exhibition, particularly in the Cauca. In Latin America in general, however, they go at least as far back as 1985, when the CLACPI was formed.⁵⁵ Since then, this umbrella association has consolidated its position as the principle training and distribution organization for Indigenous video, and is responsible for an international festival held biennially in cooperation with national Indigenous organizations of the host country. The festival rotates around different countries, and has been staged in Mexico (1985 and 2006), Brazil (1987), Venezuela (1990), Peru (1992), Bolivia (1996 and 2008), Guatemala (1999), Chile (2004), Ecuador (2010) and

recently in Colombia (2012). The next version of the festival, to be held in Wallmapu (Mapuche territory) across both Argentina and Chile in 2015, will commemorate thirty years of the organisation. The transnationality of many of these distribution routes is testament to the movement's strategic allegiances with other social movements and publics.

Festivals such as these provide spaces for further discussion of the themes explored in the films and videos and permit the video activists to meet with other mediamakers and exchange experiences. Many of these events incorporate ritual elements and harmonization ceremonies to inaugurate the events and commence each day's activities. Spectator-participants from varied cultures – diverse constituencies including Indigenous, mestizo and Afro-Colombian communities, as well as other Latin American and international participants (myself included) – are invited to join in libation ceremonies to the Earth, in order to maintain the balance required to ensure life continues.

In an interview conducted during the Native American Film and Video Festival at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York, 2011, the Nasa director Geodiel Chindicué, of the Cineminga collective, reiterated the role of territory in the Indigenous movement's quest to improve conditions:

Primero de todo estamos defendiendo el territorio, porque del territorio es que emana la vida. Si no tenemos territorio ya no podemos hablar de salud, de educación, no podemos hablar de la comida, no podemos hablar de política, ni nada. Entonces en primer lugar está la defensa del territorio, y todo lo que integre el territorio [...] La gente dice medio ambiente. Para nosotros no sería medio ambiente. Es un todo, es una relación comunada de la naturaleza para el bien de humanidad. Entonces, estamos luchando en defensa del territorio, para la liberación de la Madre Tierra por un proceso educativo, que realmente los niños aprendan desde los mayores de la cosmovisión.

We are first and foremost defending our territory, from which life emanates. We cannot talk about health, education, food or even politics without our territory. So

above all we are defending our territory, and everything it comprises. People call it the environment. For us it's not just the environment, but everything integrated, a communal relationship for the benefit of humanity. Therefore, we are fighting in defence of our territory, for the liberation of Mother Earth and for an educational process, so that [our] children may learn our worldview from their elders.⁵⁶

In all these events, at local, national and international levels – reaching different constituencies of people – the potency and relevance of the Madre tierra discourse comes to the fore. This discourse goes far beyond an environmentalist approach to the earth. Astrid Ulloa's study of the 'ecological native' in Colombia is instructive here, as she highlights how romanticized and nostalgic imaginaries of Indigenous people as intrinsically of the earth and feminine are in constant negotiation and tension with Indigenous discourses of Madre Tierra in its manifold incarnations.⁵⁷ In using the term Madre tierra as common currency for a brand of international environmentalism, there is an apparent neutralization of the particularity of Indigenous cosmologies. Catherine Walsh has termed this homogenisation 'the coloniality of Mother Nature' a trope which 'negates the millennial relationship among humans, plants, and animals, as well as the relationship between these living beings and the spiritual world, including that of the ancestors – understood as also living'.⁵⁸ This distortion, Walsh continues, "mythicizes" this connection and relationship. That is to say, it converts it into myth, legend, and folklore'.⁵⁹

Yet Madre Tierra is strategically employed by the Indigenous movement in order to reach inward towards the strengthening of the community, and outward to other sympathetic social movements. By articulating their demands through the prism of Mother Earth, these videomakers and cultural brokers are opening up a shared space for all citizens to engage with environmental (in)justice. The term constitutes a surrogate to denote varied cultural, environmentalist, and spiritual perspectives, but requires subtle handling to avoid divesting the notion of local significance. Increasingly, Indigenous media-

makers are confronting these prior stereotypes through their productions, employing the Mother Earth trope while successfully recognizing the spiritual, as evidenced in the recent docu-fiction *Ñanz*, by the Cineminga collective.⁶⁰

Unlike the ACIN, whose work is in the north of Cauca department, Cineminga has predominantly worked in the traditional heartland of Tierradentro, the spiritual home of the Nasa. Cineminga is a trinational organisation (Colombia/USA/Japan) co-founded by Carlos Gómez and Naomi Mizoguchi, with a board of directors based in New York, where the organisation has its main office. Since its inception, the collective has delivered digital media training in the Cauca and produced several community videos, and the collective has a dedicated branch of the organisation based in Colombia, headed up by Rosaura Villanueva.⁶¹ The Colombian project has produced three substantial videos to date, *Jiisa weçe: The Roots of Knowledge* (Cineminga collective, 2010), *Rober de Guachetá: The Work Goes On* (Cineminga collective, 2011) and *Ñanz (Grandfather Volcano)* (Carlos Gómez and Geodiel Chindicué, 2012). The first and last videos are largely presented in Nasa Yuwe, and in contrast to the ACIN videos, use virtually no text other than subtitles. Both of the narratives explored in *Jiisa weçe* and *Ñanz* constitute lessons in the importance of spirituality that are consonant with Rappaport's analysis of the local communities' attempts to recover ancestral knowledge and regain harmony through shamanism.⁶²

Ñanz, an inventive blend of documentary and fiction, charts the displacement of a Nasa community resulting from the renewed activity of the Nevado del Huila volcano, in February 2007. The volcano, a snow-capped mountain which overlooks the community, is a spiritual being, referred to in the film as the 'angry old man', and wreaks havoc when the balance of the interconnecting natural, social and spiritual realms is disrupted. This narrative is framed by images of the 1994 volcano and series of avalanches which devastated Tierradentro, took the lives of 1000 people and left thousands

more without a home. The 1994 disaster brought about a rethinking of spiritual practice among the Nasa, as the flooding resembled the birth scene of Cacique Juan Tama, the mythic hero of the Nasa.⁶³ Rappaport reports that this disaster was the inspiration for a spate of videos, many of which recycle the iconic images of the avalanche ripping through Native territory, its reiterative power constituting a mnemonic device.⁶⁴ In *Yu'up'hku* (The Waters Have Given Birth) (Daniel Piñacué, 1995) a video made by the Fundación Sol y Tierra, dreamtime and historical referents are interwoven to create a complex narrative around the subject of the 1994 avalanche and its cosmological interpretations.⁶⁵ As is made clear in *Ñanz* – which intertwines a fictional narrative revolving around the interpretation of a boy's dream with footage of the 1994 avalanche, the 2007 volcanic activity and sequences of community upheaval – natural disasters, the perpetuation of life, and cosmology are inseparable spheres.

An establishing shot of the volcano begins the film, and ushers in the opening dream sequence, in which we witness an old couple caring for a scorched earth and warning the boy protagonist (Neemías Chindicué) of what may lie ahead. The boy recounts his dream to his family the next morning, and at the recommendation of his father, seeks to comprehend the significance of his vision by consulting the *thê'wala*, the community shaman. Interspersed with this fictional narrative, the co-director Geodiel Chindicué's voiceover in *Nasa Yuwe* elucidates images of the community's displacement and the difficult conditions they have endured. In particular, the voiceover directs a pointed critique of both the neglect of the state following the natural disasters experienced in the area, suggesting that Indigenous and campesino lives are expendable, and illustrates the flagrant desecration of the environment both ecologically and spiritually, as we learn of the contamination of water sources by members of the armed groups, who patrol and violate Indigenous territories. By juxtaposing the fictional story of the boy's dream, which emerges as a warning against disrupting the balance of the Nasa lifeworld, and the documentary footage of avalanche and the

community's relocation owing to the renewed volcanic activity, Ñanz translates the significance of the Madre Tierra prism into terms understandable yet not commensurate for a non-Nasa audience. Thus, the armed conflict, long-standing injustices, and the territory's and community's well-being are eloquently intertwined.

The mobilisation of spiritual entities in the video recalls Marisol de la Cadena's interrogation of a new form of politics in the Andes: 'an insurgence of indigenous forces and practices with the capacity to significantly disrupt prevalent political formations, and reshuffle hegemonic antagonisms, first and foremost by rendering illegitimate (and, thus, denaturalizing) the exclusion of indigenous practices from nation-state institutions'.⁶⁶ While here de la Cadena is referring specifically to the presence of spiritual entities in the realm of political interventions such as protest marches,⁶⁷ the inclusion of 'other-than-human-beings' in film and video also performs a political message. For Chindicué, Indigenous video is a means of instruction, a tool that 'ayuda a reorientar' ('helps to reorientate') the community, communicating pressing issues to the Nasa regarding how to preserve culture and language.⁶⁸ The boy's dream in Ñanz ultimately predicts what will happen (natural disasters) if the delicate balance of the Nasa world is disrupted, incorporating prophecy, and shamanic knowledge (enacted by real-life thê'wala Pío Quinto Oteca), into the versatile aesthetics of Indigenous video for pedagogical purpose.⁶⁹

When considered side by side, both the Tejido and Cineminga, although drawing on different aesthetic approaches suited to their own particular purposes, develop audiovisual strategies to engage with local, national and international communities, converging in the importance they lend to liberating Mother Earth.⁷⁰ The Madre Tierra discourse at once recognizes the significance of territory to Indigenous communities and well-being and demonstrates the astute ability of the Indigenous Movement in Colombia to appreciate the potential of harnessing other social sectors around a common cause, most emblematically

represented in the scenes of the Minga in 2008. This likewise reflects Rappaport's suggestion that 'cosmovision has the potential to be harnessed to the broader national project of the construction of a new kind of plural society'.⁷¹ The recognition of coeval motives behind opposing the armed conflict and neoliberal development in Colombia is at once human and 'other-than-human', creating a strategic utopia from civil society where the heavily-burdened justice system is rarely able to fulfil reconciliation obligations to satisfaction.

Conclusion: Pluralising reconciliation?

The Indigenous movement's slogan and goal to liberar la Madre Tierra, visually enacted in many videos and staged in rituals, filmmaker discussions and interviews during festivals, populates statist discourse on the armed conflict – truth, justice, reparation, reconciliation – with an expanded sense of transformative politics. The video initiatives explored above, largely independent from yet influenced by the state's discourse of progress and peace-building in Colombia, offer visions of truth, justice and reconciliation that expand the meanings of the terms. Collective mobilisation around the Ley de Justicia y Paz, as with the Constitution of 1991 and the freetrade agreements in the area, appears to further consolidate Indigenous and Afro-Colombian assertions of difference, demarcating indigeneity as a conceptual and political terrain for societal transformation.⁷² In this sense, the state and civil society initiatives should not be regarded as entirely separate, for the former contributes to the efflorescence of the other. In Jelin's words, 'the unfolding of one policy sets the stage for the others'.⁷³

At the end of 2012, the armed conflict shows little sign of abating. The escalation of attacks against civilian populations in the southwest of the country is but the latest wave of violence that has mired the country for sixty years. In particular, the intensified dispute between the FARC and state forces has led to committed demands from Indigenous

communities and their sympathizers to expel all armed actors, including state ones, from their territories.⁷⁴ In this scenario, state presence does not guarantee the respect of Indigenous rights. Land disputes which have shaped the dynamics of the armed conflict since its inception, continue to form one of the focal points for legislation in relation to possible reparation mechanisms—as evidenced in the recently passed Ley de víctimas y reparación de tierras (1448, December 2011). Yet with the widespread distrust of the capabilities of the state to ensure protection or facilitate measures of redress, it remains unclear how the new Victims' Law will ensure that the restitution of land is a safe and long-lasting possibility.

The videos analysed here demonstrate how Indigenous communities in the Cauca, as in other regions of the country, have been forced to negotiate with armed actors who invade their territories. They present powerful articulations of a broader programme of reconciliation which attempts to broker dialogue with the heterogeneous Colombian population, building towards a 'país de los pueblos sin dueños', to borrow the ACIN's phrase. If we consider that these videos, both in their making and dissemination through local screenings and festival spaces, valorise community and cosmological practices to generate a sense of wellbeing and cohesion, we can begin to understand the sophistication of the collectives' harnessing of the media as a tool for internal strengthening. For those 'external' spectators, the works illustrate that the recuperation of, and respect for, land is necessary for the continuance of culture for Indigenous communities and by extension, for the halting of the armed conflict in Colombia. The reharmonisation rituals embedded in the festivals permit a diverse public to experience and witness a different relationship to the environment. The field of Colombian Indigenous filmmaking, then, as a vehicle, or perhaps more appropriately convoy of memory, creates a valuable intercultural space to recover the voice of those who remain at the margin of visibility and audibility regarding the conflict, all

the while reaffirming the right to radical difference as the foundation on which a peaceful Colombia may be formed.

Notes

¹ Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC) comunicué, issued 10 July 2011. <http://www.cric-colombia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=555:comunicado-a-la-opinion-publica-nacional-e-internacional>.

² There have been at least 11 commissions since 1958. See Jefferson Jaramillo Marín, 'Narrando el dolor y luchando contra el olvido en Colombia. Recuperación y trámite institucional de las heridas de la guerra', *Sociedad y Economía*, 19 (2010): 205-228.

³ Catalina Cortés Severino, 'Recolecciones sonoras y visuales de escenarios de memorias de violencia', *Antípoda: Revista de Antropología y Arqueología*, 9 (2009): 169.

⁴ These conditions were also applicable to those individual militants who chose to demobilize from their respective guerrilla organisations, but the government only held negotiations with the paramilitaries as a collective. Between August 2002 and January 2010, 31, 671 AUC combatants collectively demobilized as a result of these negotiations, with an additional 13, 681 from the FARC, 2883 from the ELN and a further individual 3682 from individual paramilitary blocs. See Kimberly Theidon, 'Transitional Subjects: The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 1 (2007): 88.

⁵ The chilling paramilitary depositions, the dissatisfactory treatment of victims' testimonies, and the absence of judicial redress are scathingly represented in full detail in the recent feature documentary, *Impunity* (Juan José Lozano and Hollman Morris, 2010, Switzerland, France and Colombia).

⁶ Maria Victoria Uribe, 'Memory in Times of War', *Public Culture*, 21.1 (2009): 3.

⁷ The CLACPI, for instance, receives a large proportion of its funding from the Spanish Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación (AECID).

⁸ While the vast majority of Indigenous productions from Latin America are recorded on video, the terms employed do not always correspond to the format employed. This may be accounted for in part by the different attitudes towards the professionalization of the medium as an aesthetic form. For instance, the present Coordinator of the CLACPI and esteemed Mapuche filmmaker, Jeannette Paillán, is regularly referred to as cineasta. In a recent speech made on the occasion of the 7th edition of the Premio Anaconda in Lima, Peru, Paillán made reference to the longstanding inferiority complex the term videasta holds vis-à-vis its celluloid counterpart. Considered by some to be a poor and ugly substitute for analogue film, video does not hold the same aesthetic and commercial value for many producers and critics.

⁹ Amalia Córdova and Juan Francisco Salazar, 'Imperfect media and the Poetics of Indigenous Video in Latin America', in Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (eds.), *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008): 41.

¹⁰ Córdova and Salazar, 'Imperfect media': 55-56.

¹¹ Jorge Silva regrettably passed away in January 1987. Rodríguez has continued to produce and recently directed *Testigos de un etnocidio: memorias de resistencia* (2011), a personal chronicle of Indigenous resistance and suppression since the 1970s.

¹² Indigenous and peasant mobilization and organising had of course existed long prior to the creation of the CRIC, but the 1970s nonetheless constitute a turning point with regard to the demand for land rights and political organising. Members of the ACIN, for instance, divide resistance into four periods: 1/ the period from colonization until 1970; 2/ 1970-1980 and the land claims movement; 1980-2000 and the efforts for greater autonomy in education, governance and cultural sustainability; and finally 4/ the 'alternative' phase which is explicitly framed by neoliberal violence and the deepening of transnational capital as an enemy of Indigenous wellbeing. See Gerylee Polanco Uribe and Camilo Aguilera Toro, *Luchas de representación. Prácticas, procesos y sentidos audiovisuales colectivos en el sur-occidente colombiano* (Programa Editorial, Universidad del Valle, 2011): 67-107.

¹³ David M.J. Wood, 'The Metamorphosis of Cine Indigen(ist)a: Memoria viva and the Technological Artist in Multicultural Colombia', *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 5:2 (2010): 162.

¹⁴ For a nuanced interpretation of the film, see Wood, 'The Metamorphosis of Cine Indigen(ist)a'.

¹⁵ The resguardos are communal territories, the remnant of a colonial land system. While Colombia's Indigenous population is approximately 2%, the resguardo titles account for approximately 30% of national territory, where 80% of the country's mineral resources can be found. See Joanne Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias: Public Intellectuals, Cultural Experimentation and Ethnic Pluralism in Colombia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005): 1.

¹⁶ The training programmes run by the school between 1999 and 2002 were resumed by the Tejido de Comunicación again in 2010.

¹⁷ Córdova and Salazar, 'Imperfect media': p. 41.

¹⁸ Wood, 'The Metamorphosis of Cine Indigen(ist)a': 154.

¹⁹ Córdova & Salazar, 'Imperfect media': 45.

²⁰ Given that both the collectives examined here involve the efforts of both Indigenous and mestizo – even non-Latin American – media producers this remains an important question. However, my concern on this occasion is not with the complex dynamics of authorship but rather with how these productions (which circulate under the banner of Indigenous video) constitute an alternative sphere of discourse on the conflict and social justice.

²¹ Amalia Córdova, 'Estéticas enraizadas: aproximaciones al video indígena en América Latina', *Comunicación y Medios*, 24 (Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen, Universidad de Chile, 2011): 86.

²² Clemencia Rodríguez, *Citizens' Media Against Armed Conflict: Disrupting Violence in Colombia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011): 3.

²³ Catherine Walsh, 'The (De)Coloniality of Knowledge, Life, and Nature: The North American-Andean Free Trade Agreement, Indigenous Movements, and Regional Alternatives', in Jon Shefner and Patricia Fernández-Kelly (eds.), *Globalization and Beyond: New Examinations of Global Power and Its Alternatives* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011): 229.

²⁴ 2007, cited in Jaramillo Marín, 'Narrando el dolor': 221.

²⁵ La Violencia 'officially' ended in 1954 with the creation of the National Front, a power sharing agreement that established a system of alternating governments between Liberal and Conservative parties that lasted for four different governments. However, bipartisan violence continued throughout the decade, and many critics date it until 1964.

²⁶ Paramilitary groups, or private armies, were legally endorsed by the state with Emergency Decree 3398 in 1965, and legitimized by Cold War rhetoric as part of a counter-insurgency strategy. Under the guise of establishing order, the paramilitaries extended their control, also bolstered by the drugs trade during the 1980s, until they were officially declared an illegal armed group in 1989 by President Virgilio Barco. In 1994, President César Gaviria effectively returned legal status to paramilitary groups when Convivir units were formed to patrol security in remote areas. For a more in-depth account of the development of paramilitary forces in Colombia, see Winifred Tate, 'Paramilitaries in Colombia', *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 8.1 (2001): 163-175.

²⁷ The paramilitaries' increasing penetration of local politics, with connections to high-profile figures such as former President Uribe Vélez (2002-2006, 2006-2010), and collusion with state military and police forces, has now been widely exposed in what is known as the parapolítica scandal. Over the course of 2007 and 2008 many articles denounced the connection between state authorities and armed actors in Colombia. See for instance, "'¡Eh, Ave María!'" and other articles on parapolítica in the magazine *Cambio* 16, 2 November 2008. <http://www.cambio.com.co/portadacambio/725/ARTICULO-WEB-NOTA_INTERIOR_CAMBIO-3561663.html>

²⁸ The state enactment of authority in order to execute its counter-insurgency strategy often impacts on civilian populations. Operation Odiseo, which brought about the death of then leader of the FARC, Alfonso Cano, on 4 November 2011, was heralded as a victory in the mainstream Colombian media, yet it was not widely reported that the Operation also required the indiscriminate bombardment of Indigenous communities in the area.

²⁹ Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*: 9.

³⁰ See Jesús Martín Barbero, *Al sur de la modernidad: comunicación, globalización y multiculturalidad* (Pittsburgh: Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, 2001) for a nuanced discussion of violentología and Colombia's violence.

³¹ Walsh, 'The (De)Coloniality of Knowledge': 230.

³² *Guía de imaginarios: Poblaciones específicas constructoras de la reconciliación en Colombia* (2009), compiled by Mónica Cabarcas, Grupo de Reconciliación (Bogotá: Organización Internacional para las Migraciones): 6.

³³ CNRR, 'Indígenas de la Sierra Nevada nos enseñan a pensar en reconciliación', 4 September 2009. The CNRR website has now been removed.

³⁴ The ACIN is a sub-branch of the CRIC which operates in northern Cauca, a region where one of the most intensive battles between the FARC and the Army is being waged.

³⁵ For an analysis of the Tejido's radio station, Radio Payu'mat, see Mario A. Murillo, 'Weaving a Communication Quilt in Colombia: Civil Conflict, Indigenous Resistance, and Community Radio in Northern Cauca', in Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (eds.), *Global Indigenous Media* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008): 145-159.

³⁶ Polanco and Aguilera, *Luchas de representación*: 82-84.

³⁷ Polanco and Aguilera, *Luchas de representación*: 74.

³⁸ González and Arteaga, *La representación de lo indígena en los medios de comunicación: En minga con los pueblos indígenas y por el derecho a su palabra* (Medellín: Hombre Nuevo Editores, 2005): 36.

³⁹ Interestingly, the overt denunciation that characterises Pa' poder was considered to be too incendiary and not sufficiently reflexive by Mauricio Acosta of the Tejido. The team decided to incorporate more context and explanation surrounding the movement's political mobilisation in País de los pueblos. See Polanco and Aguilera, *Luchas de representación*: 96.

⁴⁰ Freya Schiwy, *Indianizing Film: Decolonization, the Andes, and the Question of Technology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009): 56.

⁴¹ Schiwy, *Indianizing Film*: p. 56.

⁴² The long sections of text, particularly in País de los pueblos, must also streamline the preparation of different language versions of the video, as the manifesto appears in large letters directly in the target language.

⁴³ Polanco and Aguilera, *Luchas de representación*.

⁴⁴ Clemencia Rodríguez, *Citizens' Media*: 255.

⁴⁵ Clemencia Rodríguez, *Citizens' Media*: 255.

⁴⁶ Minga, coming from the Quechua, means a communal work for the common good at the community level, and in addition to its traditional use to realize projects at the local level, has been employed by the Indigenous Movement in Colombia and elsewhere in the Andes to organise mass protests and marches for social justice.

⁴⁷ English quotation taken from DVD translation in subtitles.

⁴⁸ Espinosa Arango, 'Memoria Cultural': 58.

⁴⁹ Clemencia Rodríguez, *Citizens' Media*: 257.

⁵⁰ César Rodríguez Garavito and Yukyan Lam, *Etnoreparaciones: la justicia colectiva étnica y la reparación a pueblos indígenas y comunidades afrodescendientes en Colombia* (Bogotá, Centro de Estudios de Derecho, Justicia y Sociedad, Dejusticia, 2011): 17.

⁵¹ David Wood, 'Revolution and pachakuti: Political and Indigenous Cinema in Bolivia and Colombia', PhD thesis, King's College London, October 2005: 263.

⁵² Elizabeth Jelin, 'Public Memorialization in Perspective: Truth, Justice and Memory of Past Repression in the Southern Cone of South America', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 1 (2007): 142.

⁵³ The Cumbre declaration is available on the CRIC website at the following URL: <http://www.cric-colombia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=404:declaracion-de-la-cumbre-continental-de-comunicacion-indigena-de-abya-yala>

⁵⁴ To date Daupará have held festivals in Bogotá (2009; 2011), in Popayán (Cauca) (2010) and in the Guajira, on Wayúu territory (2012).

⁵⁵ David Wood argues that the transnational dynamics of Indigenous video's dissemination owes much to the continental-wide movement of New Latin American Cinema in the 1960s and 1970s. Wood, 'Revolution and pachakuti': 14.

⁵⁶ Interview conducted by the author with Geodiel Chindicué (Nasa), from Cineminga collective, for the Native American Film and Video Festival, organized by the National Museum of the American Indian-NY, April 2011. Many thanks to the Festival and Museum staff who welcomed me during the event.

⁵⁷ Astrid Ulloa Cubillos, 'El nativo ecológico. Movimientos indígenas y medio ambiente en Colombia', in Mauricio Archila and Mauricio Pardo, eds., *Movimientos sociales, Estado y democracia en Colombia* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia and the Centro de Estudios Sociales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia): 286-320.

⁵⁸ Walsh, 'The (De)Coloniality of Knowledge': 235.

⁵⁹ Walsh, 'The (De)Coloniality of Knowledge': 236.

⁶⁰ Schiwy offers a detailed reading of how Mother Earth is represented in some Indigenous videos, arguing in particular for the gendered implications. See Chapter 5 of *Indianizing Film*.

⁶¹ Filmmakers Carlos Gómez and Naomi Mizoguchi have conducted training workshops in different regions, including the Cauca, but also Japan, Ecuador and Palestine.

⁶² Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*.

⁶³ Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*: 185-186.

⁶⁴ Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*: 186.

⁶⁵ Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*: 169-171.

⁶⁶ Marisol de la Cadena, 'Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond "Politics"', *Cultural Anthropology*, 25.2 (2010): 336.

⁶⁷ de la Cadena, 'Indigenous Cosmopolitics': 350.

⁶⁸ Interview conducted by the author with Geodiel Chindicué.

⁶⁹ There are some similarities here with Michelle Raheja's discussion of the representation of prophecy and the spirit realm in North American Native film. See Raheja, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty and Representations of Native Americans in Film* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

⁷⁰ It should be observed that there are differences between the different contingencies of the Indigenous movement in Cauca, as there are in the whole of the country. Of particular note here is the more widespread use of Nasa Yuwe in Tierradentro and the different enactments of the cosmological project in the two areas. See Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*: 189.

⁷¹ Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*: 193.

⁷² Lina María Gómez-Isaza, 'Aboriginal People in a Time of Disorder: Exploring Indigenous Interactions with Justice in Colombia', MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, August 2010. Accessed online at <<https://circle.ubc.ca/handle/2429/27951>>.

⁷³ Jelin, 'Public Memorialization': 156.

⁷⁴ On the recent developments to expulse all armed actors, see for instance 'Indígenas persisten en sacar a los grupos armados del norte de Cauca', on the Verdad Abierta website: <<http://www.verdadabierta.com>>.

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