

# Tergiversation of Human Rights, Deciphering the Core of Kirchnerismo

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**Abstract:** After the atrocities perpetrated by Nazism over civilian targets during World War II philosophy contemplated a neologism to express in words, the barbarian-world imagined by Nazi's Germany. Human rights were formulated to protect the vulnerabilities of ethnic minorities. However, one of the paradoxes of genocides seems to be related to the fact that the same nation-state which should grant the protection of citizenship violated the human rights of peoples. This was what happened in Latin American dictatorships during 76/82 in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. The National Process of Reorganization which took the power in 1976, exerted a considerable degree of violence over worker unions and political dissidents. Kirchnerismo today continues the discussion of human right violation of that time, but manipulating its nature in favor of the own interests. The dilemma of "desaparecidos" paves the ways for the creation of two contrasting worlds, which is filled by conspiracy theories produced by Kirchnerismo to keep the hegemony.

**Keywords:** Human Right violations, Genocides, Violence, Democracy, Dictatorship.

## INTRODUCTION

Latin America in its history has suffered many coups however it was only a couple of decades back that Argentinians faced the darkest side of dictatorship (1976-1982). As Deborah Norden puts it, Latin Americans developed a strange attachment for their militias, which were replaced beyond the jurisdiction of law. Juntas believed not only in the impunity given by power, they reserved the rights to impose terror as a disciplinary mechanism of control (Norden 1996). In this review essay, we explore not only the complex world of politics, but also the evolution of Kirchnerismo and his political philosophy in Argentina. Our thesis is that we come across with a new way of making politics where reality is cutting in two parts. This serves not only to impose policies otherwise would be rejected, but also to create radical fascist forms of organizations, where the voice of *Others* are silenced. The question whether Kirchnerismo is offering the Press free speech has been widely discussed among journalists. However, we need to discuss new forms of censorships where over-exposition and the proliferation of information are vital. Let's explain this with an example, imagine a student wants to be acquainted with Marx using Google. Sooner or later a lot of records, texts and books will be pulled out at the screen. This student will only read the 5 first items, ignoring the rest. Unlike other times, when the dissidents physically disappeared, this new form of censorship works in another more subtle way. Problems of Kirchnerismo to accept and promote democracy are given by its Schmittian conception of

politics. The alteration of sense of reality is today the most effective and successful instrument of censorship.

## JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

Kirchnerismo and Kirchnerites, who are the supporters of this political philosophy, appeared in the public arena after the financial crisis of 2001. At a short-run, Eduardo Duhalde's presidency was continued by his allies Nestor and Cristina Kirchner. In the onset of Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, the conflict between Duhalde and Kirchner's couple surfaced. Beyond the ideological beliefs, Kirchnerismo installed a new way of conceiving the political struggle, which was based on the conspiracy theory. Whether nation-states built their legitimacy by the monopoly of violence (army-force) and information (Statistics agencies), Kirchnerismo appealed to alter the office of information & Statistics (INDEC) to show a lower inflation rate. This created a big problem not only in local economy, but also in the credibility of government. In the middle of 2005, Nestor Kirchner ordered to purchase some media corporations to engender a favorable atmosphere. It placed a gap between other media (Clarín Group) and Kirchnerismo. In this turbulent context, the theory of conspiracy suited fit in order for government to blame an external enemy by its own failures. With the time, it engendered dissociation between two constructing realities, which journalism dubbed as "la grieta" (the chasm). Some classical voices argued conspiracy theory is pathology of politics fields, while others understand it as a necessary element to legitimate the top-down authority. However, less attention was given to the role played by Human Rights (as well as its theory of recovered identity) discourse in the figuration of conspiracy. This is the reason behind this essay. In this token, some questions arise.

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Is Kirchnerismo tergiversating the human right doctrine for protecting its own interest? why human rights are associated to nation-states?, What is not enough legal jurisprudence of nation-state to protect the right of ethnic minorities?, and finally, in what way Kirchnerismo and Human rights activists are associated?.

## CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

One of the problems of Human rights not only associates to how nation-states grant the security of minorities, but in the meaning conferred. Michael Freeman argues convincingly that "human rights" seem to be very hard to grasp from a legal point of view. Application of these rights is subject to the jurisprudence of every state. Although atrocities which often shock public audiences are prevented in the humanitarian campaigns, no less true is that the genocides are perpetrated by the states that supposedly should protect the vulnerable victims. Freeman acknowledges that,

*"The concept of human rights provides a way of thinking about such events. As you read these words, there will be probably be reports in the newspapers, and on radio, television, the internet and other new media, of similar cruelties and injustices elsewhere. There are histories about violation of human rights. These events are too real as human right is a concept. It is a device for thinking about the real, and for expressing our thoughts. If we are to understand the discourse of human rights, we must analyze this concept (Freeman, 2011:p. 3).*

In view of this, one of the most ethical obstacles of human rights seems to be given to the fact that it justifies politics. To some extent, as "the idolatry of human rights" leads the world to a much authoritarian government which serves as a police-force to penalize those disobedient regimes. Liberal philosopher Michael Ignatieff places the concept of human rights under the lens of scrutiny because it creates a state of exception that affects democracy. Although the United States has played a leading role in promoting democracy and human rights in other continents, many nations accused this power to violate their right to autonomy. The United States reserves the right to intervene preemptively in other states. In doing so, the "principle of self-determination" is offered as a convincingly and

convenient justification. Fallen in an atmosphere of narcissism, US believes not only in its liberal style of life, but in its cultural supremacy over other forms of organizations. Activists should understand that communities have the right to live as they want, Ignatieff adds. Any right is not only political but also remains deeply rooted in previous legal framework that precedes how this right is applied. The idealization of human rights is dangerous because it leads the US to make an imperial interpretation of the needs of intervention. Given this, one might understand the problem as a dichotomy between two sides, two interpretations: human rights as politics, and human rights as idolatry. The former refers to the application of rights to protect the vulnerability of people while the others is a sacred belief that aims to think the concept of human rights resolve all our disputes as civilization (Ignatieff, 2001; 2013; Ignatieff & Welsh, 2004). This is exactly the nature of "human right doctrine" had in Argentina. Maximiliano E Korstanje has criticized adamantly Ignatieff by his conception of war and rights. He not only overemphasizes in an idealized image of democracy, but does not understand the real roots of terrorism with accuracy. Terrorism and human right violations are inextricably intertwined because of two main reasons. First and foremost, terrorism is not the monopoly of a state, nor a tactic of extortion of a separatist group; it represents "a dialectics of hate" which encompasses states and their peoples. Secondly, terrorism resulted from the free game of democracy at the time when a party is pushed to operate clandestinely (Korstanje, 2013d).

In perspective, Daniel Feierstein reopens the discussion of human rights violations surrounding the Juntas. In his efforts to adjust the concept of crime towards the jurisprudence of genocide, Feierstein is required to forge a new definition of genocide which goes beyond the boundaries of that formulated by the United Nations a half century ago. Most certainly, this work shows the importance of formulating a new definition of genocide by adding political violence as a criterion for the obliteration of peoples. In 1948, the declaration of the UN did not contemplate as genocides the coercive practices of nation state to efface the internal conflict. The term was applied to the extermination camps produced by Nazism alone. In the next decades, a hot-debate will be given on the role of states by encouraging internal onslaughts against ethnic minorities or political dissidents. For this reason it is necessary not only to reopen the still hot debate about the tactics and techniques the Juntas used to

keep order, but also to re-examine how these types of events are repressed or memorized. The concept of fear is introduced to take gradually a darker meaning, most linked to terror. The paradoxical situation rests on the idea that nation-states enjoy the right to a monopoly of violence that can be exerted on their respective populations - even on minorities or vulnerable civilians. Needless to say, in an age when crimes were committed in the name of ideologies, any law aimed to protect the victims in accordance with their racial character was out of context. If crimes that are committed against civilians because of their religion (a system of ideas) are banned, then why was the concept of ideology excluded from the declaration? (Feierstein, 2014).

In this vein, Freddy Timmermann in his book *Violencia de Texto, Violencia de Contexto*, explains convincingly that the Cold War played a crucial role in the configuration to red-scare in Latin America. Governments, much prone to liberalism, devoted considerable time and resources to struggle against communism. Paradoxically, their obsessions led to what specialists described as “dirty wars”, Timmermann adds. At that time, social imaginary valorized the belief that the quest for resources to achieve the material success was more important than history. Of course, like the US, Chile has its tragic 9/11 (in 1973), where a coup conducted by General Augusto Pinochet overthrew the constitutional president Salvador Allende. This event not only was a blow against democratic institutions, but also paved the way for the advent of new economic policies for the country and workforce (Timmermann, 2008). As a result, citizenry disengaged from the politics. This facilitated the way for liberal policy-makers during the 1990s, to import neoliberalism as a valid solution for enhancing governance in the region. The violence adopted by the military Juntas not only destroyed the political being, but also the trust in politics (Timmermann, 2015).

In another major book, *The Great Terror*, Timmermann alludes to “*the meaning of terror*” to symbolize the violence suffered by political bodies in Latin America during the 1970s. The meaning of terror, which acted as a disciplinary mechanism of control over dissidents and worker unions, paved the ways for a lack of political resistance for the advent of neo-liberal policies in the 1990s. However, unlike Chile, Argentina faced neo-liberalism with stronger worker unions. Following Timmermann development, the acceptance of liberal discourses marked an old tension (gap) between the public and private sphere, which

was filled by the market. From this event on, politics was conceived as a dirty thing, which “good people” should ignore, or avoid. Timmermann understands the fear as an inherent part of a much wider dispositive intended to change the political act. Whenever the degree of fear is close to disintegrate the society, desensitization allows the social order to be restored. As a result of this, peoples feel what authors called “great terror” (Timmerman, 2015). Complementarily, Miguel Angel Ceneno observes, nation-states in Latin America never rivaled other neighboring states as European Leviathans did. In this region of the world, elite was concerned to keep under control the internal enemy. To preserve its privileges, status quo elaborated external threats which serve as fertile grounds to pose some ideological message to society. Although the region lacks of “total wars” as Europe or US, an extreme degree of violence was exerted against an internal enemy, elites historically decided to fight. Sociologically, from the “malón” [Indian attacks on colonists in the borderlands] to the insurgency, elites manipulated the international agenda to protect their own interests. The “red-scare” allowed the configuration of economic programs otherwise would be rejected by citizenry (Centeno, 2002).

What is clear is that unlike Chile where the state monopolized the use of violence to daylight, Juntas in Argentina installed a parallel state, where the arrests were illegally conducted in the secrecy of night. Tactics of this nature were advised by French advisers who had coped with Algerian resistance. *Los desaparecidos*, which means forced-disappeared dissidents, became in an “archetype of injustice and brutality in Argentina. To some extent, as Korstanje observed, the dilemma of “desaparecidos”, reminds us not only the power of religion, which is based on an absent body as the case of Christ, Gilgamesh, even Siegfried, but places victims as heroes. Given certain conditions, it may be a fertile ground for the configuration of a cult. Not surprisingly, “Kirchnerismo” an Argentinian political movement ignited by Nestor and Cristina Kirchner (current president) embraced the *desaparecidos*’ cause, giving assistance to human right organizations but bringing military officials to prosecutions (Korstanje 2012). Any religious cult is based on the principle of apotheosis; this means the ascendancy in spirit and body to heaven. Kirchnerismo envisaged the possibility to create a cult to produce a new type of politics, which nothing has to do with populism. Although the specialized literature suggests that Latin American governments are prone to

“populism” (Bonet, 2007; BiglieriPerello, 2007; Cantamutto, 2013; Korstanje, 2012; Dagatti, 2012), the present review-essay goes in the opposite direction. In this respect, Kirchnerismo is creating a new platform to make politics in the post-modern world, where the old concept of reality sets the pace to a paranoid-schizoid atmosphere of divergence. What are the elements of this new cult?

- a) The needs of adopting politics as a platform of redemption.
- b) The allegory of confrontational politics to struggle against evilness (in this case the liberal market)
- c) The absence of bodies, which is enrooted in the archetype of desaparecidos.
- d) The redemption of founding hero corresponded with Nestor Kirchner’s death.
- e) The needs of imagining a hell, which is symbolized by the return to financial crisis of 2001 (produced by Cavallo’s convertibility system).

All these elements formed together the fields for the production of a new cult that introduces the religious factor to create dependency and subordination; even sometimes overriding in the democratic institutions. However, what is more important, we have no evidence (nor antecedents) of governments who use conspiracy as a valid tactic to create two bi-polar worlds. In this text, we strongly believe that the reason of desaparecidos and Kirchnerismo are inextricably intertwined.

### ONE WORLD / MANY WORLDS

The problem of identity has traversed the western philosophical thinking over centuries. From Oedipus, to Moses, founding heroes are educated in a surrogate family without knowing their real identity. Nonetheless, this is not an obstacle in order for the identity to be changed. Unlike ancient Greece, where the kinship was unbreakable, the postmodernism introduced a new way how identity is lived. Today, it is possible to select those aspects of personality, and identity which should be ignored, adopting new archetypes to the extent changing sex or genre (Giddens, 1997). Although, according to the current law any change of child’s identity is dealt with very seriously, no less true is that we adopt “flexible” masks according to our wishes. Therefore, postmodernism produced new types of

subjectivities where the old notion of world or reality diluted. As David Harvey (1989) noted, the Enlightenment that postulated the age of reason as a means to place “an authoritative voice” in aesthetic, ethics, and religion. It represented an intellectual project that encouraged an orderly vision of the world. Beyond individual perception, the external world was immutable, irrefutable, and transcendent. As a result of Arab-Israeli war and its oil embargo, West faced serious problems to keep the long-scale means of production. The sense of only one truth not only collapsed according to the downfall of economic empire, but the same conceptualization of reality was radically changed. Instead of one World, postmodernity brought to politics the belief everybody is an individual. The consumer sophistication and its perception of the world put the deals of reason in jeopardy. Most certainly, as the Film *Matrix* shows, the boundaries of reality are being drawn by external forces, as a virtual intelligence that supposedly lead humans to be vats of energy. As a result of this, the decision making process is given by the fact of facing a terrible reality, or enthralling into a more comfortable dream-world (Nixon, 2005; Korsmeyer, 2005). In the terms of Van Fraassen, world as God seems to be abstractions of metaphysics; both are simulacra of real objects as continuance of illusion. In this radical discussion, the ability to doubt of external world, leads “psyche” towards realism (Fraassen, 2002). As Erion and Smith put it (2005), the self may dissociate a dream from reality, simply because it introduces the doubt as a mediator with environment. Beyond our dreams, only doubts ignites a radical rupture with illusion, resolving the dilemma of hyper-reality, as it has been posed by the postmodern philosophy (Erion & Smith, 2005). Is conspiracy resolving the inconsistencies of reality?

In the current times, the fascination of politicians for the theory of conspiracy is associated with the power it confers on the political masters. Although the theory of conspiracy was deemed as a pathology by classical literature (Lipset & Raab 1978; Groh 1987; Hofman 1993; Catron & Harmon 1981; Alhouse 1983), since it leads to “totalitarian Mind” (Arendt, 2013), recently, some scholars present conspiracy as a key factor of politics. As David Kelman argues, counterfeits politics takes conspiracy to enhance the legitimacy of the citizenry. Not surprisingly, Kelman adds, the strategies of populism, in Latin America and US, consists in using conspiracy to divert attention respecting to those points which are in dispute. The efficacy of modern politics to consolidate their hegemony corresponds with cutting

the reality in two parts. In respect to this, Kelman is convinced that the secret rests on the legitimacy of silence creating two alternative circuits, official and unofficial. It represents a disestablishing event that intersects both stories. The credibility of one story is linked to the secret that allows the discovering of the other. At time, the theory of conspiracy reveals a problem a plot emerges in order for elite to keep the control of society. Concerning not only dictatorship but democracies, the “counterfeit politics”, takes from conspiracy an excuse to impose policies otherwise would be neglected by lay-people. Any attempt to decipher the plot, validates the secrecy of politics,

*“Politics is not based on an ideology decided in advance, but it is rather constituted through a specific type of narrative that is often called conspiracy theory. This type of theory is always a machination, that is, a narrative mechanism that secretes, as it were, ideological labels such as the right or the left” (p. 8).*

Since the efficacy to pit one against another band alludes to create a dialectics of competition, then every conspiracy narrative connotes to a double structure, where the visible story is continuously eroded by a secret one.

More interesting in explaining the political struggle as an unlimited game, than a hierarchal line of power, Kelman suggests that conspiracy seems not to be a symptom of a much declining crisis, but the necessary condition for one discourse sets the pace to others. Politics, in his terms, can be defined as an illusory state of emergency where the sense of community (we) is opposed to others, who are the enemies (they). Conspiracy narratives are always enrooted in a near future, but never takes room in reality. In this type of simulacra, it may be remarked that not only conspiracy produces a paradoxical situation. At once politics is reproduced citizens are subject to experience threatening events. Fear plays a crucial role in conspiracy-related policies. Unless otherwise solved, the modern politics consolidate only where the official discourse is undermined and therefore, replaced by another parallel voice. Since conspiracy works from imagination, it needs from a gap to fulfill with allegories, story-telling and fictions. This hidden figure of politics not only is constructed by the secrecy of complot, or a story which never would be verified, but interpellate the official allegory. By means of creating instability,

conspiracy theory is used once and once again to enthrall elite in the power. Although Kelman’s explanation is eloquent and self-explanatory, we remain unclear on what is kirchnerismo and how it has historically consolidated its hegemony on voting system. Are populism frightened by aristocracies by their high degree of popular acceptance?, or simply they undermine democracy by the tergiversation of public opinion?.

## **WHAT IS KIRCHNERISMO?**

Kirchnerismo may be defined as a political Project born by the hands of former president Nestor Kirchner, while reassuming the government by Eduardo Duhalde. Although, in the first days, Kirchner and Duhalde were in agreement, with the passing the time, conflicts arise. Nestor Kirchner was president from 25 May 2003 to 10 December of 2007, seconded by his wife, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner from 10 December 2007 up to date. Cristina and Nestor showed some differences and discrepancies along with economy, politics but the project remained the conceptual basis of what was the struggle for human rights. This project appealed to construct a symbolic archetype of “desaparecidos”, which, as earlier discussed, embraced the cause of “disappeared dissidents in the last bloody dictatorships 1976/1982.

Kirchnerismo opened the doorstep to a new way of producing powers and making politics, as never before was known in Argentina. Bringing to present what has been the “lucha Armada (army struggle) Kirchnerismo enthralled as the only affordable sources to fight against financial corporations and concentrated monopolies. Its doctrine points out that Argentina never became in an industrial power because of the conspiracy of bourgeoisie elite that prioritized the agro-export model over other systems of production. These monopolies not only ruled the destiny of Argentina over decades, but also led lay people to the financial crisis of 2001. The success of kirchnerismo to erect its own ideology consists in denouncing the nation faces “hidden forces” which are plotting to affect the nation’s well-being. Nestor and Cristina adopted the theory of conspiracy to divide and rule.

With the passing of time, Kirchnerismo selected Clarin Publishing Group as the main target of its attacks. This corporation and its CEO, Magonetto were accused by the Government not only of plotting with Junta the coups in 1976, but also of taking advantage of this privilege position to create a monopoly of

information. Clarin was discredited in order for the public opinion to cover the corruption cases in top ranked politicians. Quite aside from the ideological dispute that confronted detractors and supporters of Clarin, Kirchnerismo used the same tactics to attack the main sources of information. The index of poverty and inflation prepared by I. N. D. E. C (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censo- National Institute of Statistics and Census), suffered a radical intervention which altered the methodologies of research. In the middle of an ideological war, audience was bombarded to contrasting information. Depending on the source, Kirchnerismo and Clarin devoted considerable efforts in declining its credibility each other. It widely recreated a paranoid-schizoid climate that blurred the connection of causes and effects in the events.

As the previous backdrop, Kirchnerismo consolidated its hegemony using some elements of religious cult, as it has been earlier debated. Artists, intellectuals, and political scientists adhered to the doctrine of "Patria o Muerte" (Motherhood or Death) (Skoll & Korstanje 2011; Korstanje 2011, 2012, 2013a). Evidently, the success of this political movement was associated to the production and management of information. However, at some extent, Kirchnerismo created a gap, which facilitated an epistemological rupture resulting in two contrasting realities.

### **From Loss of Identity Towards the Fragmentation of Reality**

Let's remind the readers that on 24 March, a military coup was carried out against the government of Maria Martinez de Peron. Military forces, commanded by General Jorge R. Videla established a new regime of terror and coercion, where dissidents were jailed and killed in clandestine camps. Although this practice was possible thanks to two decrees issued by Martinez de Peron, no less true is that Videla appealed to violence to destroy not only political opposition but also to weaken the worker unions, in order for his neoliberal politics not to be rejected by workforce. The atmosphere of violence against the Government by terrorist groups was so high that it attracted the attention of international public opinion. Armed civil groups known as Montoneros, ERP established a dirty war to kidnap and kill some targeted politicians or Generals (Kekes 2005). Many arrested children were relocated to other families covering their identity, conferring them another new one. Once democracy returned, Raul Alfonsín opened the file of CONADEP, bringing military commanders and civil terrorist to trial.

It was unfortunate the next president, Carlos S Menem pardoned all imprisoned covering a new veil of impunity for people from one and other side of the war committed serious violation to human rights.

Civil groups did their best to recover these children (known as nietos de desaparecidos) from the hands of their captors. As Guidotti Hernandez (2001) puts it, the legacy of nation state is fraught of violence and blood. Hosting enemy's offspring is nothing new or monstrous, it relates to a disciplinary mechanism to destroy a human group. Those who had the luck of surviving now are not compatible with their original culture, their identities, even histories. The obliteration of their self is in this case, a new opportunity to open negotiations with the new families (Voigt, 2009). Greek tragedy, from Oedipus is a valid example of how the lack of identity paves the ways for the moral disaster. As Kelman puts it, conspiracy has success in the mystery, because the paths of causalities are being broken into pieces. As a sleuth investigating a crime, conspiracy gives a credible explanation of events. Similarly to Matrix's synopsis where Neo is reintroduced into a new landscape, conferred of a new identity and name, "nietos" (disappeared grandchildren) are shocked by their own reality. This was the point manipulated by Kirchnerismo to produce politics in Argentina. The creation of an internal enemy doctrine produces a gap, which generates a shock in society. Governments allude to two contrasting bands (realities) to immobilize the protests of the citizens. As a result of this, Kirchnerismo, as many other neoliberal tendencies, keeps the workforce under the control of allegory; even installing nationalism as an ideological discourse. The real world is destroyed to instill two cosmologies. In doing so, the lay-people is paralyzed (Nixon, 2005; Erion & Smith, 2005).

Basically, as the "nietorecuperado" (recovered grandson) who is conferred of a new identity, once he/she discovers parents have been assassinated by State, Kirchnerismo alters the reality in its own favor (Korstanje 2014). We are not placing the labor of NGOs and civil groups who help "nietos" to retrieve the lost identity, but also explore how kirchnerismo biases the human rights discourse to create politics. The conspiracy is similar to legislate in backs to the society, or negotiate beyond the politics. This is the case of economic powers, as Clarin holding and other concentrated sectors of local economy. In this vein, Kirchnerismo alludes to conspiracy, as a pejorative term, as something which is associated to evil-doers, anti-democrat voices which should be silenced.

Whenever conspiracy hits Kirchner's presidency, or surfaced serious denounces of corruption, they are resulted from the lies of those who are traitors of the nation. As this argument given, Kirchnerismo and NietosRecuperados' struggle have many commonalities; in other terms, a point of convergence. While Kirchnerismo manipulates the reality to adopt the doubt, "nietorecuperado" starts its own tragedy from the doubt. Once its identity is restored, his biography (this means the experiences, dreams and hopes) are effaced forever. This destruction of real life, is what Kirchnerismo use to polarize the public opinion, enlarging the bridge between two poles. This seems not to be very different than what one may see in Matrix's film.

## CONCLUSION

To some extent, the recovered grand-son (nietorecuperado) has lived his life inside a fake. The recovery of his life, connotes not only a new identity, but to the idea the biographical life was subject to what was unreal. As the matrix, where Neo is shocked when realizes his life was a fake, Nietosrecuperados is re-channelled to a new life which escapes from biographical real life. From the moment of discovery on, nietorecuperado is pressed to be what in reality he is not. This means that its identity is logically enrooted in future. Its original family name will be only in the future. This is exactly what postmodern cosmology made to lay citizens who may adjust their own identities to their temporal needs and desire. The contemporary identity may be changed according to many folds once and once again without problems. Besides, Kirchnerismo appeals to secrecy and conspiracy as a way of instilling the doubts, to split the reality in two. On one side, we have the official history which can be real but does not sound good.

The death of Alberto N. Nisman, Argentinian prosecutor, who was found at his room gun-shot, seems to be an example of what we have noted. What is clear (the reality) Nisman is dead, but the discussion on the causes and context of that death remain in the shadow. In some sense, we feel Kelman's theory is incomplete. The conspiracy closed the hermeneutical circle of hegemony, just whenever ideology does not work. If we start from the premise Nisman committed suicide forced by emotional problems, for example depression, if he would leave a parting letter, it would be impossible to apply the conspirational narrative. However, we do not know whether it represents a case of forced-suicide, or he was even killed up to date?.

This gap, loophole, may be filled according to the interests of diverse actors. For the government, Nisman was killed to discredit the presidency months before presidential elections. Rather, other voices claimed Nisman committed suicide because his denounce against president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner was a "fake". Whatever the case may be, government not only failed to protect Nisman but also appears in the scene as the primary responsible of this tragedy. Although, accusations against Government cannot be empirically tested, it served to forge a plot (an imaginary story) to hide the own inefficiencies. In doing so, the conspiracy allows keeping the society united but at a higher cost. The confrontational tactics cement the politics in order for the elite's authority to be preserved. Here, a new question arises, what does a person feel whenever Other says his identity is false?. This question, which has been discussed in Matrix SAGA is present in the civil association Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo or "nietosrecuperados", who struggle for recovering the identities of "niñosencautiverio" (kidnapped children).

Since the "nietorecuperado" discovers its own identity, its past, feelings, biography and emotions are destroyed forever for a new garment that has been externally designed. This discourse allows Kirchnerismo opening a gap with two contrasting realities, based in "schizoid-paranoid logic" where dichotomization legitimates the political continuance of what has been the neoliberalism. Paradoxically, Kirchnerismo validates daily what in the bottom it hates.

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