

March 21 – May 24, 2019



Feminist occupation of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Santiago de Chile, May 2018

to fabricate docile subjectivities. This feminist insurgency not only shook up the patriarchal architecture of the institutional powers (religious, cultural, social, and political) that had dictated the form taken by the Chilean transition, it also propagated the seeds of a libertarian impulse to collectively experience a world breaking free of its chains. One of the banners that appeared during the May 2018 occupation of Santiago's Pontifical Catholic University of Chile—a university whose School of Economics turned neoliberalism into a dogma—declared: “The Chicago Boys are shaking. The feminist movement endures.” This feminist slogan reminds us that it's never too late for emancipatory impulses to break up a neoliberal hegemony (in this case, that of the Chicago Boys) established more than forty years earlier, and to appeal to a future that can only come about through a heterogeneous cross-linking of various expansive desires for change.

This merging of timelines—past, present, and future—shakes up the narratives of Chilean neoliberalism and keeps the strata of social memory in constant motion, enabling the axes of historical temporality (retrospection and prefiguration) to make surprising maneuvers that have the power to break up the regular, linear sequence of dictatorship–transition–post-transition.

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Related activities

Gallery conversation

by Nelly Richard
March 26 at 7 p.m.
Pre-registration required
20 places available

Seminar

Chile: las operaciones críticas de la memoria, by Nelly Richard
March 25 and 26 at 11 a.m.
Nouvel Building, Study Centre
Pre-registration required
35 places available

Encounter

Cuerpos y memorias de la transición en América Latina y España: lecturas feministas
Roundtable with Maite Garbayo, Ana Longoni, Nelly Richard, and Clara Serra
March 27 at 7 p.m.
Nouvel Building, Auditorium 200
Free entry

For more information and to purchase tickets, please visit our website.

Library opening hours

Monday to Friday
from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.
Except holidays

The exhibition room will be vacated 15 minutes before closing time

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Library and Documentation Centre

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Nouvel Building, Library, Space D

Unfinished Timelines Chile, First Laboratory of Neoliberalism



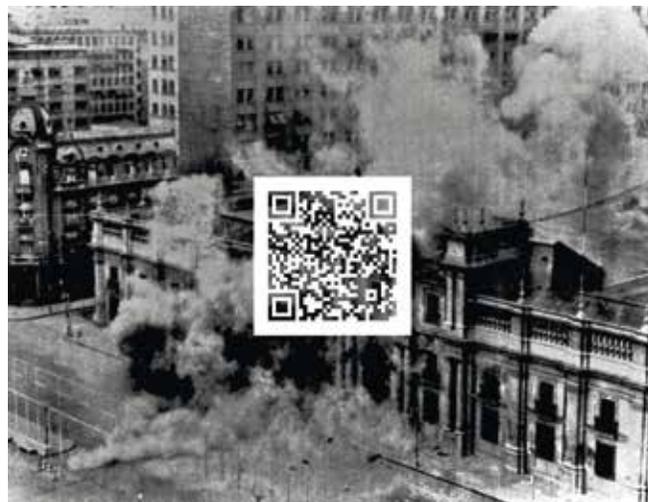
The first group of Chilean students to travel to the University of Chicago in order to study economics under Milton Friedman (1956)

Courtesy of Carlos Massad

In periods of discontent we tend to look both back and ahead in time, in order to decipher whatever it is that was left unresolved in the unfinished past, while also imagining future worlds to be constructed. It's one way of not simply resigning oneself to the idea that the post-historical vision of the neoliberal present leaves every historical conflict resolved.

Starting from this premise, the exhibition *Unfinished Timelines. Chile, First Laboratory of Neoliberalism* looks to memory as a crossroads where different temporal vectors converge, creating the potential to critically reassess the Chilean dictatorship and transition from the point of view of its lines of continuity as well as its leaps and disruptions. The exhibition sets up a dialogue between the works of two contemporary Chilean artists (Patrick Hamilton and Felipe Rivas San Martín) and the feminist student uprisings that took place in the country in May 2018. The unexpected point at which the three meet causes a critical rupture that challenges the fixed story of the dictatorship–transition sequence in Chile.

The 1973 military coup in Chile signaled the end of the historical narrative promoted by the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) party, and the establishment of the seventeen-year dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. In the artist Felipe Rivas San Martín's photographic sequence, the iconic images of the bombardment of the La Moneda palace and the death of Salvador Allende, and the tragic memories they evoke, get intercepted by QR code technology. This technology was developed in the 1990s in order to expedite (Quick Response) the commercial and informational interchanges of a neoliberal system that seeks to operationalize all of the data held within its networks of storage and control. The "high level of damage resistance" coldly calculated by the QR code to guarantee the uninterrupted consumption of information invites us to contrast the injured with the unscathed, making all the more poignant the painful memory of the great number of bodies subjected to military violence. These bodies had to endure all kinds of persecution and torture, damage and mistreatment, only then to have to swallow the military-civilian pact that brought about a controlled democracy in the 1990s, choosing to leave the 1980 constitution, signed by the dictator himself, essentially unaltered. The pictographic insertion of the QR code perforates the historical memory of the Chilean dictatorship and transition, and leads us to question what



Felipe Rivas San Martín, "Bombardment of the La Moneda Palace, September 11, 1973"
Photograph with QR code inserted, 2013

was the greater form of violence—political or economic?—employed in the effort to destroy the community symbols and bonds of the leftist tradition that had been formed around the ideologies of the defeated Unidad Popular government.

Pinochet consolidated his dictatorship by combining state terrorism with the economic "shock doctrine" developed by the Chicago Boys, that group of Chilean economists who, having been prized pupils of Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago, sought to turn Chile into the first laboratory of neoliberalism in the world. Focusing on this idea, the artist Patrick Hamilton breaks down the archives of the foundation of the neoliberal project in Chile in the form of the 1973 book *El Ladrillo* (The Brick), which outlined the key features of the Chilean dictatorship's political economy: the dismantling of the state and the strengthening of the free market, privatization of state-owned enterprises, social security reforms, changes to labor laws, etc. Hamilton sets in motion a process of archaeological memory, excavating history without neglecting to connect the Chilean past with the aggressive return to the Chicago Boys doctrine now being promoted by Jair Bolsonaro's government in Brazil. The red used in his archive images (which plays spectrally with the double meaning of photographic and critical exposure) creates

a chromatic vibration that reminds us of the brutal way in which neoliberalism was imposed onto a devastated Chile. But we also associate red with high temperature, and here it represents the transmission of the energies of solidarity. Dressed up in the colors of the anarcho-syndicalist flag, the object—a brick, the basic material of construction—becomes "refractory" (a word that implies both negativity and tenacious resistance), both to the exploitation of the workforce that crafted it and to the effects of real estate speculation. The physical contortion of this "brick" shows us both sides of a single coin: on the one hand, the expropriation of workers in benefit of corporate profit; and on the other, the combative restitution of revolutionary syndicalism.

The militant left, whose memory has inspired Rivas San Martín's sequence (queered by the subversive twist in its title, *Damage Resistant: Queer Codes*), attained a sense of the heroic and the monumental only by eliminating the complex and varied textures of sexuality and gender from its discourse. Both of these long-suppressed dimensions exploded back into public consciousness during the marches and protests that took place during the Chilean feminist revolution of May 2018. These mobilizations took up the slogan "No + lucro" (No more profit) previously used by the student movement of 2011 to attack both the laws of the market and the neoliberal language employed in order



Patrick Hamilton, *El ladrillo* (The Brick), installation fragment, 2018–2019