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Necropower, Necropolitics and the "Precariat": An Approximation to the Current Brazilian Geographic/Historical Context

By Alcindo José de Sá

Introduction- This essay deals with a discussion and analysis of a theme that, in the current historical period, has been emerging with considerable prominence. Therefore, we start with a small rescue of what power is, in the context of the modern Nation-State, that is, power as an entity with the capacity for "control and domination over men and things" (RAFFESTIN, 1993), that is, on a sovereign territory, with laws and norms capable of guiding both the natural *zoes* (the naked bodies) of the natural man, and the political *bio* (the man, democratically participatory and subjugated to established powers).

However, this order is gradually falling apart, considering, in particular, the processes of the globalist economy, bringing in its wake the exponential rise of the science workforce, the machinic world of instrumental reason, taking many *zoes,* naked *bodies* and biopolitics (AGAMBEN, 2005), to fall or be relegated to the culture of garbage, of professional non-recyclability, under an increasingly fragmented productive world; lives wasted and subject not to a culture of life, but to a policy of death in its various facets, directly or indirectly (BAUMAN, 2005).

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I. Introduction

This essay deals with a discussion and analysis of a theme that, in the current historical period, has been emerging with considerable prominence. Therefore, we start with a small rescue of what power is, in the context of the modern Nation-State, that is, power as an entity with the capacity for "control and domination over men and things" (RAFFESTIN, 1993), that is, on a sovereign territory, with laws and norms capable of guiding both the natural *zoes* (the naked bodies) of the natural man, and the political *bio* (the man, democratically participatory and subjugated to established powers).

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Hence Mbembe (2018, p.09), in his short and dense essay, *Necropolitics,* warns that politics (of the Modern State, or Post, as you wish):

> [...] privileged the normative theories of democracy and made the concept of reason one of the most important elements both in the project of modernity and in the territory of sovereignty... Politics, therefore, is defined twice: a project of autonomy and the realization of an agreement in a collectivity through communication and recognition. This, we are told, is what differentiates it from war (MBEMBE, 2018, p.09).

In this crucible, the aforementioned author claims that in this territorial context, he became the "place in which the most absolute *in human condition* that ever occurred on earth" (referring to the Jewish holocaust) took place. takes his concern not for the formatting of a sovereignty that privileges a *status* (State) of a project for man's autonomy, but the "generalized instrumentalization of human existence and *the material destruction of human bodies and populations".* Instead of considering reason the truth of the subject, we can look to other less abstract and more palpable founding categories, "such as *life and death"* (*idem*, pp. 10-11), since both, directly and indirectly, are involved in productive and normative processes, whether as entities of diseconomies or economies, that is, entropies or not in the sphere of power.

That is why Bataille (apud MBEMBE, 2018, p.14) emphasizes that "life beyond utility... is the domain of sovereignty", a fact to denote that the "sovereign", or sovereigns, in addition to "watching and punishing" , as Foucault (2014) reminds us, the productive social body also controls the *"naked" bodies,* the wasted lives, human remains of a capitalism that started to discard a substantial part of what was its own essence: work as informed energy, the basis of relative and absolute surplus value and the foundation of its expanded accumulation, as Marx pioneered in his book O Capital (2011). After all, he points out that the capitalist production system will always lack a reserve army, no matter if it is precarious, proletarianized, *uberized*, or simply its *naked body*; *a homo sacer* (AGAMBEN, 2004).

Finally, in the eyes of the present, the title was too premonitory, since, in terms of scale/cartography, we continue at the same level, our *"used territory"* (SANTOS, 1996) experiences an overlapping of powers; from the State/nation of "one-dimensional" power subservient to the global economy, the power of necropolitics penetrates into its variant facets: that of the vile slaughter of structurally discarded social strata; *homo sacer* who were born on the margins of the territory, lived wanderers in the territory and died by assassins, "officials" or militiamen, without territory. In the meantime, the sovereign power also breaks down in the inertia or inability to re-signify the territory through citizen educational inclusion, as well as creating non-genocidal health policies, such as the one Brazil is currently experiencing with Covid-19.

II. From the One-Dimensional Power of the "Traditional" Nation-State to its Multidimensional Face

We begin this essay by seeking, first, a concise definition of how we can define *power* in a geographic

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perspective. For that, we refer to Claude Raffestin (1993, p. 52), when he asserts that an explanation for this political/territorial entity is complex, multifaceted, and difficult to define. For the aforementioned author, this is due to his dubious face: a power that does not want to show itself, concomitant, but, paradoxically, in many cases, forced to become palpable and visible. "The first is easier to surround because it manifests itself through the complex apparatuses that enclose the territory, control the population and dominate the resources. It is the visible, massive, identifiable power" (the Power of the Nation State with a capital P). It inspires danger, distrust, as it suggests threat. (RAFFESTIN, 1993, p. 52).

However, the aforementioned author also highlights that, even more perilous, is the invisible power, as it emanates from all relationships, that is, from the multidimensionality and immanence of any organization or relational system (for example, unions, companies, financial corporations , powers parallel to the State, in short, powers with a tiny p that involve dissymmetries of income, information and social class).

In this perspective, and based on Deleuze and Foucault, Raffestin (1993, p.56) emphasizes that where there is exercise of power there is a corresponding exercise of knowledge. Thus, "energy (human, spent on work) can be transformed into information, therefore, into knowledge; the information can allow the release of energy, therefore of force. Under these conditions, power is also a place of transmutation", that is, of metamorphosis, change, including entropy.

That is why Balandier (*apud* RAFFESTIN, p.54) points out: for "this society, power will be defined as the result of the entropy [unpredictability, uncertainty] that threatens it with disorder". Ending this epistemological/ conceptual base paragraph, we mention Etzioni (*apud* RAFFESTIN, p.54-55), noting that the power of coercion is based on the application of "physical sanctions", the remunerative power *"rémunérative"* it is based on the "control of material resources, on the allocation of salaries or bonuses, while the normative power is based on the manipulation of symbolic resources...

And, in other words, it can be said that power, in terms of mobilized powers, is defined by a variable of energy and information". In these terms, we can say that power is based on work. This would be the basic vein and source of two seminal elements that dynamize the command: energy and information. "Work is informed energy" and hence, "it is admissible to speak of resistance where there is power: resistance of matter or *resistance of the social body to transformation"* (RAFFESTIN, 1993, p. 56).

In this perspective, power has as its objective "the control and domination over men and things" and, thus, we can rescue the Power of traditional "tripartite" Political Geography: the socially organized population, dominating a territory and its resources.

In this "classical" view of Power, or micropowers, it stands out that we are referring to the view of the Modern State, significant of a legal and political superstructure that supports the economic infrastructure of numerous productive, marketing and financial units *giving them* legislative/normative support, as well as, if necessary, the *repressive legality,* in case entropy, disorder come to lash them, that is, when there is resistance from the social body, or the breakdown of energy in information and this, in knowledge manipulated by the dominant capital.

Therefore, the coercive power of that State often results in physical sanctions, as mentioned above. However, when we talk about the "social body", it is evident that we are dealing with human beings, in social interaction, under the toil of a capitalist system that has changed its productive processes, as well as social relations of production and action of the Rule of Law and, consequently, of powers, since its dawning.

Santos (1996) has been highlighting the rise of global capitalism, particularly in the last three decades, under the aegis of the "technical-scientific-informational environment", providing the creation of a single engine, a single currency [although with new or past names, referenced in the dollar], unique symbologies with ballast on the ship; in the global networked information system.

Harvey (1993), in the book Post-Modern Condition, dissects the models of liberal production in the 19th century, the Fordist and Fordist/Keynesian production model, especially after World War II, in many countries in Europe and the world and neoliberalism in the context of the current capitalist mode of production. The same question is asked: is it a mere temporary repair or, as Fukuyama (1992) pointed out, "the end of history", in its full success. Bauman in Liquid Modernity (2001), Wasted Lives (2005), and in countless other works has a deeply critical view, seeing an ever more fragmented, fleeting capitalism, both in production and consumption, more and more creating a "garbage culture", "lives for consumption" and an increasingly precarious job, as it has become under-work, non-work, creating homeless people, putting people on streets, drug addicts, that is, forced nihilists, or "useless people" no longer recyclable.

III. From the "Modern" UNI and Multidimensional State of "Law" to the State of Necropower

It is in the aforementioned "new context" that we can locate the "social body" with deprived bodies, or increasingly marginalized from the social scope, since their energies are not transformed into information and education mediated by work. They are "naked" men, as

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Agamben (2004) says, and thus merely biological beings, but intentionally under the gaze of power.

But this agreement fell apart, as already stated, because "Instead of considering reason the truth of the subject, we can look to other less abstract and more palpable founding categories, such as life and death" (*idem*, p 10-11), since both, directly and indirectly, are involved in productive and normative processes, whether as entities of diseconomies or economies, that is, entropies or not in the sphere of power.

That is why Bataille (*apud* Mbembe, 2018, p. 14) emphasizes that "life beyond utility... is the domain of sovereignty", a fact to denote that the "sovereign", or sovereigns, in addition to "watch over and punishing", as Foucault (2014) reminds us, the productive social body also controls the "naked" bodies, the wasted lives, the human remains of a capitalism that started to discard a substantial part of what was its own essence: work as energy informed (BAUMAN, 2005), the basis of relative and absolute surplus value and the backing of its expanded accumulation, as pioneered by Karl Marx (2011) in his book The Capital. After all, as the aforementioned author warned, the capitalist production system will always lack a reserve army, no matter if precarious, proletarianized, discarded, or simply *naked* or *uberized* (emphasis added). If, redundantly, the sovereign world of capital is perhaps pointing out new directions.

Thus, in this globalized world (for many, in process of deglobalization, at least politically), for Mbembe (2018, p. 15), based on Bataille:

> Sovereignty has many configurations. But, in the final analysis, it is the refusal to accept the limits to which the fear of death would have subjected the subject. The world of sovereignty, Bataille argues, "is the world in which the limit of death has been abandoned. Death is present in it, its presence defines this world of violence, but while death is present, it is always there only to be denied, never for something else. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 15)

The sovereign, he concludes, "it is he who he is, as if death were not. It does not respect the limits of identity any more than it respects those of death, or, moreover, those limits are the same; he is the transgression of all these limits". Since the natural domain of prohibition includes death, among others (eg sexuality, dirt, excrement), sovereignty requires that 'the force to violate the prohibition of killing, however true, will be under conditions that consumption defines'". Hard and profound assertions, considering that the sovereign State, by suppressing one of its foundations which was "the refusal to accept the limits to which the fear of death would have subjected it", it is assumed that death, in a barbaric and animalistic way, becomes something banal. A fact, as emphasized by Agamben (2004), comparable to the death of a *Homo Sacer*, a being, in the legal context of the Roman Empire, in which his death had no value, either as a sacrifice to the Gods or as a human meaning to "secular" society.

In Pernambuco parlance, and especially in Recife, a "nasty soul", who should not even have been born; a useless piece of garbage that must and should be decimated, either through the repressive forces of the Sovereign State, or through assassins, cold killers and militia, since they are "naked" bodies, devoid of pious souls and not "good citizens", or that is, people with minimal training in civility and moral values; thieves and cold killers of good citizens. In short, beings that, for the most part, were born outside the law, deprived of social and territorial insertion (SÁ, 2013).

Those beings, as highlighted by Agamben (2004), on which the State applies itself by disapplying itself. In the Brazilian case, beings with constitutional rights firmly marked (Education, Health, Housing, Work), but who, in the practice of the human functionality of the territory in its use, are nothing more than dead writings.

IV. Meanderings of Necropolitics and Necropower in Brazil

We should not forget that a large part of this "social body", as it belongs, in the current historical context, to "human waste", no longer recyclable, outside the consumption network, implies, recalling Mbembe (2018, p. 13):

> [...] since the natural domain of prohibition includes death, among others... sovereignty demands that 'the force to violate the prohibition of killing, although true, will be under conditions that consumption defines'. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 13)

And that is why the present history is pregnant with facts that corroborate this assertion, as much, as already emphasized, in micro territories, dominated by parallel micropowers (of "bad guys"[1]), as in macro

[1] Agamben (2004, pp.115-116) emphasizes that it is therefore necessary to reread, from the beginning, "the myth of the foundation of the modern city, from Hobbes to Rousseau. The State of Nature is, in fact, a state of exception, in which the city presents itself for a moment (which is, at the same time, a chronological interval and a timeless last) *tamquam dissoluta.* The foundation is not, therefore, an event that is fulfilled once and for all *in illo tempore,* but it is continuously operating in the civil state in the form of a sovereign decision. This, on the other hand, immediately refers to the life (and not the free will) of the citizens, which thus appears as an original political element, the Urphänopmenon of politics: but this life is not simply the reproductive natural life, the zoe from the Greeks, nor the bios, a qualified way of life; it is, above all, the bare life of homo sacer and wargus, a zone of indifference and transit between man and beast, nature and culture". The aforementioned author also adds: "the exception ratio is a ratio of *bunch*. The one who has been banned is not, in fact, simply outlawed and indifferent to it, but is *abandoned* by it, that is, exposed and put at risk on the threshold where life and law, external and internal, entwine. About him, it's literally not possible to say that it is outside or within the planning (thus, in its origin, *in bando, a bandono,* and *bandito* means both excluded, set aside 'as open to all, free', as in *mensa bandita* and *redina bandita)*. It is in this sense

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territories of Nation States, under the aegis of global capital manipulated by large corporations and by finance capital, managed by bodies such as the IMF, World Bank, etc.

In the latter case, the brute force, the "force to violate the power to kill" of the Ecuadorian State over its citizens in a recent period is quite evident, as they were deprived of consumption power, especially of increased fuels prices, imposed by the "sovereign" State under the dictates of the IMF and now in Brazil, by the new fuel policy at the mercy of the free variation of the dollar. When it comes to micropowers, it is well illustraded that in many countries, especially in Brazil, the Philippines, Turkey, etc., the growing power of the militias, manipulating the daily basic consumption habits of people in certain territories, reaching the extreme of dictating the "State of Exception" (suspension of classes, closing of businesses, if certain extortions are not paid) in the National State itself, with the power to dictate the *Exceptio;* powers, which even execute representatives of the power of the Federated Nation State (not to forget the murder of Councilor Marielle Franco and her driver Anderson Gomes).

The aforementioned councilor, a great combatant for human rights, has also long been researching the militarization of slums, as well as the "militianization" of these territories. In the meantime, we cannot fail to highlight the legislature, to a large extent, financed, during the electoral campaign period, by the economic power of agricultural, industrial and financial corporations, legislating under the pressure of *lobbes* of each segment in their own benefits, to the detriment of formatting and planning of a minimum welfare state. It is a State, as stated by Agamben (2004), which applies itself by unapplying itself, in other words, it is based on constitutional precepts of minimum assistance to the citizen, but in praxis, it relegates them.

Therefore, in the name of a lean and balanced state, the *State of National* Exception claims not to have financial conditions to provide for the underprivileged, and the market advocates that only competition and competitiveness can absorb surplus labor. On the other hand, the Judiciary Branch, to a certain extent, only executes the normative dictates of the executive and legislative.

In this sense, it is clear that due to the lack of support from the political/legal State and the market, particularly in Brazil, many intentional and pseudo invisible deaths due to poverty, that is, due to the lack of sanitation (the proliferation of dengue, zika, chicungunya, yellow fever and now covid, etc.), due to the poor service and medical/hospital incapacity and the total lack of education, are part of the "use of strength to violate the prohibition of killing" by the Sovereign State.

In this context, it is worth adding something we wrote in a recent past, when we used to say that with the advent of globalist instrumental rationality, the world of language, in the words of BIFO (2005), dominated by the lifeless, mathematical, semiocapital, without the erotic body that one thinks in us far beyond the *bare life,* of a social life immersed in civilized parameters, of tolerance between strangers, came to triumph (SÁ, 2013). Hence,

> politics, when carrying out the metaphysical task that led it to assume more and more the form of a bioliths, failed to build the articulation between *zoe* (nature) and *bios* (politics), between voice and language, which should restore the fracture . The naked life continues attached to it, under the form of exception, in other words, of something that can only be included through exclusion. How is it possible to 'politicize' the 'natural sweetness' of zoe? And, first of all, does it have a real necessity of being politicized or is the poitician already contained in it as its most precious nucleous? The biopolitics of modern totalitarianism on one hand, the consumer society and mass hedonism on the other certainly constitute, each in its own way, an answer to these questions. Until, however, an entirely new policy – that is, no longer founded on the *exceptio* of the bare life – does not present itself, all theory and all practice will remain imprisoned in a dead end, and the 'beautiful day' of life it will only obtain political citizenship through blood and death or in the perfect folly to which the society of the spectacle condemns it (AGAMBEN, 2014, p. 18-19).

And continuing, we used to write: as Castoriades (2002) warns us, if society (in particular the Western one) managed to "civilize" itself two or three space/temporal scales throughout its historical process, why, in this present time, it has not been able to "politicize zoe's natural sweetness?"; and to create a space with more citizenship content? We believe that Agamben (2014) provides us with a path: as already illustrated, zoe is born, intentionally, through the dominant visible and invisible powers, as exceptio makers of bare lives, or. why not say, null [our emphasis], considering today, as Bauman (2005) assures us, both the insensitivity of the National State of Exception and the indifference of the market and, in this dead end, or rather, in this alley with only one exit (the market), the fine day of life will only obtain political "citizenship" through blood and death, in the context of the perfect nonsense of globalist ideology, of the semiocapital society of the discarding spectacle of bodies with naked lives endowed only with natural zoe.

Therefore, this same society of spectacle commercially speculates the wildest violence (especially

that the paradox of sovereignty can take the form: 'there is no outlaw'. The original relationship of the law to life is not application but abandonment. The unsurpassed power of the *nómos,* its original 'force of the law', it's what maintains life in its group by abandoning it". Finally, in our liquid and more and more fluid world (BAUMAN, 2014), of increasingly "flexible" laws, there is no being outside the law, but the original relationship of the law with ihis life, it is not the formal application of that life, but abandonment. Hence the existence of so many "bandits", organizing their own "laws".

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in countries where parallel states of exception dominate lives and territories, with their bloodthirsty and ruthless criminal organizations, such as the traditional CV (Comando Vermelho), PCC (First Command of the Capital), etc., in Brazil, with ramifications, already in almost the entire national territory, in front of the constituted official powers), as barbarism, but actually camouflaging, transmitting as a simulacrum a reality that is in fact part of the biopolitics of State/market totalitarianism in the so-called post-modern world.

It's not about defending the barbarism in which Brazilian society and others find themselves, as a new dialectic of class struggle (even because to define social classes in this society of media alienation and communicational networks, of an extreme work of precariousness, or of a cognition raised to "small bourgeois", in addition to traditional capitalists of all kinds, is something complex even for sociologists) as a form of conformism and surrender to this society of consumption, nihilism, mass hedonism, exclusionary and cruel . But it is also an undeniable fact that rational actions, or even messed up in the bare lives of the parallel political exception, of homo sacer, however cruel or inhuman they may seem, or appear in the semiocapital spectacle, that bathe in blood and death with more intensity , have mobilized the counterpowers, including the Powers with capital letters, with a view to creating political citizenship and minimal territorial insertion, through their blood and deaths in the current historical period (SÁ, 2013, p. 108).

As proof of the struggle, according to data from CIMI (Indigenous Missionary Council), 135 indigenous people were killed in 2018 in the Brazilian territory in the struggle for their living spaces. The IPEA (Institute for Applied Economic Research) points out that, with 65,000 deaths, homicides set a record in the country in 2017 [according to more recent surveys, in the last two years there has been a small decrease] and young black people have been its biggest victims. [2]

> "Within the racial issue, a study reveals that for every non-black (white, indigenous, yellow, according to self-attribution criteria used by the IBGE) killed in Brazil, almost 3 blacks (blacks and browns) were murdered. This scenario is getting worse over the last decade; while the non-black homicide rate increased 3.3% from 2007 to 2017, that of blacks increased 33.1%".[3]

Taking the small empirical framework mentioned above as a parameter, let us pay attention to the speeches of Mbembe (2018, p. 16-19), when he relates Foucault's notion of biopower to two other concepts: "the state of exception and the state of siege". He examines:

> These trajectories through which the state of exception and the relationship of enmity became the normative basis for the right to kill. In such instances, power (and not necessarily state power) continually refers to and appeals to exception, emergence and the fictional notion of the enemy... biopower seems to work through the division between the people who should live and those who should to die... That 'race' (or indeed 'racism' has a prominent place in the proper nationality of biopower is entirely justifiable... Arendt finds its roots in the demolishing experience of otherness and suggests that the politics of race is ultimately related to the politics of death. Indeed, in Foucaultian terms, racism is above all a technology designed to allow the exercise of biopower, 'this old sovereign right to kill'. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 16-19)

Of course, all this is associated with the action of capital in all its instances and its Western political practices (now spread across the world), involving more and more natives and migrants and their race and gender variants. It is in this context that we can fit the zoes, the naked bodies (mostly black) increasingly marginalized in Brazilian territory and being decimated, since in our biopower, they are situated to die, in the context of sovereign law (Official or not) to kill. Not by chance, the Governor of Rio de Janeiro Wilson Witzel (currently impeached) advocated that arms dealers could be blown up by missiles and that a prison should be built along the lines of Guatánamo; also rifles could be distributed to the population to help exterminate the undesirables.

What is certain is that the aforementioned governor has used, even if in a camouflaged way, a true state of "siege" in certain "peripheral" territories in Rio de Janeiro, since the police state has been entering them, under the argument of fighting criminal organizations (which also exist in fact), yet without any protection for the civilian population, and even killing children, mostly black, in the crossfire of "stray" bullets and, thus, we have to agree with Arendt (2012), as she emphasizes that policy of race (in the case of the city of Rio de Janeiro with its slums and hills dominated by the population, mostly black and poor), is related to the politics of death.

At the Federal level, we have the project to combat crime, in which one of its regulations is to give powers to kill to any police officer who finds himself vulnerable to a "criminal" suspicion (the "bourgeois" newspapers themselves have shown many workers, helpless victims of these suspicions).

Thus, we repeat, in this clash, power (and not necessarily state power) "continuously refers and appeals to exception, emergence and the fictional notion of the enemy... biopower seems to work through the division between people who should live and those

[2] Available at: https://g1.globo.com/natureza/noticia/2019/09/24/numero-de-assassinatos-de-indigenas-cresce-20percent-no-brasil-em-2018-aponta-relatorio.ghtmlhttps ://g1.globo.com/natureza/noticia/2019/09/09/24/numero-de-assassinatos-de-indigenas-cresce-20percent-no-brasil-em-2018-aponta-relatorio.ghtml

[3] Available at: http://www.ipea.gov.br/atlasviolencia/arquivos/downloads/6537-atlas2019.pdfhttp://www.ipea.gov.br/atlasviolencia/arquivos/downloads/6537-atlas2019.pdf

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who must die" (MBEMBE, 2018). The real world of "Every man for himself'."

And it is in this context that terror becomes evident "as a way of marking aberration in the political body, and politics is read both as a mobile force of reason and as an erratic attempt to create a space in which 'error' would be minimized, the truth strengthened, and the enemy eliminated" (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 23). Reinforcing: in an interview with journalist Roberta Pennafort, from the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo, on 11/01/2018, the then Governor-elect of Rio Wilson Witzel said: "the police will aim for the little head and... fire". At a certain point of the interview, the professional asks if he defended the "unlawfulness exclusion" for police officers on duty, having the same answer: "if it is a confrontational act, in which the policeman is covered by an illegality exclusion, it is not homicide, is death in combat. It is resisting arrest and police record. The act is lawful", since it is in the penal code.

Continuing with the interview, she also asks him,in case he granted authorization to execute (as happened recently, when a bus was hijacked on the Rio/Niterói bridge by an outlaw") and the policeman was prosecuted, she questions whether the responsibility couldn't be laid into the hands of the former Governor? He immediately answers: "nothing will be laid into my hands. It will be laid in the state's lap. The State has to understand what kind of public security it wants". In the meantime, the journalist provokes: then "from the police, the citizen expects the correct conduct; but not from the bandit, ...". And the former Governor still answers: "the correct thing is to kill a bandit with a rifle. The police will do the right thing: they will aim for the little head and... fire! So there's no mistake", even though Globo's G1 portal on 10/20/2019 alleges that naver have so many police officers been killed as in this year.[4][5]

Therefore, it is more than notorious that the assertions of Mbembe (2018) have full empirical territorial realization, as this frame of reference in Rio de Janeiro [and practically throughout Brazil, as former Governor Wilson Witzel has only expressed what most governors in Brazil think, regardless of political lineages] proves that the killing powers of both the "bandits" of criminal organizations and the powers of the State are insatiable, events that denote, let us say, a psychopathic biopolitics, always on the lookout for prey, even if it is a fictional enemy, in this world dominated by a technological/informational and communicational productive process based on the reason of indifference (our emphasis).

We can envise what was mentioned above, also in the proposal of the Anti-Corruption and Anti-violence Project of, now, Former Minister Sérgio Moro, when he predicted that, "in the judgment of crimes in self-defense, "the judge may reduce the sentence by half or stop applying it if the excess is due to excusable fear, surprise or violent emotion". The case will only be tried if there is an excess – for example, a very high number of shots. In the case of police officers on duty, the proposal makes it clearer which situations can be considered defense actions. The text allows for the release of penalties for the police officer or public security officer who kills someone on duty in a situation of "armed conflict or imminent risk of armed conflict" and to prevent "unfair and imminent aggression against his or others' rights", assault or risk of assault on hostages. Or the agent who "prevents aggression or risk of aggression to the victim held hostage during the commission of crimes". It should be noted that in the aforementioned Former Minister's Project, the "unlawful exclusion" was not approved by Congress, even though the killing of zoes remains intense, regardless of this clause [it is only necessary to glimpse the constant massacres in prisons, such as in São Luiz, Manaus, etc., in addition to those listed in the "peripheries" of the metropolitan regions of Recife, Rio de Janeiro, Belém, etc.). The current law:

> [...] defines self-defense as the situation in which the police officer, 'with moderate use of the necessary means, repels unjust aggression, current or imminent, to his own rights or to others'. In practice, on-duty police officers would not respond to criminal prosecution in case they kill someone as a result of confrontation or ordinary people, who present evidence that the death occurred in self-defense. [6]

That is, it is evident that the strength of the biopower of the state of exception may, in case of "excusable fear, surprise or violent emotion" not penalize the "defensive" aggressor agent, that is, not penalize the police agent or the security agent public, especially if they kill a zoe with a "stray" bullet, a bandit who is in the middle of an armed conflict or at risk of conflict with the "law enforcement officers". Thus, "politics [or biopolitics] is read both as a moving force of reason and as an erratic attempt to create a space in which 'error' would be minimized, truth reinforced, and the enemy eliminated" (MBEMBE, 2018, p.24), as stated above. In other words, the law is now mobile, "liquid" and minimizing error [in this case, an erratic "rational" killing], because what matters is the increasingly palpable and reinforced truth of the existence of an enemy that needs to be eliminated.

[4] Available at: https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,a-policia-vai-mirar-na-cabecinha-e-fogo-diz-novo-governador-do-rio,70002578109 https://politica .estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,the-police-will-mirar-na-cabecinha-e-fogo-diz-novo-governor-do-rio,70002578109

[5] Available at: https://g1.globo.com/jornal-nacional/noticia/2019/09/20/no-rio-numero-de-mortes-por-policiais-em-2019-e-recorde.ghtml

[6] Available at: https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2019/02/04/moro-apresenta-a-governadores-projeto-anticrime-com-14-alteracoes-em-leis.ghtml

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V. Some Statistical References of Necropolitics

But what is certain is that, despite crime rates having shown a small drop in 2019, we are still one of the countries where most people are killed in the world. Therefore, considering, in particular, data surveys from the IPEA (Institute for Applied Economic Research) and the Brazilian Forum on Public Security, the number of deaths, annually in Brazil, is 30 times greater than in the whole of Europe; more than half a million people were murdered in the last decade (553 thousand – between 2010-2020), that is, 153 deaths a day, and for the first time in the country's history, in 2016 the number of homicides in Brazil surpassed the number of 60 thousand, more precisely 62,517 thousand crimes of lethal and intentional death (CVLI), an amount corresponding to the sum of the numbers from 154 countries, according to the aforementioned IPEA and the Igarapé Institute.Samira Bueno, executive director of the Brazilian Public Security Forum, the organization responsible for preparing the yearbook, says that: [7]

> [...] Brazil has had such high rates for so many years that one can speak of endemic violence and, now, also epidemic. It is a serious and chronic problem. We concentrate 2.8% of the world's population and 11% of homicides. We are an extremely violent country. (BUENO, 2018)

Corroborating this catastrophe, the periodic Brasil de Fato reports that, between 2004 and 2007, in Iraq, a country officially at war, 76,266 died in Sudan, 12,719 in Sudan, 12,417 in Afghanistan and 11,833 in Colombia. In Brazil, on the same time scale, the number of deaths reached the level of 147,333, that is, a number 34,098 higher than in the four countries in conflict.[8]

The Old/New Strategies of the Nation-State to the Action of the "Colonizing" Necropower in Brazil and in the World.

And still in a very perceptively way, about the various forms of suppression of zoes, naked bodies, devoid of civilizing belonging, of civitas, of city, of citizenship, Bauman (2001) further deepens the discretionary spaces that they live to submit to, given the different scales of power, in particular the power of "liquid", "fluid" capital, which flows over various legal and illegal networks, concrete and abstract, under the facilitation of its exercise, whether under the tutelage of the nation-state or not .

Therefore, Mbembe (2018, p. 32-35) makes a lucid review of the role of the formation of the modern European State and its legal order Jus publicum europeaum, in which it "postulated the legal equality of all States. This equality applied especially to the 'right to make war' (to take life)".

Thus, this right meant, at the same time, that the power to kill or negotiate was a right of the State, in the context of its borders without affronting others. "On the other hand, the State would commit to 'civilize' the ways of killing and assign rational objectives to the very act of killing." To that end:

> In modern philosophical thought, as well as in European political practice and imagination, the colony represents the place where sovereignty fundamentally consists in the exercise of a power outside the law (ab legibus solutus) and in which 'peace' tends to assume the face of an 'endless war'... As such, the colonies are the place par excellence where controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended – the zone where the violence of the State of exception supposedly operates in the service of 'civilization'. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 32-35)

And seeking an explanation that is, incidentally, brilliantly geographical, Mbembe (2018, p. 38-39), asserts:

> The 'colonial occupation' itself was a matter of apprehension, demarcation and assertion of physical and geographical control – inscribing a new set of social and spatial relations on a terrain. This inscription of new relationships ('territorialization') was, finally, equivalent to the production of borders and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property regimes; the classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally, the production of a wide reserve of cultural imaginaries. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 38-39)

And in the context of this modernity, South Africa as a nation-state under the inspiration of the Jus publicum europeaum and the apartheid regime, considered the "district" its basic structure and the bantustans (homelands) rural territories in which labour regulated migrant work was fixed and urbanization, finally, under control. Quoting Belenda Bozzoli, Mbembe (2018, p. 39) expresses that "the district was particularly a place where 'severe oppression and poverty were experienced based on race and social class". For the aforementioned author (idem, p.41), modern sovereignty is "the ability to define who matters and who does not matter, who is 'disposable' and who is not", and in this context, the most recent occupations, unlike the Modern (from Jus publicum europeaum), with its disciplinary and biopolitical framework, more avidly touches on the necropolitics of the postmodern state and, therefore, deregulated in its capacity to kill.

Now, considering the colonial and post-colonial period, with the Modern State, both in Africa and in other continents, the discipline and biopolitics, the naked bodies monitored by disciplinary laws and norms, have always been also characterized, under the European political imagination.

[7] Available at: https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/atlas-da-violencia-2018-brasil-tem-taxa-de-homicidio-30-vezes-maior-do-que-europa-22747176.

[8] Available at: http://www.brasildefato.com.br/node/12564

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Therefore, the colony and the State have always represented the place where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of a power outside the law (ab legibus solutus) and in which "peace" tends to assume the face of an 'endless war, as shown, statistically, in a previous paragraph about Brazil.

And it is in this context that the repression of race and class that fell with all brutality and massacres is found, especially in South Africa, as a colony and through apartheid under the aegis of the "Modern" Nation-State, politically guided by white minorities.

In the meantime, we see these events as a harbinger of what Mbembe himself (2018) today defines as necropolitics. However, the aforementioned author fits it better, considering the "contemporary occupation of Palestine", but we believe that militia Brazil is also a fertile field. In the Palestinian territory, Israel deprives the Palestinian nation not only of its identity, but also of its authorities' legitimacy, in the name of its partly divine right to exist (we must also not forget that Israel is strategic in US Geopolitics). Thus,

> [...] violence and sovereignty, in this case, claim a divine foundation: the quality of the people is forged by the worship of a mythical deity, and national identity is imagined as identity against the other, against other deities [Allah and the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob]... As a result, [postmodern] colonial violence and occupation rest on the sacred terror of truth and exclusivity (mass expulsion, resettlement of 'stateless' people in refugee camps, establishment of new colonies). Behind the sacred Semitic terror, the constant exhumation of missing bones; the permanent memory of a body torn into a thousand pieces and unrecognizable; the limits, or rather the impossibility of representing an 'absolute' crime, an unspeakable death: the terror of the holocaust... In these circumstances, colonial occupation is not only equivalent to control, surveillance and separation, but also to seclusion (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 42-43).

Considering this new/old contemporaneity, we see, in the face of a growing literature on decolonialism, as devoid of great empirical foundations; we see much more of a world in a deep process of recolonization under the ab legibus solutus, based on the European political imagination, of the jus publicum europeaum. Decolonial visions are very important as utopias, such as the much-refuted discourse of the new Latin American constitutionalism, rehearsed in Bolivia and elsewhere, especially Brazil, countries today subjected to the fiercest legal, military and regulatory, globalist technical/scientific/informational and financial pressure gestated in the "labs" of American Universities and the FBI, like the famous Lawfares to forge and condemn leaders with popular appeal, as well as suppress territories with tendencies of social and productive relations not totally subjugated to the market.

Therefore, still anchoring ourselves in Mbembe (2018, p. 52-53) and, in part, the basis to the inspiration for this essay, it is worth accepting his lucid writings, under the inspiration of Bauman, when he mentions that:

> This new era is that of global mobility. One of its characteristics is that military operations and the exercise of the right to kill are no longer the exclusive monopoly of the state, and the 'regular army' is no longer the only means of carrying out these functions. The assertion of a supreme authority in a given political space is not easy. Instead, a mosaic of incomplete and overlapping, disguised and tangled rights to govern emerges, in which actual different geographically intertwined legal instances surplus, and in which plural allegiances, asymmetric suzerainty abound. In this heteronomous organization of territorial rights and claims, it makes little sense to insist on the distinction between 'internal' and 'external' political fields, separated by clearly demarcated boundaries. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 32-35)

These are assertions that, in our view, corroborate our thesis of a postmodern neocolonial process, in which the globalist power monitors a new geopolitics based on national States weakened by ethnic, religious, class issues, having their "neo-imperial" economic centers. such as USA (United States of America), China, Russia, EU (European Union), to dominate and:

> [...] manipulate urban militias, private armies, armies of regional lords, private security and state armies that proclaim the right to exercise killing violence... increasingly, most armies are made up of citizen soldiers, child soldiers, mercenaries and privateers... diffuse and polymorphous organizations, war machines are characterized by their capacity for metamorphosis. Its relationship with space is mobile. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 38-39)

Therefore, as Raffestin (1993) emphasizes in the "classic" one-dimensional State and its centralizing power, it could scrutinize the territory, according to its strategic objectives of spatial usufruct. In the multidimensional State, in addition to its centralized monitoring power, there is, taking into account the various dissymmetries in relational systems of power, whether of large corporations/private organizations, or even large corporate organizations of the State, overlapping conflicts, considering the breakdown, in the logic of capitalist accumulation, essential to the work/information/knowledge and power unit. It is in this crucible that resurfaces, today, especially in Brazil, the "renaissance of the medieval militias", mercenaries, corsairs, child soldiers, etc.

A Brief Overview of External and Internal Geocropolitics in Brazil: Final Notes for a Reflection.

In this context, how can we situate and characterize the war in Syria? Corroborating the assertions mentioned in the previous paragraph, the civil conflict in Syria, initially as a protest within the framework of the Arab Spring against the government of the Nation-State of Bashar Al-Assad, in the early 2000s, the movement later descends into a fierce civil war, having as the first group opposed to Assad the Free Syrian

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Army (ELS), a dissidence of the national army. Later, due to global geopolitical interests, Russia, Iran and Shiite militiamen started to support the aforementioned president, since Russia has always coveted commercial access, via the Mediterranean, and Iran and Shiite militiamen struggle with Saudi Arabia, a country that maintains close ties with the United States militarily and commercially, as it is the largest producer and exporter of oil and its ally, in addition to having the largest reserve of this ore. In addition, the US aims to create a transport channel through the conflict area, which would minimize costs and risks, in particular, avoiding the Strait of Hormuz.

In this whirlwind of conflicts, we cannot forget the Kurds, with the Yankee support and enemies of Turkey, nor the emergence of the IS (Islamic State), a Jihadist group that emerged after the Iraq war. Finally, Jaysh al Islam, ELS and Ahrar al Sham stand out as the most important militia rebels, financed by the USA, Saudi Arabia, etc. What is certain is that the conflict continues forcing 65 million people to leave their homes, besides hundreds of thousands of deaths, 6 million forced to leave their homes and another 5.5 million to beg refuge, a veritable diaspora around the world (GALILEO MAGAZINE, 30/09/2019).

Why do we talk about postmodern neocolonized states? Having seen the account above, we could also add States destroyed by the US and EU such as Libya ruled, until then, by Muammar al-Khaddafi, Iraq by Saddam Hussein, events that have made these countries, today, spaces "governed" by diffuse organizations and polymorphous, territorially mobile, with armies made up of "citizen soldiers, child soldiers (so present in the recruitment of the Islamic State), mercenaries and corsairs, slaves, many of them recruited from within themselves, also, from European states or not. Finally, under the baton of old and emerging global empires, we repeat, it is forged:

> A mosaic of incomplete and overlapping, disguised and tangled rights to govern emerges, in which different actuall geographically intertwined legal instances de facto surplus, and in which plural allegiances, asymmetric suzerainty abound. In this heteronomous organization of territorial rights and claims, it makes little sense to insist on the distinction between 'internal' and 'external' political fields, separated by clearly demarcated boundaries. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 38-39)

In short, in this context of globalization organized on the basis of increasingly heteronymous rights, the growing flexibility of the power to kill comes to the fore. Liquid, fluid deaths of naked bodies, of zoes in a world increasingly riddled with "wasted lives", human waste no longer recyclable by an increasingly rational, mathematical and technicist economy (BAUMAN, 2005), in which the reserve army now is subjected to a plot based on necropower and necropolitics.

This is because its economic/territorial constitutional base obeys a relational system of dissymmetrical power; from the colony to the mimetic configuration of the national state of European ballast, the order of extraction of surplus labor has prevailed and still prevails, in many cases, in a form, today, almost enslaved. Inhuman works that feed a capitalism in which the market is indifferent to contexts of overexploitation and the State is exempt from its social responsibility, to a large extent, alleging lack of resources to alleviate the suffering of these underprivileged people.

With regard to indigenous territory in the Brazilian space, we have a vast literature on the extermination of nations under the weight oof capital's greed over defenseless nations, as they are obliged to submit to a mosaic of incomplete and overlapping rights to govern, disguised and entangled, in which different legal instances that are de facto geographically intertwined surplus, and in which plural allegiances, asymmetric suzerainty abound.

In this case, we can ask: what management and governance powers does the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) have in relation to loggers, miners, land grabbers, with their "plural loyalties" and their active and passive militias, amid fragile and fragile indigenous suzerainty asymmetric? To Mbembe (2018, p. 57):

> The concentration of activities related to the extraction of valuable resources around these enclaves has, in turn, converted these enclaves into privileged spaces of war and death. The war itself is fueled by the growth in sales of extracted products. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 38-39)

Miserably in Brazil, often with the approval of the Rule of Law. The aforementioned incomplete and overlapping rights to govern are even more incited when dealing with organized crime, today constituted by organizations with their well-structured syntagmatic codes such as "parallel" necropower, with their "norms" of territorial creation of networks, nodes, and spaces contiguous psychotropic consumption or also smuggling and money laundering. As Bauman emphasizes (2005, p. 96):

> The power to exclude would not be a mark of sovereignty if the sovereign's power had not joined the territory... At any given time, frontier lands were known at the same time as a factor of displacement and a unit of recycling of the displaced. Nothing more can be expected of its new global variety, except, of course, the new planetary scale of production and recycling problems. (BAUMAN, 2005, p. 96)

And, whether we like it or not, the "sovereign power of drug trafficking/smuggling" or organized crime, almost always aligned, has joined the territories, as a source, in part, of recycling problems and seeking solutions, such as the modus operandis of narcotic products or not, a strategy of setting up networks for distribution through them, international and national, money laundering, "administration" of conflicts between

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factions, considering the "plural loyalties", PCC, CV and other infinities that proliferate and they spread throughout Brazilian territory, with their "nodes" in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and, now, their "sub nodes", such as those in Manaus, Belém, Fortaleza, Natal, just to mention a few, in addition to strategic cities in these embedded networks on the borders between Brazil, Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay as scales for the distribution of weapons, narcotics, money, in short, recycling problems. Thus, as Mbembe asserts (2018, p. 57-58),

> In most places, the collapse of formal political institutions under the pressure of violence tends to lead to the formation of militia economies. War machines (in this case, militias or rebel movements) quickly become extremely organized predatory mechanisms, taxing territories and the populations that occupy them and relying on a variety of transnational networks and diasporas that provide them with material and financial support. (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 57-58)

This agenda is on the agenda of our "rotten" and poor powers, in which their capacities to govern are denoted incomplete and overlapping, disguised and tangled, in which different legal instances de facto are geographically intertwined, and in which plural allegiances abound , asymmetric suzerainty (the famous militias and their suzerains and entrenched loyalties, including in the "Sovereign State".

Hence riots and wild killings in prisons, with dismembering and beheading, water distribution taxes, transport, "private security", illegal constructions, domains of public areas territories for the preservation of water sources, for later real estate speculation, became commonplace, in special in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Brasília, and other large cities; "extremely organized predatory mechanisms", war machines that already find echoes, including in the battered "formal institutions" of power of the "Sovereign State".

We still find it pertinent to highlight, never failing to value Mbembe's current work (2018), that geographer Milton Santos (2009), in his vast work on the study of the urban, in a pioneering approach (at least in the Brazilian context), he refers to, or creates the neologism necropolis, to highlight the deep socio-spatial fragmentation in Brazilian metropolises. That is, considering the profound dissymmetries in the making of the great metropolises in our country, the aforementioned author found that the metropolis, in the Greek sense, as the sum of metropolis (mother, womb) and polis (city), polarizer of countless cities and its municipalities in the political, economic and cultural fields, never had a maternal spirit of belonging, of civitas, of citizenship. On the contrary, as today, they have become necropolises, fields of war between anti-civil, segregationist, socially and territorially peoples; places where strangers cannot meet, as Bauman (2005) points out.

In this context, in 2019, according to data from Depen (National Penitentiary Department), linked to the Ministry of Justice, Brazil held more than 773,000 prisoners in Prison Units and in police stations (agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br). Making this scenario even more intense, the number of people living in extreme poverty has been growing exponentially. Data from the IBGE Social Indicators Synthesis, 6.5% of the Brazilian population in 2018, that is, more than 13 million inhabitants were in that stage (agenciadenotícias.ibge.gov.br). As for the income gap, in 2017, the rich in Brazil earned 36.1 times more than half of the poorest, an average of R$27,213, while the underprivileged earned R$754 (agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br). As for access to health, more than 100 million people (www1.folha.uol.com.br), mostly with low incomes, are assisted by the SUS (Unified Health System), an inclusive and universal structure, however , lacking financial assistance, a fact that leads its claimants to real situations of calamity, due to the deficit of a reasonable medical structure. Overcrowding, lack of equipment and technicians are the watchwords.

And now with the covid-19 pandemic, a real sense of terror has spread. As for people in need of work and income, it is also worth noting that some of them live in 6329 slums spread across the country, unhealthy places subject to various risks, such as sliding barriers, which kill so much, especially in rainy periods. As Wacquant (2007, p. 7) says, they are spaces located at the base of the hierarchical system of regions that make up a metropolis, in which urban pariahs reside and where social problems congregate and become infected, attracting the unequal and excessively negative attention of the media, politicians and state leaders.

It is in this context that the desperation of the marginalized grows, or as Morin (2002) says, people tend to change from their sapiens stage to the demens and from this, in many cases, to the Killer, as shown by the number of crimes and deaths lethal and intentional in Brazil, previously reported. Also, and in this line, Mbembe (2018, p. 61-64), highlights the necropower and the necropolitics of the State of Israel, vis-à-vis the Palestinians, and the two mechanisms of retaliation of this nation and its necropolises: "the 'logic of survival and the 'logic of martyrdom'". Based on Elias Canetti, he emphasizes that:

> The survivor is the one who, having walked the path of death, knowing the exterminations and remaining among those who fell, is still alive. Or more precisely, the survivor is the one who, after fighting many enemies, managed not only to escape with his life, but also to kill his aggressors. Therefore, the lowest degree of survival is killing. (Idem, p.62).

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These strong assertions, perhaps explain, to a large extent, the hit men, extermination groups, militias that spread throughout our metropolises and their great clashes between themselves and the rule of law. The consequences: the population without citizenship and belonging, under the umbrella of the repressive apparatus of the official State, is under the gun of "stray bullets" and, as a consequence, in many cases, death, that is, remaining among those who have fallen, which denotes a true necropower. As for the question of martyrdom, "the body does not hide just one weapon. He is transformed into a weapon, not in a metaphorical sense, but in a truly ballistic sense: the suicide bombers" (Idem, p. 64).

In the Brazilian case, despair has certainly not reached this level, but martyrdom for a significant portion of the poor and marginalized population, translates into great suffering, affliction, scourge, ordeal, torment, for everything that has been exposed, under the insensitive aegis of necropolitics and necropower, monitored by internal and external organizations. Corroborating our assertion, Mendietta (apud Bauman 2008, p. 92-93) emphasizes: "the cities that historically and conceptually used to be the metonymy of protection and security have become sources of threat and violence". David Garland (apud Bauman 2005, p. 86-87) adds:

> There was a marked shift in emphasis from welfare to penal... The penal mode, while becoming more prominent, also became more punitive, more emphatic, more safety-oriented... The well-being mode, at the same time that it became more silent, became more conditional, more focused on the crime, more aware of the risks... Offenders are now less likely to be represented in official discourse as destitute citizens seeking support. They are shown instead as reprehensible, worthless, and somewhat dangerous and killable individuals. (GARLAND apud BAUMAN 2005, p. 86-87)

This is the sad panorama of the necro-geography to which we were submerged in Brazil.

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