

## **“Marichiweu”: Performances of Memory and Mapuche Presence in Guillermo Calderón’s *Villa***

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El olvido está lleno de memoria.

—Mario Benedetti.<sup>1</sup>

El consenso es la etapa superior del olvido.

—Tomas Moulián, *Chile actual* (37).

Written above the wall of names of the detained and disappeared during dictatorship at the Chilean memorial Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi 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*,” there is an ongoing tension between forgetting and remembering, and between the desire and inability to forget.<sup>2</sup> 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 to serve an elite a politically and 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.

In this article the term "mnemonic" 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 reflects 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.<sup>3</sup> However, one's lived experiences and culturally specific memorial practices also reveal other significations in their relation to the memorial. 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).

*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 performance of the complexity of the relationship between individual and social memory, the failures and productivity of memorialization, and the sustained tension between the remembered, the elided, and the traumatic inability to forget.<sup>4</sup> Through *Villa*, this article 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 a 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 *Villa*), which revisits the first presidency of Michelle Bachelet.<sup>5</sup>

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” (240). Official state histories and state dictatorship memorials do not attend to such violence, but as we read across the grain in *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 that reveals Mapuche presence in this narrative.<sup>6</sup>

Chilean memorials of the dictatorship often obscure Chile’s internal colonization of the Mapuche in order to assert a mestizo national identity that disappears the Mapuche and allows the state to continue their extractive capitalist projects in Indigenous lands. The concept of European whiteness also eliminates indigeneity through assertions that the national subject is always both (historically) Indigenous and Spanish/European. Whiteness consumes indigeneity and thus denies cultural distinction and the ongoing effects of entrenched colonial racial stratification.<sup>7</sup> 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 precolonial 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 this 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. 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*.<sup>8</sup> Using both Performance Studies and Memory Studies as lenses with which to interrogate Calderón's *Villa*, this article 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.

### **Performances of Memory and "el pasado reciente"**

The PPVG is a "trauma site" and what in Chile is called an *espacio de memorias*. 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 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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 material 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 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 “senador vitalicio” finally ended.<sup>11</sup>

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” (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 "olvidar" and Aylwin's to "look toward the future" 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 omit an intersecting point of the long history of transnational colonial and state violence that resulted in Mapuche genocide.<sup>12</sup> In Chile, this elided point of historical intersection is the history of Mapuche struggles for memory, ontological and political sovereignty, and access to the full rights of 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.<sup>13</sup> 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*, intensified existing inequities across Chilean society, as we see so clearly now with the ongoing and massive *¡Chile despertó!* protests.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 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 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, and the remembering subject's interconnected temporal and spatial engagement 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 and the social, always shifting the landscape of social memory. For the Mapuche who draw upon history and memory that pre-exist the Chilean state *and* Spanish colonization, these memorials signal a longer history of traumatic state violence.

**“Ya. Opción A, un voto. Opción B, un voto. Y un nulo” (10)**

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 at the trauma site Londres 38 espacio de memoria. 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.<sup>16</sup> 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 mestizo or an Indigenous perspective. As we will see, these performances also require us to contend with Chile's historical and contemporary scenes of violence, such as the recent murders of Mapuche activists Matías Catrileo (¡presente!) and Camilo Catrillanca (¡presente!) by the military.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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 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." 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.<sup>19</sup> At the center of the desk in



a clear plastic box is a miniature scale replica 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 was appropriated from the Mapuche flag and emblems worn during the “Araucanian Wars” as reported by the Spaniard Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga 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.<sup>20</sup>

The Alejandras look anxious and ready to be done with the vote. The tension is already present as they shift in their seats and glance 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)

The three Alejandras officially have two choices: 1) rebuild the torture center with great attention to every detail, turning the space into a hyperreal “mansión siniestra,” or 2) build a new contemporary museum replete with art, artifact, and the latest in computer technology (33). However, from this performance of memory emerges a third memorial option: “Marichiweu,” an invocation of the tenfold triumph of the Mapuche.<sup>21</sup> 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 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*) Marichiweu.

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

MACARENA: Sí, pero podrías haber escrito *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. ¿Cómo?

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)

The Chilean national identity, like that of other Latin American nations, is marked by the enduring legacy of colonialism. Chile, like other Latin American nations, must also contend with their 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 19<sup>th</sup> century

saw a series of murderous campaigns by the Chilean state to eliminate them through either genocide or forced integration.<sup>22</sup> 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 extractive capitalist state considers “empty” and “resource-rich” lands, the Mapuche consider identity, history, and memory itself.

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 “nada” with “Marichiweu,” and by equating the evocation of “Marichiweu” with “nulo,” 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.<sup>23</sup> 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 Carla's agreement, that "nulo" could have been written in place of "Marichiweu" on the ballot places the latter in a substitutive relationship with absence. 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 to "defender" each, which involves sustained monologues that occupy a large portion of the second half of the play (19). 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 by extra-legal means, 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) and 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).<sup>24</sup> 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, legal and governmental changes allowed for the rapid institution of neoliberal economic policies despite their effects on the lower classes, specifically the Indigenous. In 1979 the dictatorship eliminated the Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena [IDI] and the Corporación de la Reforma Agraria [CORA], replacing these with the Oficina de Normalización Agraria [ODENA], which sold off CORA assets and initiated the “‘parcellation’ of the land affected by the land reform” (Silva 24).<sup>25</sup> 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, which 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 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 *caravana de muerte* to Mapuche lands at Temuco, declaring, “En la zona de Los Lagos quedan extremistas, por eso he venido para apreciar si hay necesidad de reforzar los efectivos u ordenar otro operativo para exterminarlos” (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.<sup>26</sup> 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* “dejarán de ser consideradas indígenas, ni sus dueños y adjudicatarios propietarios,” because, “Hoy ya no existen mapuches, porque somos todos chilenos.” 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).<sup>27</sup>

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 ballot is "nulo" by the Marichiweu vote, Macarena and Carla try 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."<sup>28</sup> When Carla contests Macarena's assertion that "todo el mundo sabe lo que significa Marichiweu," Macarena revises her statement by saying, "pero Alejandra, cualquier persona más o menos de izquierda sabe lo que significa Marichiweu" (15). 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 "más o menos de izquierda."<sup>29</sup>

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)

Despite the Alejandras' political leanings, the historical elision of the Mapuche struggle continues throughout their debates. This is also apparent in Francisca and Carla's "defensas" 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?" Francisca answers that it is because her mother is Mapuche (67).

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 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 the 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, mestizo national identity that has been cultivated since the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 (68). 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" for the memorial (69).

FRANCISCA: ¿Porque soy rubia?

MACARENA: Sí. (69)

Francisca's blondness could also be the effect of her conception by rape at the hands of a Chilean military official 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 dictatorial 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 of 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 of both Francisca's mother's, and subsequently Francisca's trauma (68).

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" on the rebuilt mansion of her happy bucolic farmstead (65). 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*" (65). 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" (65). And although both Carla and Macarena agree to vote for "una casa feliz," Francisca again votes Marichiweu (64). Here, Francisca explains that Marichiweu means "un homenaje para los que no vivieron"—those tortured and disappeared—and a revolutionary futurity where she would "quedarme mirando la cordillera esperando que baje Luciano en burro" (66).<sup>30</sup> 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" (67).

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 distintos" (67). 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 Mapudugun). 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)

In this sense, Francisca's vote is for a cosmic, dynamic, ecological symbiosis, a memorial that emerges from the Mapuche cosmovision of Kúme Mongen.<sup>31</sup> 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.

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, 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 Chilean people, an “enemigo poderoso.”<sup>33</sup> Emerging from this long history of Mapuche anti- and de-colonial 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.”

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Above the list of the names of *los detenidos desaparecidos* 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 propia 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,” 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” 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*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2013, 57-63; Paola S. Hernández’s “Remapping Memory Discourses: *Villa+Discurso* by Guillermo Calderón.” *South Central Review*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2013, pp. 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*, vol.1, 2013, pp. 1-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Winka*, here, reads not only as non-Indigenous, but also as the mestizo who has inherited the logics of mestizo whiteness and indigenous dispossession.

<sup>7</sup> For more detailed critiques of contemporary and historical regimes of “mestizaje,” see Juliet Hooker’s *Theorizing Race in the Americas: Douglass, Sarmiento, Du Bois, and Vasconcelos*. Oxford University Press, 2019; and Emiko Saldivar’s “Uses and Abuses of Culture: Mestizaje in the Era of Multiculturalism.” *Cultural Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2018, pp. 438-459.

<sup>8</sup> I am thinking here of Saidiya Hartman’s practice of “critical fabulation” as an example of this imagining. My use of *otherwise* is informed by how Judith Butler imagines “becoming otherwise” in *Undoing Gender* (2004) and how Catherine Walsh describes the “decolonial *for*” in *On Decoloniality* (2018). Walsh writes that the ways of being otherwise are “modes that confront, transgress, and undo modernity/coloniality’s hold” (18). Butler shows how becoming otherwise is a process of embodied practices that accomplishes these goals. 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" (29).

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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. Subsequently, during the presidency of Ricardo Lagos in 2004, the site was declared a national historical monument.

<sup>11</sup> 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*. He was sworn into the latter a role on January 27, 1999. He died in December of 2006, at the age of 91.

<sup>12</sup> Forced incorporation, "resettlement" into *reducciones*, 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* (1979).

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> *El Ladrillo* was the name of the study of neoliberal economic theories written by Chilean economists educated 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 Awful Toll"; *Un legado libertad: Milton Friedman en Chile* (2013) by José Piñera and Milton Friedman; *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School of Economics in Chile* (1995) by Juan Gabriel Valdes; *From Pinochet to the 'Third Way': Neoliberalism and Social Transformation in Chile* (2006) by Marcus Taylor; and *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (2007) by Naomi Klein. See also the 2015 documentary film *Chicago Boys* directed by Carola Fuentes and Rafael Valdeavellano.

<sup>15</sup> 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* (2006), and articles by Héctor Nahuelpan Moreno. For further reading on land reform during the *Unidad Popular* years under Allende, see Correa, Martín, et.al. *La Reforma Agraria y Las Tierras Mapuches: Chile 1962-1975*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones, 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Both Londres 38 and the Villa operated as clandestine torture centers. Londres 38 is now an *espacio de memoria* 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 Highway 70, which 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 actresses in this version are Francisca Lewin, Carla Romero, and 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.

<sup>17</sup> ¡Presente! is a way of honoring the Mapuche activist recently murdered by the police. To call attention to their presence, even after their brutal murders, is to call attention to the continuing effect their lives have on present Mapuche movements.

<sup>18</sup> 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 turned DINA informant (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional)—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 sobresaltos de la memoria inconclusa (Chile: 1990-2015)*, "Torments and Obscenities" in *Eruptions of Memory: The Critique of Memory in Chile 1990-2015*.

<sup>19</sup> 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 tenía 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" (Calderón 18). I include this section as a testament to the sustained violent tension drawn between the violence of the dictatorship and the violence of the present.

<sup>20</sup> *Villa* is often followed by Calderón's play *Discurso*, which is a speculative speech to the nation by the "Presidenta de la República (interpretada por tres actrices)" (Calderón 73). 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.

<sup>21</sup> Marichiweu is a word in Mapudugun, the Mapuche language, which translates as "Diez veces venceremos." Mapudugun, translated in English as "Language of the Land," was primarily a spoken language and has since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century been formalized into a written language. Two primary

forms of written Mapudugun exist: Unified and Ragileo. Some Mapuche see Unified as too Hispanicized, although Ragileo is often criticized for being obscure or illogical. Although other variations exist, such as *Mapuzugun*, *Mapuzungun*, and *Mapudnungun*, I use *Mapudungun* throughout this article as it appears to be the favored transcription by Mapuche peoples. For more information on the translation and transcription of Mapudungun, see *Poetry of the Earth: Trilingual Mapuche Anthology* edited by Jaime Luis Huenún Villa and Leslie Ray's *Language of the Land* (10, 17, 26-28).

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> For more on injurious language and naming, see Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech*.

<sup>24</sup> 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 "terroristas" for their continued ecological activism in the face of intensifying national and international extractive capitalist projects.

<sup>25</sup> 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).

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> The minister of agriculture was quoted in *El Diario Austral de Temuco*, Agosto 23, 1978.

<sup>28</sup> "Huevo" literally translates into English as "egg," but colloquially carries the added connotations of "huevón"—"dumbass," "asshole"; or "huevos," "testicles," and so on.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> "Luciano en burro" likely refers to the Marxist leader in the 1960's student movement, and subsequent *mirista* (member of the MIR) Luis Mario "Luciano" Cruz Aguayo.

<sup>31</sup> Often translated as *Buen Vivir*; Kúme Mongen, like other forms of harmonious sociality, emerges from a specific, local Mapuche onto-epistemological ecology.

<sup>32</sup> Also known as Plaza Italia and Plaza Colón after Christopher Columbus, the plaza has a long history of public protest and territorial possession. Prior to 1875, the Mapocho River forked at this location on its long journey from the Andes to the ocean. In fact, Mapocho (mapu chuco) is mupudungun 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.

<sup>33</sup> In a now infamous televised statement from Santiago army headquarters, Piñera stated: "Estamos en guerra contra un enemigo poderoso, implacable, que no respeta a nada ni a nadie, que está dispuesto a usar la violencia y la delincuencia sin ningún límite."

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