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THE PRACTICE OF MEMORY: DECOLONIAL RESISTANCE IN INDIGENOUS CHILE AND THE CHILEAN DIASPORA

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Through analysis of poetry, performance, and theatre – three sites in which body and text are entwined – "The Practice of Memory: Decolonial Resistance in Indigenous Chile and the Chilean Diaspora" argues that memory is a crucial site for decolonial resistance. It analyzes memorial practices in 20th and 21st century Chile and the U.S. within a continental American context. Staging a Performance Theory intervention in Memory Studies, "The Practice of Memory" identifies memory as performance revealing it as an always incomplete and repeated practice of translating experience, allowing for self-redefinition and social transformation into new, extra-national collectivities. The broader implications of this project are its effect on how we understand the relationship between contemporary Latinx and Latin American national identities and histories, specifically as their constitution emerges from an ongoing colonial project of Indigenous dispossession and Black subjugation. Through memorial performances we not only come to understand how subjugating systems such as state dictatorship, and neoliberal governance and sociality structure our every relation, but also how the decolonial potential in memory and memorial performance generates a space for living in ways that defy these systems.

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To the beyond, always in our present.

To Roxy.

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INTRODUCTION

> Chile and the United States: rotten carcass economies both of them. There is slaughter everywhere, and the shame and guilt and horror of militaristic, neoliberal violence transcend the imaginary boundaries of nation-states.
>
> —Daniel Borzutzky, from "Are We Latino: Memories of my Overdevelopment"

On July 12, 1981 the Chilean art action group CADA (Colectivo Acciones de Arte, Art Actions Collective) performed *¡Ay Sudamérica!*. In this performance the collective dropped 400,000 flyers from six military planes in battle formation over the periphery of Santiago de Chile. The unedited video documentation mirrors the language of the flyers (Figure 2), where "we" recognize ourselves in the landscape, the snow-capped Andes seen from the window of an airplane. The text scrolling at the bottom of the screen reads: "Cuando ud. camina atravesando estos lugares reconoce el espacio de nuestras vidas: piel morena, estatura y lengua" (When you walk through these spaces you recognize the space of our lives: brown skin, stature, and language).[1] The scene cuts and thousands of flyers erupt into the sky from another plane. The camera pans, following them turning like leaves blown through the air. At the bottom of the screen the text reads, "La ampliación de los niveles de vida es el único montaje de arte valido, la única obra que vive (Increasing the standards of living is the only valid staging of art, the only work that lives.)[2]

The cloud skirted peaks of the Andes are in view as more flyers burst from an airplane, and as the camera follows the flyers through the sky a blue text in the center

[1] Available on the Hemispheric Institute website.

[2] Many of the lines in this poem/manifesto/artist statement resonate with lines from Raúl Zurita's oeuvre in both sentiment and syntax, marking the text as likely his. The poem/manifesto/artist statement resonates with Zurita's poetry and *escritura material* as discussed in Chapter One.

of the screen notifies us that we are "sobre Santiago" (over Santiago). Three planes are flying over the edge of the city, circling back over the valley. The scene cuts and we are looking up from the ground now, the flyers falling slowly, suggesting that "we" are both above and below. The scene cuts again and we see a black and white still image of what appears to be five or six planes from the perspective of the ground through a series of five parallel power lines. There are black clouds of smoke near the center of the grouping of planes—perhaps an explosion, a trace of some violence visible. Over this image are the words in the center of the screen: PRODUCCION CONTRA LA MUERTE. (PRODUCTION AGAINST DEATH). The screen fades to black.

"Producción," here, is to conducir hacia delante, llevar adelante. To bring forth or come into being. It suggests an act of creation. "Producción" is also to be understood as a gesture toward the Chilean working class signified by the flyer's focus on land and trade workers. The unifying "usted" (the formal you, or you all) is thus a calling into being a collective that does not include the nation's political and military elite, those who instigated and maintained dictatorship and the expansion of neoliberal capitalist policies.[3] This collective is re-formed within the imaginative geography elaborated through the performance by transforming their function as laborers into workers of happiness in the everyday practice of art as life/life as art. What the collective brings forth, or translates, through these practices is the space for living "against" the always encroaching threat of death under the dictatorial state. The "space of our lives," this imaginative space opened

[3] Although class is an extremely important form of Chilean social organization, and the working-class and labor unions were primarily responsible for electing Socialist president Salvador Allende, some within this class, including some Mapuche, supported Pinochet and his regime, largely for economic rather than ideological reasons. We must also consider the privileged race and class positions of those within CADA.

up for the formation of a "we," is made possible by constituting a signifying center of collective identity for remembering who "we" are.[4] This signifying center is generated in practices of memory which take the traces of history as the material of production: Ethno-racial and class categories (brown skin), the presence of the body (stature), and the means of understanding the self in the social (language).

In *¡Ay Sudamérica!* the airplanes visually and sonically recalled those that dropped bombs on the presidential palace, La Moneda, on the morning of the September 11, 1973 coup, which inaugurated the subsequent seventeen-year dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. The performance was an example of what I call a practice of memory in which the trace of historical memory is resignified through its imaginative repetition. In *¡Ay Sudamérica!* the cohesion between experience and memory, the past and the present, was disrupted when thousands of flyers twisted slowly through the air. Instead of bombs CADA's planes dropped a mechanically reproduced poetic statement, and instead of dropping them on the then symbolic center of national politics they were given flight over the periphery of Santiago where many indigenous and economically insecure peoples lived and worked.[5] The planes and flyers

[4] CADA's "expansion of livable space" (see flyer in figure 2) is antithetical to the expansionist imperial project undertaken under the Nazi ideological principle of Lebensraum, or "living room." Lebensraum was foundationally a matter of dispossession and settler-colonial territorial expansion, the opposite of the collective, relational, and nation-state defying performances described throughout this project.

[5] Delali Kumavie, whose memory of working a printing press with her father, offered a possible explanation to why CADA printed the seemingly arbitrary number 400,000. Printing this number of fliers using the offset printing technology of the time would require printing many more than 400,000 fliers. So why insist on the number 400,000 in both the video and text documentation of the performance? According to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas de Chile* the country's population in 1980 was approximately 11,174,173 while the indigenous population accounted for just over 3.5%, giving us the approximate number of indigenous peoples at 400,000. This

occupied the sky, a common space and symbolic site of hope, and made a gesture of possibility for a hopeful future through the performance of this seemingly impossible grand action under dictatorship. In this way, *¡Ay Sudamérica!* literally and symbolically materialized the conceptual ideality of the flyer's contents by bringing forth the flyers into the hands of those below (Figure 1). The hands of those who would stage life as creative practice.

Figure One
¡Ay Sudamerica! July, 1981

The flyer's mechanical reproduction (the printing process is portrayed at length in the video installation material) brought them from the realm of art's "aura" of

statistical relation suggests that this was one community CADA had in mind as recipients of these utopian flyers.

uniqueness to the realm of politics (Benjamin 222). This form of politics reimagines social and political change as happening in people's everyday lives through their engagement with and transformation of their lives and the landscapes within which they exist. This transformation is not only in material "producción," but "en nuestras mentes" (in our minds), in "La vida como un acto creativo" (Life as a creative act). The mental work of resignifying our identities and our social relationality suggests a form of "decolonizing the mind" through the understood entwinement of life and language, where "language is […] central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to the entire universe" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 4).

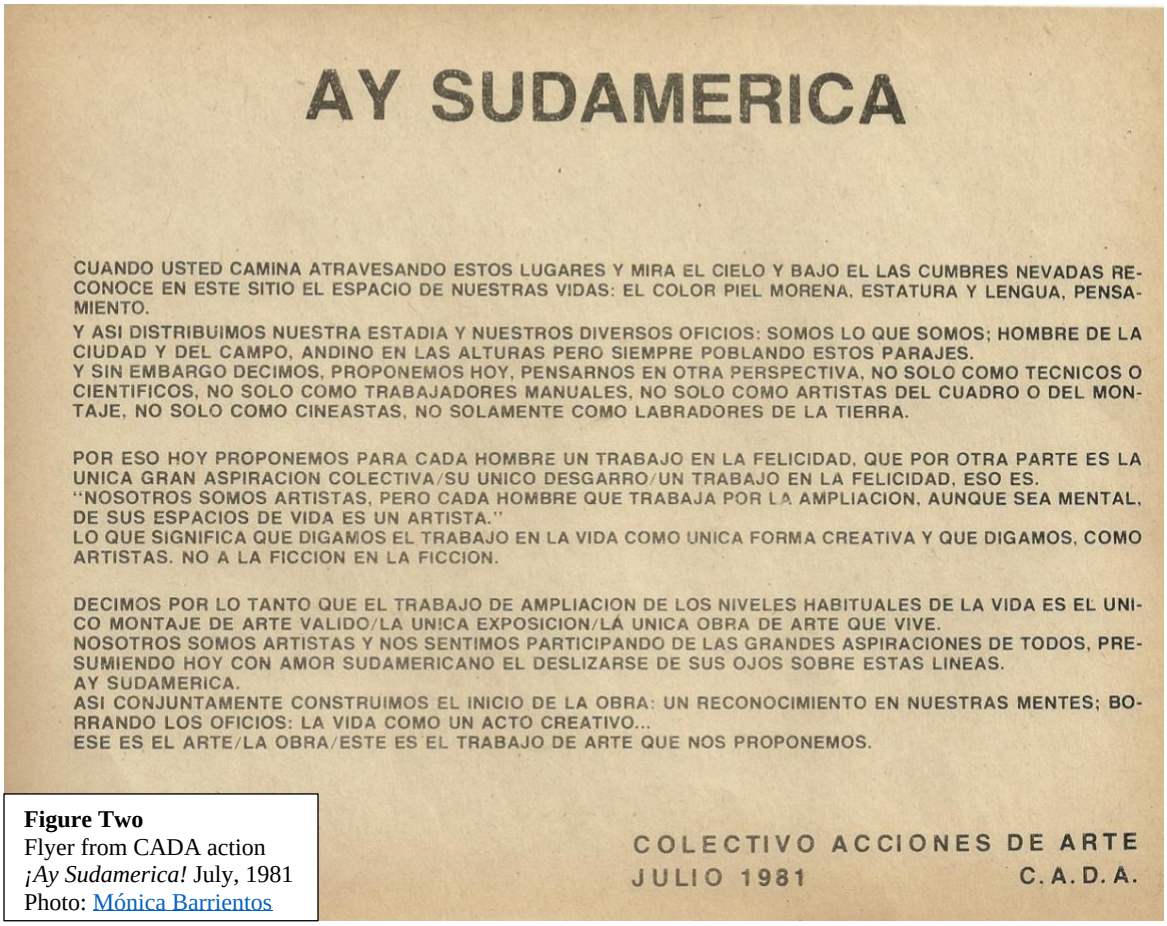

Figure Two
Flyer from CADA action *¡Ay Sudamerica!* July, 1981
Photo: Mónica Barrientos

The language of the flyer combined with the material gestures of the performance and its documentation defies a Chilean identity based on the state and nation by drawing a connection

between the aspects of the landscape, “las cumbres nevadas” (the snowy peaks), and a perceived collectivity through a shared *recognition* of “el espacio de nuestras vidas” (the space of our lives).

This act of expanding livable space through this performative imagining of a collective *space of our lives* is akin to what José Muñoz might call a “Brown Commons”:

> Brown Commons is meant to signify at least two things. One is the commons of brown people, places, feelings, sounds, animals, minerals, flora, and other objects. How these things are brown, or what makes them brown, is partly the way in which they suffer and strive together but also in the commonality of their ability to flourish under duress and pressure. They are brown in part because they have been devalued by the world outside their commons (“Preface: Fragment from the *Sense of Brown* Manuscript,” 395).

Muñoz’s conception of the “Brown Commons” provides us a model for understanding CADA’s memorial performance and accompanying text, what I call performance-texts, as a gesture that transcends the identity categories of the nation-state in favor of an affinity born from a shared negation, a shared suffering, and generative acts within colonialism and Empire. As in CADA’s performance, or “art action,” the commons are imagined as both human and other-than-human, as phenomenal and ontological. They are the imaginative geographies constituted by those who are, as Walter Mignolo describes, *living the colonial difference.* These bodies carry through (translate) “the world outside” ways of knowing and doing within the colonial difference, “where coloniality of power is enacted, […] where the restitution of subaltern knowledge is taking place, and where border thinking is emerging” (*Local Histories X*). Through Sandra Ruiz’s conversation with Muñoz we better understand that the negations that generate CADA’s proposed collectivity are as much linked to the oppressive structures that form a Brown Commons as they are the generative processes of feeling and knowing one’s self and one another. Ruiz writes that for Muñoz, brownness is how (or when) “Subjects […]

come to know one another through their negation," and "come to know, feel, love, and exist with one another" (27). This interrelation happens "through theatricality, speech acts, quotidian occurrences, and performance more generally […] both on- and offstage" (27). *¡Ay Sudamerica!*'s gesture of collectivity and unification via the shared practice of life as a staged artistic act is also a gesture of interrelation; both generative and borne of negation, a critique and a creation. That we "come to know…" is a matter of memory as it infers the learning process intrinsic to the transit of time and identity formation from memory of past experience and its inference upon the future.

Although *¡Ay, Suadamerica!* does not produce an immediately legible effect on the ongoing conditions of state sponsored violence, its performance of extra-national, anti-capitalist and decolonial social relationality generates an imaginative geography where these relations can unfold. Practices of memory like *¡Ay, Suadamerica!* are catalysts for repeated actions that construct and confirm identities that work to transcend colonial categories and social formations produced through negation. Inasmuch as these social identities are formed by negation, they also defy the privatizing, individualizing, and racial capitalist logics of Empire through the difference generated in memorial repetition: other ways of doing, of feeling, and of knowing one another. Throughout "The Practice of Memory" are analyses of memorial practices that generate the imaginative spaces necessary for this ongoing work of decolonization. Because from Chile to the U.S. and back again, "the shame and guilt and horror of militaristic, neoliberal violence transcend the imaginary boundaries of nation-states," this project proposes a decolonial response that also transcends these imaginary boundaries. (Borzutzky 2015, 41). The remainder of the introduction is organized into sections which attend to theoretical frameworks specific to this project.

"CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES: ROTTEN CARCASS ECONOMIES BOTH OF THEM."

We can, in many ways, gain deeper understandings of the present U.S. neoliberal and racial capitalist project by paying attention to the contemporary politics in Chile and their intensifying national unrest. Instead of rehearsing the history of Chile's recent past here, let's begin with the assertions that 1) neoliberalism is a contemporary instantiation of colonial power, and 2) because Chile was the center for the experimentation and subsequent dissemination of neoliberal economic and social restructuring it is of paramount importance in understanding the progression of European colonial power into contemporary structures of this ongoing colonialism within and between "independent" nation states. Throughout "The Practice of Memory" the history of Chile's recent past is used to historicize practices of memory, or those present, repeated practices where other ways of knowing the past emerge from embodied experience and generate a doing that defies the abjectifying and interpellative modes of colonial power that normalize its violent logics.

These repeated practices of memory as a mode of telling and retelling is what Steve Stern calls Chile's "memory struggles." These struggles are the tensions between national historical memory and social forms of memory from the rewriting of national identity during the Allende presidency, Augusto Pinochet's dictatorial rule and the traumatic effects of extreme violence under dictatorship, to the post-dictatorship return to "democracy." Whereas Stern offers us a profound and detailed historical analysis of these three eras of memory struggles in Chile and how they manifest in various social and political realms, "The Practice of Memory" is focused on practices of embodied, social, and historical memory within this confrontational memorial landscape as the site in which other ways of knowing and doing are made possible. What is meant, here, by embodied memory is the sense of experience as it

manifests as affect and instantiates itself through cognition in one's present actions. This includes the epistemological certitude of historical memory that the body imbues upon the world and which, thus, affects one's phenomenal and ontological understanding of the world. These two forms of memory, embodied and historical, are as entwined with our social being as language is in manifesting memory itself in the world. As memory is the primary process of individual and national identity formation, the memorial performances discussed herein are to be understood as both interventions into structures of abjection (i.e. forms of resistance), and the generation of livable space beyond the delimitations of national memorial discourses and their material and imaginary transformations.

The actors that are central to this discussion are those who *live the colonial difference*, described above. Mignolo's constant morphing of the term over time and through other texts is a way of sustaining its effectivity in the face of the changing surfaces and modes of colonial power. In *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* (2018), Mignolo elaborates "the colonial difference" as an epistemological project – an explicit relation to imperial logics of Christianity, and the displacement of other histories and ways of knowing with revisions that trace Western knowledge as a trajectory toward Modernity emergent from a mythical Greece severed from African and Middle Eastern epistemological origins. He writes, "Colonial and imperial differences were and still are fundamental in securing the *Eurocentered perceptions of the totality of knowledge*, in driving westernizing designs for five centuries and in propelling rewesternization. Or, you can read it also in reverse: Eurocentrism and the North Atlantic were and are the consequences of the effective manufacturing of colonial and imperial differences"

(191 emphasis mine).[6] But as Aníbal Quijano, Enrique Dussel, Achille Mbembe, and others all recognize, the onto-epistemological structures of the colonial project are presented as, but are not, a totality in the sense of a fixed limit to *being*.

The structures of exclusion, extraction, consumption, and Imperial appropriation are often referred to as "the coloniality of power" or the "colonial matrix of power, being, and knowledge that became a central, if not a constitutive, dimension of Western modernity and its hegemonic civilization project" (Maldonado-Torres 11). This knowledge reproduced and reified by and through its assertion permeates all realms of coloniality's totality. Totality is a way of looking at being and becoming as a process that happens in the present, in memory. Totality is based upon our interpretations of the past and how those interpretations affect our orientations toward the future. This sense of totality, in combination with the effects on our thinking and actions from interpretations of totality, give us an understanding of what is possible in the future and therefore also directly affect its realization. In order to sustain itself as totality, the colonial matrix of power instantiated as neoliberalism is a closed circuit. It is a self-producing system; a reified set of social relations by which we have all been hailed and, according to Judith Butler (*Excitable Speech),* made subject. As subjects, we often have agency within the coercion intrinsic to subjection to contest, defy, and dismantle the preexisting structures of these social relations. In other words, performativity necessitates having come into being as Subject within a certain set of social relations in order to also invert or un-

[6] Walter Mignolo has described the colonial difference across multiple texts and articles since the mid-1990s (most notably in his books *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* and *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization* (1995)). Perhaps his most cited engagement is in the 2002 *South Atlantic Quarterly* article "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference." Throughout this dissertation I mobilize this concept as articulated in *Local Histories* above.

engender the logics of specific performative acts. However, beyond a shattered interpellation or "incomplete" interpellation are other hails, other realms within which we become.

Rather than imagining the utopian outside to the totality of global racial capitalism, the no-place beyond this spatio-temporal trajectory, "The Practice of Memory" explores the spaces opened up within this apparent totality. My project theorizes these openings as imaginative geographies within our current socio-cultural neoliberalism that alter the onto-epistemological landscape, "decomposing" its structures of knowing and doing. Both this decomposition and the generation of livable space emerge from practices of memory where presence and self-presence are actuated and re-actuated. From Derrida's deconstructionist neologism of the trace, "the possibility of re-petition in its most general form," we find the conceptual space for understanding breaks in historical totality and totalizing systems of subjection (Cisney 132). He writes, "Does not the fact that this fold in presence or in self-presence is irreducible, that this trace or this différance is always older than presence and obtains for it its openness, forbid us from speaking of a simple self-identity 'im selben Augenblick'?" (*Voice and Phenomenon* 58). "im selben Augenblick," here, could be translated from the German as "in an instant" or we could say, "in the blink of an eye." Therefore, we understand that the trace precedes presence and, thus, self-identity is always already open to the difference generated in repetition.

The same could be said for performance itself as performance always involves repetition, or as Richard Schechner coined it, "restored behavior." Sandra Ruiz articulates the connection between restored behavior and the repetitions of becoming in her pivotal book *Ricanness*. She writes, "Performance is also 'a restoration of behavior' in which human actions are the results of an aggregate of past behaviors that are reorganized and remade according to

an infinite number of possibilities" (14). This remaking, I posit, happens in acts of remembering where the past opens up to the future through present reenactment. Thus, "Restored behavior provides a framework by which to understand how we *do* culture and also learn to revitalize it against impending odds" (14). This idea becomes important in thinking about the undercurrent of this project's analysis of performances that defy national identification as central to ethno-racial identities, or ethno-racial identities as central to the formation of other, non-capitalist relationality. These performances are not attempts at forging identities within the regressive utopias of *indigenismo* but rather actions that create new sets of social relations *through* resistance to the violent ongoing conditions of colonialism, allowing for their own kind of evolutionary reproduction. These actions are always practices of memory, as they are founded on the processes of learning, of self-identity, and systems of pedagogy that jump from body to body in the minoritarian socio-cultural sphere.[7] Within each iteration of an act, some aspect of the act and its significance is lost. However, with each repetition some aspect of the act and its significance is also gained, generated from this loss in order to retrieve or replace the loss. The lost and the gained are not part of an equation, but rather what is and is not sustained over time in the present of remembering. Both the utilitarian aspects of memory, what is relevant from the past to present concerns and necessities, and the futural aspects of memory, what is brought into the present in the service of the future as *a way of remembering,* occupy our cognition of memory and its effects. Thus, what is lost is not gone, not replaced,

[7] For other ways of thinking about this "body jumping", see the discussion of translation in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, Joseph Roach's *Cities of the Dead* (1996), and Rebecca Schneider's "That the Past May Yet Have Another Future: Gesture in the Times of Hands Up" (2018).

but presently insensible. What is gained is always an/other way of knowing and doing in the world. As we will see, memory proliferates in forgetting.

PRACTICES OF MEMORY, AND THE PERFORMANCE OF DECOMPOSITION

"The Practice of Memory" brings to the surface practices of other ways of knowing and doing that defy the logics of colonialism and its instantiations, such as neoliberalism, in the independent (postcolony) and post-dictatorial state. At its core, it enacts a practice of critique and imaginative interpretation that enables social and self-redefinition. In other words, it is a practice of sensing an/other way and, in doing so, dismantling the logics of colonialism and its instantiations. The practice of dismantling is most often an act of "decomposition." It works to undo the logocentric, archived bodies that precede our corporeal bodies. As I tell my students, the meaning of our bodies precedes the presence of our bodies. Before one can differentiate themselves from the world, from their mothers, they are raced, sexed, classed, and so on. The body will always be understood through established lenses for understanding. Decomposition, thus, happens through embodied performance that de-composes the Imperial written scripts of subjection and subjugation. Taking into consideration the function and processes of memory as constitutive of personal and collective identities, "The Practice of Memory" takes a Performance Studies approach to Latin American Memory Studies to disclose the potential for decolonial futures through differences accrued in memorial performance as a practice of this decomposition. This project thus argues that the work of dismantling happens in practices of memory precisely because it is the primary site of identity formation. It is thus also the primary site for the performativity of interpellation by which one becomes a subject and defies subjection.

Of particular concern to this project are ways of knowing and doing that open space within oppressive regimes for the continuation and invention of ways of living beyond mere survival, and for the emergence of new decolonial practices beyond the geopolitical, temporal, and subjectivity limits of the nation-state. This project is specifically interested in how poetry and performance exceed the bounds of language and allow for the emergence of other ways of knowing and doing that are embodied in corporeal excess. Corporeal excess is that embodied knowledge and un-interpellatable materiality of the body. This theoretical orientation is a thinking of the possibility for langauge and embodied action to affect cognition and phenomenal apprehension, disrupt epistemologies of cognitive capital, and thus effect change in the world. It is an approach that reveals how subjugating systems emerge from a colonial continuum translated across bodies, cultures, and continents, while focusing on how people have both resisted these systems and generated space for living beyond a relationship of resistance to these oppressive systems. At the core of this approach is always the question: what does decolonial resistance look like in our present political economy and what are its aims?

Practices of memory are those practices founded in the tense space between knowing (an embodied experience) and the known (the quotidian, discursive memory or common sense). They are always incomplete "recollections of oneself," which Saidiya Hartman in quoting Drucilla Cornell writes, "is always an act which imagines through the remembrance of its own claims of selfhood what can never be fully recollected, but only forever reimagined and re-told" (Hartman 75). This kind of remembrance enables "us to regenerate ourselves through the continuing process of redefinition" (Hartman 223). These are practices of social- and self-redefinition through the repetitions of memory which take as their citation iterations

that have cultivated meaning beyond common sense and imperial epistemologies. These recollections are always incomplete, require re-imagining, and thus enable the embodied excess of memory and language to be generative rather than restrictive, as is the case with history's attempts at fixity through narrative and material representation. Practices of memory enable a kind of social and self-redefinition through "repetition or iterability" as Cornell described above, and in doing so – as opposed to historiography – they point to the continuation and reverberation of the event through the body. Practices of memory not only enliven memory through embodied circulation and its corporeal accruement of citation, but also, because of this embodiment, exceed the limits of language, of history and its structural organization of the body. We see and feel this generative force as an ontological tension because we make sense of our present in relation to a past that *has happened* but live this present as a continuation of this *ongoing* past.

I return to this idea throughout and would do well to call attention to its founding in the works of Chilean scholar Nelly Richard and the Argentine scholar Beatriz Sarlo. Both scholars theorize the symbolic and material violences of the past as continuing in the present inasmuch as they are thrown toward the future in line with a present common sense trajectory of the market (a kind of memorial "development") and in its friction with this market trajectory through the power of historical critique. Performances of memory also find resonance with Hartman's notion that "redress is a re-membering of the social body that occurs precisely in the recognition and articulation of devastation, captivity, and enslavement" and that as a radical and generative practice we should attend to "the ways memory acts in the service of redress rather than an inventory of memory," or what Sharpe, as an effect of wake work, calls "possibilities for rupture" (76 – 77, 73; 7). The practice of memory, the ongoing and ever-

transforming re-structuring and re-membering, is the mobilization of memory in the service of redress in that it continually redefines the self and therefore the social relationality of self.

A major part of "The Practice of Memory" is a rethinking of resistance in terms of the above described creative or generative practice of memory. Western scholarship has largely treated the myriad actions in formal and/or structural opposition to systems of oppression and repression in terms of what I consider "legible resistance." As forms of organized opposition to oppressive/repressive governmental and social systems and structures, resistance is often figured both as a direct political opposition (a force – a meeting of flows of power with flows of power) and alternative formations of power that disorganize or reorganize these oppressive and repressive flows. Resistance in any countless number of Sociological and Historical texts is most often framed as response or reaction to oppression and repression that is both exhaustive in its breadth of practices and exhausting as ongoing practices directly related to that which is being resisted.[8] Although interpretations of resistance in these texts are focused on their direct relation to oppressive acts, that is not to say that the acts of resistance described within do not exceed, inasmuch as they generate something more than, their relation to oppressive acts. The practices described herein, rather, find footing in a genealogy of thinkers such as Saidiya Hartman, Walter Mignolo, Sara Ahmed, Aimé Césaire, Enrique Dussel, Catherine Walsh, Jaime Luis Huenún, Albán Achinte, Frantz Fanon, José Esteban Muñoz, Rodrigo Rojas, and Sandra Ruiz, to name but a modally, spatially, and temporally diverse few

[8] See these brilliant histories and sociological edited collections. Steve J. Stern (1987); Thomas E. Skidmore (1990); Robert Goldberg (1996); Daniel Aarão Reis (2000); Elio Gaspari (2002-03); Hugo Vezzetti (2003); Pilar Calveiro (2005); John C. Chasteen (2008); John Lynch (2008); Richard Stahler-Sholk (2008); James Petras (2011); Raúl Zibechi (2012); Alexander Aviña (2014); Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani (2015); Scott G. McNall (2018)

cited throughout.[9] Of the many things these scholars have in common are how their projects expand space for being in ways that defy Imperial logics within the postcolony. Further, as stated above, the generative effects of practices of memory surface – is uncovered – through their acts of critique and imaginative interpretation. Thus, what might be interpreted as an act only in relation to a legible oppression or structurally oppressive regime is often also an act of expanding livable space.[10] The space *expanded* is where other ways of knowing and doing make possible new imaginative geographies through an/other social organization not delimited by national identity or market relations, which are exemplified in each subsequent chapter.

I maintain the word "resistance" in order to retain the history and genealogy of diverse resistive practices. However, resistance in this project imagines a specific set of generative (creative) rather than depletive practices, ones that have yet to be codified by the state or within existing colonial regimes of knowledge and power, and ones that have effect primarily by way of the internalized processes of memory through body and language. The ability of these practices to escape codification is due to their illegibility within, or excess of, the logics of the state. They emerge from identities that have defied or escaped initial interpellation.

TENSION AND TENSE SPACE

Tension is defined as "A constrained condition of the particles of a body when subjected to forces acting in opposite directions away from each other (usually along the body's greatest length), thus tending to draw them apart, balanced by forces of cohesion holding them together" (OED). Thinking metaphorically, tension is "a constrained condition"

[9] See also the works of James C. Scott, Adrienne Rich, James Baldwin, Paulo Freire, Vine Deloria, Toni Morrison, Leanne Simpson, Frank O'Hara, and so on.
[10] See footnote 4.

of being acted upon by opposing forces (e.g. political opposition), while the opposing forces are also "balanced by forces of cohesion" (e.g. political opposition will always be in relation to the political, in the realm of politics). Thinking through a Performance Studies lens at performances of memory we can imagine, for example, the pulling points of contact as knowledge of self and world which emerge from the body (our body schema) and the self and world which emerges from the body as constituted ideologically prior to the presence of our bodies. We could also imagine the space of tension as between past events and futural horizons, in which the embodied actions of performance are the dynamic effects made potential through this particular imaginative, temporal configuration. Restoration would be the integration of these points into our lives as our state of *being*, as reality. Imagining these points of contact as opposing memorial discourses, narratives of the past which look forward and struggle for supremacy, makes the potential energy in-between a limited field of possibility always relative to these two points. Restoration would be stasis through the recognition of the dynamic potential between these two points, and therefore the mutual need for an opposing discourse. Or, restoration could be the release of one point of contact, one discourse uncontested. In this project, practices of memory emerge from the potential energy generated in this tense space between two points, enlivened by contestation. Practices of memory are thus always that: practices. Necessarily repeated, unfixed, and generative.

Tension is also that space in-between a *then* and a *yet to come*, between the ongoing present history of colonial power and morphing futures always on the horizon. The term "tension," as I mobilize it in this dissertation, is both metaphor and analogy for thinking about what exceeds the relationship of resistance to, or that which exceeds those practices of contestation and defiance engendered by ongoing structures of colonial subjugation, and

generates a potential that is imminent. For example, the preeminent Chilean theorist Nelly Richard explores the generative aspect of tension when she describes the relationship between past and present in contemporary memorial discourse: "La relación – siempre inestable – entre pasado y presente adquiere vigor expresivo cuando el recuerdo del ayer entra en resonancia vital con las inquietudes y las perturbaciones del hoy" (The instable relationship between past and present acquires expressive vigor and communicative power by situating the recollections of yesterday in a vital resonance with contemporary anxieties and concerns) (10; *xxiv*). This unstable relationship between past and present is an effect of memory's relation to the present and, in particular, its "inquietudes y las perturbaciones del hoy." This state of "inquietud" is a projection beyond the present while situated in the imminent unfolding of the present toward the future. While Levinas describes the temporality of anxiety as "index[ing] the interruptive presence of time within the present, the irruption of eternity into the quotidian," Heidegger conceives of anxiety as an understanding of *having been* that emerges from the future, releasing the *yet to come* as we approach it (Kear 112-113). The instability of the "between" past and present is, sampling Kierkegaard's notion of the actuality of freedom, "the possibility of possibility" (42). In and of the tense space, that energetic interstice latent with energy, between what is sensed and what remains *yet to come*, between all competing memorial discourses, are practices of memory.

Practices of memory are fundamentally potential, the creativity of memory presently enacted tending toward the futural horizon (not a represented future) of memorial discourse. Memory will always produce its own opposition through this moving beyond an irretrievable

past whose trace precedes our presence.[11] As Bergson writes, "Insofar as unpredictable and new reality creates itself, its image reflects itself behind itself in the indefinite past: this new reality finds itself all the time having been possible; but it is only at the precise moment of its actual emergence that it begins to always have been, and this is why I say that its possibility, which does not precede its reality, will have preceded it once this reality emerges" (quoted in Zizek, 204). Such is the multidirectional temporality of memory which opens up the past to possibility and the present to potentiality in an unfolding future. Practices of memory are those present improvisations that resist representation and therefore remain a dynamic potential for other ways of being, knowing, and doing. As a generative expansion of livable space, the tense space creates its own energy through this translation toward a horizon.

BUEN VIVIR, KUME MÖNGEN, SUMAK KAWSAY, AND VINCULARIDAD

As a way of thinking from the continent's methodologies for liberation as action against neoliberal sociality, multicultural inclusion, administrative genocide, and the representational limits of the postcolonial nation on identity, my project originally sought to mobilize the concept *buen vivir* (good living/life in plenitude), which emerged from the Kichwa *Sumak Kawsay,* as a way of thinking about the excess of resistance and the expansion of livable space. What most appealed to me was the idea that just as the coloniality of power has its local instantiations from which specific genealogies of colonial power emerge, so must our practices of harmonious sociality emerge from local ecologies. An important aspect of modes of being like Sumak Kawsay are their spatio-temporal specificity. This is the reason why the Quechua peoples have *Sumak Kawsay,* the Aymara *Suma Qamaña,* the Mapuche *Küme Mongen,* the

[11] For more on the trace preceding presence, see Henri Bergson's "Two Sources of Morality and Religion," and Slavoj Zizek's discussion of it in *Parallax View.*

Maya *Ich'el Ta Muk*, the Guarani *Ñande Reko*, the Kuna *Balu Wala*, and so on. Through a close study of the specificities of Sumak Kawsay and Küme Mongen, I imagined that what is necessary in an ethical planetary relationality that defies white, Western, heteropatriarchal, anthropocentric social orders and organizations is the regeneration of an ontology that emerges locally. However, my understanding of these modes for harmonious living were from knowledges produced *about* Sumak Kawsay and other local, Indigenous people's modes of living. They were knowledges produced about Indigenous (specifically, Andean) philosophies from Western epistemological perspectives and disciplinary practices. These knowledges were, in many cases, (especially when extrapolated to discuss governmental systems), a new "type of extractivism [that] does not seek horizontal dialogue between equals, but seeks to extract ideas as raw materials" (Cuestas-Caza 2018).[12]

Ecuadorian scholar Javier Cuestas-Caza describes this type of extractivism by offering a three-pronged critique of interpretations and mobilizations of the concept Sumak Kawsay through Foucauldian epistemes in what he calls "epistemic communities." These communities can be understood as "networks of knowledge-based communities" such as "the scientific community" or even "a school of thought" (Cuestas-Caza 2018). He writes, "The thought about Sumak Kawsay has evolved within epistemic communities, which are responsible for determining the validity of their postulates," and thus are in danger of appropriation and misuse if translated into/by other epistemic communities (Cuestas-Caza). Because each local iteration of this praxis emerges from its own specialized onto-ecological relationality, extracting a generalizable theory through "incorrect synonymy […] could be interpreted as a subtle form of epistemic neocolonization through the sophisticated use of language, which

[12] This realization is an example of how working on this project became a decolonial practice.

speaks “by” or “over” the Andean populations but with Western glasses” (Cuestas-Caza). Exceptions to this extractivist knowledge production are many, but always emerge from engagements specifically with and through the lives and decolonial actions of specific Indigenous and Afro-Indigenous communities within local ecologies. These are engagements found in the works of Josef Estermann, Eduardo Gudynas, Freddy Javier Álvarez González, Adolfo Albán Achinte, Catherine Walsh’s works on thinking and acting with Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian communities, and in selected essays in her *Pedagogías Decoloniales: Prácticas insurgents de resistir, (re)existir y (re)vivir* (2013), among others.

From its formative engagement with these Indigenous modes of thinking and doing, “The Practice of Memory” imagines other practices of sociality that emerge from local spatio-temporal ecologies and which “evolve” according to specific local needs in projects of decoloniality. Rather than appropriate the language of Sumak Kawsay or Küme Mongen to describe the generative practices of memory which allows an/other form of relationality defiant of Western Modernity and the intensified colonial capitalism we know as neoliberalism, I have instead elaborated the concept *vincularidad* (relationality, interconnectedness, entwinement). Vincularidad emerges from Andean Indigenous thinkers such as Nina Pacari (Kichwa), Fernando Huanacuni (Aymara), and Félix Patzi Paco (Aymara), and has been mobilized by them and others in Latin American scholarships on decoloniality. It is therefore consistent with my project of thinking from the continent’s methodologies for liberation, while not theorizing space and time specific Indigenous knowledges and practices through Euro-American philosophical traditions.

Catherine Walsh and Walter Mignolo define vincularidad as “the awareness of the integral relation and interdependence amongst all living organisms (in which humans are only

a part) with territory and land and the cosmos" (*On Decoloniality* 1). In this way, we might think of vincularidad in terms of how "all my relations" has been elaborated by the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island.[13] Further, Mignolo writes that vincularidad is a "horizon of knowledge and understanding that will take us, on the planet (if there is time left), away from Western ontological totalitarianism" (239). Thus, vincularidad is that space toward, the potential that is manifest in the present by a *being toward the horizon* (as discussed in the "Tension" section above). It is the realization and enactment of our cosmic interconnectedness that necessarily defies the logics of coloniality – "the darker side of Modernity" (Quijano, Mignolo) – through an/other sociality than that within our dominant capitalist onto-epistemological paradigm: alienation, isolation, competition, and individuation, through processes of privatization, incorporation, appropriation, expropriation, dispossession, extraction, human-economic valuation (homoeconomicus), the necropolitics of citizenship, and systems/organs of racism, sexism, ableism, homophobia, and on and on.

AN/OTHER AND AN "OTHERWISE"

The actions and ways of thinking that emerge from bodies and bodies of knowledge which defy Imperial epistemologies and histories of knowing are practices of "an/other" way. The modes of thinking that produce this knowledge, the contents of this knowledge, and its mobilization come from the bodies and becoming of "others." Catherine Walsh and Walter Mignolo describe this as a critical decolonial praxis of scholarship – a "doing-thinking, with":

[13] "All my relations" is a common cosmo-ethics of relationality shared by many Indigenous peoples. For example, in Lakota, Mitakuye Oyasin signifies the worldview of familial interconnectedness. "Relations" is also "relatives" and suggests one treat both human and other-than-human as one would a relative, not as metaphor but as recognition of our actual familial interconnectedness; as part of an ecological whole.

"Our decision then, and reflected here, is to begin with the doing-thinking, with the people, collectives, and communities that enact decoloniality as a way, option, standpoint, analytic, project, practice, and praxis; that is, with the activity of thinking and theorizing from praxis" (9). Thus, this thinking is itself a doing. The critical project undertaken here is a praxis. The Argentine-Mexican Philosopher Enrique Dussel writes that it is in praxis that paths are made. He writes, "Sin la praxis no se hace el camino. Pero el camino no se hace tampoco sin referencias que permitan atravesar topografías que orienten en el laberinto desconocido del aquel desierto del relato árabe" (Without praxis no pathway is made. [However,] the path cannot be made without points of reference that permit one to traverse topographies and labyrinths unknown) (*16 Tesis* 387, *On Decoloniality* 19).[14] He goes on to assert that praxis is experimental, allowing for the "discovery" of other paths: "Es en la praxis experimental que la vida descubre los caminos de su *evolución creadora* — como la denominaba acertadamente Henri Bergson" (It is in experimental praxis that life discovers the paths of its *creative evolution* - as Henri Bergson rightly called it) (322 translation mine). "An/other" way is my "point of reference." Thinking with and from these praxes are the hope generated in experimentation toward an ever fleeting, ever emerging horizon.

Contemporary scholarship sometimes refers to the enactment of this kind of praxis in terms of an "otherwise." Unfortunately, contemporary scholarship often fails to trace this term's genealogy and ends up mobilizing it without attempting to provide a "thick description" for understanding its time-space specificity. I would like, here, to elaborate a genealogy specific to this project and its trans-American concerns. My use of "otherwise" is informed by

[14] You will note that "desierto del relato árabe" is untranslated in the Walsh/Mignolo translation, which leaves open further paths for postcolonial and literary analysis.

how Catherine Walsh describes the "otherwise that is the decolonial *for*" (2018) and how Judith Butler imagines "becoming otherwise" in *Undoing Gender* (2004). Walsh writes that in addition to Black and Indigenous struggles and acts of resistance against colonial repression, these actors have also historically practiced a *for* that is not directly tied to contestation and acts "against" colonial power. This decolonial *for* is "for the creation, and cultivation of modes of life, existence, being, and thought otherwise; that is, modes that confront, transgress, and undo modernity/coloniality's hold. It is the for that fosters, signals, and sketches pro-positions of affirmation and reaffirmation that disrupt and unsettle coloniality's negations. It is the for that takes us beyond an anti stance. Moreover, it is the for that signifies, sows, and grows the *otherwise* of decoloniality and/as praxis" (18). Butler shows how becoming otherwise is a process of embodied practices that alter scenes of subjection through the lived transformations of becoming. She writes, "These practices of instituting new modes of reality take place in part through the scene of embodiment, where the body is not understood as a static and accomplished fact, but as an aging process, *a mode of becoming that, in becoming otherwise, exceeds the norm, reworks the norm, and makes us see how realities to which we thought we were confined are not written in stone*" (1993 29 emphasis mine). Both Walsh and Butler's "otherwise" are embodied practices. Practice requires repetition, and the otherwise, like all anti- and decolonial actions require repetitions and the differences accrued through repetition.

A NOTE ON "INDIGENOUS CHILE" AND "DECOLONIAL RESISTANCE"

I thought long and hard about the title of this dissertation and am still dissatisfied with it. Partly because it doesn't well describe the broad reach and stakes of my project, and partly because it requires an immediate explanation of what, exactly, I mean when I say, "Indigenous

Chile" and "Decolonial Resistance." I will address these latter issues here and hope this introduction has addressed the prior. Often times, particularly in the North American popular news media, Indigenous peoples are referred to as "indigenous Canadians" or "indigenous Americans," when in reality indigenous peoples in what is now called "Canada" and "America" were here long before those spaces became demarcated by a continuous succession of settler states and settler logics. Native peoples were before the place we call "here," and remain here *and* "here."

My intention in using the term "Indigenous Chile" is not to consume the Indigenous person as Chilean, but to displace criollo and European whiteness – the unspoken "face" of Chilean national identity which has inherited settler logics and the maintenance of indigenous dispossession – as the center of Chilean history (i.e. the history of how Chile became an independent nation and has cultivated its identity to this day). My hope is that "Indigenous Chile" signals a centering of Indigenous peoples as a way of rethinking Chilean whiteness and Chile's "recent past." The Mapuche should be central to this history as their dispossession and socio-cultural negation is the primary requirement for Chilean national identity and its global capitalist accrual. Mapuche movements should also be considered within a long trajectory and genealogy of radical traditions that respond to, but also transcend the Chilean state, and thus attempt to think from a place that centers Mapuche peoples, lands, and histories. My hope is that this dissertation expressively follows this imperative while not falling into an *indigenismo* idealization of Indigenous peoples and histories.

Finally, with the global resurgence of anti-colonial movements in the "digital age" and the proliferation of Postcolonial Studies and decolonial scholarship and movements, it seems one must address why they mobilize one term instead of another. In conversation about my

dissertation title with my mentor, Sandra Ruiz, she asked why I use decolonial in the title, rather than anticolonial. That conversation got me to thinking about the decolonial as it specifically relates to this project, Latin American studies broadly, and Mapuche political theory in particular. The decolonial, in this project, is to be understood as in direct relation to practices and theories of "decoloniality" and "the coloniality of power" as emerging from the thought of Aníbal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, Sylvia Wynter, Immanuel Wallerstein, and other Mapuche, Latin American, and Caribbean scholars. According to Mabel Moraña, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jáuregui, whereas "Colonialism is considered a form of imperial domination," coloniality is the "condition resulting from colonial domination" (*Coloniality at Large* 19). The colonial condition is thus the maintenance and effect of colonial structures of power, the cultural, political, and ideological relationships effected by these structures and their signifying histories. As Maldonado-Torres writes in "The Decolonial Turn":

> Decolonial refers to the activity of decolonization, generally, and to decoloniality, more specifically. Different from the postcolonial, decoloniality makes reference, not only or primarily to the plight of formally colonized territories that obtained their independence in the twentieth century, but, more precisely, to the insurgent positionality of subjects and to the possibilities of decolonization in the *longue durée* of modern/colonial cultures and structures (111).

It is this focus on "the insurgent positionality of subjects" in their acts of decolonizing "modern/colonial cultures and structures," and its reflection in Mapuche critical thought, that most draws me to Latin American decolonial theory and its interpretive methods. Decoloniality, in this view, is fundamentally action that intervenes in an ongoing coloniality, both materially and epistemologically. It is thus "a critical response and corrective to Western modernity itself, particularly to its lethal combination and apparent reconciliation between ideas of equality and individual liberty on the one hand, and naturalized inequality and colonial activity on the other"

(112). Therefore, to practice decoloniality is to critically respond to both colonial cultures and structures, the material and epistemological, where the entwined contradictions of Western modernity substantiate and sustain themselves through bodies across time and space.[15] They are practices, and thus repetitions, that respond to colonialism's continuous structures and cultures, and are therefore always founded in a memorial practice which allow an attendance to its *longue durée.*

The Aymara/Bolivian scholar/activist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui analyzes this long process of colonialism to account for Indigenous histories through what she calls a synthesis between "memoria larga," or the long anticolonial history and pre-Hispanic ethical orders, and "memoria corto," contemporary revolutionary power and resistance movements (*"Oprimidos pero no vencidos,"* 212).[16] This approach results in "una 'lógica de la rebeldía,' que efectivamente nos permite visualizer 'desde abajo' un proceso activo de resistencia" (a "logic of rebellion," which effectively allows us to

[15] A theory of (de)coloniality has been developed by Walter Mignolo, specifically in his *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking* (2000, 14). His theory emerges from Quijano's earlier conception of "the coloniality of power as the innermost chamber of capitalism, as an energy and a machine that transforms differences into values" (Castro-Klaren 132). A thorough discussion of debates surrounding the postcolonial and coloniality in the Andes can be found in Sara Castro-Klaren's excellent essay "Posting Letters: Writing in the Andes and the Paradoxes of the Postcolonial Debate" in the collection *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate* (2008). A nuanced discussion on the postcolonial and post-colonial can be found in Ato Quayson's *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process* (2000), and the processes which transform colonialism into social, political, and cultural conditions, specifically in the African colonial experience, can be found in Achile Mbembe's *On the Postcolony* (2001). Walter Mignolo and Catherine Walsh's *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* (2018) and the edited collection *Awükan ka kuxankan zugu Wajmapu mew: Violencias colonials en Wajmapu* are sources to which I return particularly for Andean Indigenous perspectives on colonialism, postcolonialism, coloniality, and practices of decoloniality.

[16] From an adaptation of the Annales School Fernand Braudel's organization of historical durations.

visualize "from below" an active process of resistance (Pairican, 8). The decolonial, then, could be thought of as the active process of resistance in the *longue durée* of colonialism through memory, or what Rivera Cusicanqui calls the "dos horizontes de memoria colectiva" (two horizons of collective memory) (78).

In thinking through the decolonial and decoloniality in aesthetic works by and about the Mapuche, primarily in the second and third chapters, I turn specifically to Mapuche cultural and political theory. This body of literature, like much of South American political theory, mobilizes the language of decolonization and decoloniality. For the Mapuche, whose language Mapudungun is literally "the language of the land" (mapu – land, dugu – language), the colonial project and its effects are often considered as entwined violences against the constitutive core of the people (che): land and language.[17] This fact of language's relation to the constitution of the subject is thus of primary importance in my project's analysis of entwined performance and text. The editors of *Awükan ka kuxankan zugu Wajmapu mew*, Enrique Antileo Baeza, Luis Cárcamo-Huechante, Herson Huinca-Piutrin, and Margarita Calfío Montalva highlight this entwinement when they write, "Fey ti chi kolonialismo pigechi zugu rüm küpalniey kuxankan zugu kuyfitu mew ka waj püle chew ñi anümupun fey ka ragi pu mapuche mew kaxünteukupay, hotukapay ka wichafkañmafiy ñi mapuzugun ta pu mapuche" (Colonialism constitutes a form of violence of a historical and global nature and, in the case of the Mapuche people, interrupts, invades, and tears apart language itself) (9).[18] This particular form of colonial violence that is also fundamentally a linguistic violence, is one that both rends the interconnection between land, language, and personhood, and invades the bodies, beings,

[17] See Leslie Ray, *Language of the Land: The Mapuche in Argentina and Chile* (17).
[18] The original text is written in Mapudungun and translated into Spanish, from which I translate into English. For the Spanish translation see the same collection, pages 15-16.

and material culture of the people. Therefore language, an expression of world and experience from the body and, for the Mapuche, emerging from the land itself, is a primary site for the decolonial practices.

Like Mignolo's coloniality, which calls attention to the fundamentally capitalist aims of dispossession, the Mapuche authors above think of colonialism as a violently transformative machinery of dispossession. They continue:

> Fey ti chi kolonialismo kiñe muntukafe chemkün reke ka ñi zuampieyepel tip u muntu mapufe, fey amulkey ñi zugu ragi kuxankan. Kom ti kolonialismo kuxankan fenxen che yentukukey fey ñi awükayam zugun mew ka fenxenche ñi tugeael, wünelu mew kontucheygün ka muntuka mapucheygün kom feychi zugu kal¨leluwüy, che, püjü, keyü chmkün kutu fey chi zugu kolonizan zugu niey. Kom feychi zugu, iñchiñ ta iñ pu che mew fey chi mapu zugu—mapu pin ta fensen zugu yentukunierpuy—kom fey ta rakizuammageam mapu zugu mew iñ kuyfike zugu iñ rupawma mew, kom kolonisasion ka chew ñi newentulemum mew (10).
>
> Colonialism, as a machinery of dispossession and an instrument for the occupation of a people's territory, implies a way of acting that is based on violence. In its particularity, colonial violence involves the physical and concrete unfolding of a systematic and massive aggression, preceded by an occupation and territorial invasion that also materializes by way of colonizing bodies, people, beings, machines, and objects. In this dimension, for our people the question of land — as *mapu* in its broad sense — remains a fundamental reference for thinking about the territoriality of our histories, processes of colonization, and spaces of resistance.

The "occupation and territorial invasion," conceived here as colonial precedent, also occupies and invades bodies and groups of bodies (people), other-than-humans (beings), and even machines and objects. Colonialism and the effects of its systematic violence, thus, produce an ontological condition. The affected realms of being, as we will see more closely in the third chapter's discussion of Jaime Luis Heunún's poetry, are here spatialized. Because colonialism is primarily an act of violent "occupation and territorial invasion," the decolonial must also concern itself with violence and the spatiality of what constitute a people, its history and memory. The Mapuche attention to the violence and spatiality of colonialism is also founded

on the structural racism of the Chilean state and "la chilenidad" (Chileanness), which is "una violencia structural, caracterizada por una violencia de carácter económico […] simbólica […], y por ultimo política, que por sus trasfondos ideológicos deberíamos denominar la violencia de la colonialidad" (a structural violence, characterized by a violence of an economic, symbolic, and finally, political nature, which due to its ideological backgrounds we should call the violence of coloniality) (Pairican, 7-8). This focus on colonialism and its legacies in relation to "*mapu* in its broad sense" – which is to say, as land, territory, earth – is thus also a site for thinking about "spaces of resistance" that move from land to landscape, from the primary violences of territorial dispossession to the "ideological backgrounds" that enabled such violences.[19] Thus, the "Decolonial Resistance" in the title refers to acts of decoloniality in response to these multiple aspects of the violence of coloniality informed by Latin American and, specifically, South American and Mapuche critical thought.

CHAPTER OUTLINES

The first chapter, "Borderland Surfacing: Affect's Emergent Territories in Raúl Zurita's *Escritura Material*" examines Chilean poet Raúl Zurita's performance-texts, or *escritura material* (material writing). It shows how Zurita's language and performance of transnational trauma, queerness, and syntactic distortion allow for a kind of multiplicity that shatters the singular façade of personal narrative, revealing a co-constitutive (relational/vincular) subjectivity that ultimately destabilizes the nation as central to his project. I argue that his transmodal practices enable the resignification of language, landscape, and the body, and

[19] For a discussion on the pluralization of "violence," see Fernando Pairican's "La violencia política mapuche" in *Pueblo Mapuche y Autodeterminación* (6).

transform traumatic memory of state-inflicted violence into what I call "affective territories" for new collective identities beyond national boundaries. These new collectivities expand the possibilities for a Latin American/Latinx (continental) formation of Latinidades and signal the entwined legacies of continental American colonialization taken up in each of the subsequent chapters.

The second chapter, "The Mnemonics of Atrocity: Performances of Memory and Mapuche Presence in Guillermo Calderón's *Villa*" exceeds the limits of Zurita's performances through the framework of Indigenous Chile defined above. The chapter argues that Mapuche presence is always imminently surfacing in state memorials, such as Parque por la paz Villa Grimaldi, which elide the state's ongoing history of dispossession and violence against the Mapuche. By reading Guillermo Calderón's 2011 play *Villa* across the grain, a play in which scholars consider the mention of the Mapuche supplemental to its main concerns of memorializing dictatorial violence as democratizing the future, the chapter reveals the state's inability to represent "*el pasado reciente*" (the recent past) without contending with its ongoing violence against women and the Mapuche. Further, it argues that through casting and the linguistic constitution of identity that calls each actor (each called Alejandra) into a specific national historical set of relations, the play disrupts easy ethno-racial distinctions based on the homogenizing logics of European whiteness in Chile, inherited from the colonial project. Turning more specifically to the question of the violence of representation by the mnemonic object, the chapter concludes by arguing that the refusal to construct a memorial based on capitalist assertions that territory be constituted by ownership and inhabitation gives it the capacity to include Indigenous memory and imagine Indigenous futures beyond Chilean national histories.

The third chapter, "Indigenous Presence and the Poetics of Decoloniality in Jaime Luis Heunún's *Fanon City Meu*," is a multi-lingual analysis (English, French, Mapuzugun, Spanish) of the Huilliche-Mapuche poet's collection *Fanon City Meu.* It reads Huenún's poetic work with its intertext, Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks,* to show how Huenún's centering the voices of Indigenous peoples not only reveals the continuum of violence against the Indigenous from Spanish and Portuguese colonization to the present dispossessions by the Chilean state, but that these violences have always been part of the constituting subjectivity of not just Chile, but of Western Empire. In doing so, it thinks relationally about blackness and indigeneity through the Latin American colonial project, specifically, and its instantiation of race as social stratification founded on antiblack violence and indigenous genocides. The chapter shows how Fanon's and Huenún's use of the lyric voice – a first-person affective and phenomenological orientation – reveals the colonizer's *being* as founded in the practice of Indigenous, Black, and territorial possession and dispossession. This voice simultaneously asserts Indigenous and Black presence across a postcolonial Latin American and Latinx diaspora through the appropriation of the colonial language, making space for knowing and doing which defy what scholar Willie James Jennings calls "the ordinary presence of whiteness" and its aesthetic "conjuring" power. This lyric voice also reclaims those relegated to "eradication" and "genocide" by decomposing the imperial biologization of race and colonial racial categorization in favor of a cultural presence translated through embodied knowledge and practice across centuries and territories.

The fourth chapter, "Translating 'a Continuum of borderless slaughter': Daniel Borzutzky's Diasporic Memory," looks to Chilean-American poet and translator Daniel Borzutzky's *Memories of My Overdevelopment, The Performance of Becoming Human,* and an

interview I conducted with him (*"silence might have its own significance," A Contracorriente: una revista de estudios latinoamericanos,* Vol 17 No 1: Fall 2019.). These texts are points of departure for thinking through translation as both the mode for the transcontinental neoliberal development of "the human" via racial capitalism, and the de-structuring of what Michel Foucault called *homo-economicus* (economic-human). The chapter further complicates a long history of Translation Studies about loss in the process of cultural translation, arguing that it is through what is lost in translation (as is explored in terms of the mutability of memory in previous chapters) that social and self-redefinition are made possible.

To accomplish the goals of this project, which recognizes the ontological and epistemological limits of coloniality and responses to coloniality, each chapter works to exceed the limits of the prior chapter's decolonial practice. This structure allows for an ever-widening scope cohered by decolonial practice read relationally and makes of my project itself a practice of decolonial pedagogy.

Figure Three
Raúl Zurita

CHAPTER 1: BORDERLAND SURFACING: AFFECT'S EMERGENT TERRITORIES IN RAÚL ZURITA'S *ESCRITURA MATERIAL*

> El cuerpo como soporte de intervención artística en la escena de "avanzada" sirvió para que afloraran vastos estratos de significación que permanecían bloqueados por la censura ejercida sobre el lenguaje. Estos escedentes de discurso—presimbólicos y transmibólicos—que no se ajustan al sintaxis de lo permitido (esta compulsion de lo no verbalizable que trabaja subterráneamente la legibilidad social) accedió a la superficie del arte gracias a la corporalidad. […] También permite reasignar valores de intesidad a aquellas zonas sumergidas de experiencia que se volvieron bruscamente intranscribibles por la rotura de los nexus entre el referente (la realidad) y su pauta designadora (el lenguaje) en el contexto de una sociedad en plena convulsión de códigos.
>
> Nelly Richard. *Márgenes e instituciones* 87

> [W]orking with the body is perhaps the best way to expose the suppression of meaning or the positions of power in official discourse. Under circumstances where censorship is applied to vast areas of meaning in language, *a superfluous discourse or unspoken pressure which escapes or undermines the syntax of the permitted can only surface as bodily gestures*. […] Working with the body […] can also reintensify the censored areas of experience, areas which had virtually become impossible to express because of the broken link between the referent (reality) and its designatory model (language) in a society undergoing a crisis of codes. The corporal not only lies at the frontier of the sayable, it also becomes the domain of the unsayable.[20]
>
> Nelly Richard. *Margins and Institutions* 72

In the above photograph by his then partner and fellow CADA[21] artist Diamela Eltit,

[20] For works in Spanish with existing translations (that I find sufficient, or sufficiently generative in their relation to the Spanish original), throughout this dissertation, I internally cite both the Spanish and English with their respective page numbers (if page numbers are provided). If I find them insufficient and retranslate, I will note both the Spanish and English, and that it is my translation. Those who read Spanish well will surely better grasp the profound nuances generated between the Spanish text and its translation. This translation is a good example of such generative difference.

[21] CADA (Colectivo Acciones de Arte – Art Actions Collective) was a group of five interdisciplinary artists that performed politically engaged art actions during the most intensely violent years of the Chilean dictatorship from 1976 – 1985. The group was the most prominent of the *Avanzada* artists, a term to describe a generation of artists engaging in highly coded performances that challenged the strictures of the Pinochet regime coined by art historian and theorist Nelly Richard. *CADA* was Lotty Rosenfeld, Diamela Eltit, Raúl Zurita, Fernando Balcelles, and Juan Castillo.

the Messianic poet Raúl Zurita faces the viewer, looking aslant but directly and intensely (Figure 3). In the image he offers us his recently branded left cheek: "I recalled the well-known evangelical phrase: if someone strikes your right cheek, turn the other to him. So I burned my left cheek. Completely alone, I enclosed myself in the bathroom and burned it with a red-hot branding iron" (*Purgatory* (2009): XI). The strike of his right cheek was his detainment and torture for the first three weeks of Chile's nearly seventeen-year military dictatorship. The left was his own, agential gesture. This was a corporal gesture, affective, the hapticality where the burn on his physical face became a "sentiment with its own interiority, there on skin" (*The Undercommons* 98). It is a territory with, as Moten and Harney write, "the capacity to feel through others, for others to feel through you, for you to feel them feeling you" (98). The sentiment (sensation, feeling) and haptic capacity (amount that can be contained, taken, or held) of the gesture resonates from the scar itself just as the memorial traces of this solitary action resonate through the image. The gesture's interiority is the manifestation of a sentiment that touches us while evoking touch through the image itself. In this image we are touched not only by Zurita's direct gaze, but by the wound, and then by the wounded body and its place in a wounded social body.

As will become clear throughout this chapter, Zurita's poetry and performance repeatedly place him in the role as Messiah, symbolically as both Christ and a Christ-like figure of sacrifice for the redemption of Chile as both a historic and mythical nation. Zurita's sacrificial gestures are not analogous to Christian martyrdom as a display of an enduring faith in God but are specifically analogous to the ritual sacrifice of Jesus' crucifixion, where being-with-one-another was in cause and effect the reciprocality and recuperative promise of the sacrificial gesture itself. Although Zurita uses biblical references, biblically inspired texts, and allusions to Christian

doctrine and practice, it is as a means of metaphor which draws directly upon the social and spiritual structures of the majority of his assumed readership. This is also to say that Zurita's work is not an extension of Christianity in practice, nor does his citation end with the bible or Christian doctrine, but that it is a mobilization of Christian narratives as a central metaphor, not unlike it has been mobilized as a central metaphor in the transformation of many "pre-Christian" belief systems (see Sylvia Wynter 2004).[22]

A few years after this burning, Zurita attempted to blind himself by throwing ammonia in his eyes but was saved from complete blindness by Eltit. He was left with only slight scarring on his face and corneas. Our encounter with Zurita's suffering, mediated by the temporal and spatial ontological difference of the image itself from the moments of his performing these gestures, is the moment of our making meaning of its sentiment. In this moment we must make a decision to avert our eyes, or to return his gaze, confront his suffering and the context within which this suffering was produced and traumatically sustained. Thus, to encounter this image within its historical context is also to confront the continued repression and suffering of those affected by the violence of Chile's military state, and, as Zurita would have it, by extension the suffering of all at the hands of violent regimes. This encounter is mediated through the image, yes, but also through Zurita's gaze born of a sentiment with its own interiority, a burning (to consume by fire) that touches and threatens to consume us. To read Zurita's gesture of burning as sacrificial evokes the image of the burnt offering, a

[22] Zurita's Messianic gestures are widely recognized as such and were even made satire in the inaugural performance of the radical queer performance duo Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis (Mares of the Apocalypse) consisting of Chilean poets/artists Pedro Mardones Lemebel and Francisco Casas. At the 1988 ceremony that honored Raúl Zurita with the Pablo Neruda Prize in Poetry, Las Yeguas walked in, uninvited, and placed a crown of thorns upon Zurita's head. Zurita, who looked shocked, half-smiling for the journalists, said that he would not wear the crown.

symbolic holocaust in the sense of the animal sacrifice that is completely consumed by fire.

His frequent reference to the Holocaust in relation to the violent atrocities of the Chilean dictatorship in his poetry thus also refer back to this gesture, and therefore Zurita's own torture at the hands of the military, as an index of global authoritarian state violence. We might understand Zurita's repeated references to the Holocaust throughout his body of work similarly to how Brett Ashley Kaplan discusses those repeated references by J.M. Coetzee. Kaplan writes that "these references accumulate into an unnerving, uncanny sense that the world's traumas are interconnected, and inevitable, that the geographical and psychological landscapes of Holocaust postmemory do not line up neatly" (7). In the case of Zurita's works, and many Chilean post-dictatorship memorial landscapes (both material and textual), the landscapes of Holocaust postmemory are spaces through which many Chileans find a traumatic relation that transcends national borders and the specificities of violent state projects.

We view the image with a desire to analyze the burn as an object, to *read* it as an inscription which speaks to both a physical (exterior) and emotional (interior) severity, and the will to hold an empathic space where we are in contact with Zurita's suffering body. This is the tension between the object of analysis and the touch of affect, a tension that is also present in Zurita's *escritura material* (material writing). Zurita's escritura material are performance/texts constituted by three simultaneous representational modes – gesture, text, and image – and are the component parts of his transformative and affective practice of creating emergent territories. Emergent territories are created through the affective inter-action of bodies in systems of neoliberal social diffusion and atomization and emerge through the context of the very action of aesthetic creation itself.[23] Zurita's emergent territories are those spaces

[23] I use the term aesthetic to denote expressions from the intersections of cultural, material, and

generated through such action which organize sociality along an/other central node of identity. Rather than thinking nationally or transnationally, these emergent territories are a space for the vincularidad (see Introduction) of those who live the "colonial difference." As such, I interpret the territories which emerge from Zurita's escritura material in a way that is decidedly antithetical to prior, nation-centered readings of his works. This is a decolonial move that makes a "transition from the national framing of the colonial period to a new domain of scholarship that [Walter Mignolo] identif[ies] as a 'coloniality at large'" (2009 235). In this chapter Raúl Zurita's body as a "repeated one" within the "colonial difference" is the signifying center from which territories of potentiality emerge on the body, in the sky, sea, and deserts of Latinx America. His escritura material open up both a continental space and an imaginative geography for a transnational and diasporic identity – a space where the colonial difference becomes the signifying center of affinity and thus includes all those suffering under the effects of the continuum of colonial violence (Zurita 2015).

Zurita has said that "suffering and extreme pain are inexpressible, unable to be arrived at with words," and his escritura material suggest that traumatic experiences are expressed through an incompletion and fragmentation of gestures toward a future not yet sensible (Zaidenwerg 2014). This gesturing suggests that an attempt at expressing trauma through representation is impossible, as is further explored specifically in the subsequent chapter. However, Zurita's escritura material suggests that trauma can be sensed in the constellating of

social production in "'intercommunion with other texts' […] and 'significations of every day life'" (Clyde Taylor quoted in Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking "Aesthetics": Notes Towards a Deciphering Practice" 240). This aesthetic thinking is a practice of deciphering, which Wynter writes,"seeks to identify not what texts and their signifying practice can be interpreted to mean but what they can be deciphered to do" (Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking 'Aesthetics': Notes towards a Deciphering Practice," in Ex-iles: Essays on Caribbean Cinema, ed. Mbye B. Cham (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992), 266.

ephemera, embodied affective and memorial traces such as are latent in his self-inscription described above. Because some of our senses of the world cannot be articulated, cannot be conveyed in, through, or by language, there appears to be a division, a border between what is interior (singular, individual) and what is exterior (plural, social); between what is in/side the body and what is superficial; between knowing (an embodied experience) and what is known (a quotidian, discursive memory). This is one reason why authoritarian regimes perform torture: the body is perceived as an impermeable border within which the private (secret, illegible) is in/scribed but hidden, a container that must be broken into in order to reveal what is in/visible. Oppressive regimes, a qualified nomination for what we understand as the state, read the body as a physical and informational border, one that must be constrained and regulated to serve a single function, to become (and thus be always in relation to) a fixed referent. They produce bodies that are self-referential, a citation in a dictatorial syntax according to its own grammar, forced into context within which the bodies of the nation are always either positively or negatively constitutive of the state's delimitation of national identity. What is revealed to be in/side through torture is, in fact, constituted in and through the torture itself. But this attempt at *reading* the material representations of the body, which are assumed to be legible signifiers of what constitutes a subject, is always frustrated by the illegibility of the subject which is always and essentially transitional.[24]

The subject is transitional in that she is always becoming, not acting on recollection but on a kind of improvisatory remembering that anticipates the future as it is entwined with the present and the past. The position of this illegibility is also tense, as survival is often a matter of both state representation (eligibility for citizenship and the potential of legal protection) and

[24] See William Haver's 2012 article "A Sense of the Common."

of remaining unseen so as to not be punished for deviance from those forms of legibility. But potential for life beyond mere survival can be created in the surfacing of emergent territories in the borderland between these two intensities, the legible and illegible. The translation of social, political, and psychical or natural landscapes necessary for expanding livable space beyond mere survival, to create the space and time for a sociality of vincularidad, requires both resistance to violent systems of representation and the creation of territories where an/other way of being can emerge. Acts of resistance always generate an actual and metaphysical space beyond the direct material relationship with the object resisted, whether that space be the corporeal affect of hope, the relational gesture of solidarity and love, or the space the body occupies in defiance, a disruption in flows of power and catalyst for further openings of space.

While many scholars understand resistance in terms of legible acts that defy or attempt to change the state, its policies, and laws, this dissertation argues that within this institutional logic of power they miss what is generated in and by the illegible excess of such actions. The excess, what exceeds Zurita's burning in its relation to state violence, makes present the futures invested in legible acts of resistance, no matter how ephemeral. These dual actions of resistance are performed simultaneously in what I describe as *creative resistance*: aesthetic political practices which generate spaces for living *otherwise* while fundamentally challenging the alienating, individuating, and competitive social structures produced in neoliberal market economies, i.e., imperial logics, or the logics of Western Modernity. They are practices that simultaneously resist specific tactics of oppression and repression while exceeding these oppressions in what they generate, as described above. Such a notion of practice is elaborated by Saidiya Hartman when she writes, "ultimately, the conditions of domination and subjugation determine what kinds of action are possible or effective, though these acts can be

said to exceed the conditions of domination and are not reducible to them" (55). Hence the mobilization of practice as the method for creative resistance, as the conditions of domination are continuously changing and must be continually met with the differences generated in repetitions of practice.[25]

1.1 BORDERLAND SURFACING: ESCRITO EN EL CUERPO / WRITTEN ON THE BODY

> All the senses, including vision, are extensions of the tactile sense; the senses are specialisations of the skin tissue, and all sensory experiences are modes of touching and thus related to tactility. Our contact with the world takes place at the boundary line of the self through specialized parts of our enveloping membrane.
>
> –Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*

One morning shortly before the Chilean military coup of September 11, 1973 Raúl Zurita, then an engineering student at the Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María, was walking through Valparaíso carrying a sheath of poems when military personnel stopped him. The poems were selections of what was to become his first published book, *Purgatorio,* which he later rewrote from memory (1979). Zurita recalled this encounter thirty-six years later in a 2009 interview for *The Poetry Foundation* with Chilean American poet and translator Daniel Borzutzky (the focus of the fourth chapter), that "since the poems had some drawings on them, they [the soldiers] thought they contained codes, and so I was beaten terribly, but they gave me back the poems, until a senior officer arrived and he took one look at them and instantly knew

[25] Of course, it must also be stated that there are acts of brutality in the service of subjugation which cannot be resisted, or can only, perhaps, but resisted through the refusal of subjugation through suicide. Zurita's detainment and torture at the hands of the military state provoke his repeated self-mutilation but not suicide. Suicide could also be seen as an effective form of resistance to biopolitical regulation.

they were poems, and so he threw them into the water." Zurita explained to Borzutzky that the officer threw the poems into the sea because he felt that poetry was "garbage." We can assume that a sufficiently coded message or legible plans for insurgence – that is, finding what they were looking for – would not have been considered garbage. The military was looking for something subversive (to turn up from below) in Zurita's papers that was not immediately legible on the surface (above, over, beyond the face/appearance) of his body.[26] And although the poems did not reveal any legible plans for insurgency or political affiliation, they were sufficiently beyond the prescribed limits of the military's socio-political aesthetics and grammar.

The primary work of authoritarian regimes is social organization through enforced legibility through surveillance, categorization, spatiotemporal regulation, and corporal control. Such prescriptions were effectively imposed by the Chilean military state through the aesthetic semiotic function of uniform, weapon, occupation of space, and the representative power of its military imbued with historic power and racial/social privilege of the historically white institution. Often, what is not permitted under such regimes, what does not fit into the grammar of the state – the present discursive and material "distributions of the sensible" – is deemed excessive and superfluous and illegible or unintelligible, and therefore deviant. For Jacques Rancière the distribution of the sensible is the "way in which roles and modes of participation in a common social world are determined by establishing possible modes of perception (in this

[26] Raúl Zurita is a white Chilean and so was likely not profiled and read along racial lines like the indigenous populations, particularly the Mapuche, who have been persistently deemed terrorists in their struggles for land rights and cultural sovereignty. Many Indigenous peoples in what is now known as Chile have, over the years since its independence from Spain, responded to certain forces through integration into urban spaces, usually in the shanty towns of greater Santiago where constant police raids were met with various forms of resistance.

context, ‘sensible’ refers to what is apprehended by the senses). Thus, the distribution of the sensible sets the divisions between what is visible and invisible, sayable and unsayable, audible and inaudible” (Sayers 2005.) As Nelly Richard writes, Zurita’s body “lies at the frontier of the sayable, [and] becomes the domain of the unsayable” (*Margins* 72). The sensible illegibility of his gesture therefore allows for the emergence of a becoming that subverts institutions’ representational imaginary of resistance because it makes possible ways of being that can remain illegible and powerfully disruptive to these violent systems of governance. Such state/military illegibility enables Zurita’s gesture to not be incorporated into the state’s repertoire corporeal regulation, while simultaneously opening up a social space for affinity around the suffering body under dictatorship.

There are numerous versions of the story of Zurita’s humiliation at the hands of the military, his torture, and self-inscription, but in all the core components of the story cohere: he was stopped by the police and his poems thrown into the sea. He was soon after detained and tortured in the hull of the Maipo. Zurita, years later, locked himself in his bathroom and burnt his face, an act from which emerged all of his subsequent poetry and escritura material. The small shifts in his narrative suggest both the persistent repetition of trauma and the difference which always accompanies this repetition. The following version is from an online article on the Kochi-Muziris Biennale in 2016 by Riddhi Doshi and articulates how from the self-inscription emerged the memory of his poems: “A couple of soldiers threw Zurita out of a public bus and beat him up. ‘When I was humiliated, I remembered the phrase from the Bible that said that if they hit you on one cheek, you offer another. I took a knife, heated it and burnt my cheek until it became red.’ In that moment, in a flash, Zurita remembered all the poems that had been thrown into the sea and published his first book of poetry, *Purgatorio*, in 1979.”

Zurita was arrested, days after his initial encounter with the military police, at six in the morning on September 11th for being a student at the "leftist" Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María.[27] He recalls that the military was rounding up everyone they thought had any relation to leftist organizations, and since he was a student at "a deeply leftist university, (…) they didn't even ask [his] name until [he] had been arrested for three weeks" (Borzutzky 2009). Zurita was detained and tortured for six weeks with between 800 and 1,000 others in the Maipo's hull, which had a maximum capacity of 100. There was no room where one body was not in contact with another, and the sounds, tactility, and smells of this collective suffering were immersive. It was a traumatizing experience that both dilated and condensed time, opening a disjointed space within which the temporality of our everyday experiences does not apply. Zurita said this experience "wasn't that long (…) but it was so terrible that it's stayed with me all my life" (Borzutzky 2009). His name, his poems, his studies, nothing which constituted Zurita's proper subjectivity was of interest to the dictatorial regime, only his body as a referent to what the regime deemed a threatening state institution which harbored threats to the state itself. Authoritarian regimes must also continuously reaffirm their authority, thus targeting both individuals and institutions. The imposed singularity of the individual as threat was combined with the general collectivity of the "leftist," a discourse that presages neoliberalisms'[28] insistence on the economized individual within pre-constituted socio-political

[27] Chile's Left has been and continues to be complex and diverse, consisting of Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Christian Democrats, conservative and liberal partisan political organizations, pro- and anti- Castroites and Allendistas, etc. The student Left, as we have seen throughout the 20th century and in force in 2011, 2014, and 2019-2020, contains all this diversity collectively and is thus able to mobilize en masse.

[28] I use the plural of neoliberalism to assert the multiple and always changing structures of this late capitalist system in different realms of experience over time: social, economic, political, etc. The second chapter discloses the effects of neoliberal governmental policy on Indigenous peoples, and the fourth chapter explores its transnational and inter-continental transit/translation.

frameworks. These socio-political frameworks are institutional apparatuses that impose anti-national narratives upon those whose bodies and/or actions disrupt the status quo and its intended maintenance and extensions of power.

Within the undetermined space between memory and its correlative experience Zurita simultaneously performed the dual quality of creative resistance as generative and negative: as the sacrifice which promises transformation and repair, and a critique which is the defiance of the gesture. Zurita's gesture transcends both the strictures of meaning, sensibility, and legibility imposed by the state's own systems of citation within a self-referential grammar and the codified affective gesturing that functions to incorporate the diversity of Chilean social life into the singularity of a sovereign, white nation. As a gesture performed within the discursive boundaries of the military state, Zurita's marking accomplishes the kind of aesthetic actions described by Nelly Richard which "disrupt the prevailing systems, [and] infringe [upon] the norms and disciplinary techniques controlling meaning to make an act of dissent" (1986 18). His self-marking was a defiance against the regime, which at the time attempted to control through violence all the bodies that were deemed outside the realm of Pinochet's "moral Chile." Through this marking of this physical, social landscape – which I will elaborate through the subsequent sections of this chapter – Zurita created a new citation, a new reference, or what Richard calls a "new source for the signification of desire or rebellion in the social fabric and its micropolitics of perception, behavior, affectivity or interpersonal communication" (1986 19). It was a gesture which communicated the violence of the dictatorship through the presentation of suffering under this violence, and thus also a mode of communication that could open up other forms of being together for those who were also suffering; both within Chile and beyond. However, the gesture's universality must be tempered

for Zurita's body is formed through a privileged history of Chilean whiteness constituted by the anti-Blackness and anti-Indigenous policies and military actions of the Chilean state. Although his body formed a generative space through the abject corporeal architecture he created by marking his skin, Zurita's whiteness and socio-economic privilege meant his abjection by the state was not an imperative for the constitution of national identity like that of the Mapuche. Zurita's minoritized position was due to his socio-political position as part of the Chilean Left. Even so, this gesture was the surfacing of Zurita's first affective territory, which, in accordance with the Messianic allusions in his texts and actions, intended to encompass an affective community beyond race, class, or national category.

1.1.1 SURFACING

We could say that the limit of the body is the skin – simultaneously a surface that keeps out and a surface that keeps in – but the skin is also a permeable limit. It absorbs matter from the environment and exudes matter from inside our bodies into the environment. It is the surface that outwardly manifests the shape of our bones and musculature and is also therefore the surface with which we meet the world and its other bodies. It displays our emotions and affect and speaks through the corporeal gesture connecting the interior and the exterior or superficial (from Latin superficies: *super* – above, on top of, beyond; *facies* – face). The architect Juhani Pallasmaa assertion that "Our contact with the world takes place at the boundary line of the self through specialised parts of our enveloping membrane," suggests that the self reaches up to the boundary of our skin from which it extends into the world through the "specialised parts" of this "enveloping membrane" (10-11). Our skin, then, is the surface of encounter with the world. The eyes are the "specialised parts" for sight and being seen, the

whole skin sensitive to touch, the nose an external apparatus for mediating and focusing smell, and our ears for the enhancement and focus of hearing. Through these parts all "enveloped" by skin, and through this skin, we encounter the world as we are encountered by the world.[29] But we also present ourselves, our improvisatory subjectivities, through this superficial membrane which thus becomes the point of sensuous contact with other (social) beings. Which is to say, this contact is the encounter which creates the social landscape.

In our *being* embodied – having an enveloping membrane by which our "selves" extend into the world – we are simultaneously signifying bodies both privately and publicly. The body here is not only making meaning but is always also meaning itself, as Jean-Luc Nancy describes in *Being Singular Plural* (1996). Nancy writes that "being" – i.e. living, experiencing, *doing* – is always "being-with-one-another," and that there is "no meaning other than "us" … in the sense that we are the element in which significations can be produced and circulate" (2).[30] This conceptualization figures the body on either side of the skin-as-border as a landscape of meaning.[31] Thus, Zurita's self-inscription is the signifying reciprocity that is the

[29] Let us consider here the ontological disparities of this encounter as a sensitization of the skin through what Frantz Fanon calls "epidermalization" in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952/2008). This epidermalization is the internalization of a sense of the inferiority of Blackness imposed by the incessant physical and metaphysical violence through the historical constitution of whiteness and its assertion through the negation of blackness (as conjured by whites for the constitution of whiteness). This inferiority is felt through the skin by the totalization of race (blackness) as constitutive of the non-white subject, and is thus always in relation to whiteness within Western ontology. Such constitutive power, or what theologian Willie James Jennings calls "the conjuring power of whiteness," emerges from a space of the non-racialized subject (read white) *invested* in perpetuating inherently violent systems of anti-Blackness for their own existence (being).

[30] In an anthropic sociality it is "us," or rather our becoming that is always in and of a "we," in which meaning is produced and circulated. We are meaning in relation to one another, in the inseparability of our individual ("I") being from our interconnectivity and the relationality of meaning.

[31] This relational being as meaning asserts a poststructuralist notion of meaning making in relation, citation, and self-referentiality, and is not necessarily anthropocentric. Thinking from an Indigenous conception of being-in-relation as including human and other-than-human beings, the

intersection between himself and society, his body as a mutually constitutive (social) landscape when we understand the landscape as a social and cultural formation. Memory scholar Brett Ashley Kaplan, in her book *Landscapes of Holocaust Postmemory,* shows us how landscapes are constituted by multiple actors and events across time and space by describing the way that "memory embeds in space" (3). Kaplan further shows how landscapes are (trans)formed in and by national imaginaries, which produce a way of knowing the landscape and therefore of interacting with it and those who occupy it. We find such interaction between Zurita's memories embedded in space and the national imaginaries that both constitute and find friction with his national subjectivity (144). His gesture and inscription are the transformation of a landscape that in turn transforms the (social) body which constitutes its meaning (i.e. the meaning of the body and the landscape). Through marking his body, through his collapsing the realms of art and life (the aesthetics of existence) and altering his body as the base for a conceptual work that transcends the wounding gesture itself, Zurita rewrites his body and its signification in defiance to oppressive corporeal regulations.[32] Simultaneously, he enacts the empowering agency of his own body that transforms the meanings of these regulations by which a further potential for bodily freedoms emerge. Because Zurita's being is always a being-with, and as the skin is "the most naked, most vulnerable, exposed and significant topography of the body," his landscape changing inscription shifted the social realm within

complexities of our contingent and co-constitutive interrelation with land and landscape acts to decenter the human. In combining this with Nancy's notion, we might evoke here a posthuman ethics of relationality cultivated in concepts like *buen vivir* or *vincularidad.* But Zurita's gesture, in its symbolic insularity, limits our ability to describe it in relationship with other-than-humans.

[32] This idea resonates with those of Clemente Padín. Eduardo Ledesma writes in *Radical Poetry,* that "According to Padín, with the union of art and life, the art object is eliminated and replaced with the art action" (60). This is precisely the site of distinction between Euro-American and Latin American Conceptualisms.

which his body exists in the encounter with others (Anzaldúa 1990).[33] The face as topography reveals it as a landscape, a cultural production of space, which Zurita transforms through inscription, whether the inscription is understood as a specific reference to dictatorial trauma or not.

In the introduction to the bilingual edition of *Purgatorio,* American poet C. D. Wright asserts that "Zurita created his groundbreaking document in a quake-and-coup-marked country; Chile, the sky over Chile, the desert, the marked, mewling cows, Citizen Rachel, and even his own Chilean body, became his manuscript" (*Purgatory* B.E., VII-VIII). Zurita's body becomes a particular "Chilean body" through a gesture borne of the memory of torture under the Chilean military dictatorship. His "manuscript" is the body, the surface of in-scription: an interiority as mark by and through inscription. Through Zurita's self-inscriptive burning, this primary gesture from which emerges all is subsequent escritura material, his body performs an excess of normative structures of meaning in the social body. The performative gesture continues to speak through corporeal, memorial, and affective traces after the gesture is made, and remains a "site" which is also "citation." What Wright calls Zurita's "marks," in this sense, are not fixed but are transitional and transformative sites, emergent territories that undo the borders between self and the corporeal presentation of self through both conative and affective means. Such a mark reveals a sentiment with its own interiority, a hapticality. This hapticality is the creation of a site for strategies that counter the imposed technologies of social isolation and the dehumanizing forms of real and social death within structures of neoliberalism and

[33] Among Chicanas/*méxicanas, haciendo caras*, "making faces," means to put on a face, express feelings by distorting the face [...] For me, *haciendo caras* has the added connotation of making *gestos subversivos,* political subversive gestures [...]. The world knows us by our faces, the most naked, most vulnerable, exposed and significant topography of the body" (Gloria Anzaldúa *Making Face, Making Soul/*Haciendo Caras (1990)).

military dictatorship. In part, Zurita accomplishes Richard's "liberation of new capabilities of meaning" by visibly inscribing one instantiation of his traumatic memory on his face, and ritually connecting it to a broader cultural memory through the sacrificial and resistive gesture that resonates within a society marked by the violences of dictatorship. Zurita's inscription of his traumatic memory resignifies his body with its public mark, a mark that extends the gesture beyond the limits of the state's grammar, that speaks when language itself fails. This resignification is the trace of defiance that maintains Zurita's subjectivity beyond being merely a figure of resistance. It is a trace that resonates in the image and text of his first book of poems, rewritten from memory in the wake of his torture.

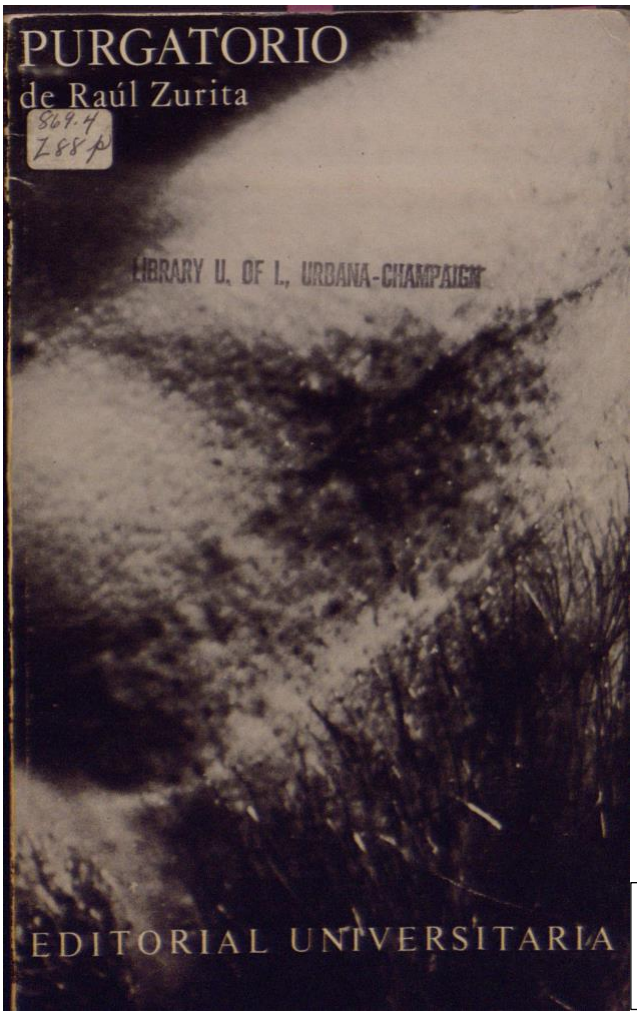

Figure Four
Cover of 1st edition of *Purgatorio*
Photo: Ethan Madarieta

On the cover of the first edition of *Purgatorio* is an indiscernible image, blurry and in black and white as if a close-up of a granulated photograph or one taken from a great distance – perhaps an aerial image of a desert or alien landscape, wind-worn and craggy (Figure 4).[34] The photograph is, in fact, a close up of Zurita's cheek, his self-inscribed face. This is the face Zurita presents to the reader before they enter the space of the text (a gesture repeated for this chapter, and generating a difference) and thus marks the coming text with his far-reaching gesture of self-inscription. To inscribe is "to write, mark, or delineate (words, a name, characters, etc.) in or on something; esp. *so as to be conspicuous or durable,* as on a monument, tablet, etc.," so the act of inscribing the body is to disclose a meaningful connection between a subject and the world as an extension of the self while understanding ourselves an extension of the world (*OED Online*).[35] To inscribe the body, particularly the face, is an act of the proper signifying power in which meaning is "produced and circulates." It is a conspicuous marking that defies legibility under normative strictures of corporeal presence (often racialized constitutions of the body) and thus simultaneously disrupts and makes for new (dis)organizations in any conventional distribution of the sensible.

When Zurita burned his face, it became a physically conspicuous and durable expression of his traumatic experience through the ritual performance of opening up the injured body, and its attendant significations, to the world. By permanently marking his face with the red-hot iron Zurita made a subversive gesture that would ever after *face* the world. The inscription on the dictatorial, socially determined landscape of Zurita's face became an emergent territory for his resignification of suffering by which the traumatic interiority of

[34] See Juan Martel "Zurita ¿Infierno o Paraíso?" (1983) for his description of the image as an alien landscape with alien vegetation.
[35] Emphasis mine.

torture became a source for the expression of that interiority. The inscription became a signification that produced its own sign, liberating meaning from the constraints of a dictatorial grammar.

The expression of Zurita's self-inscription, *Purgatorio's* cover image and text, transforms that solitary gesture into a social one through the circulation of the text and the circulation of meanings attendant to Zurita's body. In doing so, the very materiality of *Purgatorio* transgresses the social and political strictures and organizations of the body and its constitution of the national subject under Pinochet's regime. The cover image is another citation of the subversive gesture which can be boldly felt in the distressing words which occupy the vast white space of the frontispiece, "mis amigos creen que / estoy muy mala / porque quemé mi mejilla" (translation below). This poem resembles the haiku form, but whereas many traditional Japanese haiku are meditations on a human social and/or spiritual condition through metaphors of nature, "mis amigos" directly addresses the social condition. Below the surface of Zurita's poem is a meditation not on nature or even the human condition, but on the social landscape. *My friends believe that / I'm a sick woman / because I burned my cheek* presents a specific reading of Zurita's persona that is his social subjectivation and abjection in the sense that "the abject marks the very process through which an individual becomes subjected" (Wilkie-Stibbs as quoted by Alvarado 51). Zurita's assertion in the poem that his friends' believe that he is a sick woman suggests a perceived social pathologizing of the action, and perhaps the feminizing of mental illness. As the subsequent pages of the book suggest, the poem's link to the book's cover and thus to Zurita's self-inscription is a proprietary offering of the wounded Chilean body under dictatorship, but also a queering of an identity that attempts to defy interpellation into gender normativity. It both calls out the sexist

interpellation of his body revealed by the feminizing of his "sickness," and defies this attempt at normative gendering by moving fluidly between masculine and feminine pronouns that both relate to the static image of Zurita themselves.

This queer project runs throughout Zurita's trilogy. In the note on Zurita's use of the nominalized adjective in the feminine form throughout his work, *Antiparaíso* translator Jack Schmitt writes: "All these structures, as well as the distortions and breaks in Zurita's syntax, tend to give his language a connotation of a kind of delirium in which it becomes senseless to speak of masculine or feminine gender, of possession and attribution, as if he were speaking in a state of ecstasy or rapture, where the most important thing is the power and purity of the images" (*Anteparadise* 213-214). This ecstasy, the possibility in language of Zurita's *eks-stasis* (to be outside of oneself), is the very possibility of his ungendering. If we have learned anything from Judith Butler or Frantz Fanon it is that before the body is present it is constituted, subjected; it is interpellated into a set of social relations in which it makes sense or becomes understandable within these relations. Bringing into relation through interpellation also enables one access to the production of meaning within this set of relations. Zurita's queer possibility is only due to linguistic "distortions and breaks" in which he is outside of his self that is always already constituted in and by language. These queered structures are fused with distortions and breaks that give Zurita's language a universal quality, one that attempts to speak affect rather than attribute feeling to any one individual or experience (even as he speaks of and through himself as the vessel for the transformation of suffering into Paradise).

However, this ungendering is only possible through Zurita's privileged position as a male in a white Chilean paradigm, for as Hortense Spillers points out in her article "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," ungendering is also a tactic of

dehumanization and objectification in which the body becomes flesh. Underpinning the possibility of Zurita's universalism is the "ordinary presence of whiteness" that also constitutes Chilenidad and its access to and/or embodiment of whiteness. Among the ethical problems with Zurita's tendency for universalizing is that it presupposes the white male Chilean subject, which denies ontological differences in (traumatic) experience, such as that of women, subjugated classes, the Mapuche, and Afrodescendientes affected by both the physical and economic violence of the Chilean dictatorship. As a gesture that reaches beyond his body and into a universal significance that encompasses those oppressed by state violence globally, it also denies ontological differences in (traumatic) experience of Black and Indigenous peoples. However, Zurita's language of break and distortion might also allow for a kind of multiplicity that shatters the singular façade of any personal narrative.

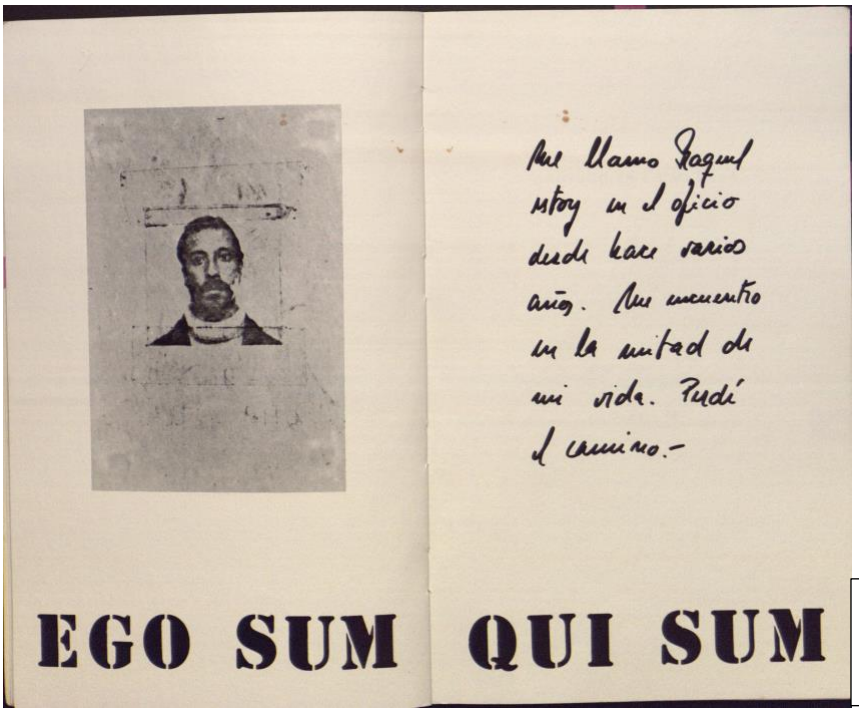

Figure Five
First two pages of 1st edition of *Purgatorio*
Photo: Ethan Madarieta

On the first two pages following the title page of the first poetry section of *Purgatorio* (following the frontispiece), is a portrait photograph of Zurita with a bandage, like a cross, on

his left cheek covering the burn (Figure 5). On the facing page, in hand-written lettering, is a note – a textual presence stating the absence of the speaker's body – which says: Me llamo Raquel / estoy en el oficio / desde hace varios / años. Me encuentro / en la mitad de / mi vida. Perdí / el camino" (My name is Raquel / I've been in the same / business for many / years. I'm in the / middle of my life. / I lost my way), an allusion to Dante's *Inferno* and a continuation of Zurita's use of Christian biblical mythology as metaphor (*Purgatorio* 9, *Purgatory* 11). Written in a bold stenciled font across the bottom of both of these pages is the biblical God's presentation of themselves to Moses on Mount Sinai written in Latin: "Ego sum qui sum" (I am that I am). This phrase suggests a transcendence of a subjectivity through language into one that wholly constitutes itself, where there is no outside beyond by which it could be constituted. Zurita thus, again, becomes woman through an intentional queering by the literal parallel of the performance-text where his image is staged as the subject from which the text emerges. Considering Wright's introductory statement that Raquel is "Citizen Rachel," we begin to see clearly the assemblage which makes Zurita's solitary and queer gesture, book cover, and "haiku" one that expresses the entire social landscape while constituting a subjectivity in excess of the regulatory corporeal and epistemological constraints of Chile's dictatorial regime.[36]

We, of course, know well the violence of this universalism, and therefore must read Zurita's collectivizing gesture ultimately as a failure, but inasmuch as Zurita's traumatic wound acts as a node of affinity we are able to see the possibility of this other collectivity (and

[36] Eduardo Ledesma also suggests that "en el oficio" could refer here to the work of prostitution, thus disclosing another abject position within the dictatorial regime. It might also suggest that Zurita is here referring to his own symbolic prostitution by using his body in exchange for a political salvation.

one we will see again in his skywriting in the following section). The possibility of being in relation through the traumatic violence of the state, such as is suggested in Fanon's evocation of "all colonized people" further discussed in the third chapter (2008 2). For example, Wright's use of "Citizen" to modify "Rachel" is an imposition of a meaning that delimits the realm of sociality, the possibility of some and not others to be included in the above-mentioned reciprocal relationality. For instance, the transition from the male-sexed Zurita to Raquel may allow for a queering of what it means to be a Chilean citizen within a state of extreme state violence, perhaps referencing works by fellow Avanzada artist Carlos Leppe (specifically in his piece El perchero), but it does not readily include those populations who might exist outside of Christian naming traditions, who have an/other conception of gender (the Mapuche Machi),[37] and who are not politically represented as citizens without total integration and loss of sovereignty by becoming subject.

Let us end this section with a return to Richard's statement in the epigraph above. She writes, "Under circumstances where censorship is applied to vast areas of meaning in language, *a superfluous discourse or unspoken pressure which escapes or undermines the syntax of the permitted can only surface as bodily gestures*" (*Corpus Delecti* 192). Richard theorizes that dissident meanings are "superfluous" to permitted discourses, which is to say that they are in excess of what meanings are legible and representable, and therefore build up an internal pressure which "surface as bodily gestures." This surfacing is in excess of social constraints that are discursively constructed as normality, but are not in excess of, or

[37] In Mapuche cultures, the Machi is a religious leader, a spiritual guide, healer, and a central community figure, along with the Lonko (chief). Machi, like "two-spirits" in various Native traditions of Turtle Island, have historically, and continue to allow for and embody flow across a spectrum of gender. For in-depth scholarship on the Machi, see Ana Bacigalupo's 2007 *Shamans of the Foye Tree*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

superfluous to, a subject's process of becoming. In other words, to identify is also to disidentify (thinking more of José Esteban Muñoz's definition of the term than Althusser's) inasmuch as there is always a limit to the identificatory capacity of representation. The excess requires living in and as a multiplicity. Zurita's self-inscriptions are this becoming of a proper subjectivity that necessarily exceeds, and thus defies, corporeal regulations of the state that impose upon bodies mythic significations. In Barthean terms, myths are those signs that extend beyond and subsequently order signification. By allowing for a multiplicity of identities and identifications beyond the gendered body Zurita's poem/image suggests the "we" in any construction of an "I." Zurita produces a language of the sociality of being, where the "I" is an act of vincularidad, a being always in relation to another.

The diffusion of significations that emerge from Zurita's inscriptive gesture allow each mode of expression (image, text, sound, touch, breath, citation, allusion, etc.) to become a node from which new territories for changing the social landscape, and what is possible within that landscape, emerge. He makes meaning through the physical and affective remaking of his body/landscape – and in particular, his face – through gestures illegible in the signifying systems of the state which are citationally limited to a particular historical colonial narrative of power and right. The sentiment of the self-inscription, the burn, the scar, the images, the poem, the letter, are a palimpsest. Each stratum is differently (in)visible and (un)knowable within the regime's distribution of the sensible, and can thus perform different work, simultaneously critical and creative. Zurita's self-inscriptions are the sublation of the regime's subjection, both preserving (picking up) and transforming this subjection into potential subjectivities in emergent territories. Territories which become spaces for Chile's abject others and transnational Latinxs to both create common, and invent new, collectivities. Zurita's acts of

vincularidad are effectively translated in his skywriting "La Vida Nueva."

1.2 A DREAM OR A MEMORY: ESCRITO EN EL CIELO (1982)[38]

> ¿Qué es entonces el Paraíso?
>
> El cielo ha sido desde siempre el lugar que hemos ido llenando con las carencias de la vida. Como tantos, despojado, el año 1975 inicié mi trabajo entendido como una práctica para el Paraíso, no para el cielo vacio. El inico de su camino se abre con el acto de haber quemado mi cara porque todavía no era possible marcar el cielo con el hecho corregido de nuestras vidas, pero en el documento de esa quemada se relaciona este acto con las estrellas de la noche.[39] Yo sé (y mis amigos también) que cuando podamos rediseñar nuestros trabajos y por ende romper con cualquier obligación al servilismo físico o mental, todos – muertos y vivos – podremos por fin revertir nuestras carencias y por ende corregir el cielo […]
> Pero la nueva marca en el cielo, no en la cara, ese será el Paraíso.
>
> What, then, is Paradise?
>
> The sky has forever been a place that we have filled with the deficiencies of life. Like many, dispossessed, the year 1975 began my work understood to be a practice for Paradise, not for an empty sky. The beginning of this path opened with the act of having burned my face because it wasn't yet possible to mark the sky with the facts of our lives corrected. But in the documentation of this burn, the act of burning is related to the night stars. I know (as do my friends) that when we can redesign our works and therefore break with whatever obligations to mental or physical servility, everyone – dead and alive – will finally reverse our shortcomings and therefore correct the sky […]
> But the new mark on the sky, not on the face, that will be Paradise.
>
> —Raúl Zurita, *Zurita* (2012, 15 translation mine)

The sky comes into being when disclosed by a body. The "sky" in this sense is not the scientifically delimited space of -spheres: atmosphere, troposphere, stratosphere, mesosphere, and so on. It is an imaginative and metaphoric common space and a space in common; a space

[38] Written in/on the sky. Also known by the title of the poem "La Vida Nueva" (The New Life).
[39] In "La Vida Nueva" which concludes *Purgatorio* and which is written over an image of his own electroencephalogram Zurita writes, "mi mejilla es el cielo estrellado" which could be translated both as "my check is the starry sky" or "my cheek is the shattered sky."

that is ungraspable and uninhabitable until signified through the body and the body's making place of it. It has no periphery, no material beginning or end, and extends beyond the subject's perceptual horizon. Due to its perceptual spatial indeterminacy, relative to a terrestrial perspective, the sky has also signified infinite possibility; its vacuity and capacity both permanence and impermanence. It is a metaphor for hope and redemption from the pains of this world; a potential space and a space where one finds a futurity that sustains hope. For those pre-renaissance cultures such as the Egyptians, Maya, Greeks, and Chinese (to name but a few) the physical cosmos were a space upon which to map their own social, political, and religious structures. Such "ethno-astronomies" and "ethno-geographies" are what Sylvia Wynter describes as the act of mapping "governing master codes on the heavens, on their stable peridocities and regular recurring movements" so as to map "their specific criterion of being human, of what it was 'to be a good man and woman of one's kind' (Davis 1992), onto the physical cosmos, thereby absolutizing each such criterion" (Wynter 271). Thus, the sky is a landscape constituted by the body's cognitive and material actions upon it, just as the body is constituted in its relationship with the sky.

It is a figurative tabula rasa ready for projection but also an occupied and privatized space of crosshatching lines of contestations, surveillance, and flights away from or toward death; a colonized space structured by many overlapping maps and grids for material spatial and temporal organizations: plane routes, drone routes, missile routes, slave routes, trade routes;[40] "natural" and artificial satellite rotations; hemispheric stellar maps projected from the Earth; sound maps, light maps, particle maps; skylines, skylights, sky decks; the ancient past,

[40] Reference to Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*: "Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes."

transitional present, and approaching future. The sky, like land and sea, is a culturally constructed and constituted landscape. Recalling the epigraph for the Introduction, "There is slaughter everywhere, and the shame and guilt and horror of militaristic, neoliberal violence transcend the imaginary boundaries of nation-states," the sky also reminds us of the imaginary boundaries of nation-states. Although the nation-state determines its airspace, it is also made indeterminate by both the material encroachment of "unauthorized" objects and the projected hopes and fears of terrestrial beings.

Originally published in Volume 3, 1979 of the Chilean critical art journal *Revista CAL* (Coordinación Artística Latinoamericana), subsequently in his 2012 book of poems *Zurita*, and again in his personally curated 2015 collection *Tu Vida Rompiéndose: (Antología personal)*, Zurita offers three different versions of the artist statement/poem titled "What is Paradise?". Those sections of the text that remain throughout these constant revisions can be read as the fundamental framework of Zurita's project. The title in *Tu Vida Rompiéndose* is "Del Mein Kampf de Raúl Zurita." Zurita explains parenthetically within the poem that "este título es apenas una pequeña, ínfima matáfora del Inferno" (this title is only but a minor, negligible metaphor for Inferno) (15). Zurita references the horrors of the Holocaust throughout his work, and even imagines love and death in an American Auschwitz in his poems "Auschwitz." His concern is always with the possibility of life within a history of perpetual violence. Zurita's use of the title of Hitler's 1925 autobiography is surely a reference to Hitler's genocidal politics as laid out in the text but is here an inversion of such sentiment. Zurita's "struggle" is the work of creating space for life under such violent regimes, for "correcting" the "deficiencies" of life through social actions that resignify suffering into creative spaces latent with hope and potential. This minor, negligible metaphor" is not to minimize Hitler's politics as laid out in his *Mein*

Kampf, but to address Zurita's struggle – and the struggle of those under dictatorial repression by extension – within a violent authoritarian regime that tortures and disappears its own citizens. It is the affective expression of the Holocaust as written through history and memory that Zurita attempts to draw with this metaphor.

Zurita would perhaps call these repetitions with difference "corrections" as they suggest that the "practice for Paradise" is always the work of changing how we experience the world. These changes emerge from the improvisations inherent in repetition and the potential latent in each action. Such is the transitional state of becoming, that fundamental state of being in- and with- the world. Zurita writes this statement/poem as a transitional subject, "como un obrero de la experiencia […] que penosamente trata de ir corrigiendo los borradores de su camino en la experiencia. Como uno repetido que trata de impugnar el individualismo y las ganancias lícitas de los individualistas" ([…] as a worker of experience […] that painfully tries to correct the rough drafts of his path of experience […] As a repeated one that tries to contest/challenge individualism and the elicit winnings of the individualists)" (2012, 14).[41] It is often said in performance studies scholarship that all performance is "twice behaved behavior," which suggests that our bodies in movement – in their very being – are always in the act of a repetition, which is to say, any understanding of our being is premised on its citationality (Schechner 29). Here, again, Zurita creates his own citationality by which he is able to resignify himself in his suffering, in both body and word.

As a "repeated one," Zurita's work is the constant correction of experience, and thus also of signification, by the conviction that life is an artistic practice and that like a gesture, a drawn line, or molded clay, in repetition it can be corrected (in the sense of an adjustment in a

[41] Translation mine unless otherwise noted.

repeated action). Such actions are done in procedural memory as they are (re)performed, and narratively in the use and recollection of episodic memory – simultaneous forms of memorial performance used by Zurita. He proposes a work of empathetic and compassionate sociality that defies the neoliberal insistence on competition and individualism, a mode of being that is inherently violent, and calls for us to not give up by accepting violence as the state of sociality, but to work within the limits of our life to construct "un nuevo sentido y […] una nueva forma social de experiencia" ([…] a new sense and a new form of social experience) (*Zurita* 14). Zurita suggests that the senses (and what is sensible within particular regimes' distributions of the sensible) are as mutable and subject to elision and erasure as memory itself. But they are also practiced, re(per)formed, and resignified through both socio-cultural and biological (both embodied) processes. Therefore, working to resignify the senses, that is, how we cognize sensation (states of perception), will shift how we experience the world and thus how we understand memory as simultaneous to experience. Zurita's performance/texts assert that poetry is generative of a new organization of language that can dismantle the grammar of the dictatorial state. His grammatic and formal disjunctions and hallucinatory imagery collapses time and space as a way of drawing out the past from the present and bringing into the present an as of yet only imagined future. And it is by way of the material and epistemological manifestation through skywriting and the physical and poetic context within which we understand "La Vida Nueva" that Zurita performs his sensorially resignifying work.

On June of 1982, nine years after Chile's military coup and his detainment and torture Zurita manifested the skywriting of his fifteen line poem "La Vida Nueva" above New York City, written in smoke over the East River and Flushing Bay in Queens, New York.[42] One

[42] Zurita carried out this action with the help of friends and fellow CADA members Lotty

might ask who was meant to read Zurita's poem, written in Spanish. According to the 1980 United States Census over 20% of New York City were peoples of "Spanish Origin." The poem was written in the sky over major sites for Latin American diasporas over the last century and a half. The 1980s also saw a rise in South and Central American diasporas, fleeing unlivable conditions of state terror generated, in large part, by U.S. military and economic "intervention." Zurita describes his skywriting project as

> …an homage to minority groups throughout the world and, more specifically, to the Spanish-speaking people of the United States. […] When I first designed this project I thought the sky was precisely the place toward which the eyes of all communities have been directed, because they have hoped to find in it signs of their destinies; therefore, the greatest ambition one could aspire to would be to have that same sky as a page where anyone could write. (1984)

In *La Vida Nueva "escrito en el cielo"* Zurita performs another critical gesture of resignification. In addition to the poem's content, the material transformation of military planes, whose common uses are transporting bodies, surveillance, and bomb dropping, was accomplished by converting them into creators and performers of poetry. The planes become agents in the performance which leave ephemeral traces both affectively and memorially. After the September 11, 1973 bombing of the Chilean presidential palace, La Moneda, and the subsequent use of planes to drop dissidents (often still alive, tied to lengths of railroad, and wrapped in plastic), the planes function as mnemonic objects that signal particular ways of knowing the world and particular ways of having known. As with most of Zurita's escritura material, these performances defamiliarize the sites upon/within which they are performed,

Rosenfeld and Diamela Eltit (credited as producers), photographer Ana María López, and art galleries in the United States. Zurita's friend, the conceptual architect, video artist, and fellow Chilean Juan Downey filmed the performance. (Video can be seen in the Hemispheric Institute Archive)

allowing them to be transformed and thus evoke or provoke new ways of knowing and being in the world. In scholar Juan Andrés Piña's book *Conversaciones con la poesía chilena* (2007) Zurita recalls the reason behind his use of military planes: "Me interesaba la FACH [Fuerza aérea chilena], porque yo pensaba que si los mismos aviones que habían bombardeado La Moneda lograban escribir un poema en el cielo, entonces parecería que el arte alguna esperanza tiene, al menos emblemáticamente, de transformar el mundo (I was interested in the FACH [Chilean Air Force], because I was thinking that if the same planes that had bombed La Moneda [the presidential palace in Santiago] managed to write a poem in the sky, then it would seem that art has some hope, at least symbolically, to transform the world) (273). Such symbolic action coupled with the material remaking of the planes' uses make the skywriting an indexical performance that fundamentally transforms its referent, as in CADA's July 12, 1981 art action *¡Ay Sudamérica!*, discussed in the Introduction.

Figure Six
Still from "La Vida Nueva: Escritura en el cielo" (1982)
Hemispheric Institute

MI DIOS ES HAMBRE	MY GOD IS HUNGER
MI DIOS ES NIEVE	MY GOD IS SNOW
MI DIOS ES NO	MY GOD IS NO
MI DIOS ES DESENGAÑO	MY GOD IS DISAPPOINTMENT
MI DIOS ES CARROÑA	MY GOD IS CARRION
MI DIOS ES PARAÍSO	MY GOD IS PARADISE
MI DIOS ES PAMPA	MY GOD IS PAMPA
MI DIOS ES CHICANO	MY GOD IS CHICANO
MI DIOS ES CÁNCER	MY GOD IS CANCER
MI DIOS ES VACÍO	MY GOD IS EMPTY
MI DIOS ES HERIDA	MY GOD IS WOUND
MI DIOS ES GHETTO	MY GOD IS GHETTO
MI DIOS ES DOLOR	MY GOD IS PAIN
MI DIOS ES	MY GOD IS
MI AMOR DE DIOS	MY LOVE OF GOD

As in *¡Ay Sudamérica!,* described in the Introduction, both the linguistic and phenomenal sense of the poem, what *escrito en el cielo* generates as a performance-text, are reflective of the identities of the reader-viewer of the "sky-scape" inasmuch as the linguistic and phenomenal sense of the performance-text has culturally specific indexical referents. For example, the reader of this poem also becomes the voice of the poet, the one who invokes their "god." This is, already, a forming of a Latin American and Latinx collective that is predominantly Catholic or other form of Christianity. But the poem's metaphors suggest another significance for this god. "MY GOD IS HUNGER; CANCER; WOUND; PAIN" evoke the dominant conditions of suffering under the unequal regimes of Empire. "MY GOD IS NO" evokes the Chilean "No más" movement begun as an art action by the collective CADA of which Zurita was a part. The "NO" movement itself extended beyond Chile across Latin America to the U.S. and Europe through Latin American diasporas as an anonymous and collective sign of contestation to state violence. "MY GOD IS CHICANO" refers not only to Mexican Americans in the US but to the pan-Latino Chicano movement that organized Latinos of various diasporas across the US under the sign of civil rights. Like Dante's La Vita Nouva

which suggests that the earthly "truths" of the creation help us get closer to God, Zurita's poem presents the characteristics of God as a way to better understand a shared experience of earthly reality from the Pampa's to New York, connecting those suffering and surviving under dictatorial violence in Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina (the Pampas) with those of the Latin American diasporas who both suffer and survive under U.S. Empire.

The medium of the text in "La Vida Nueva" – smoke – is like the very gesture of performance in that it is a signifying action of appearing and disappearing. As soon as the smoke is emitted into the air as a semblance of a letter it begins to dissipate. The appearing and disappearing in Zurita's performance, like other performances, mimics a subject's engagement in the connection between past experiences and their being through present memories. And like memory, performance leaves a trace. The trace is both affective, the remainder of experience, and the material traces left through documentation. Past actions can be imagined here as reperformance by way of the signifying gestures imagined as the manifestation of the meanings of experience in memory. The present of remembrance is mediated by the significant gestures, words, images, sounds, and feelings of past experience as they are understood in the present.[43] Zurita's skywriting was made by five planes guided by a ground controller to emit smoke in a temporally and spatially systematic way. The ground controller said "now", and the pilot would eject smoke from the plane in a temporally articulated space of sky. This meant that the first puffs of smoke only suggested letters, the subsequent puffs only suggested words, and as a line of poetry was completed its beginning had already begun to dissipate and reenter illegibility (Figure 6). The potential both for the textual signification of signs that would

[43] This gesture resonates 30 years later in artist/activist and scholar Kenneth Pietrobono's 2012 "Untitled" piece in "Notes from the State of Exception," a photograph of the word "LEASE" skywritten over Manhattan.

appear and disappear simultaneously was imbricated with the gestural signification which incorporated (to be embodied, bring into the form of a body) the viewer in their becoming. The skywriting's potential is its opening of significatory determination both spatially and temporally, which reveals the creative potential in memory as the always present processes of simultaneous remembering and forgetting. The skywriting is thus a practice of memory that reperforms the signifying material, or memorial citations, from which potential through repetition and redefinition emerge.

Zurita's memory, or dream (this uncertainty itself an emergent territory) of seeing planes write the name of a soap in the sky above Santiago de Chile became the potential for realizing the skywriting of a poem above New York City. Zurita's involuntary memory of seeing planes write the name of a soap in the sky over Santiago came – like the involuntary recovery of the poems of *Purgatorio* – from a flash in this traumatic gesture of burning and became the potential for realizing the skywriting of "La Vida Nueva" above New York City. But instead of a collectivity produced through the centralization of capitalist consumption accomplished by skywriting the name of a soap, Zurita's skywriting made a collective of those dispossessed and displaced through the processes of capitalist consumption begun with the project of colonization. This performative quality of memory and affect in the gesture is more than an ideality; it is the very space of potential for this new collectivity. It became an emergent territory.

The conflation of or inability to distinguish between a memory and dream suggests their perceptual imbrication and the potential that can be found in each to constitute the other. The memory as a present sense-thought of past action involves the kind of imaginative world-making of the waking dream. In one's dreams while asleep the bounds of the physical and

sensible (phenomenological and epistemological constraints) can be breached, and in the day dream it is the futural, the imaginative projection beyond the present, that breaks these boundaries. They are the negation of present boundaries and an imaging of what 'reality' would be like without such boundaries. This transformation of memory, or dream (the virtual in which the subject is a transformative object) into material reality not only reveals the resistive and resignifying power of critique necessary for the liberation of signs under oppressive regimes, but also suggests the powerful effects of utopian longings and desire in this (creatively) resistive and resignifying process. Always simultaneous to the gestural, performative resignifications in Zurita's *escritura material* are his transformations in/of written language, which in effect connect the affective, corporal, and cognitive aspects of one's perception. The reproduceable and framed text of the book is thus always a complementary part of the performance that acts as conceptual foundation and performatively through language.

In the poem/artist statement "What Is Paradise?" written after his self-inscription, Zurita says the burning of his face opened up a path toward Paradise but that the act of self-inscription was insufficient to bring it about. He proposes then, three years before his skywriting the poem above New York City, that Paradise would be a new mark on the sky constructed through the work of correcting the "rough drafts" of our lives as we live them. From each of Zurita's escritura material emerges a new territory for the attainment of Paradise, and that Paradise will require a collective effort through the recognition of a fundamental interconnectivity in which we remake our "selves" through the active and embodied process of resignification. The skywriting was a continuation of his burning gesture and one that, like the wounded body, as Richard writes, presented the "broken texture of a whole collectivity"

(*Margins* 1986: 32).[44]

For Zurita, this continuation of the metaphoric gesture had to happen in the sky because "cielo" signifies not just "sky", but also "Heaven," a place many Christians call "Paradise." He says that the sky is the place "toward which the eyes of all communities have been directed, because they have hoped to find in it signs of their destinies," and so he produced a sign that would immediately change their experience and expanded their notion of the sensible (*Anteparadise* 1986 "Introductory Note"). It is not surprising, given the performance of his Messianic personae and his constant Christian allusion, that Zurita would suggest in his poetry and art actions a return to what Sylvia Wynter described as the "ethno-astronomy" of all ancient civilizations, which "functioned to analogically replicate and absolutize the central order-organizing principle and genre-of-the-human distinction at the level of the sociopolitical order, between the non-dependent masters [… and the] barbarian Others" (Wynter 272). But rather than what Zurita sees as the barbarous violence of the contemporary state, his return to an ethno-astronomical structuring of society is a futural gesture that hopes to construct a physical-cosmic relationship that would reorder society into one that is more just and equitable.

1.2.1 FROM SKY TO TEXT

The first poem of the first section of *Anteparaíso*, "Las Utopias," is titled with the authors own name, "Zurita," and as in *Purgatorio* he uses himself pluralistically as a public medium for the transformation of suffering into hope:

[44] In *Margenes y Instituciones* Nelly Richard quotes and elaborates on a statement by Diamela Eltit: "*The very notion of the wounded body refers to that of the community;* all the tearing of flesh is a token of the broken texture of a whole collectivity (*Eltit*)."

Como en un sueño, cuando todo estaba perdido
Zurita me dijo que iba a aminar
Porque en lo más profundo de la noche
Había visto una Estrella. Entonces
Acurrucado contra el fondo de tablas del bote
Me pareció que la luz nuevamente
Iluminaba mis apagados ojos.
Eso bastó. Sentí que el sopor me invadía:

As in a dream, when all was lost
Zurita told me it was going to clear
because in the depths of night
he had seen a star. Then
huddled against the boat's planked deck
it seemed that the light again
lit my lifeless eyes.
That's all it took. I was invaded by sleep:

Zurita offers a message of hope that holds an imaginative potential "as in a dream" that emerges from the memory of his torture on the Maipo, his self-inscription and the extension of that inscription into the text of *Purgatorio*.[45] "The Utopias" are in this moment of convergence when Zurita finds himself in the repetition of traumatic memory, again huddled against the planks of the Maipo "when all was lost," and finds a star in the sky of his own darkest night to guide him through the sleep that invaded him. His dream begins with "LAS PLAYAS DE CHILE I" where Chileans weep in contestation of the destinies presented to them, and "alejándose toda la playa se / iba hacienda una pura llaga en sus ojos" (2016, 62). But, "[n]o

[45] Zurita recalls in an interview with poet Daniel Borzutsky that "(the) idea (for the sky writing) came about in the most desperate time of my life. I got the idea far before it happened, in 1975; it was at the time I burned my face and then I remembered that when I was a kid, a really young kid, I remembered having seen an airplane write the name of a soap in the sky. […] This was 1975 and I was totally desperate, but thinking about this helped me to stay OK…. I thought about this, and I was able to escape from the horrors of life" (Daniel Borzutsky "Written on the Sky" 2009). Juana María Rodriguez might call this the casting of "the ephemeral residue of gestures into language through the subjective and flawed lens of memory and longing" (*Sexual Futures* 99).

eran esas playas que encontraron sino más bien el carear / del cielo frente a sus ojos albo como si no fuera de ellos / en todo Chile espejeando las abiertas llagas[46] que lavaban" (withdrawing itself the whole / beach became an utter sore in their eyes // Those were not the beaches they found but the sky face / to face with their eyes white dawn as if not theirs / in the whole of Chile reflecting the open sores they washed) (62 / 63). And on the shore, soaked in tears, covered in wounds, holding himself and howling, a virtual Zurita throws his clothes into the water and with them all the wounds of the people, and all of his own wounds wash up onto the beaches, and tumble over themselves, "como una bendición que les fijara en sus pupilas" (like a blessing that he'd set in their pupils) (62 / 63).

The blessing he set in their eyes "era el resplandor de sus propias llagas abiertas en / la costa" (was the resplendence of his own open sores / on the shore) and all of Chile (the people) "le saludaron la lavada vision de sus ojos" (received the cleansed vision of his eyes) and threw their clothes into the water where they turned "radiant" and "splendorous" (62 / 63). This blessing is the reflection of their subjectivities manifest in the sky just as it is born in the eye of the poet. Together, before one another, they washed "los bastardos destinos" (the bastard destinies) that they had worn on their bodies and in their eyes and wept (62 / 63). This cleansing ritual happens in their eyes and in their physical and psychic wounds, in a dream like a hopeful mirage that resignifies suffering into "un territorio / irreal […] un nuevo / Chile mojándose las costas" (an unreal / territory […] a new / Chile wetting the shores) (66 / 67). This "unreal territory" is virtual, an emergent territory, "a new Chile wetting the coasts": potential, temporary, transforming. The territory emerges on the coast through this psychic and corporeal ritual cleansing, this performance of transformation in which the cleansing waters

[46] "Llaga" also literally means "herida" / "wound" and contains its attendant connotations.

turn the beach into the sky, inverting the world turned upside-down by the years of violence under dictatorship. It is a territory that is both the coast and the reflection of the sky, not the beaches they saw at all "but the sky face / to face with their eyes." It is here, in the sky, in the utopian dream and its accompanying hope, that this new territory emerges as a future whose effects happen in the present of its imagining. As in any act of creative resistance, the action simultaneously performs a transformative gesture while enacting a creative potential through the mutuality of becoming (transitional, futural). The whole wounded community is gathered through this ritual cleansing that inverts the world, and from the sky emerges a new Chile.

In the poem "La Vida Nueva" Zurita again suggests the mutuality of becoming through the deification of those lines' significatory presence. They are those sublime objects that cannot help but constitute us, that we necessarily navigate toward in life because they are integral to our identities, and leave a profound mark upon us: hunger, snow, no (which holds so much meaning in Chile), regret, carrion, paradise, pampa, Chicano, cancer, emptiness, wound, ghetto, pain, "MY LOVE OF GOD" (1986 1). But "La Vida Nueva" is also a recognition of the multiplicity of our experience and subjectivity, of the contradictory assemblages which constitute our self and our world, and ultimately of their impermanence. All of these equivalences by which we direct our lives – our "gods" – fill the undetermined space of our futures, but fade just as they present themselves, leaving but traces and memories through which we approach and enter the future. Reading this poem alongside the poems of *Anteparaíso* reveals Zurita's transformative practice: that the "wounds" upon the sky, just as they are the waves lapping upon the beaches, are cleansed upon our seeing them. They are transformed in their appearance and disappearance, disclosing spaces that could not yet have been seen, spaces that could only become once disclosed by the bodies for whom that sky is

repeated in perception. The transformation can then be incorporated as part of a social repertoire (as described by Diana Taylor) through Zurita's performance/texts as alternative forms of memorial surrogacy constituting the social across national boundaries (see Joseph Roach *Cities of the Dead*). But inasmuch as this impermanence signals hope, it is also a reminder that there is no outside to coloniality and therefore resistance must be an ongoing practice.

Zurita writes that "La Vida Nueva" "is the conclusion of *Anteparadise*," but that the poem in its entirety, as a whole and uninterrupted unit, is not contained within the book of poetry, and was not, as described above, ever seen as a whole unit in the sky above New York City. Additionally, there are multiple poems through Zurita's works either titled "La Vida Nueva" or which reference the title or lines from the poem(s) – a kind of fragmentation of a whole that never seems to be fully completed, which is suggestive of Zurita's approach to representations of trauma. In the "Introductory Note" to the 1984 translation of *Anteparaíso*, Zurita describes his conception of the project and its futurity:

> *Anteparadise* was conceived as a total structure, a trajectory beginning with the experience of everything precarious and painful in our lives and concluding with a glimmer of happiness. I'll never write a *Paradise*, even if such a thing could be written today; but if it could, it would be a collective enterprise in which the life of everyone who walks the face of the earth would become the only work of art, the only epic, the only *Pietà* worthy of our admiration. I won't write it, but that is the outcome I desire. (*Anteparadise*, "Introductory Note" (1984))

Zurita's description of his skywriting performance suggests that "La Vida Nueva" is the conclusion of *Anteparaíso,* the before-paradise, which thus casts the escritura material's future Paradise as in the process of becoming, of already being (t)here. The skywriting of the poem, always but a part of the whole in fragmentation, is to be enlivened and elaborated by "communities" that "have hoped to find in [the sky] signs of their

destinies," just as we see in the community interaction with Zurita's poem "ni pena ni miedo" (neither pain nor fear).[47]

The futural gesturing in escritura material are utopian performances that live in the improvisitory state of fragmentation, incompletion, and thus always defy attempted singularity of representation. Following Sandra Ruiz, this notion of "Incompletion […] works as the incentive to keep on keeping on, rather than the source that impairs the subject" (16). This reminds us of philosopher Drucilla Cornell's assertion that "the recollection of oneself is always an act which imagines through the remembrance of its own claims of selfhood what can never be fully recollected, but only forever reimagined and re-told," while Saidiya Hartman reminds us that "repetition or iterability is what enables 'us to regenerate ourselves through the continuing process of redefinition'" (75, 223). In Fredrick Jameson's *Archaeologies of the Future* he repeatedly insists "that what is important in a utopia is not what can be positively imagined and proposed, but rather what is not imaginable and not conceivable. The utopia […] is not a representation but an operation calculated to disclose the limits of our own imagination of the future, the lines beyond which we do not seem able to go in imagining changes in our own society and world […]" (Jameson 23). This disclosure "of the limits of our own imagination of the future" is the latent potential in all of Zurita's escritura material. Escritura material are both the practice of hope and the potential of practicing hope, the direct action of critique manifest through performance

[47] According to Daniel Borzutzky, translator of Zurita's book of poems *Canto a su amor desaparecido* and subject of the fourth chapter, the monumental words of the poem "can still be seen because children in the neighboring town bring shovels into the desert and turn over the sand in the letters" (2009). The poem has been alternatingly translated as "neither shame nor fear," "neither sorrow nor fear," and "neither pain nor fear."

simultaneous to the creation of livable space and its attendant affective sociality. They are the incomplete recollection of oneself that allow for regeneration in this "continuing process of redefinition."

But Zurita's Messianic practice, its utopian ideality of a transcontinental ethno-racial unification has it limits. All practices of decoloniality require a further critique, an/other undoing. This continuous practice is also the structure of my project as each subsequent chapter offers an intervention into, and extension from, the one made prior. For example, while Zurita's performance-texts surely create spaces for a new collectivity centralized around "living the colonial difference" from Chile to the U.S., his gestures, among other things, continue the exclusion or erasure-through-inclusion – what many Indigenous Studies scholars refer to as "administrative genocide" – of Indigenous peoples. Further, Zurita's performance-texts erase class differences and the differences in both colonial histories and legacies of coloniality across Latin America and the United States.

Figure Seven
Scanned image from the anthology *Mi mejilla es el cielo estrellado* (2004)

1.3 NI PENA NI MIEDO: ESCRITO EN EL DESIERTO (1993) (NEITHER SHAME NOR FEAR: WRITTEN ON THE DESERT)[48]

In 1993, with the help of excavators, engineers, geologists, and even the newly democratic Chilean State, Zurita realized the inscription of his monumental one-line poem "ni pena ni miedo" in the Antofagasta region of the Atacama Desert (Figure 7). The poem is illegible from the ground or from the height of any nearby landmass. In order to see the entire text – 10,000 feet in length, each letter 820 feet high and with a line width of 130 feet, carved into the desert at a depth of 5 feet – one must see it from the sky. Although its location and size appear to limit its visibility to those on the ground, it is plainly visible to millions with access to Google Maps or Google Earth. The necessity to read from the sky reveals a different relationship to the landscape within Zurita's cosmology, an aerial point of view that brings the observer into the sky of "La Vida Nueva", latent with hope, and into the position of those deceased souls suspended in a purgatory between Earth and Heaven.[49] The poem was excavated in a such a way as to look like it was written by hand in the specific font of Adrián Dufflocq Gladames in his 1945 *Silibario Americano*, a syllabary used by generations of Chileans, Zurita (who was born in 1950) included. This monumental gesture immediately suggests a Chilean hand, and also the meeting of a godly and human touch.[50] The merging of

[48] "Pena" can be translated in multiple ways, and signifies pain, sadness, pity, among others.
[49] This positionality in other contexts could suggest a colonial perspective as areal mapping was/is often undertaken for the sake of national demarcation and extractive capitalist projects.
[50] Espinaza Solar and Donoso Aceituno write: "La tipografía utilizada para la escritura en el desierto es la del Silabario Americano (1945) del pedagogo chileno Adrián Dufflocq Galdames y se asemeja a la letra manuscrita. Para lograr este efecto, Zurita tuvo acceso a retroexcavadoras, maquinaria pesada y un equipo multidisciplinario de ingenieros, científicos, geólogos y técnicos del Ministerio de Obras Públicas (MOP) además de la ayuda económica del Estado de Chile y de empresarios. (The typography utilized for the desert writing is from the *Silabario Americano* (1945) of the Chilean pedagogue Adrián Dufflocq Gladames and resembles handwriting. In order to accomplish this effect, Zurita had access to backhoes, heavy machinery, and a multidisciplinary team of engineers, scientists, geologists and technicians of the Ministry of

godly and human touch and the suggestion of a divine hand that reaches to the Earth and specifically Chile, is congruent with Zurita's symbolically Messianic corporal performance/texts and centers the Chilean experience of suffering under dictatorship as universal. Despite the problematics of universalizing pain (see Scarry 1985), this gesture recalls the significations of the sky as a space of hope, desire, and interethnic and interracial solidarity in both *escritura en el cielo* and *Anteparaíso*. And, like the 1981 CADA performance ¡*Ay, Sudamerica!*, the photographing of the poem to be included in subsequent publications was accomplished using Chilean military planes that had once dropped bombs on Santiago's presidential palace. This amalgamation of Zurita's theology, artistic practice, and process makes evident his will to create something that confronts the divine power of destruction. The repurposing of technologies of destruction for artistic practice and creation is here paralleled by another kind of reformulation, where "ni pena ni miedo" spatially and temporally expands the sentiment of Chilean historical memory.

The words "ni pena ni miedo" refer to the well-worn slogan of the democratic resistance groups under the dictatorship, "Ni perdón ni olvido" (Neither forgiveness nor forgetting, or Neither to forgive nor forget). This statement itself places the subject who utters it simultaneously in relation to the recent past which will not be forgiven nor forgotten, to the present of its utterance, and to the future for which the full effect of the statement is intended. As a form of creative resistance, it is a critique of the present futurally oriented that also formulates the kind of social relationships that identifies the speaker with the collective "we" implied in the phrase. Zurita's appropriation and reformulation of this statement – in wording,

Public Works (MOP) in addition to the financial support of the Chilean State and of entrepreneurs.) Translation mine.

site specificity, and through the use of Gladames' font – thus also functions as a specifically Chilean memorial commons that functions like the "the demand to remember and confront the past is not just for victims but also for society and its futures" (Sodaro 18). This memorial commons is a function of both the sentiment and location of the poem, an affective and geographic site where those who have suffered at the hands of state violence might utter this empowering phrase together and emerge a multitude. It is this precise refiguring of "Ni perdón ni olvido" that makes "ni pena ni miedo" an emergent territory from which new futures can be elaborated beyond the injunctions to forgive or forget, to punish or remember.

The geographic site of "ni pena ni mideo" is simultaneously politically marked and a political mark. Priit J. Vesilind, writer for National Geographic, describes the Atacama Desert's character in his article *The Driest Place on Earth* this way: "The desert may be a heartless killer, but it's a sympathetic conservator. Without moisture, nothing rots. Everything turns into artifacts" (2003). Many of the bodies of those disappeared and murdered during the dictatorship that were not thrown into the ocean were buried or thrown here, and the artifacts of that (f)act remains. The Atacama is of special importance to Chilean history and social memory as it contains the preserved "artifacts" of the Chacabuco concentration camp, a repurposed 1924 nitrate town, and the largest of Pinochet's camps during the dictatorship. This region also holds the bones, hair, pottery, etc., of its peoples since before it was named Chile, and was also the site of mass graves of the disappeared and/or murdered from both the late 19th and 20th centuries' atrocities of power. The Atacama is not only an archive of the artifacts of centuries long systems of murderous oppressions, but a landscape where these histories are directly indexically linked. The landscape itself is an *arte factum* (artifact), "an object made or modified by human workmanship, as opposed to one formed by natural processes" (OED

Online). The artifacts not only retain the traces of their history, but in doing so constitute that landscape and culture more broadly. The landscape is thus a social formation and Zurita's inscription resignifies the landscape through indexicality that provides an always emerging context within which one must understand the artifacts of that landscape. This Chilean history latent in the landscape is the deep archive of signs that inform and form the context of Zurita's poem.

In the 2015 article "Escribir el cielo, escribir el desierto, escribir el acantilado. La escritura material de Raúl Zurita," Arnaldo Donoso Aceituno and Ricardo Espinaza Solar write, "the landscape is not merely a physical place, but rather a complete cultural construction […]. The landscape is a particular production of an observer, a point of view more than an aesthetic construction. Landscapes are means of symbolic and material exchange present in all cultures. Through these it is possible to form, model, and conserve individual and collective identities […]" (69). As a "complete cultural construction," the landscape is produced and constituted through the meaning making of the bodies acting within and upon it. This cultural construction is never singular but is produced and reproduced in the articulation of its meaning by each participant in its constitution. Thus, the landscape is a shifting signification, an object that is always also becoming with those who constitute it. In this way, the landscape is an assemblage of meanings performed and reperformed in analogous and/or contradictory ways – a process in which the landscape and its meaning transforms those who constitute it and is thus also transformed.

Aceituno and Solar go on to write that "landscapes and the bodies that comprise them not only signify or symbolize, but rather they have the power to transform our reality" (69). It is this latent power in both the landscape and its constitutive and constituting bodies that

Zurita's escritura material mobilizes to transform reality. Such transformation is the existential elaboration of lived experience itself, not a determination of existence, but an opening up of experience and thus of potentialities of existence. In this way, "ni pena ni miedo" and all of Zurita's escritura material are emergent territories where the self and lived space, both memorial and futural, become mutually. This reading of Zurita's escritura material considers Heidegger's phenomenological notion of space as read by philosopher Mariana Ortega in which "[s]pace is not in the subject, nor is the world in space [but] space is rather 'in' the world in so far as space has been disclosed by that Being-in-the-world which is constitutive for Dasein" (*In-between* 27). Such a reading reveals the role of human encounter with space as requisite for the disclosing of space which constitutes our being-there (Dasein) – our Being-in-the-world. And if our Being-in-the-world is also constituted by our making use of objects in space, which constitutes this Being, it is transformative action—Judith Butler's "praxis"—which in turn produces and constitutes the world. Such is the performativity of escritura material through both language and the embodied action.

As Aceituno and Solar note above, landscape in Zurita's escritura material – as in much cultural (human) geography – is a "point of view." It is a place from which and through which one sees the world. Geographer John Wylie writes that landscape is "not only something we see, [but also] a *way of seeing things*, a particular way of looking at and picturing the world around us" (*Landscape* 7). This distinction aligns with geographer Karl Sauer's conception of land/scape in which *land* is purely physical and non-human while *landscape* is cultural, that is, peoples mark on, and appropriation of the land. Wylie describes "landscape as the shared and disputed matter of daily life accrued from longstanding material and empirical traditions of enquiry," thus suggesting the landscape is in persistent transformation through acts of

disruption in both scientific and everyday lived knowledges (Ibid 15). Zurita's "ni pena" suggests the landscape and individual/social/cultural identities are in constant vincularidad, which not only allows one to physically and symbolically transform landscapes but by doing so also transform the bodies which constitute them.

The possibility of such transformation lies in the unsettled ground, so to speak, of the various memorial landscapes which act as lenses for seeing physical landscapes and thus for understanding ourselves and our world. "ni pena ni miedo," Zurita's last escritura material in his trilogy of *Purgatorio* (1979), *Anteparaíso* (1982), and *La Vida Nueva* (1994), enacts the performative transformation of a landscape imbued with pain and fear into one of hope and potential through a palimpsest of physical and memorial landscapes in which memories of a site's past are entangled with present memory's futural longings (see Andreas Huyssen's *Present Pasts*). Dug into a trauma site – a present site of memory that is spatially and/or materially linked to a site of historic trauma – "ni pena ni miedo" is also a memorial site that reaches into the future as it literally excavates the land and the past.

In Patricio Guzmán's 2011 *Nostalgia de la Luz* (Nostalgia for the Light) the Atacama Desert becomes the space where histories and timelines of the origins of the universe, ourselves included, overlap with the history and memories of the Chilean dictatorship and imagining of an indeterminate future. The search for both meaning and understanding of what constitutes us through these histories is sought through astronomy, archaeology, and memory, the three collapsed into a single mode of seeking understanding of the present. In the stillness amidst crunching salt flats, slant afternoon sun, and thin desert wind, a poignant scene unfolds. A few of the wives and mothers of the disappeared, two who also appear in documentary photographer Paula Allen's photo-essay *Flores en el desierto* (Flowers in the Desert), are

shown digging and sifting through the dust and rocks of the Atacama, having returned again and again over the decades since the dictatorship in search for the bones or clothing fragments of their loved ones. Somewhere in the distance is Zurita's "ni pena ni miedo," now a part of what constitutes this landscape and scene of remembering. The women bend and dig through the dry earth, scattering the dust and debris to the wind. Walk, kneel, dig, sift, stand. For decades they return to repeat this process. The scene recalls Walter Benjamin's meditation on the process of remembering as a digging:

> He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging. This confers the tone and bearing of genuine reminiscences. He must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns over soil. For the matter itself is only a deposit, a stratum, which yields only to the most meticulous examination what constitutes the real treasure hidden within the earth; the images, severed from all earlier associations, that stand—like precious fragments or torsos in a collector's gallery—in the prosaic rooms of our later understanding. ... Fruitless searching is as much a part of this as succeeding, and consequently remembrance must not proceed in the manner of a narrative or still less that of a report, but must, in the strictest epic and rhapsodic manner, assay its spade in ever-new places, and in the old ones delve to ever-deeper layers. (*Reflections* 26)[51]

The women's continued effort, after nearly forty years, could begin to feel fruitless but is, perhaps, equally about the process of remembering and the intention of finding material traces of those remembered and, quite literally, re-membered. Their digging has itself become an act of remembering, a persistence emboldened by uncovering fragments as a process that sustains the remembered. In this way, the process, the duration of digging itself is the sustainment of the traces of their memories. The women, too, have become a constitutive part of this landscape. They are in a reciprocal relationship with the desert as a landscape of memory, expanding its memorial reach through the repetition of return throughout ever-changing

[51] I would like to thank Professor Brett Ashley Kaplan for calling my attention to this passage in relation to Guzmán's documentary.

historical contexts. The women reveal to us that every landscape is a landscape of memory, a space where social and political signs acquire the meanings from which we imagine the future and thus transform the present.

1.3.1 A GLIMPSE AT HAPPINESS

In an interview with Miguel Ángel Zapata on the online *Jornal de Poesia* Zurita says, "He vivido más de veinte años obsesionado con una idea: el vislumbre de la felicidad" ("I have lived for more than twenty years obsessed with one idea: a glimpse at happiness"). This glimpse of happiness has always been the future gestured toward, and from which emerged Zurita's proposition of Paradise. And these gestures that compose his escritura material are latent with the potential for such happiness. If each of Zurita's inscriptions thus produce a glimpse of happiness, then this will surely also be materially perceived in networks of meaning that extend beyond the sites of inscription themselves – through the circulation of meaning with and by the bodies inhabited by these inscriptions' sentiments. The escritura material are thus transformations of physical, corporeal, memorial, historical, and affective landscapes. The bodies involved in disclosing these spaces through action and language both produce and constitute them; through this are themselves constituted. Zurita's escritura material are sites from which new significations of suffering emerge from suffering itself. From "hunger, from terror, from loneliness," these works of life/art are interventions in the landscape of suffering that allows for the collective transformation of these experiences. Like all of his escritura material, "ni pena ni miedo" suggests that – unlike the assumption of memorials and memory museums that to remember is not to repeat – what is important is not memory or memorialization itself but the potential for resignification found in the everyday performances

of memory as transformative experiences. It is from the embodied transformation of our world through the unsettled and contested ground of memory that imaginative geographies for such transformation emerge.

CHAPTER 2: THE MNEMONICS OF ATROCITY: PERFORMANCES OF MEMORY AND MAPUCHE PRESENCE IN GUILLERMO CALDERÓN'S *VILLA*

> El olvido está lleno de memoria.
> (Forgetting is full of memory.)
>
> —Mario Benedetti[52]

> "El consenso es la etapa superior del olvido." (37)
> (Consensus is the highest stage of forgetting.)
>
> —Tomas Moulián, *Chile actual*

Written above the wall of names of the detained and disappeared during dictatorship at the Chilean memorial Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi (Peace Park Villa Grimaldi – PPVG) is a line from the Uruguayan poet Mario Benedetti: El olvido está lleno de memoria. This seemingly contradictory statement reminds us that it is the practice of remembering itself that occupies forgetting. This occupation of forgetting is portrayed in the play *Villa* (2011) by contemporary Chilean playwright Guillermo Calderón. For those traumatized by dictatorial violence, imbricated in the social circuits of memory and national histories of "*el pasado reciente*"[53] (the recent past), there is an ongoing tension between forgetting and remembering, and between the desire and inability to forget. Across Latin America, in the post-dictatorship era of intensified neoliberalism, forgetting is the active process of performative injunctions to forget and the creation of memorial forms intended to serve the elite a politically and

[52] Above the list of the names of the disappeared-detained at Villa Grimaldi is this line, the title of the 1995 book of poetry by Uruguayan poet Mario Benedetti. Exiled to Peru, Cuba, Spain, and Majorca during the Uruguayan dictatorship (1973 – 1985), Benedetti ultimately returned to Uruguay, where he died in 2009. All translations mine except for where noted. See note 10 in this chapter.

[53] In the Southern Cone (Southern Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, sometimes including Bolivia and Paraguay) "el pasado reciente" is always suggestive of the period of Cold War and dictatorial politics.

economically advantageous present. We can understand these memorials, then, as a production and performance of history and memory that structure ways of remembering the past in order to strengthen particular national discourses amenable to present and future economic gain and political power. To say that memorials are constructed to evoke particular memories does not mean that they have singular significance. Instead, it suggests that the common sense of national narratives of history combined with the memorial's materiality, linguistically signifying gestures, and specific geographic location contributes to ordering one's memorial engagement with the mnemonic object.

The use of the term "mnemonic" in this dissertation refers to this "active" force of monuments and memorials to "make remember." Mnemonic, in its denotation as a technique for memorial retrieval and retention, draws attention to the material form or memorial object assisting in the evocation of particular memories. The mnemonic object, as a site of memory on a national scale, is curated or constructed to evoke particular memories with their attendant affects through a memorial shorthand in the narration of a specific national identity. For remembering subjects, then, matter becomes memorial in relation to how the social and historical constitution of our memories reflect our subjectivity, and thus our place within or outside of this national identity. In this way, the memorial becomes an extension of our subjectivity and a physical referent to our national identity, congruent or not. These mnemonic aspects create a realm of sensibility within which one experiences the memorial and its constitutive pasts.[54] However, one's lived experiences and culturally specific memorial practices also reveal other significations in their relation to the memorial.

[54] For Jacques Rancière, the distribution of the sensible is the "way in which roles and modes of participation in a common social world are determined by establishing possible modes of perception (in this context, 'sensible' refers to what is apprehended by the senses). Thus, the

For example, as we will subsequently explore in *Villa*, the Chilean state and its memorials have yet to acknowledge that Indigenous persecution during the dictatorship was but an iteration of ongoing settler colonial violence. Such ongoing violence is what Jodi Byrd, Alyosha Goldstein, Jodi Melamed, and Chandan Reddy call "economies of dispossession […] those multiple and intertwined genealogies of racialized property, subjection, and expropriation through which capitalism and colonialism take shape historically and change over time" (2). As Lisa Cacho writes, attending specifically to the foundational and ongoing Indigenous dispossessions which underly the forming of the nation itself that, "examining economies of dispossession helps us see how racial capitalism is and always has been linked to US nation and empire building, which is itself premised on simultaneously acknowledging and undermining the sovereignty of Indigenous nations" (63). Although Cacho is referring to U.S. economies of dispossession, we could easily substitute "Chilean nation" for "US nation" above. In fact, as we will see, *Villa* performs the same kind of simultaneous acknowledgment and undermining as the Chilean nation.[55]

Villa addresses these social, historical, and political tensions at the site of the memorial through dialogue that directly addresses the memorial Peace Park Villa Grimaldi. The play interrogates the limits and effects of representation at Villa Grimaldi from the perspective of three women charged with deciding what to do with the physical space, and how to memorialize the victims of what was a dictatorship torture and detainment center. *Villa* is a

distribution of the sensible sets the divisions between what is visible and invisible, sayable and unsayable, audible and inaudible." From Sean Sayers review of *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible* (2005) by Jacques Rancière.

[55] We should also understand the U.S. economies of dispossession as intertwined with Chile's dispossessions through its colonial reach into Latin America. In fact, the "Chicago Boys" neoliberal policies intensified Indigenous dispossession through their injunction to privatize for the accrual of commodifiable resources.

performance of the complexity of the relationship between individual and social memory, and the sustained tension between the remembered, the elided, and the traumatic inability to forget.[56] Through *Villa*, this chapter analyzes concerns over representation, traumatic repetition, and the continuing history of Mapuche dispossession and memorial elision. The concept of elision is fundamental to an understanding of Chilean post-dictatorship memorials as conceived in this article as it suggests a sustaining narrative carried over an omission. The omission in this case is Mapuche historical memory when encountered by Chilean History and its memorial representations. Whereas the oft-used concept of "erasure" when writing about the intentional absences of Indigenous presence from History suggests an absence through removal, I use the term elision to suggest Indigenous presence just beneath Chilean History's narrative surface. The play itself opens a space to bring forth this omission through critique but does not itself pursue this critique. In *Villa,* the Mapuche remain merely a persistent but illegitimate mention, wholly forgotten to make way for the play *Discurso* (often presented sequentially to V*illa*), which revisits the first presidency of Michelle Bachelet.[57] I argue that

[56] The memory theorist (and Egyptologist) Jan Assman wrote in an article differentiating "social memory" from "cultural memory" in Maurice Halbwachs' theories on collective memory that, "memory depends, like consciousness in general, on socialization and communication, and […] can be analyzed as a function of our social life" (109). This assertion is, in large part, an elaboration of Halbwachs' belief that memory is a social phenomenon and individual reality dependent on membership to particular social groups. In this way, the meaning of memory emerges from the specific citational histories within which they were formed and subsequently remembered.

[57] There are two mentions of the Mapuche in *Discurso,* which is ultimately both a celebration and critique of Bachelet's presidency. First, toward the end of her speech (in three voices), she says, "Pero hay cosas de las que estoy profundamente convencida. / Por ejemplo, que Chile es uno y que los mapuche no son otra nación. / En el sentido de tener su propria república del árbol. / Creo que el crimen de la conquista y la colonia está olvidado. / Que la tierra usurpada fue usurpada. / Pero ahora tienen que vivir como chilenos. / Que me perdonen pero soy la presidenta" (But there are some things of which I'm deeply convinced. / I believe Chile is one country and the Mapuche are not a separate nation / In the sense of having their own 'republic.' / I believe the crime of colonization has been forgotten. / I believe the usurped land was usurped. /

this elision of Mapuche dispossession and memory in *Villa* can be applied to Chilean post-dictatorship memorial practices broadly.

Given the ambivalent but foundational position of the Mapuche in the nation as Chile's constitutive "Other" *and* the perpetually past and disappeared through historical omission and administrative genocide, their presence in Chilean history is for the *winka* (non-Mapuche) always just below the surface. As Mapuche scholar Alina Namuncura Rodenkirchen writes, from the outset of dictatorship "la persecución, tortura, desaparición, allanamiento y muerte aumentaron de forma progresiva, volviéndose un acto cotidiano" (the persecution, torture, disappearance, raids and death [of the Mapuche] increased progressively, becoming a daily act) (240). Official state histories and state dictatorship memorials do not attend to such violence, but as we read across the grain of *Villa*, the elided scratches through the surface of post-dictatorship memorial significations. Although *Villa* presents a narrative of neoliberal multiculturalism only possible for the *winka,* whose racial identity is the normative and unspoken national presence, it also contains a rupture which reveals Mapuche presence in this narrative.[58]

And they have to live as Chileans. / I'm sorry, but I'm the president), echoing Pinochet and other dictatorship government leaders' administrative genocide and refusal for Mapuche sovereignty (103, 116). Second, she says, "Les he tirado los pacos a los mapuche" (I've sent the cops after the Mapuche) in the context of her maintenance of the militarized police as appendage of state power (104, 116). For a more detailed analysis of *Discurso,* see Carl Fischer's *Queering the Chilean Way: Cultures of Exceptionalism and Sexual Dissidence, 1965–2015*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. See also: Joanne Pottlitzer's "Forgetting Filled with Memory." *Theatre* 43(2): 2013, 57–63, Paola S. Hernández's "Remapping Memory Discourses: *Villa+Discurso* by Guillermo Calderón." *South Central Review* 30(3): 2013, 61–82; and Flávia Almeida Vieira Resende's "Teatro político atual na América Latina: A experiência de *Villa+Discurso* de Guillermo Calderón." *Anais do Simpósio da International Brecht Society* 1: 2013, 1–10.

[58] *Winka,* here, read not only as non-Indigenous, but also as the white and mestizo who has inherited the logics of whiteness and indigenous dispossession.

Chilean memorials of the dictatorship often obscure Chile's internal colonization of the Mapuche in order to assert a national identity that disappears the Mapuche and allows the state to continue their extractive capitalist projects in Indigenous lands. Chilean whiteness elides Indigeneity through its consumption, and thus denies cultural distinction and the ongoing effects of entrenched colonial racial stratification.[59] In relation to the Indigenous peoples of Chile, these memorials exceed their meaning through their palimpsestic quality and historical citation. Indigenous histories, instead, emerge from before colonial epistemic structures such as ethno-racial categorization, national geopolitical demarcation, and the temporality of the nation. Mapuche presence, which is to say, the Mapuche people not relegated to the eternal pastness of a pre-independent Chile, makes conspicuous their omission in post-dictatorship memorial culture. This *presence*, as we will see it performed in *Villa*, reveals historical absence in Chilean public and private memorialization. In pursuit of the performativity of elision in both state and community performances of memory, I see Chile's memorial omissions as generative of memory, allowing for a deeper understanding of the social and political present, and of what is possible in the future.

Memorials and memorial discourses always (due to the limits of representation) omit or obscure particular histories and lived experiences, producing a limited context by which one understands the past, and what one comes to think of as past. However, the omission of elision is always hidden in plain sight. It is the constitutive absence of what is seen and sensed. As noted by Chilean philosopher Bernardo Subercaseaux, "what is omitted from the work is so

[59] For more detailed critiques of contemporary and historical regimes of race in Latin America see Juliet Hooker's *Theorizing Race in the Americas: Douglass, Sarmiento, Du Bois, and Vasconcelos.* Oxford University Press, 2019; and Emiko Saldívar's "Uses and abuses of culture: mestizaje in the era of multiculturalism." *Cultural Studies*, VOL. 32, NO. 3, 2018: 438–459.

evident that the omission itself is a trace or symptom of the orientation of reading" (quoted in Richard 1986: 27). The performances of memory in *Villa* highlight this constitutive absence and show that beyond elision is the continuance of a Mapuche history from which we can begin to imagine possible futures and ways of living *otherwise*. Using both Performance Studies and Memory Studies as lenses with which to interrogate Calderón's *Villa*, this chapter elaborates performances of memory as the surfacing of Indigenous memory where traces of elided pasts press against the surface of the sensible and are then politically mobilized. Before entering into an analysis of *Villa*, some history of the site and inquiry into the politics of Chilean memorials will prove useful for understanding the play and the actresses' performances of memory therein.

2.1 PERFORMANCES OF MEMORY AND "EL PASADO RECIENTE" (THE RECENT PAST)

The PPVG is a "trauma site" and what in Chile is called an *espacio de memoria* (space of memory). The "trauma site" is what Patrizia Violi describes as "one specific type of memorial site that furnishes an indexical link to past traumatic events which took place in precisely these places" (36). Trauma sites are where the materialization of a particular way of knowing a site is affirmed and reaffirmed through official citation via architecture, tours, photographs, engravings, timelines, plaques, signs, and the politically charged performances of commemoration events. Simultaneous to their distribution of what is and is not sensible, these kinds of visible semantic regulations also elide histories and lives that fall beyond the memorial's expression of national identity, or those lives that are occluded by the memorial's signifying centrality. Such was the case with the PPVG, inaugurated in March of 1997 during

the Concertación[60] presidency of center-left politician Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle on the site where Villa Grimaldi once stood; the site the military called the Tarranova Barracks while it operated as a concentration camp and torture center.

All of the internal structures of the Villa – mansion, tower, and torture houses – were bulldozed in 1989 by military personnel, and later, the entire site was razed by a construction company intent on building condominiums (Pottlitzer). This razing was a blatant attempt at erasing the mnemonics of the site right before the "transition to democracy" with the election of militarist president of the Concertación Patricio Aylwin in 1990.[61] The sale by Pinochet's government of this land for private use completed a dual purpose in the state's intensifying neoliberal project: it destroyed the evidence of its years as a clandestine center for torture and detainment and created capital for the maintenance and expression of elite privilege and state power through privatization and economization. By 1989, under the Pinochet regime's violent state of exception, Chile had emerged as a "success" of the experiment of neoliberal governmental and economic restructuring. However, despite 1989 being the official end of the

[60] The Concertación was the center-left political party made from the coalition of the many political parties and organization which supported the 1988 plebiscite vote of "NO" to the continuing Pinochet dictatorship. Although Concertación presidents, including Michelle Bachelet, began the process of recognizing the atrocities of dictatorship, they did so only to the degree that it not interfere with their continuation of neoliberal social and economic policies established during the Pinochet dictatorship.

[61] Patricio Aylwin Azócar was the first of four presidents from the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia, frequently known as the Concertación following the nearly seventeen-year dictatorship. Aylwin was a Senator during the Allende presidency and urged him to fill his cabinet solely with military officials. Aylwin subsequently sided with pro-coup officials and continued his political career under Pinochet. In 1994, the last year of his term, Aylwin expropriated the razed ground of Villa Grimaldi from the military, urged to do so by the families of the disappeared and the community of Peñalolén within which the Villa lies. Together, along with international and Chilean human rights groups, the families and community set into motion the transformation of the grounds into the memorial Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi (Park for Peace Villa Grimaldi). Subsequently, during the presidency of Ricardo Lagos in 2004, the site was declared a national historical monument.

nearly seventeen-year dictatorship, the violent and exploitative structures of the neoliberal state continued. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, retained a great deal of military and social power until July of 2002 when his office as "Senator for life of Chile" finally ended.[62]

The destruction of the Villa followed Pinochet's nationally resonant authoritarian statement as he left office: "Es mejor quedarse callado y olvidar. Es lo único que debemos hacer. Tenemos que olvidar. Y esto no va a ocurrir abriendo casos, mandando a la gente a la cárcel. *Ol-vi-dar*: ésta es la palabra, y para que esto ocurra los dos lados tienen que olvidar y seguir trabajando" (It is better to remain quiet and forget. It is the only thing that we should do. We have to forget. And this is not going to happen by opening cases and sending people to prison. *For-get*: this is the word, and for this to happen, both sides need to forget and continue working) (Mullaly 238). Pinochet's statement was a blatant attempt to encourage the processes already underway of securing impunity for those involved in human rights abuses during the dictatorship, while also razing the mnemonic material of these crimes and silencing public outcry against the regime's past and continued violence. What is perhaps most telling of Chile's official politics of amnesia post-dictatorship is the statement of President Aylwin when he (perhaps inadvertently) echoed Pinochet: "For the good of Chile, we should look toward the future that unites us more than to the past which separates us [. . .] [Chileans should not] waste our energy in scrutinizing wounds that are irremediable" (Paley 127). Even as the state favored elision, Pinochet's injunction to "forget" and Aylwin's to "look toward the future"

[62] Within the dictatorship's new Constitution of September 11, 1980, Pinochet secured the presidency for eight more years, the ability to remain commander-in-chief of the Chilean Army, and senador vitalicio (senator for life). He was sworn into the latter a role on January 27, 1999. He died in December of 2006, at the age of 91.

were met by various groups – both state and public – with demands that the atrocities of dictatorship be publicly and materially remembered. The landscape of forgetting once again proliferated memories.

Concerned with what in post-dictatorship South American discourse is often called "el pasado reciente," memorial sites and the performances of memory that enliven them often erase or elide an intersecting point of the long history of transnational colonial and state violence that resulted in Mapuche genocide.[63] In Chile, this elided point of historical intersection is the history of Mapuche struggles for memory, ontological and political sovereignty, and access to full citizenship and its practices. These memorial struggles extend from the violence of the Spanish conquest through the dictatorship's wholesale adoption of neoliberal economic reform, transnational military alliances within Operación Condor, and the transnational neo-colonial economic and military interventions of the United States across Latin America beginning in the Nineteenth Century.[64] These histories of explicit abjection, the processes of constructing what Judith Butler would describe as "those who are not yet 'subject,' but who form the constitutive outside to the domain of subject," are the foundational historical processes upon which the present neoliberal Chilean national identity was built (1997 xiii). Both the authoritarian and neoliberal governmentality of the Chilean dictatorship, as well as its immediate adoption of the "Chicago Boys" *El ladrillo* ("the brick"), intensified

[63] Forced incorporation, "resettlement" into *reducciones* (literally, "reductions"), authoritarian regimes, and the proliferation of neoliberal economic policies in late capitalism, are all part of what Brian Loveman discusses in his crucial book, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*.
[64] Operation condor was a U.S. supported transnational terror organization composed of the authoritarian regimes of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, which was said to have been disassembled in 1983 at the end of the Argentine dictatorship. Those involved in this transnational terror organization were responsible for much of the human rights abuses, including kidnapping, torture, and disappearance, especially across national borders.

existing inequities across Chilean society, as we see so clearly now with the ongoing and massive *¡Chile despertó!* protests.[65] Included in these neoliberal policies was the re-acquisition and privatization of Indigenous lands that were, just a few years before, returned to the Mapuche under Salvador Allende's presidency.[66] This dynamic conflagration of multiple modes of subjection and exploitation suffuses the traumatized bodies and the specific sites upon and within which physical and psychological violence was perpetrated.

The disjuncture between those who perform and reperform memory in relation to trauma sites (defined above), and those who use these sites to secure a political base or define the limits of national belonging, is at the very heart of what Steve Stern calls Chile's "memory struggles." These struggles not only occur across Chilean society or among an international landscape marked by intensifying (post)colonial modes of subjection, but within each body that interacts with these memorials, trauma sites, and memory museums. Memorials and trauma sites are at the center of these struggles. They are, in many ways, the effects of the

[65] *El Ladrillo* contained neoliberal economic theories learned in the Chicago School of Economics (through a kind of exchange program with the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile) under Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger. These theories became the basis for changing economic policy during the dictatorship in Chile and across Latin America. For more on *The Chicago Boys* and Chilean neoliberal economic transformation during dictatorship see Orlando Letelier's article published in *The Nation*, August 28, 1976, "The Chicago Boys in Chile: Economic Freedom's Awfull Toll"; *Un legado libertad: Milton Friedman en Chile* by José Piñera and Milton Friedman; *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School of Economics in Chile* by Juan Gabriel Valdes; *From Pinochet to the 'Third Way': Neoliberalism and Social Transformation in Chile* by Marcus Taylor; and *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* by Naomi Klein. See also the 2015 documentary film *Chicago Boys* directed by Carola Fuentes and Rafael Valdeavellano.

[66] For further reading on Chilean neoliberalism's effect on the Mapuche and long history of their actions against extractive capital and genocide, see Diane Haughney's *Neoliberal Economics, Democratic Transition, and Mapuche Demands for Rights in Chile*, and articles by Héctor Nahuelpan Moreno. For further reading on land reform during the *Unidad Popular* years under Allende see Correa, Martín, Raúl Molina Otárola, Nancy Yáñez Fuenzalida and Digitalia Hispanica. 2005. *La Reforma Agraria y Las Tierras Mapuches: Chile 1962-1975*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.

increase in tension between opposing points of memory in a palimpsest of memorial constellations generationally formed and contested. Such sites create a proliferation of social interactions and interrelations as their meanings extend beyond the sites themselves through the affective and memorial performances of those touched by the sites and their constituting memories. These social interactions and interrelations, the remembering subject's temporal and spatial engagement with each other as they engage with the mnemonic object, are suffused with the tension between the demands of the memorial's narration of history and the subject's processes of memory formation from embodied experience. These experiences of temporal and spatial engagement then incorporate into the becoming of the self, always shifting the landscape of social memory. For the Mapuche who draw upon history and memory that pre-exists the Chilean state *and* Spanish colonization, these memorials signal a longer history of traumatic state violence.

2.1.1 "YA. OPCIÓN A, UN VOTO. OPCIÓN B, UN VOTO. Y UN NULO." (10) (RIGHT. OPTION A, ONE VOTE. OPTION B, ONE VOTE. AND ONE RUINED BALLOT.) (67)[67]

Twenty-one years after the end of the military dictatorship and twenty-two years after the mansion and houses at the Villa were razed to the ground, Guillermo Calderón's plays *Villa + Discurso* (performed consecutively) were premiered at the Festival Internacional Santiago a Mil (Santiago a Mil International Theatre Festival) at the trauma site Londres 38 espacio de

[67] All translations of quotations from *Villa* and *Discurso* are by William Gregory as commissioned by the English Stage Company at the Royal Court Theatre and subsequently updated for publication in the United States. The Spanish text is from the 2012 LOM ediciones *Gullermo Calderón: Teatro II Villa ~ Discurso ~ Beben*, the second volume of a two-book collection of six Calderón plays. In-text citations note the LOM ediciones pagination first and the English Stage Company second.

memoria (Londres 38 Memory Space). It was January, mid-summer, two and a half downtown city blocks from the Universidad de Chile metro stop on the narrow Calle Londres where *Villa* debuted.[68] Across the street is Hotel Londres and a restaurant where people eat on the street-side patio, now just as they did during the dictatorship. Inside, the mnemonic objects of Londres 38 are still there: Black and white checkerboard tiles, the only thing incoming prisoners could see from beneath their blindfolds; stark white walls; torture rooms upstairs. This is the setting for *Villa.* The play begins or has already begun. For those who entered Londres 38 in 2011, the explicit haunting of dictatorial violence was resonant.

Villa is a site-specific performance of memory, a play about the Villa Grimaldi concentration camp performed at the Villa and other trauma sites and memorial spaces within and outside of Chile. It recalls Andreas Huyssen's concept of the palimpsestic quality of urban spaces in which "an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to what there is" (7). This memorial layering becomes apparent through the actresses' performances of memory, each applying a different pressure to present perceptions of memorial spaces in Chile and around the world from either a white Chilean or an Indigenous perspective. As we will see, these performances also require us to contend with Chile's historical and contemporary scenes of

[68] Both Londres 38 and the Villa operated as clandestine torture centers. Londres 38 is now a "space of memory" in downtown Santiago near the University of Chile. Around the same time as the razing of the buildings at Villa Grimaldi, just before the end of the dictatorship, the military had changed the number to 36. The (Parque por la Paz) Villa Grimaldi, which the play to be shown here at Londres 38 is about, lay in the outskirts of Santiago just outside of Highway 70 that encircles the city. In 2011 I had yet to visit Chile, so all observations of *Villa*'s premiere are based upon the 2011 video documentation of *Villa + Discurso* at Londres 38. The actors in this version are those of Francisca Lewin, Carla Romero, Macarena Zamudio for whom the parts were written. Even though in the diegesis of the play each actor is named "Alejandra," in the text of *Villa* each part is denoted with the actor's real name, as seen in the play's quoted text in this article: Francisca, Macarena, Carla.

violence, such as the recent murders of Mapuche activists by the military. Such violence evokes Spanish, Dutch, and German colonization, the violence of the Independent Chilean state, but also Leftist resistance and Mapuche futurity. Performances such as those in *Villa* raise these palimpsests of trauma to the surface of the memorial. They are, therefore, also crucial in enlivening spaces of memory for post-dictatorship generations, for revealing those disjunctures between political discourse, social memory, historical documentation, and Indigenous history and memory.

Three Alejandras are sitting in mismatched office chairs at a simple wooden writing desk in the center of the room.[69] The light seems to concentrate there at the desk. The audience is seated no more than two meters directly in front of the three women; in the periphery but not separate from the actresses. So close the audience can see each brush of hair from the face. The

[69] Macarena, Carla, and Francisca are known to each other only as Alejandra, a deft reference to the former MIR member (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria – Revolutionary Left Movement) turned DINA informant (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional – National Intelligence Directorate) [After DINA's dissolution in 1977 the Directorate became the CNI (Central Nacional de Informaciones)] Marcia Merino, known as "La Flaca Alejandra." Merino was first detained during the coup for her involvement in the MIR and subsequently tortured. Upon release, she returned to her work with the MIR but was less than a year later detained again. This time she was taken to the secret torture center at Londres 38 and was tortured for nearly four months by Osvaldo Romo, infamous for his torture techniques, who was working for the DINA. Under these conditions, Merino ultimately became an informant for the DINA. Her information resulted in the detainment and disappearance of some of her former revolutionary comrades. The traumatic violence the three Alejandras have in common, their conception by rape in Villa Grimaldi, make La Flaca Alejandra a possible symbolic mother to each, and also suggest an alternative future for those subjected by the violence of the dictatorship. That the Alejandras all become Bachelet in *Discurso,* literally speak as Bachelet, implicates her in the ideological violences of the aftermath of dictatorship. Merino's testimonio *Mi verdad: "más allá del horror, yo acuso..."* (1993) has been critiqued as an attempt to absolve guilt and become citizen through a kind of linguistic contract with the state that both validates amnesty and relegates the crimes of the dictatorship to the past. See also the 1994 documentary by Carmen Castillo *La Flaca Alejandra* and Nelly Richard's incisive "Tormentos y obscenidades" in *Latencias y sobersaltos de la memoria inconclusa (Chile: 1990-2015)*, "Torments and Obscenities" in *Eruptions of Memory: The Critique of Memory in Chile 1990-2015*.

three women are wearing wireless microphones so that the audience can sense each breath. Thus, the Alejandras do not need to project their voices or exaggerate their gestures as they would in a traditional theatre setting. The viewer is just close enough to see each movement, each subtle shift in facial expression, and voices amplified just enough that it is as if they are part of the conversation rather than witnessing a performance. On the wall to the left and above the three actresses is a timeline of the dictatorship, which includes the Londres 38 torture center. Written on this wall above the timeline are the statements, "Lo que sucedió en esta casa, sucedió también fuera de ella. El terrorismo de estado operó sobre el conjunto del país" (What happened in this house also happened outside of it. State terrorism operated over the whole country). The phrase is not only a reminder that the violence of the dictatorship was a national project, but that the violence across Chile was simultaneous and manifold, inside and outside, visible and invisible.

On the table are three glasses of water, half full, some paper, a small red notebook, a large Abalone shell ashtray the audience will later examine for traces of blood, and an old Bic pen for voting.[70] At the center of the desk in a clear plastic box is a scale replica in miniature

[70] On the night prior, the Villa Grimaldi committee met to decide what to do with the space. The conversation extended into the early morning and, near four a.m., quickly escalated to violence. This violence parallels the kind of grotesque excess of mental and physical torture of the dictatorship: "Y la persona se alcanza a dar vuelta y la concha de loco le pegó en el omóplato y rebotó, se cayó al suelo y se quebró, y después ella se fue así con la mano al suelo y se cortó la arteria aquí y le pusieron una toalla así. Pero se recuperó un poco y le tiró una patada a la que tiró el loco, así, fa, pero calculó mal y le pegó a una viejita, así, aquí en la pera y justo tenia la boca abierta y se cortó la lengua con los dientes y escupió y cayó un filete con sangre al suelo. Y ahí dijeron ya, es mucho, mucha sangre" (18). "The person managed to turn away, so the abalone shell hit her on the shoulderblade, bounced off her, fell on the floor, and smashed, and then she went like this with her hand on the floor and she cut her artery here and they put a towel over it like this. But then she sort of recovered and kicked the person who threw the shell at her, like this, bash, but she misjudged it, and she hit a little old lady, like this, here on the chin, just when she had her mouth open, and she cut her tongue off with her teeth and spat out a chunk of tongue all covered in blood onto the floor. A blood-covered filet..." (71). I include this section as a

of Villa Grimaldi as it was while operating as a concentration camp. Draped over the back of three out of four chairs are presidential white coats. Draped across each coat is a different colored sash which together make the colors of the Chilean flag – blue, white, red. This color pallet appropriated from the Mapuche flag and emblems worn during the "Araucanian Wars" as reported by the Spaniard Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga in his epic poem *La Araucana* published in 1569. Another appropriation and elision. Each woman will put on a coat and sash at the end of the play as they invoke – and subsequently, in *Discurso*, become – former president Michelle Bachelet.[71]

The Alejandra's look anxious and ready to be done with the vote. The tension is already present as they shift in their seats and offer glances at each other from the corners of their eyes. Alejandra writes, passes the pen.

FRANCISCA: Momento.

[Las dos vuelven a mirar hacia afuera.]

CARLA: No se decide.

FRANCISCA: Sí. Espera. Ya. (10)

FRANCISCA: Just a second.

(The other two look away again.)

CARLA: She can't decide.

FRANCISCA: I can. Hang on. (66)

testament to the sustained violent tension drawn between the violence of the dictatorship and the violence of the present.

[71] *Villa* is often followed by Calderón's play *Discurso* which is a speculative speech to the nation by the "president of the Republic, played by three actresses." The three actresses are wearing white coats, each with a different colored sash: one blue, one white, one red. In the background, still present on the stage from *Villa*, are the table, chairs, and to-scale replica of Villa Grimaldi.

The three Alejandras officially have two choices: 1) rebuild the torture center with great attention to every detail, turning the space into a hyperreal "mansion siniestra" (house of horrors), or 2) build a new contemporary museum replete with art, artifact, and the latest in computer technology (33, 78). However, from this performance of memory emerges a third memorial option: "Marichiweu," an invocation of the tenfold triumph of the Mapuche.[72] Marichiweu disrupts popular notions of historical memory in South America (particularly in the Southern Cone) fixed in el pasado reciente (1965 – 1990s) by drawing a signifying genealogy of Mapuche resistance and victory multidirectionally. It opens a space for imaging both the actual Mapuche triumph over Spanish colonization and future triumphs as a people beyond the Chilean state. Marichiweu also signifies a farther-reaching and complicated relationship between the inherited traumas of the Mapuche, women, and the Left due to colonial and state-sanctioned violence than would an understanding of trauma temporally limited to el pasado reciente. Connecting these traumas through the bodies of three women tasked with what to do with, and about, Chilean dictatorship post-memory, *Villa* is an interrogation of the significance of memorials as they stand at the center of contemporary politics, long bureaucratic processes, and the histories, legacies, and contemporary shifts of

[72] Marichiweu is a word in Mapudungun, the Mapuche language, which translates as "we shall triumph tenfold." Mapudungun, which translated into English is "Language of the Land," was primarily a spoken language and has since the end of the 19th century been formalized into a written language. Two primary forms of written Mapudungun exist: Unified and Ragileo. Some Mapuche see Unified as too Hispanicized, although Ragileo is often criticized for being obscure or illogical. In Unified the language is called *Mapudungun,* and in Ragileo *Mapudugun*. Although other variations exist, such as *Mapuzugun, Mapuzungun,* and *Mapudnungun*, I use Mapudungun throughout this dissertation as it is the most consistently used in texts by both Mapuche and Anglo writers across the Americas. See Leslie Ray, *Language of the Land: The Mapuche in Argentina and Chile* (10, 17, 26-28).

colonial oppressions. *Villa* is diegetically concerned, first, with the three Alejandras' connection to the dictatorship, its aftermath, and the Villa Grimaldi concentration camp. Second, the aesthetic material form the memorial at Villa Grimaldi will take. And third, how the choice of memorial form will affect interpersonal and national relationships, from citizen to President. However, when read across the grain, *Villa* reveals the inability to represent Chile's recent history without also contending with its past and present relationship to its Indigenous populations, specifically the Mapuche.

MACARENA: ¿A ver? (lo toma) Marichi*weu*.

CARLA: Eso es nulo…. Porque era opción A o B.

MACARENA: Sí, pero podrías haber excrito *nulo* en vez de *marichiweu*.

CARLA: Claro. Si es que yo *hubiera votado* nulo… pero no *voté* nulo.

MACARENA: ¿Y entonces por qué escribiste marichiweu?

CARLA: Oye…

FRANCISCA: ¿Marichi… huevo?

MACARENA: Marichiweu. Marichiweu.

FRANCISCA: Ah.

CARLA: Diez veces venceremos.

FRANCISCA: Ah. ¿Como?

CARLA: Marichiweu. Diez veces venceremos.

FRANCISCA: Ah. ¿Y qué idioma es ese?

CARLA: Mapuche dungún.

FRANCISCA: Ah. Mapuche dungún. Qué raro. (*Pausa*) ¿Marichi-huevo?

CARLA: No.

MACARENA: Marichiweu. Marichiweu. Ya, pero no importa. Mira. Ya. (*Piensa*) Mira. Guardemos esos votos y no los miremos más. No sirvieron… porque… Mejor votemos de nuevo.

FRANCISCA: Ya

[*Las tres se preparan para votar*] (11-12)

MACARENA: Marichi*weu.*

CARLA: That's a ruined ballot…. We had to vote option A or option B.

MACARENA: Yes, but you could have written "neither" instead of "Marichiweu."

CARLA: Exactly. *If it had been me*…. But it *wasn't*.

MACARENA: So why did you write "Marichiweu"?

CARLA: Listen…

FRANCISCA: Marry Chihuahua?

MACARENA: Mari-*chiweu.* Mari-*chiweu*.

FRANCISCA: Oh.

CARLA: We shall triumph tenfold.

FRANCISCA: Oh. What?

CARLA: Marichiweu. We shall triumph tenfold. The Mapuche war cry.

FRANCISCA: Oh. What language is that?

CARLA: Mapuche dungún. It's what the Mapuche speak. The Mapuche Indians.

FRANCISCA: Oh. Mapuche dungún. How funny. *(Pause.)* Marry Chihuahua?

CARLA: No.

MACARENA: Marichiweu. Marichiweu. But anyway it doesn't matter. Look. Right. *(Thinks.)* Look. Let's put these ballots away and not look at them anymore. They didn't count … because … We'd better vote again.

FRANCISCA: Right

(The three prepare to vote again.) (67)

The Chilean national identity is marked by the enduring legacy of colonialism and must also contend with its history of internal colonialism. Although the Mapuche, who live(d) across an area that is presently split between Chile and Argentina, were one of the few Indigenous populations never to be defeated by the Spanish during conquest, the late 19th century saw a series of murderous campaigns by the Chilean state to eliminate them through either genocide or forced integration.[73] Since those early days of outright state colonial violence, the Mapuche have suffered constant attacks by the Chilean state through both legal and extralegal land seizure and (re)distribution, and the imperial disintegration of Indigenous cultural sovereignty. As historian Francisca Mallon argues in *Courage Tastes of Blood*, the Chilean state has "fractured Mapuche territorial identity" and "attacked Mapuche people's capacity to preserve their culture and memory" (235, 239). This fracture and attack are, in large part, an effect of the enactment of neoliberal policies throughout and beyond the dictatorship that privatized and destroyed sovereign Mapuche lands for "resource" extraction such as mega dams for hydroelectric production and the destruction of desert ecologies for the mining and production of Lithium. What the state considers "empty" and "resource-rich" lands, the Mapuche consider identity, history, and memory itself.

[73] Those readers in Canada might understand this process in relation to their residential school system. Chilean projects of Mapuche integration often began with displacement through the separation of children from parents, sending children to work for, and be educated by European emigres and wealthy white Chileans.

In the section of the play transcribed above, Mapuche struggles for sovereignty and personhood emerge in the Alejandras' attempts to decide on the material memorial structure at Villa Grimaldi. Through the equation of "neither" with "Marichiweu," and by equating the evocation of "Marichiweu" with "a ruined ballot," the play performs the Chilean erasure of the Mapuche from its memory and its nation. The inability of the Chilean state to incorporate its colonization of the Mapuche into dictatorship memorial discourse resonates throughout the play in the Alejandras' discussion of the pervasive experience of trauma across and through social spheres after the official end of the dictatorship. Further, the state's struggle to materially memorialize the violence of the dictatorship points to its continuation of anti-Indigenous violence and economies of dispossession. The primary linguistic injury of naming inherent in memorialization, that attempt at fixing which happens through representation, is here foregrounded as the reason for the Alejandras' inability to decide on how to memorialize Villa Grimaldi.[74] Throughout the play, this inability to decide on a material memorial representation produces a sustained improvisation of the memorialization of the Villa and its intersecting social and political histories with Mapuche histories. Nevertheless, this sustained improvisation is as much due to the inability to represent memory, traumatic or otherwise, as it is to the persistent return to the "Mapuche question," their place in the nation, its history, and memory. These performances of memory also suggest that perhaps a more capacious and less violent form of memorialization, as will be discussed at length in the subsequent section, are performances of memory themselves.

Macarena's assertion, and Clara's agreement, that "neither" could have been written in place of "Marichiweu" on the ballot places the latter in a substitutive relationship with absence.

[74] For more on injurious language and naming, see Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech*.

On the surface of their statement is the suggestion of the inapplicability of the Mapuche's tenfold triumph as a form of memorialization for the horrors of Villa Grimaldi. However, just as Maricheweu here stands in for *neither* option A nor option B, it also emerges as the third option. Marichiweu displaces the other options in these first, and subsequent votes, by interrupting consensus. The utterance, thus, also calls into question the relevance of options A and B, becoming the impetus for Francisca and Carla's "defense" of each, which involves sustained monologues that occupy a large portion of the second half of the play. These "defenses" are interactive narrative memorials that resist the fixity of material representation as they open themselves to critique and immediate transformation based on present concerns. In this sense, Marichiweu becomes an emergent territory for the simultaneous elaboration of contesting memories and the significations of material memorial forms. It orients us toward this long history of colonial, state, internal and international economic violence instead of focusing on el pasado reciente and its instantiation of the "human" in "human rights." Marichiweu opens up questions of not only what should be memorialized and if it should take material form (and if so, what material form it should take), but also how memorials to el pasado reciente reassert the continuing violence of colonial subjection and dispossession.

For example, during the Allende presidency, accelerated agrarian reform programs began a process of rapid Mapuche reclamation of historic reducciones and other privatized lands through government land seizure. During this period Mapuche rural peasants also began retaking their lands "illegally," and thus Mapuche communities became a focused target of the military and land-holding elites. As the military coup loomed in Chile's near future, stories proliferated in the right-wing media about factories producing and storing arms (which resulted in the terrorizing of workers and labor unions), buried weapons on rural farm lands (which

resulted in the terrorizing of peasants and the Indigenous), identified the Mapuche as terrorists, and linked them with far-Left groups such as the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, Left Revolutionary Movement).[75] The growing anger by the landed elite toward Allende's Socialist national programs exploded with the violent force of the military against the above-mentioned groups during the coup, destroying Mapuche communities, ransacking factories, and murdering, disappearing, and detaining hundreds during the first weeks of the military dictatorship (Mallon; Crow; Schneider).

In addition to this explicit state-sponsored violence was the legal and governmental changes that allowed for the rapid institution of neoliberal economic policies despite their effects on the lower classes, and the Indigenous specifically. In 1979 the dictatorship eliminated the Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena [IDI] (Institute of Indian Development) and the Corporación de la Reforma Agraria [CORA] (Land Reform Corporation), replacing these with the Oficina de Normalización Agraria [ODENA] (Agrarian Normalization Office), which sold off CORA assets and initiated the "'parcellation' of the land affected by the land reform" (Silva 24).[76] In addition to the eradication of these governmental protections for Indigenous lands and farmers, 1979 saw the dictatorial government's institution of Decree-Law 2568 that encouraged the rapid splitting up of reducciones and their immediate privatization through military enforcement. This law was not just about privatizing land, but about the forced legal

[75] See *A Nation of Enemies*, *Shantytown Protests in Pinochet's Chile*, *The Mapuche in Chile*, and Patricio Guzmán's epic documentary film *Las batallas de Chile*. Throughout the dictatorship, the transitional government, and today the Mapuche have also been legally categorized and sentenced as "terrorists" for their continued ecological activism in the face of intensifying national and international extractive capitalist projects.

[76] The military government also fired many "unnecessary officials" from the Ministry of Agriculture who were actually "highly specialised technicians," which resulted in near total private control of lands and the reduction of government expenditure on the Ministry of Agriculture by 77.7% from 1969 – 1979 (Silva 24-25).

incorporation of both Indigenous lands and peoples into the Chilean nation, instantly performing the elimination of Indigenous peoples in Chile that resonates to this day. On October 26, 1973 Pinochet made explicit his disdain for the Mapuche through a public statement of dehumanization. He took his military death caravan to Mapuche lands at Temuco declaring, "in the zone of the Lakes there are extremists, so I have come to evaluate whether there is need to strengthen the forces or order another operation to exterminate them" (puntofinal.cl).

In addition to Pinochet's genocidal and dehumanizing language of "extermination" concerning the Mapuche activists and farmers in Temuco (a city and commune in the Araucanía Region, or Mapuche territory), perhaps the most effective and egregious performative gesture of the regime was the one to come.[77] In his 1979 speech in Villarrica concerning Decree-Law 2568, one that would resonate throughout the dictatorship and the transition to democracy, General Pinochet stated that the subdivided reducciones would suddenly "dejarán de ser consideradas indígenas, ni sus dueños y adjudicatarios propietarios" (cease to be considered indigenous, as would their owners), because "Hoy ya no existen mapuches, porque somos todos chilenos" (Today there are no Mapuche, because we are all Chileans). This performative genocide was a reiteration of a statement from the Ministry of Agriculture to *El Diario*, a national newspaper, that there are "no indigenous people in Chile, only Chileans" (Crow 152).[78]

The linking of the Mapuche with the predominantly Marxist Left and the legal and linguistic genocide of Chile's Indigenous peoples is reflected in Calderón's *Villa*. After the

[77] The name of the city, Temuco, is a Mapudungun word consisting of the words "temu" for a type of tree that grows by "co," or water.
[78] The minister of agriculture was quoted in *El Diario Austral de Temuco,* Agosto 23, 1978.

ballot is “ruined” by the Marichiweu vote, Macarena and Carla are trying to figure out who voted Marichiweu. Francisca asserts that she’s never heard of the word and, as in the transcription above, performs ignorance by disrespectfully mispronouncing it as “marichi-huevo” and calling the Mapuche language “raro” (weird/strange, or “funny” in the English translation).[79] When Carla contests Macarena’s assertion that “todo el mundo sabe lo que significa Marichiweu” (everyone knows what Marichiweu means), Macarena revises her statement by saying, “pero Alejandra, cualquier persona más o menos de izquierda sabe lo que significa Marichiweu” (but Alejandra, anyone more or less on the Left knows what Marichiweu means) (15, 69). This statement not only reflects the convention of associating the Mapuche with the Chilean Left, an alignment that had the added valence of “terrorist” during dictatorship, but also suggests the political position of the three Alejandras as “more or less on the Left.”[80]

FRANCISCA:	Ya. ¿Qué significaba eso mapuche que escribieron?
MACARENA:	Diez veces venceremos.
FRANCISCA.	Ah. Yo me conformo con una sola vez que ganen los mapuche.
CARLA:	Sí.
MACARENA:	Sí.
FRANCISCA:	Qué?
CARLA:	Nada. (16)
FRANCISCA:	Right. What did that Mapuche thing mean?

[79] “Huevo” literally translates into English as “egg,” but colloquially carries the added connotations of “huevon” - “dumbass,” “asshole”; or “huevos” - “testicles,” and so on.
[80] During and after the dictatorship many Mapuche supported the Pinochet regime and its national economic changes in attempts at escaping Chile’s historical and present relegation of the Mapuche to poverty.

MACARENA: We shall triumph tenfold.

FRANCISCA. Oh. I'd be happy with the Mapuche triumphing just onefold.

CARLA: Yes.

MACARENA: Yes.

FRANCISCA: What?

CARLA: Nothing. (70)

Despite the Alejandras' political leanings, the historical elision of the Mapuche struggle continues throughout their debates. The elision is also apparent in Francisca and Carla's "defenses" of what memorial option A and B would look and feel like, and what political and social effects these would have. The Mapuche cannot help but surface through colonial discourse's exclusions, here as a concept and not a people. This colonial discursive surfacing in *Villa* is one of a deindividuated entity, an imaginary other devoid of an interior and alive only as symbol of the Left in a struggle for an impossible "triumph." But from this surfacing emerges the Mapuche as a people, a culture, and with a history that transcends the temporal and geographic ends of both Spanish colonial and Chilean histories and futures. It is only at the end of the play (after the committee of the three Alejandras nearly descends into physical violence), when the women reveal their shared traumatic history of conception by rape by guards at Villa Grimaldi. And it is only after this that Francisca reveals it was she who wrote Marichiweu on the ballot.

In response to Macarena's question, "por qué tú siempre estás hablando de los mapuche?" (why are you always talking about the Mapuche?), Francisca answers that it is because her mother is Mapuche (67, 96).

CARLA: ¿En serio?

MACARENA: No.

FRANCISCA: Sí. Pero nunca nadie me cree.

MACARENA: Es que no pareces mapuche.

FRANCISCA: Sí. Es que cuando mi mama estuvo presa en la Villa la violó un oficial de origen alemán. O rubio. No sé. (67-68)

CARLA: Really?

MACARENA: She's not.

FRANCISCA: She is. But no one ever believes me.

MACARENA: You don't look Mapuche, that's all.

FRANCISCA: Yes. When my mom was a prisoner in the Villa she was raped by an officer of German origin. Or blond. I don't know. (96)

Carla and Macarena's astonishment and disbelief of Francisca's being Mapuche further suggests the effects of the legal and historic integration of the Mapuche through a kind of Chilean myth of European whiteness and dictatorial decree. Their disbelief also raises to the surface the fact of the continuance in the national racial consciousness of multiple categorical modes of colonial racialization, particularly in light of the multicultural, white national identity which has been cultivated since the turn of the 20th century. The two women cannot believe that Francisca is Mapuche because she does not appear to have the phenotypical racial characteristics or social status of Mapuche as developed by the Spanish colonial and Chilean state over hundreds of years. For example, not only can neither Macarena nor Carla initially believe that Francisca is Mapuche because of her phenotype, but they also thought "tenías algo que ver con la plata" (she had something to do with the money) for the memorial (69, 97).

FRANCISCA: ¿Porque soy rubia?

MACARENCA: Sí. (69)

FRANCISCA: Because I'm blonde?

MACARENCA: Yes. (97)

Francisca's blondness could also be the effect of her conception by rape at the hands of a Chilean military official "de origen alemán" (of German origin). The assumption of the guard's nationality and use of rape as a technology of torture is suggestive of the dehumanization, torture, and genocide of the Third Reich, many of whom escaped to South America and took part in these regime's ongoing crimes against humanity, including continued eugenics projects in Chilean concentration camps. It is also suggestive of earlier forced integration through rape of Mapuche house servants to German colonists in this region of Chile in the latter half of the nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. This rape is therefore an always visible trace of internal and external colonial violence, and both Francisca's mother's, and subsequently Francisca's trauma (68, 96).

The question of the place of the Mapuche in Chilean history, dictatorship, and national memory is ultimately occluded by suggestion of a different kind of trace, one that would again draw national and international attention to a specific reading of human rights and the victims of the dictatorship. In Macarena's imagining of what the memorial at Villa Grimaldi would look like, she states that "dejaría una huella" (she would leave a trace) on the rebuilt mansion of her happy bucolic farmstead (65, 95). The trace would be a small sign near the door that says Villa and underneath, a reflection of the lines on the timeline hanging above the desk, "*Lo que pasó aquí no debería haber pasado nunca. Pero pasó*" (*What happened here should never have happened. But it did happen*) (65; 95). Underneath that, Macarena describes, there would be a directive toward an archive or a museum or a website: "www punto Villa punto cuartel punto nunca más" (www dot Villa dot barracks dot justice dot never again) (65; 95). And

although both Carla and Macarena agree to vote for "una casa feliz" (a happy house), Francisca again votes Marichiweu. Here, Francisca explains that Marichiweu means "an homage to those who didn't live" – those tortured and disappeared – and a revolutionary futurity where she would "quedarme mirando la cordillera esperando que baje Luciano en burro"[81] (stand watching the mountains waiting for the leader of the revolution) (64, 66; 96). It would mean a big open field and in the middle of the grassy expanse a canelo, or cinnamon tree. With finality, Francisca states: "Porque es el árbol sagrado mapuche […] voto marichiweu" (Because it's the sacred tree of the Mapuche. […] I vote Marichiweu" (67; 96).

Francisca's suggestion is of a memorial that acts as a motivating source of a revolutionary identity and one which allows for the fact that "todas reaccionamos distintas" (we all react differently) (67; 96). Her vote of Marichiweu is also specifically a vote for the transformation of the land of Villa into Mapuche land through the planting of the canelo (foye in Mapudungun), or what the English translation of *Villa* calls the "cinnamon tree." According to anthropologist Ana Mariella Bacigalupo in her experiential ethnography on Mapuche shamans:

> *Foye* trees are sacred trees of life that connect the natural, human, and spirit worlds and allow Mapuche shamans, or *machi*, to participate in the forces that permeate the cosmos. […] *Foye* trees also serve a political purpose. During colonial times Mapuche used them as symbols of peace during parleys and for deceptive purposes in setting up ambushes. Today, *machi* use *foye* trees […] as symbols of Mapuche identity and resistance to national ideologies and practices. (1)

[81] "Luciano en burro" (Luciano on the donkey) likely refers to the Marxist leader in the 1960's student movement, and subsequent *mirista* (member of the MIR) Luis Mario "Luciano" Cruz Aguayo. It is a specifically Chilean reference, which is probably why it the English text translates it as solely "revolutionary."

In this sense Francisca's vote is for a cosmic dynamic ecological symbiosis, a memorial that emerges from the Mapuche cosmovision of Küme Mongen.[82] Francisca's foye would be a memorial that symbolizes peace while retaining the agency and motivation for resistance and direct action. It is also a call for a return to a Mapuche identity that resists Chilean national incorporation. The foye would transform the razed land of the Villa into an epicenter for reintegration into a planetary ecology that extends through the Mapuche and their historic land. Centering the foye tree as the most sensible topographical feature of the memorial would not only root the atrocities of dictatorship in Chile's history of colonization, but also signal the possibility of a Mapuche territory beyond the Chilean state.

The inadequacy of material memorial representation in relation to the lived experience of traumatic memory is parallel to the disjuncture between memory and experience. However, it is also this disjuncture that opens a discursive space for the cultivation and sustenance of memory where representational inadequacy is that which produces tension and its potential energy. Here, for example, the *foye* tree draws a new historical genealogy for the dictatorship memorial. Even so, *Villa*'s partisan political moves are successful inasmuch as the social sphere still mobilizes the narratives of memory that continue to leave unaddressed and unresolved the continuing violences of the state against Indigenous peoples. Such a tense situation requires the persistent and sustained agitation of performances of memory that make of memorial spaces a place for public discourse, and thus also social spaces in which new modes of affinity and identity can be cultivated through contestation.

[82] Often translated as *Buen Vivir* (Life in Plenitude) – in Kichwa *Sumak Kawsay,* Aymara *Suma Qamaña,* Maya *Ich'el Ta Muk,* and Guarani *Ñande Reko* – Küme Mongen, like these other forms of harmonious sociality, emerges from a specific, local Mapuche onto-epistemological ecology.

The surfacing of Mapuche elision in *Villa* through performances of memory can be seen today on the streets across Chile. As we have seen in the recent, massive ongoing Chilean street protests, the Mapuche flag – aptly named the wenufoye – has again risen to the surface. At the top of a pyramid of protesters in plaza Baquedano,[83] in what is now an iconic photo, the flag and bodies that hold it obscure the monument of General Manuel Baquedano who fought in the genocidal "wars of Araucanía" and was the founder of Chile's Military Academy. The temporal palimpsest in the photo reveals the continuum of colonial oppression from Spanish colonization through the indigenous genocides of an independent Chile, to contemporary state violence against Mapuche reclaiming land and the deployment of a militarized state apparatus on the streets against the "enemy" of its people.[84] Emerging from this long history of Mapuche anti-and decolonial resistance, including their success in sustaining independence and self-determination under Spanish colonialism, is the assertion of Mapuche presence and a future in which "marichiweu."

2.2 NOTHING, NO-THING, AND MEMORIAL EXCESS

FRANCISCA: Bueno, entonces mejor no hacemos nada.

MACARENA: Exacto.

[Pausa]

FRANCISCA: […] Entonces mejor no hacer nada.

[83] Also known as Plaza Italia and Plaza Colón after Christopher Columbus, the plaza hasa long history of public protest and territorial possession. Prior to 1875 the Mapocho river forked on its long journey from the Andes to the ocean. In fact, Mapocho (mapu chuco) is mupudugun for "water that penetrates the land" and was one of the main reasons the Spanish colonizers chose to settle Santiago in this location. This history of denomination is representative of a long colonial territorial taxonomy that indexically constitutes the place of the Plaza today.
[84] In a televised statement from Santiago army headquarters, Piñera stated: "We are at war against a powerful enemy, who is willing to use violence without any limits."

MACARENA: Siempre es más fuerte lo que una se imagina.

CARLA: Sí. (38, 40)

FRANCISCA: Well, then we'd better do nothing.

MACARENA: Exactly.

[*Pause*]

FRANCISCA: […] Exactly. So it's better to do nothing.

MACARENA: It's always more powerful just to imagine it.

CARLA: Yes. (80, 82)

Let us now look more closely to the question of the potential violence of memorial representation. The play's repeated language of "nada" (nothing) is a way of describing the *something* that continuously emerges in the play's overlapping performances of memory. We can understand *Villa*'s "nada" through an etymological history that calls into question the settler colonialist assertions of Indigenous absence and frontier, and the (neo)liberal capitalist assertions that territory be signified by addition of material structures and borders that signify ownership, inhabitation, and the limits of inclusion through negation. This etymological history is found in the linguistic process called Jespersen's cycle where the "positive," (Latin) *natus-a-um* to birth/born and *res nata*, "the thing born," becomes its negation, e.g. "not a soul"/ "no thing," through the difference produced in repetitions of the word in particular contexts/phrases over time. This is the substitutive matter (or what Jacques Lacan would call the nature of metaphor) of making meaning of memorials, where memory becomes matter. However, the Alejandras use of "nada" to describe both "Marichiweu" and Francisca's idea of a grassy expanse with a foye tree raises the question of whether memorials must be material, or if perhaps a more capacious and less violent memorial would be a space for continued

imagining and contestation where *nothing* is always occupied with *something* just as forgetting is always occupied with memory. In the remainder of this chapter I will use the repeated language of "nada" in the play to describe the *something* of performances of memory.

Villa's "nada" is a way of calling attention to nothing as the thing born. Let us therefore briefly consider what "thing" is born in no*thing*. Non-animate matter acquires a *thingliness* through its coming into meaning by processes of significatory accretion. Matter is not no-thing, and, with other scholars of phenomenology, I argue matter's thingliness is constituted by us, by the meanings which enliven matter inasmuch as we ourselves *are* meaning and its circulation (Nancy).[85] As with the material of a memorial, so the complex amalgamation of senses involved in remembering is made into some-thing as it is made meaningful. Or, in other words, a memorial (collection of mnemonic objects on a site or sites) is brought into meaning through the processes of remembering. All memories are this bringing into meaning; the process which makes nothing into some-thing. In *Villa* "nada" is thus not no-thing, but is the making of some-thing through performances of memory. "Nada" is the generative alternative to the material memorial.

FRANCISCA: Podríamos plantar pasto.

CARLA: ¿Solo pasto?

MACARENA: Sí. Como una cancha de pasto.

CARLA: Ah.

[85] Nancy writes that "being"—i.e. living, experiencing, *doing*—is always "being-with-one-another," and that there is "no meaning other than "us" … in the sense that we are the element in which significations can be produced and circulate" (2). In an anthropic conception of sociality it is "us," or rather our becoming that is always in and of a "we," in which meaning is produced and circulated. *We* are meaning in relation to one another, in the inseparability of our being individual ("I") from our interconnectivity. (See also discussion of Nancy in Chapter One, pp. 37-38)

FRANCISCA: Sí. Y nada más.

[…]

CARLA: Sí. ¿Pero eso no es como no proponer nada?

FRANCISCA: No. Para nada.

MACARENA: Sí. Es como decir, decidir lo de la Villa es tan imposible, que es mejor que se lo imagine cada uno.

FRANCISCA: *(A* Macarena.) Que puede todo aquí. En el corazón. (*Se toca la cabeza*).

MACARENA: Pero eso es el cerebro.

FRANCISCA: A eso voy. (59)

FRANCISCA: We could plant a lawn.

CARLA: Just a lawn?

MACARENA: Yes. Like a field of grass.

CARLA: Oh.

FRANCISCA: Yes. And nothing else.

[…]

CARLA: Yes. But isn't that like suggesting nothing?

FRANCISCA: No. Not at all.

MACARENA: It is. It's like saying, deciding the Villa is so impossible that it's better for each person to imagine it for themselves.

FRANCISCA: (*To* Macarena.) For it all to be here. In the heart.

(Francisca *touches her head.*)

MACARENA: But that's the brain.

FRANCISCA: That's what I mean. (91)

But while "nada" in this passage actually signifies the transformation of the landscape and the imaginative work of narrating our own memories of an event, such work seems possible only for those who have a significant relationship with the events, either through personal experience, the narration of those who remember, and/or those who remember based on the mnemonic objects of the actions of a time and a place. It is because the Alejandras have a direct connection to the events, and due to their spatial and historical relationship to the context of those events, that they can create such rich narrations of how Villa Grimaldi would or should best be memorialized. But it is also in their inability to completely represent their experience or sense of the atrocities of Villa Grimaldi that they continue to re-imagine and redefine their relationship to these memorial representations. Such a relationship to the embodied aspects of memory and the memorial imply that the tension generated is between the memorial's attempted historical fixity and their own memorial as a kind of self-recollection. Saidiya Hartman quotes Drucilla Cornell when she writes that a "recollection of self […] is always an act which imagines through the remembrance of its own claims of selfhood what can never be fully recollected, but only forever reimagined and re-told" (Hartman 75). This kind of remembrance enables "us to regenerate ourselves through the continuing process of redefinition" (Hartman 223). This "continuing process" is what gives matter distinction from its landscape while maintaining its significatory relation to the landscape. In other words, what is generated in the Alejandras' engagement with the Villa are subtle shifts in their own subjection through their distinct ontological relationships to the memorial. Such generative memorial relationships are evident in the Alejandras' descriptive and emotional imaginings of what to do with Villa Grimaldi. Francisca's gestural slip of pointing to her head while speaking of the heart suggests that "for each person to imagine it for themselves" would first require

cognition tied to emotion, where the mind and the heart are difficult to discern. The Alejandras' leaning toward "nothing" suggests that for those who carry the embodied memories of trauma there can be no adequate representation. That as trauma lives in and through the body, and as the body itself is both meaning and its circulation, the traumatized body itself is a living, mutable memorial and therefore perhaps the only sufficient material memorial.

In "A Purpose for a Plot of Land with a Past," Alexis Soloski's review of Calderón's *Villa* for the March 13, 2017 *New York Times*, he concludes with the assertion that "in their pain and perplexity and resilience," the three Alejandras "are a kind of memorial, too." But they are a living memorial of contradiction, contestation, and the material impossibility of forgetting or stepping outside of the effects of trauma in their lifetime. They are a memorial of the shifting grounds of resonant violence and pain which are transferred emotionally and behaviorally generationally in societies that experience such atrocities. For the Alejandras, the events which they memorialize are of direct memory rather than Hirschian post-memory. Their "pain and perplexity" in this South American context could be elaborated by thinking through the example of embodied trauma transmitted through a mother's "teta asustada" (frightened teat), the cause of the behavioral and emotional effects of an intimate mother-daughter sociality that is always premised on the trauma of their violent conception. The notion of the "frightened teat" was popularly presented by Claudia Llosa in her film "La Teta Asustada" (2009). The "syndrome" suggests that those Peruvian women who were raped or otherwise tortured during the Peruvian Internal Armed Conflict (1980-2000) transferred this trauma to their children via their breastmilk. It is likely that these tortured mothers' affect and post-traumatic stress did affect the children, an example of which is shown through the Alejandras'

relationships with their mothers. As current epidemiological research shows, although it was once thought that the offspring of traumatized parents were "affected not directly by the (parent's) trauma but by the effects of the trauma on the parent's emotional state and behavior, which in turn affected their own development, emotional state, and behavioral repertoire," there are also measurable effects of in utero exposure to biological changes due to trauma (Lehrner, Yehuda 1766). These biological changes affect how the child or children chemically respond to stress later in their lives. Like those children who drink the milk of sorrow from "la teta asustada," peoples' everyday relationships with those touched by such historic and present traumas also affects lives with pain and perplexity. As with all memorial sites, their social, political, and historical narratives exceed any attempt at fixity or the bounds of significance and proliferate through social interactions. In other words, personal trauma has social effects because remembering is a social phenomenon, born of and bearing its rearticulation in different social, temporal, and spatial contexts.

Through their experience and proximity to the trauma of Villa Grimaldi (a personal and socio-cultural trigger) the Alejandras' performances make use of the mnemonic imagination to create vivid narratives that connect the past experiences of the torture site with possible forms of future memorializations through their own citational trauma.[86] They embody both the extreme discomfort of being in this traumatic site so intimately ingrained in their own lives, and, as a tangent of a larger, frustrated bureaucratic process that ended in physical violence the night before, are now responsible for deciding how to memorialize the torture center and best keep this representation adequately citational and productively futural. This present stress so

[86] For more on the mnemonic imagination, see E. Knightley et al., *The Mnemonic Imagination.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, specifically the final chapter, "Creative Memory and Painful Pasts."

intimately connected to their own scene of trauma is the struggle for a social reconciliation that might mend both their relationships with their mothers and within Chilean society more broadly. As an ongoing public performance, *Villa* opens up Villa Grimaldi and similar sites to a public inquiry into the uses of memorials, traces of trauma that circulate socially, and the potential violence of memory in interpersonal relationships that are microcosms of the nation.

This tension between the responsibility to decide how the nation and world will remember (through doing nothing or memorializing with no-thing) the atrocities of dictatorship, and the simultaneous desire to forget these atrocities, is the generative energy sustained through Macarena and Francisca's futural performances of memory. Such a requirement for making a memorial some-thing by doing nothing, therefore, suggests an affective limit to a very specific audience which would not include those outside the reach of the sensible effects of the historical event (including, but not limited to the language – rhetorically and syntactically – of transition). Such a mode of memorialization would rely on the local circulation of an event's meanings, requiring that performances of memory become an emergent discursive commons that would enable memory to be socially transformed and extended in new spatial and temporal contexts. Such a flexible mnemonics is made possible through performances of memory like those of the Alejandras, which enable critique, contestation, and transformation. Although the Alejandras suggest nothing (material), they also perform their memories and futural imaginings around a particular material site, which for Francisca is always already occupied by Indigenous presence.

The mnemonic objects in a space or site of memory on a national scale are curated or constructed to represent a national atrocity and evoke particular memories and their attendant affects through a memorial shorthand in the narration of a national identity. For the

remembering subject, then, matter becomes memorial in relation to how our memories' connection to the world in which they were constituted and reflect our own subjectivity. This curation, thus, narrates our place within or outside of national identity. In this way the memorial becomes both an extension of our subjectivity and a physical referent to our national identity, congruent or not. It is this tension between one's subjectivity in relation to the nation that surfaces in *Villa* when Macarena reiterates the sentiment that the best decision to make is to "just not build anything" (83). She says that the "house of horrors," that is, the replication of the Villa as it was when used as a concentration camp, would be "una especie de disneylandia de realidad realista" (a realist Disneyland reality), reminding us of what Jean Baudrillard calls "The Beaubourg Effect" in his critique of the postmodern hyperreal (23; 73). Of the memorial museum Francisca quips, "es como una visión asi super concertacionista de la historia que deja la Quinta Normal pasada a punto final" ([y]ou can smell the amnesty of it from the park across the street), whereas *nothing* would allow one to remain "marginada y amargada" (marginalized and bitter) (41, 43; 83). What is translated as "smell the amnesty of it…" is more socially and historically rich in the Spanish. Francisca calls out the Memory Museum as "super concertacionista," that is, as very obviously of the (neo)liberal politics of the Concertación party that ruled Chile since its "return to democracy" until the end of Bachelet's second presidency. The Museo de la Memoria is at the edge of the historic Quinta Normal park in central Santiago, a park which also houses the National Museum of Natural History and Railway Museum. That the Concertación imagines the recent past that "deja la Quinta Normal pasada a punto final," referring to the 1986 Ley punto final which mandated the end of all investigation into the atrocities of the dictatorship, i.e., blanket amnesty. Carla replies, "a mí me gusta sentirme enojada. Es como que ya soyo yo" (I like feeling angry. It makes me feel

like myself) (43; 84). Both the trauma site, and the imagined site become central to an identity in relation to the nation. The idea of no-thing that constitutes "doing nothing" are still in relation to a site and its real or imagined mnemonic objects. These performances of memory are thus about broad social constellations with(in) which we identify or find identities.

This process of interactive and mutual subjection via memorials is contingent on the particular citational context within which we understand a thing and what meanings that thing has in relation to us. For example, within the play Francisca's description of the memory museum is simultaneously elaborated and limited by its link to other museums of memory, but particularly the *Museo de la Memoría y los Derechos Humanos* (Museum of Memory and Human Rights) constructed by and inaugurated during the first Michelle Bachelet presidency. Because of this particular historical context and being that Bachelet and her mother were detained and tortured during the dictatorship in Villa Grimaldi, the museum "debate" is also imbricated with the Alejandras' personal and political associations with Bachelet. Francisca's complaint that the museum idea "es una vision muy particular de la presidenta que…" (it's a very specific vision that the president…) is perhaps an effect of the scope of her historical and political context as a Mapuche. Francisca's Mapuche memorial consciousness allows her a source of relationality outside of the official Chilean national history and historical memory that has so long attempted the eradication of the Mapuche in physical, linguistic, and legal ways, whereas Macarena and Clara derive their performances from their ontological place in the white Chilean national identity.

Francisca's critique of the Museo de la Memoría and Bachelet could also be due to Bachelet's developmentalist and anti-Indigenous state and political practices, including doing nothing about the murder of Matías Catrileo (presente!) during her presidency, despite her

politically Left standing and recent call for justice as the Alta Comisionada de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights) after the murder by police of 24-year-old Mapuche activist Camilo Catrillanca on November 44, 2018 (presente!).[87] These contradictions in Bachelet's politics reveal the political utility of her work in "human rights," and antagonism with the Mapuche. In the November 29, 2018 *The Times Chile*, spokesman for the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco (Mapuche organization for the return of indigenous lands), Héctor Llaitul, accuses Bachelet for inaction over the murder of Matías Catrileo (presente!), who was shot in the back by police. He states that "la repression en contra del pueblo nación mapuche es indistintamente de un Gobierno de derecho como de los Gobiernos sucesivos de la Nueva Mayoría o de la Concertación" (the repression against the people of the Mapuche nation is as indistinctly of a Government of law as of the successive governments of the Nueva Mayoría or of the Concertación), asserting that the repression of the Mapuche is continuous regardless of National governmental politics (Cooperativa.cl. 11/29/2018). As scholar Macarena Gómez-Barris writes in her most recent book *Beyond the Pink Tide*, "Bachelet expanded corporate and military control over the BíoBío region[88] and increased prison terms for Indigenous activists" (2018, 4). Her presidency stood directly in opposition to Mapuche autonomy and sovereignty. Her government criminalized Mapuche strategies for land reclamation and national sovereignty by trying them under recent intensified

[87] A contradictory politics and political rhetoric which parallels that of a pro-war Hillary Clinton, recently chosen to speak for the Arthur Miller Freedom to Write lecture for her "human rights accomplishments" (Bhuto). See also the body-cam footage of the murder of Catrillanca and removal of his body.

[88] The Bíobío region is both historically and presently a Mapuche region. It was the site of the long struggles of the Mapuche to resist the Chilean state's efforts at eradication and colonization, and remains to this day a site for Mapuche ecological and governmental struggle.

anti-terrorism laws, laws that were established by Pinochet specifically to enable extreme persecution against the Mapuche and the Left.

Francisca's critique is read by Clara and Macarena as dismissive of a particular memorial discourse which in part constitutes their liberal mestizo national belonging and identity, as well as their personal affinity with Bachelet as a (mestiza/non-indigenous) woman president, and as a survivor of the traumas of detention at Villa Grimaldi. Not only are women presidents rare globally, but it is significant in the South American context that both Bachelet and Dilma Roussef of Brazil had been detained and tortured under their respective dictatorial regimes and gone on to become presidents. And although their elections are partly markers of what has been called the "Pink Tide" of Latin American socialist or left-leaning governments, both presidents also leaned heavily toward the expansion of neoliberal policies and the intensification of extractive capitalism in a continuum of violence that extends beyond these nations' dictatorships and continues in other guises such as Argentina's Mauricio Macri, Brazil's current super-right president Jair Bolsonaro, the attempted ousting of Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro in order to install the neoliberal Juan Guiado, etc.

But for Macarena and Clara the link to Bachelet is personal. They appear to disregard her presidency's political and economic violence which greatly affected the Mapuche through its extractive capitalist leanings, including the San Pedro Hydroelectric dam project that violates the Mapuche sacred river between Gudalafquén and Riñihue, the Pangue/Ralco dam projects, lithium mining in the salt-flats of the northern Atacama, and continued Araucanía deforestation by burning and logging. For Francisca, the extensive destruction of such capitalist projects on entire ecosystems, which within the Mapuche ethics of kume möngen includes both human and other-than-human inhabitants, requires indictment. Carla responds,

"No. No me toquís mi presidenta, mierda" (No. Don't fucking touch my president) and Macarena, "No le toquís a su presidenta, mierda" ([d]on't fucking touch her president) (42; 83). The material memorial forms such as the Museo de la Memoria that Bachelet produced, and her personal experience as a woman who endured the intensely gendered violence of dictatorship speaks to both women's own life stories and their national subjectivities, but fails to account for the intersectional modes of violence inherent in Francisca's corporal experience as a Mapuche woman. Even Francisca's implication of the inadequacy of the president or her museum is interpreted as a "touch" rather than a critique. In their emotionally heightened responses to Francisca, Macarena and Clara evoke a corporal and affective relationship with the body of the president rather than with the matter of the museum. Their performance of memory displays the memorial entangling of the mind and heart, the intertwining sensibilities of how we know and feel a thing.

Francisca's attempt to offer a critique of the limits of representation in Bachelet's museum also displays this intertwining of sensibilities where the excess of Bachelet and the museum's political, historical, cultural, and social meaning has significance in a longer history of the state's historical obfuscations in commemorations of atrocity. For example, the Museo de la Memoria was inaugurated on January 11, 2010, almost twenty years after the end of the dictatorship, as part of the celebrations of Chile's bicentennial commemoration of La Primera Junta Nacional de Gobierno de Chile[89] (1810 First Government Junta), which deposed King Ferdinand VIII of Spain and officially inaugurated Chile's "independence." This event is now celebrated as the national day of Chile ("el Dieciocho" – the Eighteenth), *and* the *Día de las Glorias del Ejército de Chile* (Day of the Glories of the Chilean Army). In this context the

[89] Officially named La Junta Provisional Gubernativa del Reino.

museum is tied to the idea of independence without recognition of its connection to the beginning of internal colonization and both literal and figurative attempts to eradicate Indigenous peoples. The commemoration explicitly connects the end of Pinochet's military dictatorship to Chile's becoming a nation through military intervention. It is this performative gesture that inaugurates the museum as part of the continuing history of colonialization and attempts at Indigenous eradication, and that which gives Francisca a different spatial and temporal context for the interpretation of the museum and Bachelet herself.

Like the meanings of words whose iterations in different contexts over time and place both expand and limit their signification so that every utterance is always in significatory excess, so too the specific material forms a monument takes will carry with them other histories and contexts than intended. Such is the importance of material (aesthetic) forms in relation to our enlivening a memorial through memory. If the memorial does not align with the matter of our memories as they are constitutive of our subjectivity it becomes a site for contestation, tension, and resistance: *This is not how I remember it, not what I was told, not what I experienced.* But this contestation, tension, and resistance are component processes of memory. These very processes are what make memorials matter and hone this matter within new contexts for the specific needs of the present and its futural trajectories. Making something of memory is a tense process that is happening in the present and, like all memory, is gesturing toward the future in its present elaboration. The excess of meanings any material (aesthetic) form carries thus opens up new horizons of possible meanings that constantly emerge in relation to the forms' new historical, spatial, and cultural contexts. Materialization, material or discursive, is inevitably representational. Inherent to representation is a long history of citations which accrete materialization, its foundational *thingliness*. There is no dissolving a

thing's historicity. This makes the question of what to do with the site of Villa Grimaldi ultimately one of how the Alejandras are to be constituted by their being-in the world and being-with one another, and also, therefore, those forms of sociality which constitute national identities.

To choose nothing, to make nothing, to construct no-thing, is therefore to open the field of memory for the cultivation of other forms of subjectivity that might allow for and be dependent on the ability to both remember and forget. But the direction of no-thing is also to limit how memory is able to extend itself toward new horizons of meaning through constant citation in new historical, spatial, and cultural contexts, and constant contestation, tension, and resistance. Such a transformative form of memorialization is discursively manifest through the Alejandras' debates over options A and B, where memorials can be imagined, and ultimately do not take a material form. For "nada" to work, to have effect in the world through performances of memory, there must be some matter available with a sufficient citational (material and narrative) history, such as the Foye tree, the Mapuche tree of life, suggested above. But for the Alejandras, their mothers, and those who also suffered firsthand the traumatic violence of the dictatorship, there can be no adequate representation.

The inadequacy of a material memorial representation in relation to the lived experience of traumatic memory is parallel to the disjuncture between memory and experience or signified and signifier. But it is also this disjuncture that opens a discursive space for the cultivation and sustenance of memory where representational inadequacy is that which produces tension and its potential energy. The desire for externalizing into material form those experiences which will never find parallel in language is understandable, but the play's directing us toward political representation as a possible answer does not diminish the potential

found in extra-national memorial forms of subjectivity and identity such as the Foye. *Villa*'s partisan political move is successful only inasmuch as the social sphere still mobilizes the narratives of memory that continue to question and leave unresolved the continuing violences of the state against Indigenous peoples. Memorials and memory museums as mnemonic objects therefore extend the subjective power of the state into the realm of public memory, but they also reveal, in a broader context, an indictment of the state for its continuing violence against the many victims of the Chilean miracle.[90] The memorial is thus a site where historic violences resonate now amidst their continuing effects and elaborations in both private and public realms. Such a situation requires the persistent and sustained agitation of performances of memory that makes of memorial spaces a place for public discourse and thus also social spaces in which new modes of affinity and identity can be cultivated through contestation.

[90] The authors in Winn's collection *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973 – 2002* explore the many ways that the ever-shifting neoliberal landscape and its institution through Pinochet's military authoritarian regime produced a large population, mostly manual workers, that suffered and continue to suffer within what has been internationally deemed an economic "miracle."

CHAPTER 3: INDIGENOUS PRESENCE AND POETICS OF DECOLONIALITY IN THE POETRY OF JAIME LUIS HEUNÚN

"To speak a language is to appropriate its world and culture."

Frantz Fanon, from *Black Skin, White Masks* (21)

> "[…] [T]he Chilean state does not recognize the existence of another people, only Chileans. It is very positive that there are bodies that highlight hidden situations, as is the case of the Mapuche and the indigenous peoples generally. Chile is the only country in South America that does not have constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples. It could be said to be the most retrograde state in America. It is the most anti-indigenous state."
>
> Aucán Huilcamán, in Aníbal Barrera's *El Grito Mapuche: Una Historia Inconclusa*

What does it mean to appropriate a world and culture? It could mean to make proper to oneself, to take for oneself, or to devote to a special purpose. It is also to take without permission from the "owner," that is, to take possession as one's own. But who has possession of the world and the culture of a language but the speakers themselves? And is the world in the language or the body which speaks it? What, therefore, would it mean for the minoritized speaker of a colonial language to appropriate its world and culture? And could that speaker find within its language the possibility for representation beyond colonial logics? Through reading Frantz Fanon as intertext with Huilliche-Mapuche[91] poet Jaime Luis Huenún's collection *Fanon City Meu* we will come to understand what is meant by Fanon's statement above, and how we might better understand Indigenous presence within and beyond the ongoing colonial project. This chapter attempts to articulate (to connect by joining together,

[91] The Huilliche (willi – south; che – people) are Mapuche (mapu – land) from southern Chile. In Mapudungun (mapu – land; dugu – language), the Mapuche language, the plural of Mapuche is *pu mapuche*. Mapuches, an anglicizing pluralization, is often used to refer to many Mapuche. Throughout this dissertation I use the name Mapuche for the people, a person, and many people. See Leslie Ray, *Language of the Land: The Mapuche in Argentina and Chile* (17).

and thus to express clearly) multiple acts of translation – linguistic, cultural, ideological, and ontological – in order to reveal Indigenous presence beyond modernity/coloniality. In so doing, a poetics of decoloniality emerges that can be carried across geopolitical and linguistic borders.

Through a detailed reading of *Fanon City Meu* with Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks* this chapter argues that by centering the voices of Indigenous peoples Huenún not only reveals the continuum of violence against the Indigenous from Spanish colonization to the present dispossessions by the Chilean state, but that these violences have always been part of the constituting subjectivity of both Chile and Western Empire. In dialogue with Fanon, the eponym of Huenún's city, and the Peruvian theorist Rodrigo Rojas, I argue that it is through these authors' use of the lyric voice – a first-person affective and phenomenological orientation – that the colonizer's *being* is revealed to be founded in the practice of Indigenous, Black, and territorial possession/dispossession. Further, I argue that this existential condition is a tenuous performativity of Modernity representation of the "real" world that is defied by what I have called Indigenous presence.[92]

In order to understand Indigenous presence, we must first, briefly, understand modernity's "affirmation of 'the real'" and coloniality's "denial and disavowal of all that belongs to the outside of that 'reality'" (Vásquez 2). The two main aspects of the coeval concepts of modernity/coloniality are appropriation and representation (per Mignolo 2000, Quijano 2000, Walsh 2009, Vásquez 2012). Appropriation is the material and symbolic taking possession via colonial practices such as genocide and settlement, including its moveable economic tentacles, racial capitalism. Through privatization, extraction, and the assertion of

[92] See Chapter Two and the article "Performances of Memory and Mapuche Presence in Guillermo Calderón's *Villa*," (forthcoming, *Latin American Theatre Review* Spring 2020) for a description and examples of "Indigenous presence" in literature and performance.

the logics of market relations as the logics of social relations, the coloniality of power functions to appropriate "the world" in its own likeness. This is its primary denial – that Modernity/coloniality is now the irrevocable "real" world. Representation is the distribution of the sensible by which this "real" is known and understood through discourses of science and aesthetics and their mechanical reproduction. Representation, here, is the second denial. The denial that there is anything outside or beyond the colonial "real." This totalizing paradigm is a way of "relating to the world as presence," where presence is the effect of this double negation (Vásquez 2). In this chapter, Indigenous presence defies this "real" and its totality. Not through resistance as reaction to the assertions and manifestations of Modernity/coloniality, but through operating by a logic of relation that, because it exists within modernity's totality, defies the existence of that totality (Glissant).

Indigenous presence makes space within Modernity's "real" because it is a knowing that is carried through or across time and space, through shifts in culture and language by Indigenous peoples with logics that function outside of this "real." This presence is translated from body to body; from the body's memory, a genealogical memory, which accompanies and intervenes in the overlaps of different cultures and societies' historical memories and embodied actions. In thinking with the Huilcamán statement in the epigraph above, I see Indigenous presence as that which is carried in "bodies that highlight hidden situations," or what the Indigenous and Mexican performance artist Emilio Rojas calls "unearth[ing] hidden traumas" (personal conversation). In Huenún's poetry, Indigenous presence is what leans on and shapes colonial languages (Spanish and English) and its constituting genealogy of citations

in the mouths and bodies of "those who live" what Catherine Walsh and Walter Mignolo call "the colonial difference" (4).[93]

Indigenous presence is also defiance to what theologian Willie James Jennings calls "the ordinary presence of whiteness" that defines the ontological "real" of Modernity and denies recognition of minoritized peoples. Jennings writes that this "ordinary presence" is "the form of presence whiteness constitutes in its conjuring power. That form of presence carries an ever-expanding white aesthetic regime that teaches us how to see and narrate the true, the good, the beautiful, the intelligent, and the noble around white bodies" (1). He also writes that whiteness "constitutes a presence that fills the modern body" (1). So, in this way Indigenous presence as translated by and through the Indigenous/Native body is defiance to the Modern/colonial worldview conjured through white presence – a worldview that sees Indigenous peoples as both the nation's constituting other and a homogenous category-of-being always relegated to the past. Indigenous presence is thus a recognition and performativity for "expanding livable space" (*¡Ay Sudamerica!* CADA).[94]

Fanon City Meu's performance of the long history of Latin American colonization is expanded and collapsed in an ongoing present, a non-linear history told both as events, and as their reverberations and repetitions. In Fanon City/*Fanon City* time and space manifest differently through the distinct corporal and historical location from which the multiple, overlapping voices of this city speak – the voices of both those who contest and defy

93 As I further argue in the concluding chapter, literary translation is itself a decolonial act inasmuch as it carries across a presence that defies Empire's possession of the world in and by its language (modernity's primary mode of representation). See more on the "colonial difference" in the Introduction and fourth chapter.

94 From the text of the 400,000 panfletos dropped from six military planes over Santiago in this 1979 performance by Colectivo Acciones de Arte (Art Actions Collective). See Figure 2.

colonialism, *and* those who support its continuation. In Huenún's text, the 19th and 20th century genocides of Indigenous peoples by the United States and newly independent Latin American states are shown as ongoing, as iterations of the 15th-18th century genocidal violence of European colonialism. And simultaneously, Indigenous peoples interpolated into national histories through genocide, incorporation, and narratives of "extinction" are shown to exist, to continue through ways of knowing and doing carried through bodies and practices that extend beyond the temporal, spatial, and ontological limits of Modernity.

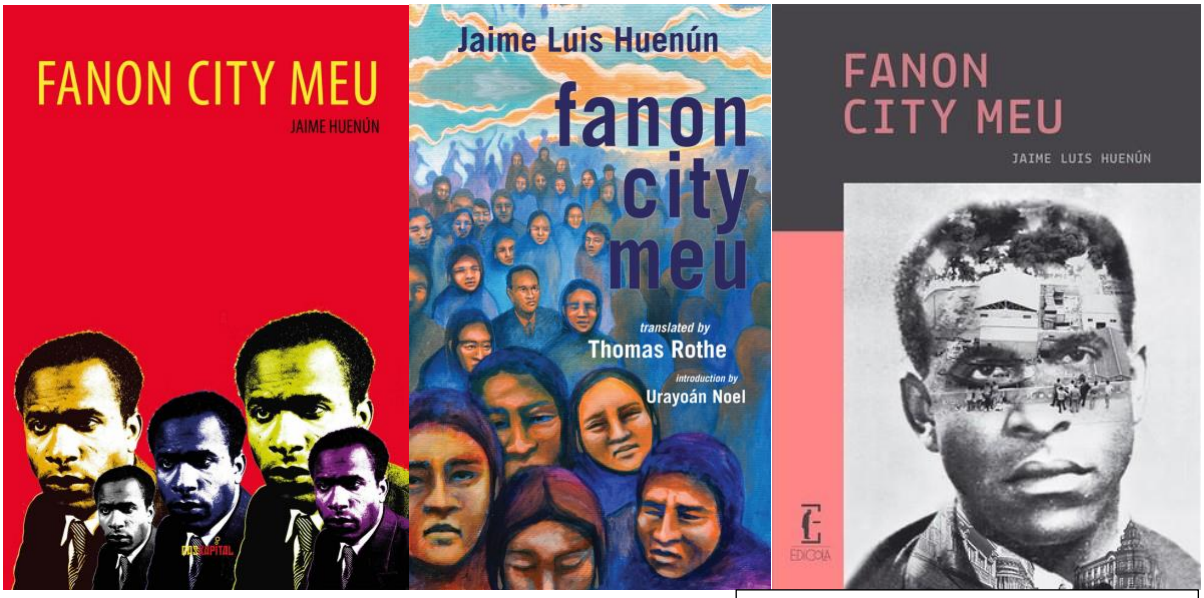

Figure Eight
Covers of *Fanon City Meu* in (right to left) Spanish, English, and Italian.

This is, in part, because although the present embodied experiences mobilized in Huenún's poetry (and in each of its translations from Spanish to Mapudungun, English, Italian, etc. See Figure 8), exist within what one might consider the "fictional" Fanon City, they in fact open a space in the "real" world – specifically through a renaming of what we might understand as "the idea of Latin America," or what Walter Mignolo calls the "land and/or myth invented first as America, and later baptized Latin America" (Mignolo, Walsh 16). "Latin America" is always a translation of a particular sense of knowing Latin America. Its invocation

is its conjuring through the ordinary presence of whiteness. Therefore, to rename Latin America "Fanon City" is to invoke it through the lens of its denomination. To enter Fanon City/*Fanon City* means to understand "the city" as the postcolony – the "real" geopolitical structures of our world.[95] Fanon City is not [only] a fictional city, or as Urayoán Noel calls it in the introduction to the English translation, "a geopoetic city." It *is* the postcolonial Americas, in which I include the Latinx U.S. Noel writes that although Fanon City is a geopoetic city, it "do(es) not mean that it is fictive, although it surely is. Rather I mean that it translates lived and historic and imagined spaces into an unmappable geography" (xiv). And I both argue with and support Noel's claim: I argue that Fanon City *surely is* a more accurate signifying structure for the "unmappable geograph[ies]" of colonialism than any term we have to describe the "real" world today. To name these unmappable geographies "Fanon City" is to shift our discursive orientation from the order of Empire and the "ever-expanding white aesthetic regime," to what Mignolo calls the space of "colonial difference" – "where coloniality of power is enacted, […] where the restitution of subaltern knowledge is taking place, and where border thinking is emerging" (*Local Histories X*). The very naming of the city Fanon imbues it as always already in resistance to the coloniality of power, and thus all the voices within Fanon City Meu are to be understood in relation to the structures of coloniality.

3.1 A POETICS OF DECOLONIALITY

Practice is not a process for mastery but of defying the very notion, and effects, of mastery. In this chapter's forming of poetics as a practice of decoloniality is the underlying insistence on practice as ongoing, always incomplete, and necessarily repeated or reperformed.

[95] The "City," as I will discuss subsequently, is in English in all translations of Huenún's work.

This insistence is integral to a theory and praxis of decoloniality, as described by Walsh and Mignolo, that will both continue to directly act "*against*" the ever shifting "colonial matrix of power" while sustaining and generating ways of knowing and doing *otherwise*, or what Walsh calls the "decolonial *for*" (15). This chapter, and the entire dissertation, asserts that poetry generates knowledge beyond the strictures of canonized modes of academic disciplines which themselves emerged from Empire's epistemological projects, those same projects that produced the grounding and justification for colonization, subjugation, and domination (see Moulian, Quijano, de Souza Santos, Wynter). Projects such as the naturalization of racialized structures of inequality, institutions of racialized violence and the exclusionary (re)definition of the Human, extractionist capital, and modernity's developmental linearity from colonization to global neoliberal states, to name but a few. Therefore, this chapter picks up poetry as a mode for the radical transformation of the body through and beyond these structures.

As suggested by Chilean sociologist Tomás Moulian in the prologue of *Chile actual*, poetics, such as metaphor, and an inter-disciplinarily hybrid language enable us to "describir esos infiernos, transmitiendo emociones que permitan la 'comprensión'" (describe those hells [of the experience of the atrocities of dictatorship], to transmit those emotions that allow "understanding") (10).[96] This poetics, metaphor, and inter-disciplinary hybrid language are

[96] Moulian writes, "Utilizaré los recursos de la poética dentro de un discurso que, pese a esa intención, no renuncia al uso del léxico de las ciencias soiales. […] Intento la "comprensión" de una época plagada de experiencias límite, trágica para muchos, con actors viviendo un mundo donde la aplicación de cierta racionalidad estratégica (la del terror) los condujo a la actuación delirante. […] ¿Cómo describir esos infiernos, transmitiendo emociones que permitan la "comprensión", con el lenguaje circunspecto, congelado, grave, falsamente objective de las 'ciencias humanas'?" (7). [I will use the resources of poetics within a discourse that, despite its intention, does not renounce the use of the lexicon of the social sciences. (…) I am trying to "understand" an era full of extreme experiences, tragic for many, with actors living in a world where the application of a certain strategic rationality (that of terror) led to outrageous behavior. (…) But how is one to describe those hells, to transmit those emotions that allow

found in contemporary interdisciplinary scholarship in terms that are often negatively valued and dismissed as "jargon" or "theory" but in fact defy common sense and refuse easy assimilation into the logics/language of Empire. What is often deemed "jargon" or derogatorily referred to as "high theory," are often attempts to exceed the limits of language, especially that language which emerges from colonial sciences and therefore accretes its colonial historical contexts. However, one of the radical potentials of poetry is its ability to decompose formal structures of knowing, defamiliarize these structures, and generate new contexts for redefinition through fragmentation, enjambment, rhythm, metaphor, and other poetic practice.

For example, the term "hybridity" was taken from the language of Biology and popularized by postcolonial thinkers such as Bhabha, Canclini, Hall, etc., as a cultural mixing in which a natal cultural subjectivity is impossible to separate from its colonial constitution and thus forms an/other "third space." The mobilization of the metaphorized biological term "hybridity" in cultural theory has influenced many of the South American scholars I think with later in this chapter. Hybrid language enacts a kind of metaphor and/or analogy that embraces the denotative excess of the term's primary context. When mobilized as metaphor a word's signification is burst open, allowing for new pathways of meaning to be generated, applying pressure to the logics and limits of these terms and their Modern/colonial epistemological context.

Moulián thinks of this language (what he calls poetics) as a necessary interruption, and as a language that can speak to "experiencias límite, trágica para muchos" (extreme experiences, tragic for many) where the language of "human sciences" cannot (7).

"understanding", with the circumspect, stiff, overloaded, falsely objective language of the "human sciences"?] – Translation mine. Please see the "Prologue" to *Chile actual* for an elaboration of Moulian's working with poetics and hybrid language in his own project (7 – 11).

Additionally, the material manifestations of poetry, which is to say the written text and the speaking body, can transcend the limits of national historical memory and interrogate empire's epistemologies through the dis/organization of time, space, and sense through language. This poetic language is an ontological translation as it *carries* sense and accrues meaning *through* time and space. Translation is literally the act of bearing or carrying something (*lāt-*, participial stem of *ferre*) across or through, from one place to another (*trans*).[97] It reveals embodied Indigenous and diasporic being and knowing as carried through time and space to make present. This is a poetics of decoloniality and makes space for understanding Indigenous and diasporic being as not solely contingent upon or in relation to colonization, the nation-state, or quantifications/biologizations of race and ethnicity, and is thus not only a defiance of, but a translation and exposition of the violent continuum of history.

In fact, decades earlier than Moulian, Aime Césaire wrote about poetry as an anticolonial practice the power to decolonize dominant colonial epistemologies. In his 1944 essay, "Poetry and Cognition," Césaire makes a case for "why poetry is the only way to achieve the kind of knowledge we need to move beyond the world's crises" by articulating how poetry is a practice of decolonizing epistemologies (17). He writes that "Poetic knowledge is born in the great silence of scientific knowledge," or those ways of knowing and doing which scientific knowledge has silenced/elided (17). This poetic knowledge is the translation of experience that both contests and defies not only the "scientific knowledge" produced by empire *about* the colony as justification for that violent and unequal relationship, but "the very humanism upon which the modern West was built [that] also justified slavery, colonialism, and

[97] See the section "Entoces caímos en Fanon City" below, and "Translation and the continuum of decomposition" in Chapter Four, which is about translation and/as diasporic memory.

genocide" (19). These forms of knowledge, what I've been calling ways of knowing the world according to the logics of Empire, i.e. Imperial Epistemologies, also produce their own valuation, validation, and reification.

But what the sciences do not, or cannot, speak to, Césaire asserts can be expressed in the language of poetry. He writes that "What presides over the poem [are] […] experiences as a whole" (18). As Césaire scholar Ronnie Scharfman writes, "Poetry lies at the crossroads of ontology and epistemology for Césaire, a locus of being and a means of knowledge" (110). Poetry translates "experiences as a whole" and in so doing makes a space for being (otherwise) and an/other knowledge that scientific knowledge cannot and does not. It *carries through,* or translates, memorial practices of other ways of knowing and doing that are in constant tension with empire's modes of subjection, its conception of history, and its trajectory founded upon Imperial Epistemologies. The poetics of decoloniality practiced in Huenún's works open up this space for ontological translation, and in so doing enact dual simultaneous processes of creative resistance within the realm of Indigenous memory: 1) critique, defiance, and contestation of subjection and 2) the generation, sustenance, and practice of an/other way of knowing and doing.

3.1.1 *FANON CITY MEU*: THE RUPTURE OF EMBODIED MEMORY

Jaime Luis Huenún was born in Valdivia in 1967, six years prior to the coup that overthrew the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende and which began the seventeen-year violent dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet. His poetry emerges from his own experiences with the persistent structural racism and other ongoing violences from the time of successful Mapuche resistance to Spanish colonization and the independent

Chilean state's "reducciones" (reductions) of his people's land, cultural and historical memory, and language. (Reducciones are small parcels of land upon which the Indigenous were/are forced to resettle by the Chilean state. For readers in the United States, reducciones might be cursorily understood as similar to Native (American) "reservations.") As a way of situating himself, his work, and the present state of the Mapuche under continued colonization and genocide, Huenún includes in his 2012 book of poetry *Reducciones* the voice of his paternal grandmother, María Matilde Huenún Huenún. At the age of nine[98] she was forced from her home in the countryside of Río Bueno because "era una sucesión. Parece que llegaron parientes[99] a reclamar ese pedazo de tierra y se perdió todo" (it was a succession. It seemed like relatives came to reclaim that piece of land and everything was lost) (25). It was not just the land that was lost, but "everything" – an iteration of the ongoing Mapuche genocide by the Chilean (and Argentine) state.[100] María Matilde's mother, coerced by the state which occupied

[98] In the article "Los archivos de la niebla (en torno a *Reducciones* de Jaime Huenún Villa)" professor of philosophy and literature Sergio Mansilla Torres quotes this passage from the manuscript of Huenún's *reducciones*, a republication of his grandmother's testimonio from *Metáforas de Chile* (1999), in which María's age is noted as seven.

[99] Because of the long history of Spanish colonization in Chile which sometimes resulted in Mapuche and Spanish intermarrying, the Spanish are sometimes referred to as parientes (relatives). I am uncertain of the specific significance here, as during this time the Chilean state recruited near 4,000 Germans to colonize the regions from Valdivia to Chiloé. Perhaps it was non-Indigenous Chileans that came to secede the area for German settlement. See Young, George F. W. *The Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849-1914*. Center for Migration Studies, 1974.

[100] In March of 2019 Mapuche Lonko (Chief) Juana Calfunao brought formal charges against the Chilean and Argentine states at the international criminal court in The Hague. This follows the Chilean state sanctioned murder of Camilo Catrillanca in 2018, the Argentine disappearance and murder of Mapuche rights activist Santiago Maldonado in 2017, the recent intensification of the destruction of Mapuche lands for international extractive capitalism, and the exaggerated sentencing of Mapuche activists in Chile under anti-terrorism laws, to name but a few instances and structures of these states' ongoing colonization and genocide. On October 26, 1973 Pinochet took his military death caravan to Mapuche lands at Temuco because, he declared, "in the zone of the Lakes there are extremists, so I have come to evaluate whether there is need to strengthen the forces or order another operation to exterminate them" (puntofinal.cl).

her home, sent her to work and be educated by the nuns in "la epistemología blanca colonial" (white colonial epistemology) in the colonial school at the reducción of Quilacahuín Mission in the province of Osorno (called Chauracahuín in Mapudungun), a province with an ominous colonial history (Mansilla Torres 151).[101] María's mother was not allowed to visit her. After her schooling where she was taught to read, cook, sew, and weave – skills she was likely already learning through Indigenous pathways in Río Bueno, but not in the way of and in training for the service of colonos blancos – she was sent to work for "una gringa de Cancura" (Huenún, *Reducciones* 25 – 26).[102] This is the history, geography, and racial colonial relations from which Huenún and his poetry emerge.

With this geopolitical and historical grounding, we begin to understand the transnational interconnections of colonial oppressions that make our world, in fact, Fanon City. But this grounding is also to form an understanding of the continued Indigenous presence in this world, an example of which is Huenún's sole use of Mapudungun in the title: the word

[101] María Matilde writes concerning her mother sending her to the mission: "("… qué le iba a hacer mi mamita, ella era sola…") (what was my mother to do, she was alone/single)" (25). Mansilla Torres notes that "Osorno ha tenido tres fundaciones. La primera en 1553 por Pedro de Valdivia; se llamó entonces Santa Marina de Gaete. La segunda en 1558 por el gobernadora Carcía Hurtado de Mendoza; se llamó San Mateo de Osorno. En esa oportunidad acompñó al gobernadora el poeta Alonso de Erciall y Zúñiga […]. Tras su destrucción en 1602, es refundada nuevamente en 1792 durante el mandato de Abrosio O'Higgins, padre de quien sería más tarde el fundador de la República de Chile, Bernardo O'Higgins" (footnote 11, 156). This is coherent with a long history of indigenous family separations and colonial schooling to "civilize" Native children across the Americas (think Canadian "residential schools") that resulted in generations of traumatized children and families.

[102] "Gringa" has multiple meanings in different locations throughout Latin America and the Spanish-speaking world. In this instance it likely refers to a German woman from the recent German colonization of Valdivia and Chiloé provinces, which included Osorno at the time. "Gringa" would signify differently as spoken by the Mapuche and as spoken by a non-Indigenous Chilean as the Mapuche are necessarily race-conscious due to the ongoing history of racialization, racism, and colonial oppression whereas "white" Chileans would never think of themselves as "white" in the US/UK sense of the category, even though they are (see Gott).

"Meu." In the all editions of *Fanon City Meu* "meu" is left untranslated and stands next to the untranslated "City" in the title (Figure 7). In Thomas Rothe's translation into English, he provides a glossary that explains "meu" this way: "In Mapundungun, the language of the Mapuche people, "meu" means "with" or "in," typically placed at the end of sentences." In Mapudungun "meu" is a preposition, a sign and node of relationality, or as Urayoán Noel writes in the collection's "Introduction," "a shifting preposition that indicates connection" (xv). But in its ("meu") relation to Fanon City as postcolonial Latin America, and with reference to the Brazilian State of Pernambuco in the collection's first poem, which I will discuss shortly, it could also be read as the Portuguese for "my," a possessive pronoun. This intertext begs the question Urayoán Noel asks, "What does it mean that "my" city is also a relational one, where colonial and Indigenous languages mistranslate each other and the lyric voice that exceeds them" (xvi)? What Noel asserts is a mistranslation in his statement above should be thought of instead in terms of translation in a "poetics of relation" (Glissant). There is something generated in what is lost. For this (mis)translation is both generative and defiant, actions made through what Huenún himself calls a "lengua *champurria*": a language "mixed" as one would "mix" a drink, but with the connotation that what is mixed is discernable, even if only in its relational quality. We might consider, for example, Spanglish an equally generative linguistic practice.

In *Fanon City Meu,* Huenún uses this "mixed" language, a poetic polyphony which populates Fanon City with the dissonant but relational voices of colonizer and colonized. Lengua champurria could be translated as "mixed" language, but the "mixing" here is different than the "mixture/blend" that is signified by words such as "mezcla/mezclar" or the racial "mixing" connoted by "mestizo/mestizar." Rodrigo Rojas explains champurria as the language

of mestizaje spoken from a Huilliche perspective, or more specifically, "una palabra que designa al mestizo desde una enunciación huilliche" (a word that classifies/designates the mestizo from a Huilliche enunciation) (66). The corporeal and historical location of this enunciation is, Rojas writes, "un fronterizo, una zona donde las identidades se componen por multiples experiencias de *culturas que cohabitan un territorio, las que se ven tensionadas* por relaciones de sumisión y dominación; por la colonización, ocupación y resistencia" (a borderland, an area where identities are composed of multiple cultural experiences which cohabit *a tense territory of relations* of submission and domination from colonization, occupation, and resistance) (66 emphasis mine). We might think of this multiply composed identity through language in terms of tension elaborated in the Introduction, whereby the force of the Huilliche voice – its enunciation – is generated in and by the tense space from which it is spoken. Unlike Rojas' assertion that Huenún's poetry "refleja una forma de ver el mundo en el cual se integra esa experiencia de frontera" (reflect a form of seeing the world in which this borderland experience is integrated), I argue that it identifies rather the ongoing structures of subjugation and the continuing Indigenous presence as both discernable and in relation to the colonial difference.

In this way Huenún's poetry could be understood as cacophonic in terms laid out by Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd: "the noise of competing claims, recognitions, and remediations" at the site of "the collision of Upper and Lower Worlds" that "Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and other Southeastern Indian cosmologies" call *haksuba* (40). This concept is important for understanding champurria in Huenún's poetry, because it orients our reading in what appears to be a lateral narrative told in the lyric voice of both colonizer and colonized, Black, *indio,* mestizo, and white. Byrd continues: "Cacophony […] focuses not only vertically on the

interactions between the colonizer and colonized, but horizontally between different minority oppressions within settler and arrivant landscapes on the baseline between racialization and conquest that stretches the real in the movement between and among" (54). The action of stretching the real "between and among" is that of champurria. Champurria allows for the friction of contestation, the simultaneity of differing ideological orientations, and the "different minority oppressions" within the postcolonial landscape as each voice attempts to hold claim to the power of ontological presence within and beyond the world conjured by the mestizo whiteness of the colonial project.

As a decolonial poetics, champurria is an example of what Rojas calls "la lengua escorada" (list, lean strongly, or shore up): "Una escritura en una lengua inclinada hacia otra. Esa otra no está presente en la página, no es una lengua ágrafa, sino un idioma olvidado a la fuerza. Mediante palabras incrustadas, sintaxis forzadas o elementos del texto orientados a la representación oral, se está dando peso y forma a un cuerpo ausente, a esa lengua otra" (A writing in one language inclined towards another. That other is not present on the page, it is not a written language, but a language forgotten by force. By means of embedded words, forced syntax or elements of the text oriented to oral representation, weight and form are being given to an absent body, to that other language.) (143).[103] I read this "peso y forma a un cuerpo ausente" as an Indigenous presence that, to recall both Jennings and Huilcamán above, highlights hidden situations that defy the world conjured through the ordinary presence of whiteness. In other words, in Huenún's poetry, even when the colonizer speaks, he indicts himself, revealing the violence of Imperial Epistemologies that undergird the violent

[103] See Sergio Mansilla Torres' "Los Arcivos de la niebla (en torno a *Reducciones* de Jaime Luis Huenún." Translation mine. In Rojas's doctoral thesis from which the book emerged, he translates "Lengua Escorada" as "Slanted Tongue."

conditions of colonialism. And while this "language forgotten by force" reveals the violence of its removal, it also reasserts the continuing Indigenous presence of those whose world is spoken through that language.

As we enter *Fanon City Meu* through the collection's epigraph from Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, we must always think with and through Fanon as we read and listen to the voices of this city. Through Mansilla Torres we come to realize not only that "Las fuerzas en choque de reducción y resistencia son predominantemente lingüisticas y culturales" (The colliding forces of reduction and resistance are predominantly linguistic and cultural), but, as Fanon writes, "A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language," and in the Grove Press edition, "there is an extraordinary power in the possession of a language" (2). Through Huenún's possession of the colonial language, the subjugated and subjected in Fanon City possess the language and its world, and therefore have the "extraordinary power" to transform that world. Such is Fanon's reminder of Marx's critique of idealism: "It's no longer a question of knowing the world, but of transforming it" (1). Huenún's poetry not only shifts how we know the world but translates the world through a Huilliche enunciation and, in doing so, transforms it.

3.1.2 EPIGRAPHS: STANDING ON UNSTABLE GROUND

> …adoquines desiguales, cantos que ruedan bajo los pies…
> (Piel negra, máscaras blancas)
>
> (…uneven cobbles, pebbles that roll away under one's feet…)
>
> (*Black Skin, White Masks* (1967))
>
> *Désastre*
> *Parlez-moi du désastre*
> *Parlez-m'en*

(Disaster
Tell me about the disaster
tell me about it

(translation by Alexandra Lillehei)[104]

In *Fanon City Meu* the epigraphs are key to learning from and hearing the voices with/in/my Fanon City.[105] These epigraphs, from Fanon and from the Négritude poet León Demas, are two doors by which we enter Fanon City/*Fanon City*. The first is from "El negro y el lenguaje" ("The Negro and Language" (1967) / "The Black Man and Language" (2008)), Chapter One of *Piel negra, máscaras blancas* as translated by G. Charquero y Anita Larrea 1974 (*Black Skin, White Masks* as translated by Charles Lam Markmann 1967).[106] In this chapter, Fanon specifically describes the repressive linguistic colonial systems and translated violences of these systems in the "black Antillean" experience (2). He narrates the experience of a young colonized subject mis-educated into self-loathing by his education in the "human sciences" of the metropole, what Mansilla Torres calls "la ciencia blanca decimonónica (léase historia, antropología, fisiología humana incluso)" (the white nineteenth century science (read history, anthropology, even human physiology)) (157). Ventriloquizing the knowledge of this "white" science the young man finds himself feeling "different from the other 'animals'" (6).

[104] The translation of Damas is from Lillehei, Alexandra. "Pigments in Translation" master's thesis. Wesleyan University, 2011.
[105] This syntactic structure is a simultaneous translation of "meu" from Mapudungun and Portuguese into English: meu – with/in; meu – my.
[106] I am aware that all of these dates and translations are confusing, but as I am using the original French, the Spanish, and two English translations of Fanon's text, citations will be differentiated by use of the copyright date of each. With the exception of the epigraph in Rothe's 1967 translation of *Fanon City Meu* which is the Markmann translation, I use the 2008 Richard Philcox translation of *Black Skin, White Masks* for all other quotes from this text. Citations from this translation will contain only a page number.

Upon returning to Martinique from France there is an expectation from his peers that through this travel and education he will have totally "escaped the bush" and be able to speak a white and Western epistemology, and therefore inhabit a white and Western ontology. It is upon this return, outside of the famous colonial school "on the Savanna in Fort-de-France" that the students and others gather ("greeting one another, making contact, no, never making contact") to hear this returnee speak (8). And it is this place, this colonial landscape, that is the affective scene for the ontological friction about to unfold among the colonized where an ontological chasm has opened between them ("any ontology is made impossible in a colonized and acculturated society" (2008 89)). This is the tension and discord, both epistemological and ontological, which arises in the mistranslation of *being* in the colony. Fanon writes later in *Black Skin White Masks* that "any ontology is made impossible in a colonized and acculturated society" (89). To remember this assertion is to realize the actions within colonized and acculturated societies are coerced, making impossible recognition of the ontological presence of the minoritized, both by the colonizer and the colonized, within a white Western philosophy (e.g. Hegel's dialectic). But the voices in Fanon City*/Fanon City* can be heard by those to whom the voices speak, while they might only greet to make contact, but never really make contact, with those who fail to understand the social and historical memory they generate through this voice.

Fanon begins this chapter by asserting that the linguistic colonial violence described in the chapter pertains not just to his cosmopolitan subject, but to "every colonized subject," because "all colonized people—in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whom local cultural originality has been committed to the grave—position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e., the metropolitan culture" (2). By

opening the text with epigraphs that focus on the writing of the violence of the colonial state, here, in terms of cultural originality (education, religion, clothing, and language), Huenún draws our attention to both the limits and excesses of his poetic project and presages the inhabitants of Fanon City/*Fanon City* as the space of colonial difference. Mignolo writes, "The colonial difference is the space where coloniality of power is enacted. It is also the space where the restitution of subaltern knowledge is taking place and where border thinking is emerging. The colonial difference is the space where *local* histories inventing and implementing global designs meet local histories, the space in which global designs have to be adapted, adopted, rejected, integrated, or ignored. The colonial difference is, finally, the physical as well as imaginary location where the coloniality of power is at work in the confrontation of two kinds of *local* histories displayed in different spaces and times across the planet" (2000 ix).

As a way of laying bare the text's relation to the civilizing language – a relationality evoked first in the collection's title, *Fanon City Meu*, which uses English while mobilizing a Mapudungun syntax to bring us into our Fanon City – we are brought into the collection within a very specific moment in Fanon's text, both topically and syntactically. It is an internal clause, excerpted from a sentence that asks us to "Imaginad un espacio…" ("Imaginez un espace…"; "Imagine a square") of "adoquines desiguales, cantos que ruedan bajo los pies" ("… uneven cobbles, pebbles that roll away under one's feet …") (Huenún 8; Fanon 23). Syntactically, this is a non-restrictive internal relative clause, which is to say it adds information about a noun that is not necessary for defining the noun within a sentence (in this sentence, the noun is the proper "Savanna", a square by the Central Hotel). This clause is relative to the noun, it is adjectival, and describes not a scientific knowing of the square, a "rational" construction of the reality of the square itself, but a relationship with the square as it is inhabited by "300 or 400

young people" walking up and down (8). In other words, the clause expresses an embodied knowing.

We might recall here, again, as it bears repeating, the notion of practice as elaborated by Hartman when she writes, "ultimately, the conditions of domination and subjugation determine what kinds of action are possible or effective, though these acts can be said to exceed the conditions of domination and are not reducible to them" (55). The language of Fanon's clause, in his book and as epigraph to Huenún's collection, is the excess of the "lyric voice" that takes us from a colonial epistemological orientation to an embodied one that insists on both the psychic and material presence of those with/in Fanon City/*Fanon City* (Huenún xvi). This lyric voice is describing the sensorial experience of the space (the square) itself that is not in the language of denotation and is therefore in excess of the colonial strictures of how the space is defined. It reveals the narrator's occupation of space and asserts his (Fanon's) presence and perspective. A palpable tension, a grating dissonance, is revealed in its utterance. It is an invitation to imagine through a language that evokes the sensation of being in this space as one in relation to the "worm-eaten tamarind trees […] the huge war memorial, […] and walking up and down in it 300 or 400 young people," rather than through the language of the colonizer whose material organization attempts to order that space and constitute its bodies with its own meaning (8).

Fanon's language not only describes the setting, but through its sensibility it describes an affective and sensual perspective we might understand as emerging from the phenomenological experience in relation to one's body schema. This knowledge from the body draws our attention to the structures of power that preconstitute the body as beyond white Western ontology through negation, the kind of triple consciousness Fanon explores in "The

Lived Experience of the Black Man." Fanon's description of "being-there" is palpable: "… uneven cobbles, pebbles that roll away under one's feet …" (Huenún 23; 1967 8); "adoquines desiguales, cantos que ruedan bajo los pies" (*Piel negra* 53); "… un espace torturé de pavés inégaux, des cailloux qui roulent sous les pieds…" (1952, 42-43); "… a square twisted with uneven paving stones and gravel that crunches underfoot…") (8). I use both English translations, the Spanish, and the French here in order to evoke the precarity of the subjects' own standing within the sensibility of each language (uneven cobbles, pebbles that roll way under one's feet"), the phenomenal sensation of that standing there ("un espace torturé", "adoquines desiguales", "gravel that crunches underfoot").

This poetic, relational (think "meu") language is what transmits a hapticality, "the feel that no individual can stand, and no state abide […] the interiority of sentiment, the feel that what is to come is here" (Harney, Moten 98). This hapticality is the sense of an Indigenous memory, a way of being and knowing that exceeds the state and its subjections. It is a feeling that creates a place that is born in and of Fanon's poetic language, a language that, although it is in the colonial language of French, emerges irreducibly from Fanon's phenomenal experience and bears its vital trace, his "insurgent feel" (98). Reading Huenún's poems with/in this feeling, this sentiment, is to read the voices of the colonized as they dismantle the colonial world through the colonial language in their possession. It is to read an active indictment and refusal of Imperial Epistemologies from with/in the colonial order of things.

The second epigraph of Huenún's "geopoetic" *Fanon City* is from the great French Guianan Negritude poet Léon-Gontran Damas's poem "Hoquet" or "Hiccups" from his collection *Pigments*: "Désastre / Parlez-moi du désastre / parlez m'en" (Disaster / Tell me about the disaster / Tell me about it), (Huenún 23; Lillehei 23). The poem describes the

experience of a boy forcefully trained to adhere to, but always falling short of, French colonial cultural practices and language. It is a similar story to that found in Fanon's chapter discussed above, a narrative of the colonial experience. This poem is, in fact, excerpted in the very chapter of Fanon's from which Huenún's epigraph is taken:

> My mother wanted a memorandum son
> If you don't learn your history lesson
> You'll not go to Sunday mass
> In your Sunday best
> This child will be the shame of us
> This child will be our God damn it
> Shut up I told you you have to speak French
> The French from France
> The frenchman's French
> French French.

In Damas' poem, both before and after this section excerpted in Fanon's text, is the refrain that becomes Huenún's second epigraph ("Désastre / Parlez-moi du désastre / parlez m'en"). What is absent in Fanon's text is present in Huenún's. The poem itself is how Damas, to speak in Maurice Blanchot's terms, tells of the disaster. It is the repetition of the violence of a colonial sensibility that we see again in Fanon's story of the colonized subject returning from the metropole; and the mother who knows what other violences lie in wait, always just beyond this epistemological violence, which is why she wants her son to be noteworthy (read French/white). The disaster is that which has already occurred and can therefore be told: slavery, colonization, genocide, capitalist extractionism; and that which is to come: slavery, colonization, genocide, capitalist extractionism. What Harney and Moten poetically divine as "The feel that what is to come is here" (98). This is the disaster that the inhabitants of Fanon City tell, and the disaster which Huenún writes through. It is the performance of historical memories preceded by "The fragment, as fragments, [that] tends to dissolve the totality which

it presupposes and which it carries off toward the dissolution from which it does not (properly speaking) form, but to which it exposes itself in order […] to maintain itself as the energy of disappearing: a repetitive energy" (Blanchot 60). For even as, and because, the disaster is repeated it is unmade in a way as to presage both forgetting and redefinition. The energy of disappearing is the repetition of the disaster, something generated in something lost. Its oblivion comes from its normalization, its retelling as a means of justification of the present, where the world does not see another Black or Indigenous murder though it is happening at the very moment you are reading this line.

The disaster is an event which "both happens at a given point and keeps on happening. It explodes once, but reverberates in waves over time and space" (Levinson 119). The event, the rehearsed fragment of history, both requires repetition and is undone by it. As Blanchot writes, "There cannot be a successful, a satisfactory fragment, or one indicating the end at last, the cessation of error, and this would be the case if for no other reason than that every fragment, though unique, repeats, and is undone by repetition" (42). This "repetition" in memory, in Huenún's poetry as Indigenous memory and practice of decoloniality, in its embodied circulation and its corporeal accruement of citation, enables a kind of social and self-redefinition. What is repeated generates a difference with the dual effect of revealing the continuum of colonial violence and expanding livable space in defiance to the totality of this continuum.

In thinking with Hartman's consideration of memory as redress, this form of memorial practice is generative in its return and in the continuous inability to "fully recollect" – that is, to represent presently the entirety of what has happened because it has, in fact, never been anything but a fragment of an unknowable whole and is always also ongoing. Repeated,

undone, regenerated, redefined. We can practice forms of social and self-redefinition that, at least fleetingly, escape the totalizing economization of our bodies and social relations while taking space for becoming *otherwise* within this untotalizable whole, but these acts will always require repetition and the difference inherent in that repetition. Inasmuch as the systems of subjugation and domination assert totalization they are also fragmented, subject to change in their repetition and reiteration (reification), and so in kind must those practices which contest and defy these systems be.

3.1.3 "ENTONCES CAÍMOS EN FANON CITY"

In this, the first poem of the collection, we have an example of what is generated in what is lost in translation, that is, the Indigenous presence that leans on colonial language even in the mouth of the colonizer:

Entonces caímos en Ciudad Fanon	Then we fell into Fanon city
Como lentos, blanquísimos cuervos	like slow, bleached ravens
Sober un quemado maizal.	Over a burnt cornfield.
Los cánticos del vudú escuchamos,	We heard Voodoo chants,
la gorda plegaria de los zambos	the heavy pleading of zambos
exiliados de Pernambuco.	exiled from Pernambuco.
"Oui missié, oui missié",	"Oui missié, oui missié",
Decían los pequeños cargadores mulatos,	repeated the small mulato dockhands,
Y nosotros, al unísono, largamos:	and we, in unison, replied:
"Mi buen obrero, no mientas nunca,	"My good worker, never lie,
Y nunca robes, nunca, nunca…"	and never, never steal…"

(24, 25)

Then we fell into *Fanon City Meu* "como lentos, blanquísimos cuervos / sobre un quemado maizal" (like slow, bleached ravens / over a burnt cornfield). Although this fall is through the voice of the colono blanco, we are reminded of Fanon and the ordinary presence of whiteness he describes in the first chapter of *Black Skin, White Masks,* "The Black Man and Language": "The white man is all around me; up above the sky is tearing at its navel; the earth

crunches under my feet and sings white, white. All this whiteness burns me to a cinder" (94). And so it is that the "zambos / exiliados de Pernambuco" become "un quemado maizal," and we are "blanquísimos cuervos," now unconscious of, but speaking our violence, scavenging for what might be consumed in this place and from these people *burnt to a cinder* by the ominous presence of whiteness. Even as the colonizer speaks, he is implicated in the violence of his presence and his speech. His words recall the psychic struggle of colonialism in Fanon's lyric voice. The voice that speaks of an embodied knowing and relation to the world: the sound and texture of the earth underfoot, the sky in the midst of tearing, the ominous but ordinary presence of whiteness. In *Fanon City Meu* the words from the mouth of the colonizer are meant to cut, but they also strike back at the speaker. What is generated is a re-membering of history by Indigenous presence that defies the ordinary presence of whiteness.

For example, "we" fell into Fanon City and heard the voices of those exiled from Pernambuco, a state in what is now in Brazil, which was founded on the enslavement and genocide of the Caeté, Marin, and Tabajara Indigenous peoples (peoples now grouped under the panethnic category "Tupi"). While many of the Indigenous were enslaved and worked to death, Africans were stolen and subjugated into slavery in Pernambuco, one of the largest Brazilian sugarcane producing captaincies in colonial Brazil. But Pernambuco is also the site of the successful defiance of such subjugation, being the location of enduring Mocambo and Palmares fugitive slave communities. The term "zambo" is a racial category in the Spanish Casta system (it's cafuzo in the Portuguese racial classification) used to identify peoples of African and Amerinidan ancestry, which makes sense for the exiled of Pernambuco as many fugitive slaves were given refuge in and became part of Indigenous communities. In Fanon City they are heard chanting something associated with Voodoo, perceived here through the

colonial gaze, but which is likely a local iteration of an African spiritual practice such as Candomblé, which originated in West Africa. Their chanting is a practice of ancestral connection and memory, and an assertion of their ontological presence: a defiance of the objectification of slavery and colonial subjection. The resonance of their voices makes space and resignifies that space with a lyric constitution drawn from Indigenous, diasporic, and ancestral knowledges *carried through*, or translated, by their bodies to and in the present. Their voices transform space into an/other world that exists within and alongside the world of colonialism.

And in Fanon City those "zambos" who, from the positionality of the blancos-mestizos, are "exiliados" live and work "los pequeños cargadores mulatos" who speak to us in the language of those subjugated by French colonization. This language contests subjugation through its "listing" of the colonial language even as it bespeaks an unequal social relationship (Rojas 143). Although the Afro-Amerindians can speak "The French from France / The frenchman's French / French French," to put it in the language of the Damas quote above, their subjectivity through the sound/noise of the address leans on the language and makes it "proper" to themselves (think Fanon's "appropriation" above) while defying the very notion of mastery itself.

We should consider, here, Edouard Glissant's consideration in *Caribbean Discourse* of Creole. Glissant writes, "From the outset (that is from the moment Creole is forged as a medium of communication between slave and master), the spoken imposes on the slave its particular syntax. For Caribbean man, the word is first and foremost sound. Noise is essential to speech. Din is discourse…. Since speech was forbidden, slaves camouflaged the word under the provocative intensity of the scream. It was taken to be nothing but the call of a wild animal.

This is how the dispossessed man organized his speech by weaving it into the apparently meaningless texture of extreme noise" (123-124). The master understands the meaning of the language by its order and as address from slave to master – the syntax makes *sense* as it has come into being as signifying within a certain set of social relations. It means by way of the word's position in a grammatical structure whose significance is predicated on, or constituted by, the set of social relations within with there is "master" and "slave." But having been called into existence only within that set of social relations leaves the self in excess of the word with the possibility of a reclamation in the sound.[107] Which is to say, inasmuch as "oui missié" signifies subjugation/subjection, it is also a powerful reclamation of a subjectivity through a "lengua escorada," the presence of a subjectivity which underpins and affects the speaking of the colonial language. This "listing" that shifts monsieur to missié in the mouth of the subjugated is interpreted by the "master" as successful colonial subjection but is actually an act of ontological presence. The signification the "master" hears in "oui missié" is incongruent with the signifyin(g) of the "zambos / exiliados de Pernambuco." As Henry Luis Gates, Jr. writes in his seminal *The Signifying Monkey,* "The relationship that black "Signification" bears to the English "signification" is, paradoxically, a relation of difference inscribed within a relation of identity" (45). And as both a "political and metaphysical" confrontation, the assumed homograph is in fact a cutting antanaclasis where "the bracketed final g," so to speak, affirms the "relation of difference inscribed within a relation of identity" (45, 46). Missié is a

[107] Turn here to Fred Moten's *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition,* where he explicates two main insights from Glissant's passage as they pertain to the (im)possibility of the object/commodity (in this set of social relations, the slave) to speak, and the "noise (which) is essential to speech" that exceeds the ontological limits of speech within the linguistic logic (by which one is subjugated / becomes subject) in this set of social relations (7). For more on this, and specifically Aunt Hester's scream / "the word [camouflaged] under the provocative intensity of the scream," see chapter four in this dissertation (7).

cut that signals both a refusal of the honorific and an assertion of ontological presence of the speaker whose speech, though coerced, cannot be said to have come from an object or from an isolated past. Its utterance is both defiant of the ordinary presence of whiteness and, for the subject of Black and Amerindian descent, an assertion of Black and Indigenous presence.

In the next poem the lyric voice shifts from the colono blanco to "we" Indigenous peoples from across Latin America. "We" spend "viernes por la noche / a los tambos cuzqueños olvidados / y mercar ahí, sin dios ni ley, / los poderes infinitos de la coca" (…Friday nights / in Cuzco's forgotten relay stations / and consuming, amidst lawless souls, / the infinite powers of the coca) (26, 27). We *are* or are *with* the ciudadeños in the forgotten detritus of colonial capital, where we "mercar," beyond the pale of the gods and laws of Empire, "los poderes infinitos de la coca." "Mercar" is often translated into English the same way as "comprar" – to buy – but in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, it can colloquially carry the valence of administering a dose of drugs or of buying/selling contraband on the black market. In Chile, for example, "mercar" and its noun form, "merca" which connotes drugs or contraband, is so rarely used as to be unheard in any daily conversation. It therefore suggests the speakers here are from another part of Spanish-speaking Latin America.

Those who partake in this "consuming" are familiar with, or at least know where and how they will find, the "infinite powers of the coca." This knowledge comes from a particular "grounded normativity," what Yellowknife Dene scholar Glen Coulthard writes is, "the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time" (57). For such powers to be infinite, unlike the kind of single use for getting high and staying focused for capitalist accumulation associated with

cocaine and other coca-based amphetamines in the Imperial nations, "we" must be tied to the tradition and cultivation of such powers such as one might find among the Indigenous of the Peruvian Andes, Bolivia, Ecuador, or Colombia, making space for the practice and maintenance of tradition – or what me might think of as Indigenous presence through embodied transference of knowledge.

And further, "we" move through and beyond the borders of the state, the temporality of Western Modernity, or its ethno-racial categories: "Con los chasquis bebíamos cachaza / de favelas sitiadas por la DEA" (With chasquis we drank cachaça / from favelas besieged by the DEA[108]) (26, 27). Drinking *cachaza*, an alcohol popular in Brazil and made from the juice of the sugarcane, with the *chasquis*, messengers of the Inca empire who relayed information from one to another over great distances, we find ourselves at a point of both temporal and geopolitical convergence. At this intersection, a space both of transit and encounter, a world is made within neoliberal decay and the imminence of Empire's decline. This poetic move is what Eduardo Ledesma might call a "poetics of resistance" where "The very resistance to labeling or categorization is one of the constitutive characteristics of the different modalities that conform experimental poetics" (63). Ledesma is here referring to a resistance to the labeling and categorizing of specific "artistic activity," but also draws our attention to how that labeling impulse often aligns with the desire to separate art and life under the conviction that the conflation or overlap is degenerative. The "(mostly) Anglo-American and Western European high modernist critics" notion of degeneration has to do with the "concepts such as quality and value," which here emerge from a logics of capitalist accumulation, and thus the

[108] Drug Enforcement Administration. A U.S. transnational network of "anti-drug" militias, which have actually intensified drug cartel violence across Central American and Mexico.

shunning of art/life, or art actions revolutionary potential (60). Although Huenún's poetics might not fit the parameters of "experimental" in form, throughout his collection his poetics perform resistance to the colonial reduction that happens in "labeling or categorization" through the pushing of the boundaries or senses of these modes of conformation to colonial epistemologies. Ledesma's insight into a Latin American poetics and its entwinement with performance or art action can be mobilized here to understand Huenún's resistance to national and ethnic categorization as a resistance to the "quality and value" of the Indigenous body. It is thus that the body escapes the logics of disappearance so fundamental to the constitution of the nation.

Huenún further describes that "Vivir en Ciudad Fanon no era más / que vaciarnos de sudor y de memoria" (Life in Fanon City was reduced / to draining our sweat and memory) (26, 27). We find in this reduction something generated in both memory and sweat. A memory is present in the knowledge accrued from Cuzco to the favelas, an Indigenous memory relayed to the present by Inca messengers whose laboring bodies transfer this knowledge across time and space. These messengers could be thought of as time-travelers from a pre-Columbian past to the present if we were to think of Fanon City as only a "geopoetic city," but in *Fanon City Meu/*Our Fanon City, our postcolonial present, the chasquis should be thought of as instead embodying a way of being and doing that has been translated through time and space in the bodies of the Indigenous. These ways of knowing and doing, the translating of these ways from body to body, could be said to make these Indigenous persons themselves chasquis. Relayers of knowledges. And beyond relaying the knowledge of the infinite powers of the coca, "we" find other ways of marking our existence, to insist on our presence, and to appropriate the colonial language for our own power and transformation of the world: "Escribíamos después

en las murallas: / “your name is puta$, your name is OKASO” (Later we wrote on the walls: / “your name is puta$, your name is DEKLINE” (26, 27). Those who sell their souls for capital gain, who dehumanize to make a laboring object, the “puta$” of colonial capital, are not only destined to decline but are named thus. It has become them. The graffiti enacts a felicitous performative that brings the colonizer into a set of relations to Indigenous presence, inverting the centrality of white Western ontological being.

Further, a diasporic memory is present in the knowledge accrued from Cuzco to the favelas and an Indigenous memory relayed to the present by Inca messengers. These messengers could be thought of as literally, within the geopoetic *Fanon City*, emerging from a pre-Columbian past, but perhaps should be thought of as instead embodying a way of being and doing that has been translated through time and space in the bodies of the Indigenous. In *Fanon City* there are soldiers who murder a group of Chimú with AK-47s (32) following the Sendero Luminoso (42); from Bar Alabama (56) to Las Indias (70), and “guerreros mocovíes” waiting to get their visas stamped at customs (69). The Chimú were Indigenous peoples of the Moche culture in pre-Columbian Peru (the area now known as Trujillo, Peru). History tells us that they were “conquered” by the Inca circa 1470. History also tells us that the Guerreros mocovíes were 17th century Mocovíe warriors that occupied Santiago del Estero, the colonial capital of the Republic of Argentina. However, in *Fanon City* they are not from the 17th century but present as Indigenous peoples embodying a way of doing and knowing *carried across* (translated) time and space. We can read this as the collapse of time – the pre-Columbian exists in the present of visas and AK-47s – or, rather, as the recognition and assertion of Indigenous presence through embodied memory that has not been disappeared by colonization. Such an act of resignification and ontological assertion requires the

decomposition of colonial categorizations of ethno-racial identities via the quantifiable biologization of race and the ethno-mythic (think Barthes meets Wynter) abjection within restrictions of national identity. Huenún's poetics generates an/other mode for identification and enables an "impossible" ontology (Fanon) within the colonial difference.

As we move onward through the voices of Fanon City/*Fanon City* we encounter not the collapse of time through a poetic wormhole, but the embodied being of peoples that have Historically been only ever thought in relation to colonialism, "conquest," genocide, and "eradication." Instead of a "conquered" and "eradicated" people relegated to an eternal pastness, Indigenous memory *becomes* this contemporary subject. It asserts presence. In order to demarcate a point of Indigenous pastness one must assert the ontological fixity of that Indigenous presence, often through colonial ethno-racial and cultural categorizations, and the writing of History that disappears Indigenous peoples. But instead of marking this ontological fixity, and therefore the possibility of a people's non-existence, *Fanon City Meu* opens up a global possibility inherent in a term like Abya Yala, where pre-"conquest" ways of being and knowing are passed on, sustained, and elaborated through an Indigenous memory and which defy historical junctures and historical narratives of conquest, mestizaje, multiculturalism, etc.. This embodied memory is the continuing ontological presence of the peoples of Abya Yala within the postcolonial world of Fanon City/*Fanon City*. This presence produces a language where, even in the speech of the colonizer, Indigenous ways of being and knowing transcend the beginnings and ends of colonialism and its material and epistemological structures. A performance of memory that exceeds "settler logics" – they function outside of settler/colonial recognition – and sustains and maintains Indigenous worlds.

CHAPTER 4: DANIEL BORZUTZKY'S DIASPORIC MEMORY: TRANSLATING "A CONTINUUM OF BORDERLESS SLAUGHTER"

> [*The Performance of Becoming Human*] comes out of the idea that literature, and poetry in particular, can serve as a means of producing social and historical memory.
>
> —Daniel Borzutzky, from National Book Award acceptance speech

> Chile and the United States: rotten carcass economies both of them. There is slaughter everywhere, and the shame and guilt and horror of militaristic, neoliberal violence transcend the imaginary boundaries of nation-states.
>
> —Daniel Borzutzky, from "Are We Latino: Memories of my Overdevelopment"

This chapter is both like and unlike the ones which precede it. It is like other chapters in that it thinks with and from the performances/texts and bodies that enliven them. What is different is its use of an/other method of analysis and critique begun in the last chapter, that is, a method of thinking from the text as theory for understanding the world rather than using theory to analyze the text. Throughout this chapter I think with Chilean-American[109] poet Daniel Borzutzky's poetry collection, *Memories of My Overdevelopment* (2015), and an interview I conducted with him, *"silence might have its own significance"* (2019). This mobilization of his words and speech as performance-texts recuperate both his corporeal and linguistic body in the chapter's analysis of his work to "decompose" the continuing structures of the coloniality of power. The chapter opens up new ways of knowing and doing translation – both as an act of Empire in the continuums of colonial violence, and as an act of the diasporic body that must always be in the gap of translation.[110] In this gap the self is (must be)

[109] The hyphen emphasizes the imbrication of both identities, revealing them as always already plural, in-between, and in-completion.

[110] I must clarify the parameters of "diaspora" I mobilize in this chapter. I am thinking of those that "live the colonial difference" and therefore "know" the in-between socio-cultural ontology of a place left from and arrived at through the colonial project. In the chapter prior, my reading

continuously redefined through what is lost in the translation of neoliberalism "across cultures and hemispheres and continents" (*Memories* 6). In this way translation becomes a decolonial act. As I argue throughout this project, the possibility for change, for decolonial action, for the making and remaking in something like the "gap" of translation, is located in memory and the difference generating repetitions of memorial processes.

The memory theorist (and Egyptologist) Jan Assman wrote in an article parsing out the nuances of Maurice Halbwachs' theories on collective memory that, "memory depends, like consciousness in general, on socialization and communication, and […] can be analyzed as a function of our social life" (109). This assertion is, in large part, an elaboration of Halbwachs' thinking through collective memory as a social phenomenon and an "individual" reality dependent on membership to particular social groups. In this way, the meaning of memory is based on specific citational histories composed and sustained in and by social relations within which they are formed, and then remembered. It is in this way that personal memory both affects our social relations and is always already a function of these social relations. Personal memory, for example, finds itself in tension with cultural and state historical memory, as discussed in the second chapter, because of one's experience of becoming through time (i.e. the formation of one's identity, an effect of memory) rather than solely in relation to the institutionalized mnemonic objects by which cultural and historical memory are circulated and maintained in any given time and space.

of Indigenous memory might also be considered a kind of diasporic memory as it attends to transferred knowledges generationally across time and space that transcend colonial logics which order and make the world sensible. This is the practice of imaginative geographies. See also footnote 98.

In other words, personal memory is formative of our individual identities, but those identities are a function of our social life and thus limited to a certain set of social relations within which memory, or the world for that matter, makes sense. So, inasmuch as we are born into meaning and the sense of meaning as linguistic beings (and inasmuch as we are metonymically predetermined by the constituting epistemological frameworks, for example, of race, gender, class, and sexuality at any given juncture of time and place), our memories are meaningful and "make sense" within these cognitive frameworks. This space of meaning-making between a person and the mnemonic object is one of translation of, in, and by the body. It is in this relation *between* that difference can be generated through the actions of creating new genealogical lines, utterances, and performances which bridge possible futures to *other* pasts re-membered. This transit between body and object – or we could consider it between the corporeal senses and the world, or the body and that which constitutes the body – is diasporic.[111]

Borzutzky lives in a diasporic body, in and through diasporic memory. The diasporic body, or the borderland body, the body in-transit, is the body that is always in the act of translating in order to exist. Borzutzky's poetry, a mode of de-composing colonial epistemologies and the linear time of developmentalist capitalism, emerges from the memories of the diasporic body. Diasporic memory is a mode of translation whereby this de-composition is generated. It is of the simultaneously present *there then* and *here now;* the *there* from which I came and the *here* in which I stand; the temporality and spatiality of living the colonial

[111] Think Fanon's "image in the third person" where the "body schema" is in tension with the "historical racial schema" (*BSWM* 90-91). Consider this gap between the body schema and that which historically constitutes the body as a space of transit in which the body is translated, and thus, in order to re-define oneself, also requires translation.

difference. Within this present is a known and embodied difference – the ontological differences of time, place, culture, and race, etc. – as well as a recognition of the similarities and continuities of the local and transnational colonial matrices of power that attempt subjugation by these differences. Unlike Anzaldúa's borderland subject, the diasporic body is neither here nor there, not between, but always in a transit that multiply defines the here now and there then. Diasporic memory is thus the sustenance, generation, and redefinition of other ways of knowing and doing through a de- and re-contextualizing translation of the body and its senses as the body that is both always in a generative memorial transit in time and space, and the body becoming in time and space.

Diasporic memory is an affective, cognitive, and corporeal (re)orientation that centers the diasporic body as the position *from* which transnational histories of Empire's (over)development are understood, experienced, and retold. This knowing, experiencing, and retelling are all acts of translation through diasporic memory. Diasporic memory is the body in and as translation. The diasporic body is not made in the text or by that which can be translated in language. Texts and other representational forms are generated and their meanings re- and decomposed through this memorial translation. This translation exceeds interpellation and the processes of the making of mestizaje in Latin America or Latinidades in Latinx America that attempt to subjectify the diasporic body in a postcolonial existential condition. Diasporic memory is, thus, an epistemic translation emerging from the space of a postcolonial ontology. It is in Borzutzky's poetry that this ontological space is made clear through the surfacing of the transnational continuities between the social, economic, and political effects of neoliberalism on the concepts of time, space, and being human. Borzutzky's poetry allows for a translation of

experience whereby the world is transformed through an/other way of knowing and being as the diasporic body.

In Borzutzky's poem "talk to me about translation // a broken introduction," he identifies the effect of diasporic memory as an epistemological and phenomenological translation: "29. The continent was collapsing as the unit of measure for how I was understanding experience" and, "42. I was starting to understand that my life as a Chilean and my life as a Chicagoan were inseparable" (20, 21). His experience collapsed the continent. The transit of Empire from the United States to Chile via military and economic intervention, and its return as result of this colonial experimentation, finally cohered in the experience of the body, so much so that now "Chicago is a Chilean city" (7). Through diasporic memory as mode and practice of translation Borzutzky is able to trace "a movement / a continuum / from Chicago to Chile / and back to Chicago again" (7). It is the body in the circuits of this transit that enables an epistemic translation for "understanding experience."

As I will explore in the next section, both the oppressions of neoliberalism and the resistance to / defiance of neoliberal oppressions are effects of this translation. As Avery Gordon writes "domination and resistance are basic and intertwined facts of modernity" (193). But this is not to be taken for granted or taken as an impossible and static equation or reciprocal relation of power between domination and resistance. For example, we might say translation is always also coupled with the (coerced) action of negotiation, or that decoloniality is always also a response to or emergent from coloniality. Neither of these assertions account for, nor deny, the livable space generated by the excess of resistance discussed throughout this dissertation. To recognize the dual nature of translation, the "intertwined facts of modernity," is to acknowledge that they are always in the process of translation, and thus generative in their

repetitions. Which is to say, there is always something lost and something gained in in the act of translation – an excess that also starts the process of decomposition.

4.1 THE TENSION OF THE DIASPORIC BODY: WHAT IS GAINED IN WHAT IS LOST

Let us explore another form of translation made within Borzutzky's *Memories of My Overdevelopment*. The title is a play on Cuban filmmaker Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's 1968 film *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (Memories of Underdevelopment), based on the 1965 novel of the same name by Edmundo Desnoes. The film uses an interior narrative from the decidedly ambivalent perspective of the white bourgeois Cuban, Sergio, who remains in Cuba after his family emigrates to the U.S. after the Bay of Pigs Invasion. In part, Sergio stays because he questions the efficacy of the Revolution within Empire's developmentalist paradigm throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries so ingrained in his mind. Borzutzky's collection, in some ways, reperforms this film (of course, with a difference) by interrogating Chilean and United States-ian neoliberalism – the subsequent leap of economic practice after Keynesian developmentalism that has mutated into not only a global economic policy but a global hyperreality.[112] Borzutzky's translation of the title from "underdevelopment" to "overdevelopment" and the inclusion of the relational and genitive pronoun "my," signals a shift in the perspective of critique from the orientation of blanco-mestizo to that of the diasporic body which critiques Western modernity's "hegemonic civilizational project" by

[112] The perfect functioning of the economics of neoliberalism was/is generated by mathematical formulas run through computer programs to make economic simulations. The efficacy of "the rule of the market" is based on the assumed "logic of the individual" or "consumer logic" and this logic, considered human nature, is applied to society. The simulation of neoliberalism – both economic and social – is indiscernible from reality; it is hyperreality, to take a term from Jean Baudrillard.

grating against the limits of this project's structural racial organization. This critique reveals Imperial notions of progress of neoliberalism as Modernity's devastating developmental paradigm. Overdevelopment is the effect of the continuum of colonialism's exploitative and extractive capitalism enabled by the alignment of ethno-racial categories with socio-economic and political stratification in Latin American countries (and in the United States, which is a Latin American country). The possibility, for example, of continued privatization and extraction is always primarily made through indigenous dispossession and then, subsequently, the socio-economic and political delimitations of the state that ensure inequity along ethno-racial and class lines. We see this, of course, in Sergio's individuating discourse, his exploitation of women, his ambivalence for the revolution, and his conspicuous discomfort within or around the crowds of people of color celebrating the revolution throughout the film.[113]

Borzutzky takes up Alea's film in the middle of the *Memories*, between poems about the violent colonial resonances between Chile and the United States and the epistemological and affective projects of translation, both colonial and decolonial. Before we get text about Alea's film, we get a subtitled YouTube still of the particular scene taken up subsequently in a poem: "Since *El Encanto* burned down, Havana is like a country town" (Figure 9). The words on the screen evoke the voice of the narrator who speaks it, although translated into English for the subtitles. The sonic juxtaposition of the voice speaking in Spanish with the translated text in the film is lost in the book's capture of the scene, but with this severance of the voice from

[113] The fact that so many of the Habaneros at the time of the revolution were Black further calls attention to the racial component of economic structures. Most of the white and wealthy Cubans, many of whom already had wealth and resources in the U.S., left when Castro's revolution appeared inevitable. It would be many decades before the racial inequities of Castro's regime outweighed the promise of his revolution for people of color.

the translation its significance leaves the diegesis of Alea's film and must be understood within Borzutzky's text as the text's translated significance. The translated words become disembodied and thus can be taken up by Borzutzky to speak of the colonial condition, rather than specifically about El Encanto, Havana, or even Cuba.

Purely by chance of font and text size in the subtitling software, the words are displayed both on the screen in the screenshot image as a rhyming couplet:

Since *El Encanto* burned down
Havana is like a country town.

Figure Nine
YouTube still of Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's 1968 film *Memorias del subdesarrollo*

The line becomes multiply translated, from Spanish to English, film to YouTube bootleg to screenshot to text – and through these translations the transnational colonial connections between Cuba, the U.S., and Chile become clear.[114] The still itself is embedded within a

[114] "Now, as a falso-Chileno living in Chicago, I write as if Chicago and Santiago are the same places, as if Chicago and the US are the same places, and as if Augusto Pinochet and Fidel Castro were the three most important US Presidents of the 20th century. As if Richard Nixon and Fidel Castro were Chile's three most important presidents" (34).

screenshot of, likely, Brozutzky's personal computer screen, putting the scene, the phrase, the film itself into an/other context. Beside the YouTube tab is another open tab, a google search for "pinochet and the chicago [boys]," and below the tabs are websites bookmarked that reveal something of the author's present concerns from the "Weather" to "Anthropocene visuality" and "Shockley Conceptual" (the article about NourbeSe Philip's *Zong!:* "Is 'Zong!' conceptual poetry? Yes, it isn't." by Evie Shockley), and then "Up Next" on *YouTube* is a Jane's Addiction documentary. In fact, both the inclusion of all the content/context of the screenshot into the text and the presentation of its main object ("Memories of Underdevelopment – Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1968) FULL MOVIE") is telling of a kind of political stance – (watching a bootlegged film on YouTube) and the context of a political positionality ("pinochet and the chicago…," "Is 'Zong!' conceptual poetry? Yes, it isn't.," "Anthropocene visuality"). The screenshot translates a historical orientation and mode of remembering through a particularly signifying historical constellation, and one that grates against Sergio's memories. The screenshot is of a translation of the film, but it also translates the meaning of the film extradiegetically. The film is being seen from the diasporic body with memories of overdevelopment as the connecting sinew of an expansive and ongoing colonial project from Chile to Cuba, Castro to Allende – a spatial and temporal interval that could be said to be inclusive of all of Latin America from European colonization to U.S. imperialist intervention.

In the poem what follows the still above, and before the Wikipedia entry on "El Encanto Fire," Borzutzky writes:

> (*****translation as collective secretion
> in the commons and the continuums
> who is authoritative and who is telling
> whose story
> do you remember my overdevelopment
> hi you get to write my history

here is my borderless body
give it to me in all the ways you want it to appear
I am a good subject you can translate me in as many different languages
as you like
I am here today to talk about translation
but what I am really discussing
is the friction of the borderless body
as it crosses the translation-less monopoly
of transient
borderless continuums*****) (24)

The poem's enclosure in both a series of asterisks and parentheses suggest a kind of erasure. Asterisks, in digital text formats, are often used to make a text or phrase bold, and are even sometimes coded into apps like WhatsApp and Facebook to actually transform *this* to **this**. That such emphasis is placed on a parenthetical phrase marks a kind of rhetorical irony. The explanatory or qualifying phrase could be removed from a sentence (or here, a larger poem, or even poetry collection) without making it grammatically incorrect, and yet through its being set apart and bolded – a kind of erasure – it becomes central to the poem and collection as a whole. It is the gap, the break, in which what is generated encompasses the whole collection. In this way, the bolded parenthetical poem reflects the position of the hypervisible constitution of a body that is simultaneously made invisible through its constitution. In revealing Empire's translation of "my history" and "my body" as being able to "give it to me in all the ways you want it to appear," it is in fact "the subject" that is shown to be translatable and not the body. The subject is that which is secreted in the process of subjection. The subject is borne of the material and epistemological organizations and strictures that shape the body, push and pull it across and between borders. This body is, therefore, in a *horizon*tal position that causes friction in its crossings. It is this body itself that causes the friction – the body in resistance and conflict – that rubs against discourse until the sense of discourse becomes malleable.

Within the text, a series of recollections marks an epistemological shift from Sergio's developmentalist logic that understands the destruction of the capitalist institution of *El Encanto,* a large department store, as a regression to the pastoral – "Since *El Encanto* burned down, Havana is like a country town." This sequence in Borzutzky's collection enacts an/other way of knowing and being in the world that reads the logic of this statement both as an impossible return after overdevelopment and as opening a time and space beyond the sense of the world within which these logics function. The pathways of diasporic memory intersect and branch, finding the translations of neoliberalism across time and space. Within the space between movie, image, and the text is the generative translation of memory.

Recalling an experience with a friend in Havana who recalls this scene from Alea's film recalling the burning of the massive shopping center, Borzutzky recalls Wikipedia's developmentalist historical entry about the bombing which caused the fire, and a parallel conversation with the same friend in Chicago recalling the burning down of another capitalist epicenter, *Marshal Fields*. Both shopping malls are manifestations of intensifying racial capitalism reflected by the many advertisements in for *El Encanto* in both Cuba and the US. The advertisements nearly always depict white, Euro-American men and women elegantly dressed in "romantic" or "sophisticated" or "Spanish" styles (Figure 10). In fact, as an American in Cuba, you should shop at El Encanto because they can "offer prices so attractive because of lower Customs' duties."

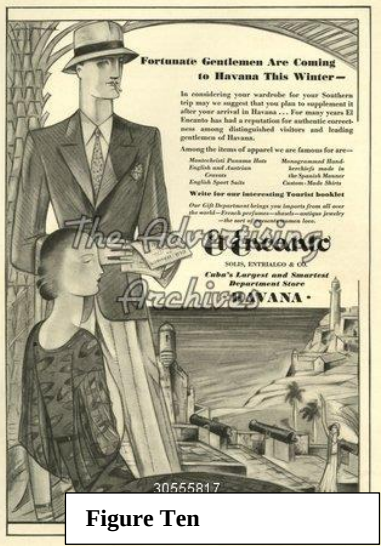

Figure Ten

Borzutzky here aligns Cuban revolutionary Carlos González Vidal's anti-capitalist action (the burning of *El Encanto*) with a recognition of neoliberalism's overdevelopment as its overrepresentation across cultural and national borders. His translation reveals a radical subjectivity gained in what is lost by the "friction of the borderless body."

When in Havana, Borzutzky's friend asked him if he "remembered the following lines from the film" (Figure 9) and pointed to "a corner, a building, and told me this was where *El Encanto* used to be" (27). To which Borzutzky replied: "Where am I?" (27). But Borzutzky was immediately, perhaps always simultaneously, in Chicago where he "pointed to a corner, a building / and said // Since *Marshal Fields* burned down / Chicago is like a country town // And he said: // Where am I?" (27). The suggestion being that without such bastions of capitalist accumulation that normalize an always already white, Euro-American Modernity, the cosmopolitan metropolis would become a country town, coded as "underdeveloped." What has replaced these institutions of capitalist accumulation is the very idea of development itself, translated as a social imperative. After consulting his smart phone to find an answer to "Where are we?," Borzutzky reveals diasporic memory's spatial and temporal disjuncture within colonial time and place. The phone provides an answer that only functions in a (post)colonial

temporal, topological, urban geographic, and technological *il*logic: "You're on 3801-3809 N. Seeley Avenue, Chicago, IL," the phone says (28). The answer is not just unsatisfactory, but makes no *sense* within diasporic bodies that simultaneously live in the *then there* and the *here now* as a medium of translation: "But really, I said, where can we possibly be?" (28). But perhaps the question is less about the "where" and more about the possibility of a "we" being there. This question epitomizes the epistemological effects of translation through diasporic memory, where through this translation one moves beyond or outside the world of Empire's capitalist logics and thus *finds* themselves *lost* within these logics; identity gained in the encounter with what is lost in the process of translation.

4.2 NEOLIBERALISM AND THE MAKING OF THE HUMAN

Today, (and since the slow transition to "Liberalism" that tended toward the rationality of the market and requisite of Western epistemology's conception of development) neoliberalism is the logic of the "rationality of the market" based on the overrepresentation of the concept of the Human as human capital. The structures and systems of neoliberalism that organize society and beget governmentality are a translation of the Human as human capital. Put another way, neoliberalism is the tautological formation of the subject, the complex systems through which this subject is translated. The individual's[115] rationality drives the market and the market determines the individual: all those who (human and other-than-human) fail the competition of capital do not fail its system but sustain it. However, the diasporic body,

[115] The individual in neoliberal discourse always implies the denial of the collective. This denial is necessary for the reification of the neoliberal tenet that we are all individuals responsible for our own freedom (read capitalist accumulation), and there is no freedom outside of the market. "There is no such thing as society," Margaret Thatcher said in a 1987 interview with the UK magazine *Women's Own*.

its translation of the transnational continuum of colonial violence, opens a space for recognizing and confronting this system and its modes of subjection and subjugation. What is revealed is an orientation for understanding colonial matrices of power that transcend geo-political (b)orders that are articulated in our present as the common sense of what Foucault describes as *homo-œconomicus,* and what Sylvia Wynter calls "our present ethnoclass (i.e., Western bourgeois) conception of the human, Man, which overrepresents itself as if it were the human itself" (260).

Foucault writes that "the stake in all neo-liberal analysis is the replacement every time of *homo œconomicus* as a partner of exchange with *homo œconomicus* as entrepreneur of himself, being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of [his] earnings" (Foucault 2008, 226). Thus, within neoliberal social orders, *homo œconomicus* is responsible for their own being-as-capital despite the fact that we are all only *being* in relation to an/other both within and beside relationships of capital. Further, "*Homo œconomicus* is someone who is eminently governable. From being the intangible partner of laissez-fair, *homo œconomicus* now becomes the correlate of a governmentality which will act on the environment and systematically modify its variables" (270-1). Becoming *homo œconomicus* is the replacement of the Human with a representative of neoliberal governmentality – a being that lives a tautology – modifying the world by the "rational" choices of the market to reflect itself as representative of this reason, and vice versa. Actions are made to mobilize oneself in relation to future capital, becoming marketable attributes which will secure future income. As economist and chairman of the Chicago School of Economics Theodore Schultz wrote of human capital, "*The most critical attribute of human capital arises from the fact that the person and his human capital are inseparable.* The person

must always be present wherever the services of his human capital are being rendered" (Schultz 1972, 8, emphasis in original). *Homo œconomicus* is thus the present iteration of "the overrepresentation of Man" in which even those who continue to be subjugated as racialized "flesh," to use Spiller's term, within certain contexts of the market, can become *homo œconomicus* if they also exploit an/other.[116]

In "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," Wynter identifies this shift of reason with the Western colonial project, its singular temporality, monotheism, and "creed-specific conception of what it was to be human" in which Western Europe "could not conceive of an Other to what it experienced as being human, and therefore an Other to its truth, its notion of freedom" (291). In our neoliberal age, "The ultimate foundation of this entire economic order placed under the sign of freedom is" not only, as Bourdieu would have it, "the structural violence of unemployment, of the insecurity of job tenure and the menace of layoff," but the nihilistic self-destruction of the neoliberal subject as part of the "program of the methodical destruction of collectives" (*The essence of neoliberalism*). I am here thinking of the overrepresentation of Man, this subject constituted by the violent subjugation of the Other, as becoming *homo œconomicus,* but with the inferred restriction of certain bodies' ability to

[116] The caveat, "within certain contexts of the market," is necessary because, as we all know, even Beyoncé and Jay-Z could be killed by the police if not immediately recognized by their value to capital. After receiving racist emails in response to his op-ed in the *New York Times* "Dear White America" the philosopher George Yancy recalls the question of Malcolm X: He asked, "'What does a white man call a black man with a Ph.D.?' He answered: 'A n***** with a Ph.D.'" "The Ugly Truth of Being a Black Professor in America." *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* 2018. (I have redacted the "n"-word with the thought, "I won't say it, so won't write it." In the original the word is present. Although I am quoting Yancy quoting Malcom X, I feel the words from my ontological position enact a greater violence than in the mouths and hands of X and Yancy.

actually be "for himself his own producer" (Bourdieu). For now, the promise of multicultural neoliberalism is that even the Other can have "freedom" and "success" if they, too, maintain the categories of, and exploit, the Other. In fact, this exploitation is often requisite for survival in neoliberalism's metabolism of exploitation: racial capitalism, individuation, competition, extraction, dispossession.

4.3 "TRANSLATION AND THE CONTINUUM OF DECOMPOSITION"

> translation and the continuum of decomposition by way of introduction to the idea that translation is a thing that decides when it is to be done but since it is never done we are always repositioning ourselves as subjects in the worlds we imagine and the worlds we occupy and since we can't really tell the difference between those worlds we engage in translation as a primal force that comes before everything else which is to say that because we cannot scream we translate
>
> because we do not know how to interpret the screams of others
>
> we translate
>
> because the broken bodies and the broken nations and the broken institutions that are always breaking us cannot be understood
> we translate
>
> we howl and we shriek and we translate (18)

What is generated by and through translation, and what is destroyed? What is in the absent screams, the howls and shrieks of translation? And if, as Borzutzky writes, "neoliberalism translates across cultures / and hemispheres and continents," what, exactly, is translated and by what means (6)? As with Zurita's performance-texts in the first chapter, in Borzutzky's work the significance of the body is transformed through the word and the word through the body. Judith Butler tells us that "[I]t is by being interpellated within the terms of language that a certain social existence of the body first becomes possible," and "To

understand this, one must imagine an impossible scene, that of a body that has not yet been given social definition, a body that is, on the occasion of an address, a call, an interpellation that does not "discover" this body, but constitutes it fundamentally" (5). Thus, we might understand the primary translation of *being* as not only coming into language as linguistic beings, but of coming into *being* within a set of social relations defined, and lived, *by* linguistic beings. We must understand our having been always already pre-constituted. And this pre-constitution is both an act of creation within an existing structure of meaning – "a structure is dependent upon its enunciation for its continuation" – and a translation of the structure – "what [the subject] creates is also what it derives from elsewhere" (16, 19). So, it is at this "site of enunciation that the question of [a structure's] continuity is to be posed," and is here posited as what Borzutzky calls the "continuous inferno of murderous capital" or the "Continuum of borderless slaughter" (Butler 19; Borzutzky 12, 20). What we understand as global capital in the form of neoliberalism, then, is not an event but its reverberations, not a singular instant but an instantiation in the ongoing colonial project by which we make meaning and sense of the world. A structure's continuum is its will toward reiteration and its own demise through the difference generated in the repetitions of translation.

Translation, as it is often stated, is the act of bearing or carrying something (*lāt-*, participial stem of *ferre*) across or through, from one place to another (*trans* as in *trans*it). It is the material structures and socio-economic systems of colonialism, its attendant epistemologies, and the bodies carried across/through – or disappeared by – these structures and systems. For neoliberalism (described throughout this dissertation as a capitalist/colonial set of social relations) to be translated "across cultures / and hemispheres and continents" it must reproduce itself through repetitions of the fact of its structure as that within which we

(who constitute the social) are subjected and, thus, act. With each assertion of neoliberalism's facticity as the logic or reason for acts within its structure is the evidence for its facticity. Said another way, the fact of its being is evidenced by the effects of acts based on the belief of its being fact. Its logic is a closed circuit, able to continue a translatable structure by which we are translated. In other words, neoliberalism is a normative social performative. It is here that the meaning of translation, as an interim in the transit of meaning, depends on the continuity of the structure within which it is translated.[117] As a performative, it is possible to decompose through difference generated in repetition.

Translation, as this *interim in the transit of meaning*, is thus a space for defiance and contestation of a structure's interpellative power – the space between two sense structures where their logics through iteration and reiteration begin to decompose, exposing instead what exceeds the structure. Translation is therefore both a transit of interprellative power and a generative space for self- and social redefinition through the decomposition of meaning in either structure; at either point of departure or arrival. It is in translation that this structural excess is able to intervene in Empire's social and historical memory (as sensible structures by which we interpret the world and from which we act).

Translation is the action which can reveal the continuum, the carrying across and through of "past events" to this present in which both the past and present are also borne, and which also reveals the incompletion of this transportation. Borzutzky writes, "translation is a thing that decides when it is to be done but […] it is never done." It can never be done. And because translation "is never done we are always repositioning ourselves as subjects in the

[117] "If the one who delivers it does not author it, and the one who is marked by it is not described by it, then the workings of interpellative power exceed the subjects constituted by its terms, and the subjects so constituted exceed the interpellation by which they are animated" (Butler 34).

worlds we imagine and the worlds we occupy," there is both loss (a loss of that being prior to the event) and regeneration in the repetitions which attempt to recuperate this loss and in doing so also generate something new and other. Put another way, translation is transit toward a "not yet" which itself emerges from "the worlds we occupy." It is in this way that the diasporic are *horizon*tal subjects. We might think of "the worlds we imagine" as being generated by our "repositioning" through memory of "the worlds we occupy" – a *here* always in relative motion to the horizon.

Translation is, in this sense, the act of taking experience and making sense of it in memory; the act of taking memory and making sense of it in the text; the act of taking sense from a text in one language and making sense of it in another; the act of taking the sense of one repressive, exploitative, and abjectifying social, political, and economic system and making sense of it in another; and simply, as what we do when "we cannot scream" or "interpret the screams of others" (Borzutzky 2015 18). For "What goes unsaid, that which is implied and omitted and censured and suggested, acquires the importance of a scream" (Valenzuela quoted in Gordon 86). The scream is the substitution of language, but also a metaphor that gestures toward language. It expresses the excess of the body not confined by or delimited to language but necessitates language for interpretation. The scream is the expression of the loss of self in the structures of meaning within which we have been interpellated. The scream is the excess of the body that is lost in language and its structures of meaning. Translation as what we do when "we cannot scream" or "interpret the screams of others" is, therefore, and above all, a generative practice of perpetual incompletion. What is lost in the act of translation is generative through the excess of what it creates in an attempt to recover that loss. The body is not made manifest by the scream, but it is made known by the scream. The scream itself is

recognition of the loss and the impetus to translate that loss into the world in which it is disappeared. In this way, translation is both the reiteration for the sake of continuity of the structures of neoliberalism, and disjuncture between the body, the world, and its pre-constituting structures. Translation is the site where the body, the excess of our being-in-the-world as linguistic beings, can transgress and negotiate these structures.

4.4 TRANSLATING LATIN AMERICA

In the "Introduction" to *Translating Latin America: Culture as Text*, Julio Rodríguez-Luiz asserts that "Latin American culture has to be 'translated,' if it is to be understood, especially outside its own environment" (1). And while that is (partially) true in literary terms, it is perhaps more critically accurate to say that to translate Latin America is always to (re)invent Latin America. To (mis)translate Latin American culture is to assert a particular understanding of Latin America and its cultures, and also to either defy or reify Spanish and Portuguese "control and possession" of an entire continent (Mignolo 2). To translate Latin America and its cultures is to be enmeshed in its composition or decomposition as "an invention forged in the process of European colonial history and the consolidation and expansion of the Western world view and institutions" (ibid). What coheres Latin America today is the continuation of these extractive and exploitative colonial projects under neoliberalism and defiance to such projects. While translators of Latin American literature, such as Borzutzky, do make sense of this literature within and as coming from a specific cultural context, the practice of neoliberalism's translation is itself a practice of producing a Latin American cultural understanding from the logics of Empire. For Borzutzky, the act of translation draws upon a diasporic understanding of Latin America, specifically Chile, from a

memorial culture extended beyond Chile through diasporic trajectories upon which one accrues meaning and historical foresight.

In *The American Poetry Review* essay "What the Neoliberal Policy Labs Shit and Eat: Horrific Fables for a Specific Universe," republished in *Memories,* Borzutzky critiques two differing theories of translation; one by David Kirby and another by Mia You. In a review of Jack Schmidt's translation of Raúl Zurita's poetry collection *Antiparaíso (Antiparadise),* Kirby writes that "Perhaps first-hand experience of Chile is necessary before the reader of these poems feels anything close to the translator's reaction to them" (46). Borzutzky reads Kirby's perspective as "one where there is a distinct 'here' (the US) and a distinct 'there' (Chile)," and that "The two do not intersect" (46). Recalling the discussion of Zurita's poetry in Chapter One, and specifically his "Utopias" and "La Vida Nueva" which opens the collection, Kirby's denial of the immediate affective and actual historical reach of Zurita's poems makes little sense. In fact, as elaborated in the second section of the first chapter, "La Vida Nueva" in *escrito en el cielo* was a specific gesture for and toward "Latinos" and those everywhere who live the colonial difference. Borzutzky's essay then pursues a different translational perspective found in a review of Don Mee Choi's translation of Kim Hyesoon's *Sorrowtoothpaste Mirrorcream.* In it, You decries readings of Hyesoon's poetry as representation for understanding Korean culture. Borzutzky, here, approaches Zurita's poetry, and poetry in translation broadly, from the position of the diasporic body – a kind of imaginative geography in itself. He asks us to,

> occupy both positions: […] to position [Zurita] within a given context while also asking us […] to consider the Chilean dictatorship as just another moment in a violent universe whose history does not allow us to distinguish one atrocity from another. For Zurita, then, the Chilean dictatorship sits within a global continuum of international and transhistorical violence. (47-48)

From the diasporic body, therefore, "translation [is] performing a different kind of active unification": the unification of the modes of subjugation translated through institutions, bodies, continents, and across time, with the historical revisioning of those translated bodies (Appendix A). This act of unification is a way of understanding, an epistemological method emerging from this theory of translation. Borzutzky makes the distinction, for example, that to translate neoliberalism through institutions and continents is not "to translate a Chilean experience," but that it "*is* to translate experiences that we are in a continuous cycle of" (ibid). But to distinguish between the two – the translation of the Chilean experience and the translation of the structures which constitute that experience – is perhaps misleading. While translating experience is the fine fragment of ongoing repetitions in the vast complexity of dominance and resistance, it is also that which reveals the "continuum of borderless slaughter" as constitutive of a colonial world order. In other words, translating Chilean experience is inseparable from translating its transnational socio-economic structures, for the two are intertwined. It is also true that to translate the Chilean experience is to reveal it as an instantiation of an ongoing history of colonial subjugation, which we can see playing out not only across the "Chile despertó" movements, but across resistance movements globally. The formation of the subject through institutional and national subjection is entwined with the translation of those forms of subjection across bodies, nations, and institutions. It is Borzutzky's philosophy of translation which allows us to understand, and by doing so, mend, "the broken bodies and the broken nations and the broken institutions that are always breaking us" (*Memories* 18).

Borzutzky's performance of "active unification" is the practice of translation as an act of redefinition, from experience to memory, memory to language, and from memory to action.

This is the interminable process of social and self-redefinition we might think of as *becoming*. Recall philosopher Drucilla Cornell assertion that "the recollection of oneself is always an act which imagines through the remembrance of its own claims of selfhood what can never be fully recollected, but only forever reimagined and re-told" (Hartman 75), and Saidiya Hartman's assertion that "repetition or iterability is what enables 'us to regenerate ourselves through the continuing process of redefinition'" (223).[118] This is to say that translation is always incomplete as is our becoming subjects. Our being "I" is a decision of "when it [this act of translation as redefinition] is to be done," as a present instantiation of an ongoing practice of becoming (*Memories* 18). However, Borzutzky reminds us, this practice "is never done we are always repositioning ourselves as subjects" (18). This repositioning is the work of recollecting ourselves *as* subjects and is an act of repositioning which is generative in that it is done within the tense space of translation and transit between "the worlds we imagine and the worlds we occupy" (18). The body as the site of translation makes it the site of repetitions of memory, between experience and the recollected, "because we can't really tell the difference between those worlds we engage in translation as a primal force that comes before everything else" – which is to say, the body as the site of translation makes it an unfixed ontological site (18).

Borzutzky describes this repositioning and practice of subjectivity specifically as the act of translation. He writes that "We like to use the rhetoric of how translation is something that makes the world a bit smaller, but we don't really want to see translation through the lens of transnationalism, where the work in translation can dialogue with, can critique, can shed light on, several national identities at once" (48). It is "translation through the lens of

[118] We might recall Raúl Zurita's "autobiography" "Del Mein Kampf de Raúl Zurita" where he speaks to us "como uno repetido" (as a repeated one) (14).

transnationalism" that allows for this repositioning, in Borzutzky's case, of the diasporic body as in transit and translation, as the space of *interculturalidad* (see penultimate section). In terms of national subjectivities, this practice of translation allows for the simultaneous co-presence of "several national identities" and their intersecting and complex lives and histories. Translation, thus, is not only a fundamental practice for the continuation and sustenance of diasporic memory, a memory that carries identity across nation, ocean, and continent with/in and through the body, but is the practice which can sustain that generative practice through its tension with imperialist strictures of national identity.

This tension is tangible in what we might consider Borzutzky's "translational intent" after friend and fellow poet and translator Don Mee Choi, who has greatly informed his thinking about translation. The epigraph to Borzutzky's essay comes from a talk, "Freely Frayed, ㅋ=q, Race=Nation," that Choi published in a pamphlet series by Wave Books in 2014.[119] The talk both repositions and redefines the poet transnationally through her translation of fellow Korean poet Kim Hyesoon. Choi writes, "My translational intent has nothing to do with personal growth, intellectual exercise, or cultural exchange, which implies an equal standing of some sort. South Korea and the U.S. are not equal. I am not transnationally equal. My intent is to expose what a neocolony is, what it does to its own, what it eats and shits. Kim Hyesoon's poetry reveals this, and this is why I translate her work." Translation of poetry, in the terms set out by Choi, is able to reveal the unequal ground created through colonialism and its continuation through unequal transnational social, political, and economic relations. It also exposes "what a neocolony is, what it does to its own, what it eats and shits." In other words,

[119] ㅋ is the Korean symbol for "k," but is also text-speak for laughter, i.e. ㅋㅋㅋㅋ (kkkkk), and can be translated as "lol."

poetic translation can carry over an ontology in the form of the body. In the words of Aimé Césaire quoted in the last chapter, poetry is able to express "experiences as a whole."

Let us take an example from Choi's essay. Choi describes interpreting for a woman at a shelter downstairs from where she works. She learns not just about the "events' of the woman's history, her movement from South Korea to Los Angeles, to the streets of Seattle, but of her experience as a whole – her interior world. This experience is what reveals the eating and shitting of the neocolony and simultaneously opens a space for the cultivation of this woman's affective and embodied memorial sense of her being and subjectivity. Choi writes, "She is not certain if she has ever been arrested. […] Whenever she decides to do something, the people who follow orders prevent her from doing what she wants to do. She says they have no basic knowledge of being human. She says they are capable of doing something harmful" (Nakayasu 11-12). One might imagine that "the people who follow orders" are the police, and if we are of particular socio-economic and racial groups one might say the police are doing their job, keeping order and upholding the law. But the woman, through Choi's interpretation by which she translates her experience, *carries through* the knowledge that "the people […] [have] no basic knowledge of being human." She is not certain if she has ever been arrested because she has not successfully been interpellated by the hailing of the U.S. military police state. What is carried across/through translation is a different understanding of what it means to "be human" and what the "human" is.

4.5 NEOLIBERALISM AND THE MAKING OF THE HUMAN

> "I think the notion of trying to unify Chile and Chicago [through translation] is a way of understanding my shared relationship to those two places and a kind of identity. […] I don't want to use words like authenticity or anything like that, but it allowed me a certain kind of contact – which is an outsider's contact, still coming from the position of outside – but it allowed me to recognize that there are plenty of other people who feel like they both do and do not have national identities or have multiple national identities and don't know how to think about them" (Appendix A).

In the poem, "Where are you now? (Chicago/Havana, January 2104)," Borzutzky asks a rhetorical question that cannot be asked without identifying oneself within Empire's logics of national identity and therefore must be stated: "I am in another land or am I in my own land, having a translational encounter in an office dedicated to the processing of immigrants" (29). The diasporic body finds itself and the world in this translational encounter where centering other bodies and memories also reveals other historical contexts within which the signifying material is reperformed, made different in repetition, and thus resignified. Through this translational encounter the bounds of an ethno-racial category such as "Latino" as tied to "another land or […] my own land" become non-sensible: "There is slaughter everywhere, and the shame and guilt and horror of militaristic, neoliberal violence transcend the imaginary boundaries of nation-states" (41). And with this transcendence a space is made for an/other constitution of self and world. This process of self- and social redefinition is forced by the necessity for translation in the face of the impossibility of adequate representation within Modernity's distribution of the sensible and capitalist logics of Empire. Such categories are delimited in order to sustain the colonial ethno-racial categories necessary for the maintenance of socio-economic and political stratification instantiated under the *ur* racial regime of colonial American capital: "Which is to say that like a good theoretical objectified body, my identity was created not by me but by the various desires and beliefs of those around me" (39).

Ultimately, what Borzutzky's philosophy of translation enables is a deeper understanding of Empire's constitution of Man as the order of human established under colonialism and slavery. The constitution of Man in this intensified state of racial capital we know as neoliberalism was developed through understandings of the body translated by the logics of capital, where the value of Man is always and only generated through the making of human as capital, or the "theoretical objectified body." For Man to exist – the white, cis-male, heteronormative capitalist – all "others" must be positioned and constituted as its negative. In the logic of the market, this negative is simultaneously the ontological and economic value of the body as potential capital. For the new Man of neoliberal capital to exist, all "others" must be a resource of capital within a necropolitical regime: coerced into competition for survival, extracted for the generation of capital, then destroyed; or destroyed for the generation of capital. The "other" is repeated in a vast, representative stratification that remains precarious and vulnerable, but which can also increase its value to capital through the extraction and destruction of "others." However, this stratification, as so concisely elaborated by Aníbal Quijano and Sylvia Wynter, is at its organizational foundation the reification of a racial order begun with the interlinked colonialism and slavery: "Which is to say that whatever the hell this thing is called […] 'Latino,' when it gets into the mouths and minds of the other, it becomes a shit storm of people telling you what you are and what you aren't" (35).

This space of identity translation might be understood in terms of what decolonial scholar Catherine Walsh describes as *interculturalidad:* "Un espacio de negociación y de traducción en donde las desigualdades sociales, económicas y políticas, y las relaciones y los conflictos de poder de la sociedad no se mantienen ocultos, sino que se los reconoce y se los confronta" ["A space for negotiation and translation where the social, economic and political

inequalities, and the relations and conflicts of power of society are not kept hidden, but are recognized and confronted"] (2013 289).[120] While interculturalidad is a space for negotiation and translation, it is also a (re)constructive practice. Walsh writes, "interculturalidad es central a la (re)construcción de un pensamiento crítico-otro —un pensamiento crítico de/desde otro modo" (interculturality is central to the (re) construction of an/other critical thinking – a critical thinking of / from another way) (2005: 25). And likewise, Borzutzky's poetry is not only the space for the recognition and confrontation of the violent historical continuum of colonial power "across cultures / and hemispheres and continents" as told by "a person with Chilean roots / living in Chicago," but for their translation and negotiation through a critique of ethno-racial identities as separable from transnational neoliberal ideology as the height of colonial capitalist expansion.

[120] The diasporic body is in an identificatory borderland that shares characteristics with what Catherine Walsh might call the space of interculturalidad. Walsh writes of interculturalidad: "El concepto de interculturalidad es central a la (re)construcción de un pensamiento crítico-otro —un pensamiento crítico de/desde otro modo— precisamente por tres razones principales: primero porque está concebido y pensado, vivido y pensado desde la experiencia vivida de la colonialidad, es decir, desde el movimiento indígena; segundo, porque refleja un pensamiento no basado en los legados eurocéntricos o de la modernidad, y tercero porque tiene su origen en el sur, dando así una vuelta a la geopolítica dominante del conocimiento que ha tenido su centro en el norte global. (2005: 25) ["The concept of interculturality is central to the (re) construction of an/other critical thinking – a critical thinking of / from another way – precisely for three main reasons: first, because it is conceived and thought, lived and thought from the lived experience of coloniality, that is, from the indigenous movement; second, because it reflects a thought not based on Eurocentric legacies or modernity, and third, because it has its origin in the South, and thus turning over the dominant geopolitics of knowledge that has had its center in the global north." Although for Borzutzky this space does not emerge from the indigenous movement, intercultalidad and its effects do not exclude the diasporic experience. In a footnote directly following the first point Walsh writes: "Eso no es delimitar la proyección de la interculturalidad al movimiento indígena sino más bien reconocer que ha sido este movimiento el que, en el contexto ecuatoriano, ha venido dando a la interculturalidad sentido específicamente ideológico y político" (Walsh 2005: 25) [This is not to delimit the impact of interculturality to the indigenous movement but rather to recognize that this movement has been the one that, in the Ecuadorian context, has been giving interculturality a specifically ideological and political sense].

4.6 CONCLUSION BY WAY OF A DOCUMENTARY POETICS

In my interview with Daniel Borzutzky, he told me that although his poetry is not "a documentary poetics the way it is normally understood, [he is] interested in doing a kind of documentation that is overperforming the realities of itself in a certain way" (Appendix A). His poetry is the overperformance of the documentation of reality, the kind of narrative in-completion of the diasporic body that allows for a decolonial translation of the translations of neoliberalism "across cultures / and hemispheres and continents." Although Borzutzky's poetry is surely emerging from the translation of experience between Chile and Chicago, between a Chilean subjectivity and an American subjectivity, it is intertwined with the continuums of colonial violence networked across these cultures, hemispheres, and continents.[121] In a way, this chapter has been an attempt at "overperforming the realities of" Borzutzky's overperformance of documentation with the hope of generating a difference in how we understand translation, and the body as a site of translation – both for generative, decolonial difference and for the continuation of imperial necropower. I hope this chapter complicates the long history of Translation Studies which concerns itself with "loss" in the process of cultural translation, by arguing that it is through what is lost in translation that culture is created, both by an epistemic colonial conjuring and an embodied transference of knowledge. The generative space of loss in translation allows for the redefinition of the self and the social, and specifically of the expansion and singular-plurality of Latinx identities within and beyond the categorical limits of Latin America (Nancy).

[121] As we have explored in previous chapters, this constellatory thinking that allows one to see colonial violence as a continuum is also key to making other, new, nodes of affinity by which we can expand the limits of Latinidades.

4.6.1 CODA

The economic policies that so shaped the Chilean state's social organization and constituted its national identity were formed in Chicago and translated by Chilean economists under Pinochet's dictatorship. Neoliberalism's wholesale implementation under such a violent authoritarian regime allowed for its expedient integration into all aspects of Chilean life. As with colonialism, described in the Introduction as a virus carried through bodies across countries and continents, so neoliberalism, as part of the continuum of the imperial logics of colonialism, was translated. Daniel Borzutzky writes about this translation in *Memories of My Overdevelopment*:

> the neoliberal austerity measures
> developed by Milton Friedman
> and the economists known as the Chicago Boys
> from the University of Chicago
> and tested out in Chile
> are now being implemented,
> Chilean-style
> in Chicago
> a movement
> a continuum
> from Chicago to Chile and back to Chicago again
>
> a thesis:
> Chicago has itself become a province of Chile
> Chicago is a Chilean city

And this "movement" of "Chilean-style" "neoliberal austerity measures" could be said to have traveled from Chicago to Chile and back to the U.S., U.K., E.U., and all the Euro-American colonies past and present through the tentacles of empire. What is happening is Chile in terms of the economic sociality and necro-political structures of neoliberalism is a version of our rapidly approaching future. Both Chile's neoliberal structural oppressions and myriad forms of resistance and expansions of livable space are thus critical. Although this dissertation has

focused on the "expansion of livable space" (CADA) that is often attendant to more recognizable and direct forms of resistance, we should be smart enough to not just learn from *¡Chile despertó!* and its dictatorship-period precursors, but to immediately take to the streets as they have.

CONCLUSION: RETHINKING RESISTANCE IN *¡CHILE DESPERTÓ!*

The ongoing "2019-2020 Chilean Protests," or what is often called *¡Chile despertó!* (Chile awoke!), have revealed the intensification of socio-economic inequities since the implementation and constitutionalizing of neoliberal policies under the violent dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. But the immediate and wholesale implementation of such economic schemes required this authoritarian transformation of social life and modes of relation. This transformation was provided by an ongoing state of exception and obfuscation of the state's continuing history of indigenous dispossession and subjugation of Black peoples, women, the political Left, immigrants, and "others." The apparent economic effects of the massive privatization of education, health, industry, land and water, and the decimation of all social systems (including the *Sistema Previsional*, or pension system) have been called "The Chilean Miracle" by Western capitalist nations such as the United States and the United Kingdom.[122] These "developed" nations have slowly implemented such policies based on the "Chilean experiment," which means, as stated above, that we can learn a lot from the current mobilizations in Chile. The 2019-2020 protests – which we should consider a continuation of CADA and CADA style art actions under dictatorship – the 1989 national plebiscite and constitutional reforms, the 2006 student protests, and 2017's "No + AFP" [123] (*Administradoras*

[122] We can also feel the effects of the intensified neoliberal project in the United States in this time of quarantine, with the ineffective and deadly turn toward private and competitive industry to attend to the deadly coronavirus rather than a transcontinental effort funded by governments for the social welfare of the people they claim to represent.

[123] No+ was a graffiti action meant to engage the participation of the public to fill in that of which they wanted "no more." It was started by the multidisciplinary Chilean Art Activist group CADA (Colectivo Acciónes de Arte) and became a movement that is practiced to this day across the Americas and beyond. When I was in Uruguay in the winter of 2015 I saw "NO+" freshly spray-painted on walls across Montevideo. When I was in Paris in 2004, Euskadi in 2004 and

de Fondos de Pensiones or private pension funds), have revealed to an international public the myriad detrimental results of such policies for the majority of Chileans, with the indigenous (Mapuche), women, and afrodescendientes/Black peoples being most effected.

Although most international news sources identify the call for a popular rewriting of the 1980 constitution the ultimate goal of *¡Chile despertó!* (the barometer of "effectivity" for these protests), the specificities of the various, simultaneous, protests vary. From students jumping turnstiles because of public transportation hikes, Las Tesis international choreography "el vialador eres tú" which speaks to a global audience of women violated every day by the continuous colonial patriarchy, and transnational protests on the anniversary of the murder of Mapuche activist Camilo Catrillanca by *los milicos* (intentionally derogatory term for the military/militarized police), Chilean socio-political life is a palimpsest of struggles against what Aníbal Quijano calls the "coloniality of power." But is protest effective against the ongoing actions and effects of Euro-American coloniality and its maintenance in and by this neoliberal postcolony? And, to reiterate the question asked in the Introduction, what does effective resistance look like in our present political economy and what are its aims?

2011, Mexico in 2007 and 2012, I saw "NO+" freshly spray-painted on walls. It has even emerged in contemporary African literature. Namwali Serpell's amazing 2019 novel *The Old Drift* refers to CADA and their art actions through a performance of memory. The protagonist, Matha, sees a typo on the road – SOTP instead of STOP – disrupting the flow of she and Joseph's car, and thoughts: "The typo in the road had winkled it out of her memory, where she had stored it years ago for an art history course called 'Tricontinental: Art in the Third World'. She explained to Joseph how, in 1979, the Colectivo Acciones de Arte in Chile had staged a protest against Pinochet by turning the dashed lines in the roads into crosses. 'They taped horizontal lines across them, turning those minuses into plusses. In one installation, they wrote no next to each one so it read no mas. No more'" (562). Matha, is referring to Lotti Rosenfeld's radical, disruptive action in the center of Santiago.
Afrodecendientes continues to be used to refer to peoples of African descent in Latin America, although some scholars and activist call for the use of terms like "Black" or "Negro" in order to align with a global conception of blackness and delink with state racial categories.

As has been seen throughout this dissertation, if we consider protest to be effective or successful only when it accomplishes policy change or shapes legal regulations, we miss what exceeds these actions' relation to a particular regulation or oppression. That is to say, we miss the space opened for the very possibility of resistance itself. Perhaps what is most effective is not the ends of shaping regulations but creating the conditions for living beyond those conditions and enable these ends (which make potential something like policy change). While such utopian ideality is always precarious under the perpetual global state of exception in which we survive, the space opened up for living, for other ways of knowing and doing, are imperative in a practice of decolonization. The practice of decolonization – continued action of unlearning, relearning, and doing – is crucial for effective resistance. It is the Indigenous movements in Chile, and all over the Americas (from Abya Yala to Turtle Island), which are often the site for imagining an/other genealogy for locating the present in which we act toward and make possible an/other future.

Let us consider the ongoing Mapuche struggles for sovereignty and self-determination as an example of what exceeds the policy orientation of recent Chilean protests. Although state recognition of the Mapuche would allow for shifting land and social welfare policies for the Mapuche, some non-Mapuche protesters describe their support for the Mapuche as a call for governmental recognition of "all Chileans." Such a call is a colonial gesture of incorporation with the effect of continued dispossession for capitalist extraction from Mapuche lands, which, as discussed in the second chapter, was made law during dictatorship by Decree-Law 2568. But by making central to the protests a social organization around Mapuche freedom struggles, a space for revealing Chilean colonial history as the basis for current neoliberalism is opened.

This is the excess of resistance that makes potential the space for contestation and decolonial actions of unlearning, relearning, and doing.

Take, for example, the surfacing of the wenufoye flag in all of the above-mentioned protests. In what is now an iconic photo from *¡Chile despertó!*, the wenufoye towers over the top of a pyramid of protesters in plaza Baquedano,[124] obscuring the monument of General Manuel Baquedano who fought in the genocidal "wars of Araucanía" and was the founder of Chile's Military Academy. The temporal palimpsest in the photo reveals the continuum of colonial oppression from Spanish colonization, to the indigenous genocides of an independent Chile, to contemporary state violence against the Mapuche. This sociality (the wenufoye as the visible, organizing center) that recognizes the centrality of indigenous movements to imagining and implementing an/other socio-political organization, I argue, is what makes effective change (such as the popular rewriting of the constitution) potential. To incorporate the flag solely as suggestive of government contestation is to continue Mapuche dispossession. Further, the white flag-bearers appropriation of the wenufoye is a performative evacuation of the flag's representation of ongoing Mapuche resistance and struggle.

Decolonial practices must maintain the centrality of indigenous peoples, *afrodescendientes*, and women not only to effect an/other social organization, but to make the space for its very possibility. By organizing around the "Chilean nation" as it is presently constituted, without recognition of Mapuche sovereignty, the rewriting of the constitution

[124] Also known as Plaza Italia and Plaza Colón after Christopher Columbus, the plaza has a long history of territorial possession and public protest. Prior to 1875 the Mapocho river forked on its long journey from the Andes to the ocean. In fact, Mapocho (mapu chuco) is mupudugun for "water that penetrates the land" and was one of the main reasons the Spanish colonizers chose to settle Santiago in this location. This history of denomination is important in that it is representative of a long colonial territorial taxonomy that indexically constitutes the place of the Plaza today.

would result in the maintenance of the socio-political status quo. The deeply entrenched historical precedent for such an exclusionary status quo can be seen in the televised statement from Santiago army headquarters by billionaire President Sebastián Piñera, justifying the deployment of a militarized state apparatus against the "enemy" of its own people: "We are at war against a powerful enemy, who is willing to use violence without any limits." The general shock of such a statement, both within Chile and through much of the international press, was due to the statement's resonance with the Pinochet/Kissinger era rhetoric of an internal enemy that absorbed all political opposition into "extremists" and a "Marxist cancer" that needed excised and destroyed.[125] We have seen such fascist rhetoric be catalyst for violence against the indigenous, women, and the Left throughout this dissertation. Piñera's statement, like all such authoritarian statements (think Donald Trump's myriad anti-Muslim / Mexican / immigrant / women / queer / Black statements), identified the narrow parameters for the proper Chilean citizen to the exclusion of those whose dispossession made this "proper Chilean citizen" possible.[126]

Thus, what emerges with the rising of the Mapuche flag as central to contemporary Chilean protests is the potential reversal of this administrative genocide that is being made possible through the conflation of political opposition as the "enemy," and made necessary

[125] Although the protests on the streets across Chile (but specifically in Plaza Italia in Santiago) have ceased, as of April 7th, 2020, in the global pandemic of COVID-19, Chilean governmental abuses and displays of power continue. On April 3rd, 2020 Sebastian Piñera posed on the plinth of the Baquedano statue in a quarantined Plaza Italia, devoid of protesters, a move many considered purposefully divisive (See Reuters article of April 3, "Chile's president sparks outrage with visit to quarantined protest square").

[126] French philosopher Jacques Rancière calls this contradictory universalism that is counted for political purpose but is not represented "the part with no part" (35). See Jacques Rancière. *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. Translated by Steven Corcoran. London; Oxford; New York; New Delhi; Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

through the continuation of privatization and extractive capital under neoliberalism. Through a decolonial practice that maintains the centrality of the Mapuche (and thus all those most vulnerable: women, afrodecendientes), new modes of affinity and identity will be cultivated. It is through this other social organization within protest that makes such forms of resistance effective, and the real change of a new constitution by the Chilean plebiscite of 26 April 2020 potential.

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APPENDIX A: "SILENCE MIGHT HAVE ITS OWN SIGNIFICANCE" AN INTERVIEW WITH DANIEL BORZUTZKY[127]

On March 2, 2019, I interviewed Chilean-American poet and translator Daniel Borzutzky at a small café on the North Side of Chicago. Borzutzky has published five books of poetry, including *Memories of My Overdevelopment*[128] (2015) (which is discussed at length below), the National Book Award winning collection *The Performance of Becoming Human* (2016), and most recently, *Lake Michigan* (2018). He has also published translations of poetry collections by Huilliche-Mapuche poet Jaime Luis Huenún, and Chilean poet Galo Ghigliotto. In addition to a published interview with Raúl Zurita, Borzutzky has published translations of two of Zurita's poetry collections: *Canto a su amor desaparecido* (1985) (*Songs for his Disappeared Love* (2010)) and *El país de tablas* (2006) (*The Country of Planks* (2015)). Borzutzky teaches creative writing and Latin American and Latino literature as an Assistant Professor with a joint appointment in the departments of English and Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

[127] This interview was published in the journal *A contracorriente: una revista de estudios latinoamericanos,* Vol 17 No 1 (2019): Fall 2019. It has been edited for readability.
[128] Borzutzky's title is a play on Cuban filmmaker Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's 1968 film *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (Memories of Underdevelopment), based on the 1965 novel of the same name by Edmundo Desnoes. The film uses an interior narrative from the decidedly ambivalent perspective of a white bourgeois Cuban who remains in Cuba after his family emigrates to the U.S. after the Bay of Pigs Invasion, questioning the efficacy of the Revolution. Borzutzky's collection interrogates Chilean and United States-ian neoliberalism, and thus the title's change from "underdevelopment" to "overdevelopment", which signals a shift in the perspective of critique. The title critiques the neoliberal project's overdevelopment of Latin American countries toward a technological modernity according to an imperial notion of progress (as development). Borzutzky's book elaborates the imposition of a neoliberal capitalist paradigm that reads the decimation of local lands, peoples, and cultures for the sake of extractive capital and capitalist accretion as the very project of development itself.

As the poet Raúl Zurita, often cited in lists of Chile's great poets, is referenced multiple times in this interview, I here offer a very brief introduction. Raúl Zurita (1950 –) is one of the most acclaimed poets who has written in response to the Chilean dictatorship, and is himself a victim of its detainment and torture. His work, which spans from just before the violent coup of 1973 to the present, is always a generative transformation of the traumas of the Chilean dictatorship and attempts to understand this trauma in relation to other state-sponsored violence of the twentieth century around the world.

Madarieta: I wanted to start with talking about translation, which is a big aspect of your work. Not just the translation from one language to another, translation of a poem into another language, but as you talk a lot about in *Memories of My Overdevelopment*, a translation of socio-economic systems, and of violence from one geopolitical location to another. For example, in your book you say that "to translate Chile is to translate Chicago" and, that "neoliberalism translates across cultures and hemispheres and continents." You invoke translation as a practice that can cognitively translate these continuous orders of neoliberalism, colonialism, and state violence.

I want to read the last stanza of your poem "murmur #1": "which brings us back to / translation, which all too often is talked about / as merely a problem of aesthetics / and not as a problem of politics / economics or violence / not as a problem of how to expose / and translate / the eternal translation / of the hollow wretchedness of / the devouring economies / of the borderless horrors / of nations" (14).

It feels like you're saying that translation is something that will help us understand these continuous horrors across borderless nations.

Borzutzky: To start with the end there, I think the most direct way to think about those lines is to think about translation as performing a different kind of active unification. Scholars love to talk about translation in very metaphorical ways that are mainly linguistic and symbolic. There are two parts to that. The linguistic part makes translation a technical exercise. The symbolic part is the talk, the theorizing and nodding to translation that has mostly not been supported by the academy. The amount of books that are published in translation and the recognition translators get in the academy is little. That was one way of trying to think of a different conception of translation as more directly related to the work that I was doing with Chile.

As I talk about in *Memories of my Overdevelopment*, my translating of *The Country of Planks* by Zurita coincides with these two moments, which began to crystallize this notion of the Chilean-ness of Chicago. In Chile in 2011-2012, there is a year-long teacher and student strike at the primary school, high school and college level. And they're essentially protesting the privatization of the education system in Chile, which, under Pinochet, was decimated.

Chile has something like over 70% of school age students who go to private schools. Everybody receives a voucher from the state in order to pay for schooling. Often the voucher isn't enough to send the child to a good school so people end up going way into debt just to go, not just to college, but to high

school. And at the same time, the Chicago Teachers Union (CU) was going on strike for the first time in 27 years. And if we take race out of the equation, the issues were very, very similar. That same year the mayor of Chicago, Rahm Emanuel closed down 50 public schools, replacing some of them with charter schools. So, Chicago was really at the center of both a mass destruction of the public-school system. That moment in time made me think about the ways in which Chile and Chicago are interrelated.

Famously the Chilean economy under Pinochet was developed at the University of Chicago with the plan of using a military state in order to test out these extreme, extreme measures of privatization. But as the teachers in Chicago were going on strike it occurred to me that the end game wasn't Chile. The end game was Chicago. The end game was to bring it back here and, in many ways, while it was developed here, Chile was a kind of model that was being aspired to. To translate a Chilean *experience* is obviously not the same, and I'm very careful to make that distinction and try not to make that point, but it *is* to translate experiences that we are in a continuous cycle of here, at least economically.

So that was the root of that idea. And then it crystallized in a different way when the reporting about the black site of Homan Square came out and we were learning that the Chicago police department was disappearing people that they arrested.[129] And again, the scale is enormously different than Chile, but there

[129] See the October 19th, 2015 Guardian article "Homan Square revealed: how Chicago police 'disappeared' 7,000 people".

were many cases of torture reported, and there was at least one case of death reported. At Homan Square people are being arrested and not registered, and something else clicked at that moment, too. If in Chile these mass privatization policies were able to take hold, they were able to take hold because of the police state, because of the military state. Everybody was too scared to do anything about it. And I saw a similar idea in Chicago. That the neighborhoods that were being decimated the most, the neighborhoods that were losing the most public services, were also being over-policed and subjected to police violence in extreme ways. And that this policing was a way of making possible, of facilitating these economic privatization policies intended to destroy the public sector.

I began to understand both translation and my own writing in a different way. It allowed me to more easily invoke a kind of transnational idea. An idea that the writing I'm doing is taking place in multiple spaces at the same time.

Madarieta: It makes me think, too, about your translations. For example, of translating Zurita into English. The majority of readers in Chicago would likely be reading Zurita in English and would be able to understand their own circumstances and the situation in Chicago by reading Zurita's writing about the dictatorship, but also understand his transnational conception of this continuous history of violence that you talk about in your own work. It's about how translation is also pedagogical, and insists that we look at Chile as the test site of neoliberalism

and the implementation of an all-out police state in order for this intensification of neoliberal policies as a way of also understanding our own situation.

Borzutzky: Yes, in a couple of different ways. It at least asks you to understand U.S foreign policy, and to think about what it means that we're reading about a Chile that was destroyed with the support and aid of the United States. And then it changes the resonance of that when we begin to think about the long game of Nixon and Kissinger doing this in 1973. They are thinking about economics. They're thinking about the Cold War and they're concerned about the spread of communism. They are setting in place policy ideas that the Right was trying to enact starting in the sixties, and which now are commonplace.

Now we see them in Chicago Democratic positions as well. So, to be clear about it, what I'm actually saying is that the privatization schemes in Chile were being dreamed up both with the University of Chicago but also throughout the sixties by the economist from Virginia, James Buchanan, and the various other networks that were seeking to influence legislation and policy with a very, very long term focus. Part of what I can see now is that that moment in the '70s is really the beginning of a long process of normalizing economic extremes.

Madarieta: It strikes me, the way you talk about this translation between Chile and Chicago. It seems that Chicago is kind of a metonym for the United States inasmuch as Santiago is a metonym for Chile as a whole.

Borzutzky: Because the Chicago Democratic Party has no competition, they have historically had no incentive to appease labor unions and other traditionally Democrat constituencies. And, because they did not need to compete with anybody you have the situation at the beginning of the '60s with elder Mayor Daley, where in Chicago the machine can, economically speaking, get away with much more. Because the Democrats did not have any competition they could go as far Right as they wanted.

So, in that way, especially with the privatization of public schooling, Chicago does become something like a metonym for the rest of the country. Because they're able to do it in a more extreme way. Because there's not a Democratic party that is going to question it. Chicago politics is shifting now, and it certainly shifted after the Chicago Teachers Union strike in 2012.

Madarieta: That makes me think that this translation between Chile and Chicago, or Chile and the United States, could also be thought of as just one iteration of other translations and continuums that have unfolded and made possible certain political and economic regimes in the United States through this history of expansive U.S. intervention economically and militarily throughout Latin America over the last 200 years.

Borzutzky: Yeah, and probably into Asia as well. Somebody who's been important to my thinking about translation has been Don Mee Choi, who translates the Korean poet Kim Hyesoon. She has a line about how the purpose of her translations of Kim Hyesoon is to expose the ways in which Korea is a neo-colony. Yes, this

epigraph here which is from Don Mee, says, “My intention is to expose what a neo colony is, does to its own, what it eats and shits. Hyesoon’s poetry reveals all this, and this is why I translate her work.”

Don Mee and I have talked about the parallels between Chile and Korea in that regard as well. But if we shift from talking about economics to talking about disappearance, to talking about a kind of state-inflicted violence upon itself, then I do be begin to see them as part of that same continuum. And you see that in Zurita’s work as well. There was a line in Zurita where Hiroshima is crossing the Chilean mountain-scape. This state-inflicted violence expands outwards.

Madarieta: It makes me think of another line that you say in your acceptance speech for the National Book Award. You say “literature, but poetry specifically, can act as this space for historical memory.” It seems like that in as much as this continuum of violence is borderless so are the connections that are possible within literature and poetry as a site for the workings of this transnational historic memory.

Borzutzky: I think that’s right. I’m certainly not doing a documentary poetics the way it is normally understood, but I am interested in doing a kind of documentation that is overperforming the realities of itself in a certain way. Like I say in *Lake Michigan*, I do feel like I am documenting a moment in the city’s history. But I’m doing it by inserting fiction into it as well, and by thinking about the consequences, or thinking about where the city ends up if its own performance of its own values is taken to its logical ends.

Madarieta: Can you talk about that in relation to your work as a memorial project? Your poetry as a form of historical memory?

Borzutzky: I would say that I'm thinking about memory in each book differently. In *The Performance of Becoming Human* I'm certainly thinking about documenting disappearance. And then the other documentary part of it is the post 2008 economic collapse moment where the destruction of the global economy is being played out in very individual ways. I'm thinking about the consequences for global economics on individual bodies.

Madarieta: That's one of the reasons why your poetry is really important to my project. I think a lot about the dissonance created when you put somebody's embodied experience and memories against national histories or state projects of remembering. There's always this tension that's building and it's like, no, that's not my experience. And wait a second, that's not actually in the past – we say that that happened then, but it hasn't ended has it?

Borzutzky: There's a joke about Chile that the dictatorship ended in 1990 but the transition from the dictatorship is continuous till this day. We might say it's like that because of economics in some ways, because the economic policies of the dictatorship are still very much in place in Chile. And we might also say they are still very much in place in Chicago along with the kind of police state that goes along with that. Maybe that's even worse in Chicago than it is in Chile now.

Madarieta: It appears that way, although with recent news of police murders of Mapuche who are attempting to reclaim, or even just farm their own lands… Maybe not to the same degree as far as the amount of shootings in Chicago.

Borzutzky: But I wonder about the degree of attention that those deaths receive. Maybe because it's happening to the Mapuche, because it's happening so far from the center, it's easy for it to be absorbed or not be noticed.

Madarieta: It makes me wonder about your relationship to Chile and your being Chilean American and growing up in Chicago. I have to think that these resonances are particularly striking because of your own personal embodied experience, your own personal memories of dictatorship.

You ask Zurita in your 2009 interview with him – he was writing the *Songs for His Disappeared Love* in 1985, right in the midst of the Pinochet dictatorship – and you ask, "So I'm curious about what it's like to be an artist and a poet during those years." I wanted to talk to you a little bit about your own early life while the dictatorship was still going in Chile, and your relationship with Chilean identity, being a poet yourself.

Borzutzky: My answer probably won't be all that satisfying, but I actually grew up in Pittsburgh and I've lived in Chicago for the last 20 years. There wasn't much of a Latin American community in Pittsburgh. We maybe knew a few other Chileans, but my parents were not nostalgic for Chile. I'm sure it was extremely difficult for them to uproot their lives when they were in their twenties and start

new lives. But I never got the sense from them that they had an emotional attachment that was equated with missing Chile, or that equated with needing to perform that nostalgia or perform a kind of longing for it in any way.

So, in many ways, I think I was probably remotely aware of the dictatorship. But I certainly became more aware of it when I was a child and would go to Chile and got a very interesting sense of the ways in which the country was very divided because people on my mother's side of the family were very affected by the dictatorship. Actually, people on my father's side as well. But there are also people on my father's side of my family who very much supported the dictatorship and all of these people socialized with each other.

And that was actually what Raúl talks about in that interview a little bit, that you couldn't have a purist position and remain in the country because there was probably no way to have a job or a social life without being in direct contact with people with very different views; with people who supported the dictatorship.

I began to see that a little bit in Chile. It was very shocking to me, because my mother's parents despised Pinochet and my mother's father had worked in the Allende government, and I was much closer to them. From them I heard constant anti-Pinochet messages and it was very surprising to me. I remember this: I was 11 or 12 when I realized that their version of this story was not universal. I came back from a lunch with an uncle on the other side of my family where I had heard all kinds of pro-dictatorship rhetoric. And I remember

asking my anti-Pinochet grandparents about that and it was a moment of revelation where you figure out that the world as you understood it was much more complicated. For example, in the referendum to end the dictatorship the no votes won by 4% or something like that.

But going back to the original question, there wasn't an embodied sense of nostalgia and longing, but there also wasn't a covering up of identity. It was just a different moment in time and place, too. Going to Pittsburgh, a place where there wasn't any kind of a larger exile network or a larger Chilean network, I think you just got on with your life in a certain way. But, at same time, my mother does academic work and writes about Chile. She's remained in touch with Chilean realities, and she writes about the economic effects of the dictatorship. So that is present, but I wouldn't say it was being animated or emphasized in any particular way, which might mean something else too. It just might mean that silence might have its own significance.

Madarieta: It also speaks to the complexity of these political situations. Hearing you talk about what it was like in your own family, some even pro-dictatorship and some vehemently against, it does feel like you couldn't be on one side or the other and actually live and work in Chile. It makes me think about how we're all implicated in these systems of violence here, too. You can talk about how capitalism is destroying our world, but we can also see that politics have different layers in different spaces, and they can coexist at the same time.

I didn't know this family history. So, you were born in the States, but you would go back to Chile. Was this during the dictatorship? Was it post-'85, or...

Borzutzky: I was born in '74 and we went more or less every few years until I was 25 or 30. We visited during the dictatorship. My parents left in 1971, which if you tell a Chilean that, those dates are very coded. The immediate understanding of that would be that they left because of Allende, and that's not actually the case. They had come to study in the U.S. and then ended up staying after the dictatorship happened, but my father's father had in fact worked with Allende to found the Socialist Party and then they'd had a falling out prior to Allende taking office. Over, from what I understand, issues of Zionism. My father's father very much identified as a socialist but didn't support Allende. I mean, I don't know how he would have voted, he was certainly very anti-Pinochet, but there are lots of shades within that whole story, which don't get seen very easily.

Madarieta: I wanted to ask you about your translation work, because all of my experience with your work has been through your own poetry and through your translations of other poets. Specifically, in terms of who you translate and decided to translate and the works that you produce, they seem to be interested in historical memory and are very political.

Borzutzky: I'm actually translating a book by a writer named Paula Ilabaca. It's called *La perla suelta*, which is a very different kind of book. It's certainly a political book, but in a very, very different way, and is much more about gender and the way sexual expectations are performed and forming. It's a much more personal

book than it is one about the public sphere. I don't know what I will translate after that. I'm interested actually in translating writers from countries where we don't get a lot of work from. I think it would be great to translate writers from Central America. There are so few books of poetry being translated that come from countries in Central America. As a future goal that that would be a direction that I want to go in.

I don't know what that says about my relationship to Chile. I mean the relationship to Chile will continue. *The Performance of Becoming Human* is being published in Chile. I'll be going in June when that book launches. I had just finished a draft of my own book called *Written After a Massacre in the Year 2018*, which takes its title from the Coleridge poem "Written During a Temporary Blindness in the Year 1799". I really wanted to finish that book at the end of 2018 as a kind of exorcism of the year 2018. Part of that book was very immediately responding to different horrors of 2018 such as the various border crises, the revelations of children being kept in cages in the desert, as well as the shooting of the synagogue in Pittsburgh where I grew up, at the end of 2018.

Up until *The Performance of Becoming Human* there's been much more of a meta and mediated approach to violence that is happening in the books. Since then the writing is getting sparer and less mediated. I can only understand that as feeling the immediacy of those violences and of death. To put it in very simple terms, it's just feeling closer. Like it's something that I don't have to mediate

anymore because it's literally gone into the neighborhood and in the synagogue that I grew up going to.

Madarieta: That immediacy feels really present in your recent collection *Lake Michigan*.

I have a question of identity, thinking about Latinidades in the United States as you also address in *Memories of My Overdevelopment*. In *Memories of My Overdevelopment* there's an essay talking about your own experience, in college and universities, of racialization. Essentially being Spanish-speaking and colleagues saying "oh, actually Daniel is Chilean..."

Borzutzky: Yeah, in some ways I think the notion of trying to unify Chile and Chicago is a way of understanding my shared relationship to those two places and a kind of identity. That's certainly a part of it. And part of what I was getting at in that essay was that it was something like… I needed a lot of other people to tell me it was okay to call myself Latino before I could do it myself. Because while I grew up speaking Spanish and while I clearly am Latino, I'm not identified that way, one. But two, I felt like I didn't have access to that identity. I didn't have a kind of permission to write about that part of my life.

I came of age writing and translating at the same time and translating sort of allowed me to feel as if I could actually write about Chile in a certain way. Translation allowed me a certain kind of contact – which is an outsider's contact, still coming from the position of outside – but it allowed me to recognize that there are plenty of other people who feel like they both do and do

not have national identities or have multiple national identities and don't know how to think about them.