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The Convergence of Past and Present Revolutionary His & *Her*stories in *Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda*[1] (1995)[2]

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In May of 2017, renewed interest in the Zapatista movement took hold in Mexico when Nahua healer[3] and practitioner María Jesús de Patricio—also known as Marichuy—was nominated to run as the Presidential Candidate and spokeswoman for the *Congreso Nacional Indígena* (CNI), a coalition of Mexican indigenous groups backed by *El Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN).[4] Although men have almost always been upheld as the leading protagonists of revolutionary change in Mexico, in 2017

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[1] The title of the documentary in French is: *Le Veridique Legende de Sous Comandante Marcos.*

[2] This article does not analyze the figure of Brisac, since she does not appear on screen at any point in time in this film. Like Castillo, Brisac is a filmmaker.

[3] Marichuy founded the Calli Tecolhuacateca Tochan Clinic in 1992, a clinic dedicated to traditional indigenous healing in her hometown of Tuxpan in Jalisco, Mexico.

[4] The eight Zapatista Principles and Practices are listed as the following: "1.) Mandar obedeciendo, 2.) Proponer y No Imponer, 3.) Representar y No Suplantar, 4.) Antipoder Contra Poder, 5.) Convencer y No Vencer, 6.) Todo Para Todos, Nada para Nosotros, 7.) Construir y No Destruir, 8.) Queremos un Mundo donde Quepan muchos Mundos". The Zapatista principles challenge the Western world's notion of power by redefining the way in which power should operate among communities/collectives. In this way, the Zapatistas' philosophy serves as an example of a democratic state for Mexico and for other countries around the globe. Please refer to the EZLNs Principles & Practices worksheet found here: http://www.leadershiplearning.org/system/files/Some%20Zapatista%20Principles%20%2526%20Practices.pdf

Marichuy became a leading voice of the country's indigenous communities, revealing a new "face" to the EZLN's revolutionary collective. Barbara Sostaita notes that Marichuy's presence in Mexico's political arena highlighted the widely held belief among many activists and political leaders,[5] "that indigenous *feminist* political representation is crucial to the nation's healing" (Sostaita 2017, n.pag). In fact, even though Marichuy lacked the signatures necessary to continue on in Mexico's 2018 Presidential elections,[6] her campaign re-centered the country's discussion on the social injustices that indigenous communities continue to face throughout the region.

Much has been written and produced on the EZLN, with a particular focus on the movement's spokespersons; despite the egalitarian forms of communal decision making on which the EZLN and the CNI were founded, the symbolic and political force of the indigenous communities that *El Subcomandante* Marcos and Marichuy came to represent inevitably placed them at the forefront of the Zapatista movement. An important facet of the Zapatista insurgency is the *pasamontañas,* a symbol of collective resistance and unity against the intrusive demands and misfortunes of an ever-changing and increasingly more globalized world. Although Marichuy, a 55-year old woman and traditional healer from Tuxpan, Jalisco does not reside in Zapatista territory and never covers her face with a ski mask, it is important to note that during her campaign, her allegiance to the EZLN was made clear to the public; she was always accompanied by Zapatista members and would regularly use a notebook with the letters 'EZLN' inscribed on it. Although Marichuy is not formally a Zapatista, her social transparency as a leading voice of the CNI and EZLN almost 25 years after the Zapatista's initial uprising, contrasted sharply with the hidden and ever-changing identity of the EZLN's first appointed spokesperson in 1994, *El Subcomandante* Marcos. Marcos was later discovered to be Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, a university-educated mestizo from a middle-class family of furniture traders in Tampico, Mexico. Guillén had arrived in Chiapas in the early 1980s to form part of the Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional (FLN), an insurgency group founded on the more traditional Marxist-Leninist principles characteristic of many of the leftist movements that emerged throughout Latin America during the Cold War era.[7] After taking the name of his murdered comrade, Adelaido Villafranco Contreras (whose *nom de guerre* was "Mario Marcos" at the time of his death in 1983), the Subcommander's successive re-births continued to draw attention to the violence exerted against the EZLN, a movement whose plight for a more democratic and just society for all, continued to be viewed as a threat against the destructive forces of an ever-expanding neoliberal order.

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[5] Although Marichuy has become one of the more public female indigenous leaders in the country, she is not the first. Other prominent indigenous women leaders within the EZLN are Major Ana María and the now-deceased indigenous interlocutor and fighter Comandanta Ramona.

[6] Marichuy faced many perils and hardships in obtaining the 900,000 signatures needed to run as an Independent candidate in Mexico's 2018 Presidential elections. Her campaign highlighted indigenous communities' limited access to the necessary technological devices needed to add their names to support her as Presidential Candidate. For more information on the social and political complexities of Marichuy's candidacy, refer to Emily Corona's article in NACLA, published July 11, 2018. https://nacla.org/news/2018/07/11/marichuy-weaving-resistance-beyond-mexican-elections

Since 1994, Marcos's social identity and responsibilities have undergone various changes. In 2006 he referred to himself as "Delegate Zero" during the 2006 Mexican Presidential race, when he traveled throughout the country for six months engaging with indigenous communities and developing a counter discourse against the 2006 Presidential candidates in an alternate campaign he referred to as "La otra campaña". On May 2nd, 2014, almost 31 years to the day that his comrade "Mario Marcos" was killed, the paramilitary organization El Partido Verde Ecogolista de Mexico (PVEM) attacked a Zapatista school and clinic in the sector of *La Realidad*. Fifteen Zapatistas were injured and one of the school's teachers, José Luis Solís López, was killed.[8] From that moment on, Marcos' new name, Galeano—Solís's *nom de guerre*—instigated Marco's re-birth as Subcommander Galeano, leaving Marcos to be buried underneath his newfound war name.[9]

The evolution of Marcos' identity is an important political facet of the EZLN's most renowned spokesperson; however, this essay focuses on the first year of the Zapatista uprising when the Subcommander still referred to himself as *El Subcomandante* Marcos and his birthname was still unknown to the public. Marcos' attractiveness, combined with his intellect along with the mystery surrounding his personal identity, ignited a sense of awe and intrigue that encouraged his following internationally.[10]

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[7] The FLN was founded by Fernando Yáñez Muñoz in the late 1960s, soon after the Tlatelolco massacre in 1968. He was one of the original six members who established the *foco* in Chiapas in 1983 that transformed into what is now the EZLN. Muñoz is also the person who trained Marcos on guerrilla tactics and warfare (Henck 2007, xix).

[8] Information on the "death" of *Subcomandante Marcos,* was taken from Leonidas Oikonomakis' article: "Subcomandante Marco of the Zapatistas no longer exists: 'We think one of us must die so Galeano can live. So death does not take a life but a name,'" published in *Roar* magazine on May 26, 2014.

[9] Since the beginning of 2013, Subcomandante Moisés, a native Tzetal who worked alongside Marcos since the early 1980s, was appointed as the new leader of the EZLN's insurgent forces.

[10] In a "60 Minutes" interview with Ed Bradley, dated March 13, 1994, Mexican writer and Columnist Guadalupe Loeza talked about the Subcommander's physical attributes and their

Despite the EZLN's objective to avoid any type of protagonism within the movement, his formal education, along with the eloquence he displayed in his native Spanish, positioned him as a central figure of the Zapatistas. Nonetheless, he himself notes that despite his use of the ski-mask, his persona became "tan individualizado o más individualizado como si no tuviera pasamontañas" (*Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* 1995).

A lesser-known film documentary on the EZLN, produced one year after the Zapatista uprising, *Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* (1995), draws on the history and hidden identity of *El Subcomandante* Marcos, while it also affords the viewer a vision of the convergence between past and present revolutionary his and herstories from the realm of male and female militant subjectivities. Narrator and French-Chilean filmmaker Carmen Castillo's indirect allusions to her own story as a militant of Chile's El Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) during Augusto Pinochet's regime, serves as a guiding force throughout her narration of *Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* (1995). Castillo's documentary film is as much a production on resistance in Chiapas as it is a cultural archive that channels the reconstitution of Castillo's sociopolitical identity for the militant and then-emerging filmmaker. Although Castillo's first published work in French in 1980 and her later film productions produced in the 2000s draw on her personal life story,[11] Castillo's earlier documentary films such as *Subcomandante Marcos— La verdadera leyenda* reflect another aspect of her healing process as a victim-survivor of Chile's dictatorial regime. The focus of this paper situates Castillo's act of remembrance and "re-*cognition*" in this documentary film, as the working onto, instead of the "working through,"[12] of traumatic material in which she re-signifies important times, dates, locations and political actors associated with her own life story.

Whereas remembrance "has to do with establishing relatedness between units of stored information as a mental activity," "re-*cognition*," according to scholar Vaidehi

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influence on the Zapatista movement: "Even with his mask, he's very good-looking, he has lovely eyes, he has very nice hands and he has a very nice voice, and he writes very well…A lot of Mexican women dream about him, but they don't tell that to their husbands because they will be so, so mad." In the preceding interview with Political Science Professor Federico Estévez, Estévez also affirmed that the Subcommander was viewed as a sex symbol but also as "a politician who made a difference."

[11] Refer to Castillo's published testimonials: *París-Santiago. El vuelo de la memoria* (2003) a testimony published along with her mother, writer Mónica Echeverría, and *Un día de octubre en Santiago* (1999), published first in French in 1980 as: *Un Jour d' Octubre À Santiago*, along with her documentary film piece about her life story in *Calle Santa Fe* (2007).

[12] In Elizabeth Jelin's book *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* (2003), Jelin discusses the importance for survivors of dictatorial regimes to "work through traumatic material to confront difficulties and pain" (Jelin 2003, xvii).

Ramanathan, "starts to happen when in the process of recall, the person with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is able to engage first in the memory process of zooming in on an event and isolating it as the pivotal start of emotional distress, and then gradually over time is able to re-interpret, to *re-cognize* this event" (Ramanathan 2015, 260). In her analysis of 80 online PTSD blog accounts, Ramanathan argues that repetition is an important component of traumatic accounts that ultimately force survivors to "re-cognize(re-interpret) key focal points in traumatic events during a process of (written) recall…" (Ramanathan 2015, 259). Nevertheless, traumatic material is almost never immediately integrated into written/verbal personal narratives. Bessen A. Van der Kolk and Rita Fisler's[13] studies on the brain and body show that memories are physical and expressed through "feeling states" that are activated and "acted out" before survivors are able to verbalize their experiences (van der Kolk & Fisler 1995, 525). For Elizabeth Jelin, memory is a type of labor that "generates and transforms the social world;" for many former political prisoners, traumatic memory is produced through acts of repetition that are "worked through" that then manifest themselves through public action/protest, literature and or art (Jelin 2003, 5). As is seen with Argentina's Madres de La Plaza de Mayo, the mothers of the disappeared channeled their collective pain against the government in public spaces that culminated in what Diana Taylor terms, evolved into a "performance of motherhood" (Taylor 1997, 206) The mothers' protests became a type of "acting out" against the forgotten, in which their public interventions denounced the human rights atrocities carried out against leftist militants during and after Argentina's dictatorial regime (194). According to Taylor, "Trauma, by nature, is performatic. Before it can be talked about, trauma manifests itself as an acting out in both the individual and the social body… Like performance, trauma always makes itself felt viscerally in the here and now. Past blows haunt our present and shake the individual and social body" (Taylor 2006, 1675).[14]

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[13] Extensive research carried out by renowned psychiatrist and educator Bessel A. van der Kolk and Rita Fisler has shown that traumatic material can "lead to extremes of retention and forgetting: terrifying experiences may be remembered with extreme vividness, or totally resist integration. In many instances, traumatized individuals report a combination of both. While people seem to easily assimilate familiar and expectable experiences and while memories of ordinary events disintegrate in clarity over time, some aspects of traumatic events appear to get fixed in the mind, unaltered by the passage of time or by the intervention of subsequent experience." They also note that: "When people receive sensory input, they generally automatically synthesize this incoming information into narrative form, without conscious awareness of the processes that translate sensory impressions into a personal story…traumatic experiences initially are imprinted as sensations or feeling states that are not immediately transcribed into personal narratives, in contrast with the way people seem to process ordinary information" (Fisler & vaan der Kolk 1995, 525).

In Castillo's film-documentary on the EZLN, the recall of certain memories associated with traumatic events is not "worked through" but are rather, "re-*cognized*" and re-signified through what I will refer to throughout this paper as a type of working "onto" of traumatic material. The "labor" of memory and recall in this documentary-film is embedded within the image itself and is not referred to directly but is alluded to through indirect accounts related to Castillo's personal story, which overlap with the Zapatista uprising. In this way, Carmen Castillo, the documentarian, does not "act out" the pain of the past through a "working through" of traumatic material, but instead, re-signifies and recalls events central to her own life story by working "onto" the memory of her trauma through a re-imagination of the self in tandem with the birth of the EZLN. This coincides with her identification with the MIR's philosophies with which she still identifies and has coalesced into her role as filmmaker:

> I still consider myself one [a MIRista], [but] I'm not nostalgic for what the world was before the '80s, before the Berlin Wall came down: I'm with those who are thinking and acting today, those who are trying to figure out what is still valid in what we used to think…Being a *mirista* is resisting neoliberal logic, resisting the thinking that fills up your being. It's exemplified in the radical struggles of the Mapuches or any struggle that becomes radicalized in the face of the single, uniform and globalized vision of capitalism. So, the MIR isn't a structure or an organization. It's a spirit, a historical legacy. (Lazzara & Castillo 2016, 6 & 8)

Although Castillo never reveals personal information about her own life story, I argue that Castillo "re-*interprets*" and encodes acts of remembrance and "re-*cognition*" into this documentary film, as a healing act of resistance that takes place within an alternate political space. It also reaffirms her commitment to the MIR's "historical legacy," during a time when her home country, Chile, was in the process of solidifying neoliberalist policies during its transition to democracy. Like the Zapatistas, Castillo conceals and/or leaves her facial identity off camera; her partial presence on film comes into view through other identifying physical markers such as her hands, arms, hair and voice, leaving her identity to the margins of the screen. Along with Castillo's partial presence on film, the mystery surrounding *Subcomandante* Marcos' personal identity and facial concealment generates a filmic tension between both Castillo and the Zapatista

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[14] As Taylor reiterates in her work, *Disappearing Acts* (1997), "the drama is not over" and the performance continues; the mothers still march down the Plaza de Mayo each week at 3:30 pm every Thursday (105).

Subcommander, projecting both of these political actors into a multiplicity of alternate temporal junctures where the present is tied to a future aligned with triumph, visually overriding and re-defining the political defeat that had begun to reverberate throughout Latin America as the Cold War came to an end.

Carmen Castillo's Story

Castillo's documentary film productions can be viewed as a coalesced union between the word and the image, a reflection of her father's socially progressive politics as an architect and the published writings that have solidified her mother's family as one of Chile's *familias letradas*. From an early age, Castillo was introduced to the social disparities and class struggles of the working class in Santiago, Chile. Born into a bourgeois-elite family, she, along with her siblings, took part in alleviating class divisions in the early 1960s by helping their father construct homes for over 1,500 homeless families in the neighborhood of La Reina.[15] Her father, Fernando Castillo-Velasco, a renowned architect, eventually became an important figure in Chile's centrist Christian-Democratic Party when he was elected mayor of Santiago's La Reina neighborhood in 1963. He later went on to become the Rector of Chile's Pontificia Universidad Católica (PUC) in 1967, replacing the more conservative Dean, Alfredo Santiago, and revolutionizing PUC's university reforms under the leadership of student activists. Castillo's mother, Mónica Echeverría, the granddaughter of Eliodoro Yáñez,[16] was brought up in Chile's elite where she was surrounded by well-renowned writers like her grandmother, her mother (María Flora Yáñez), her uncle, art critic Juan Emar, and her brother, Alfonso Echeverría. Up until her recent death on January 3, 2020, Castillo's mother Mónica continued to publish cultural critiques and works on renowned Chilean figures and has throughout her lifetime demonstrated her progressive ideals by defying class strictures. Despite her aristocratic upbringing, Echeverría transgressed the strict cultural codes of Chile's upper echelon that relegated women of the aristocracy to support the country's more conservative political parties such as the *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* (CD) or the far-right *Unión Democrática Independiente* (UDI).

Like her mother, Castillo was politically active from a young age, becoming a member of Chile's radical leftist group, El Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria

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[15] Castillo, along with her brother Christian, describes this aspect of their childhood in Castillo's documentary, *El país de mi padre: Una obstinada utopía chilena* (2004).

[16] Eliodoro Yáñez was a Chilean Senator in the 1890s and founded the country's national newspaper, *La Nación*, in 1917.

(MIR), at the age of seventeen, where she served as a contact point between fellow MIR members in Chile and Bolivia. Like many of the militants in leftist parties during this timeframe, the MIR was composed of an intellectual elite whose militancy was born out of an initial romanticization of Latin American culture and identity that subsequently triggered a more extreme radicalization of the country's leftist factions during the 1960s.[17] Castillo's romantic relationships with leaders of the MIR, such as Andrés Pascal Allende (President Salvador Allende's nephew), with whom she had her first child, Camila, and then later with the MIR's Secretary General and legendary leader Miguel Enríquez, deepened her commitment to the movement.

MIR was founded by Unionist Clotario Blest in 1965 at La Federación de Sindicatos del Cuero y Calzado, The Union Headquarters in Santiago, Chile. As the President of the worker's union, La Agrupación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales (ANEF), from 1940-1953, and La Central Única de Trabajadores (CUT), from 1953-1961, Blest encouraged leftist factions to come together despite their conflicting ideologies. The use of the term "movement" was strategically employed to unify members who had been expelled from other leftist parties. Blest's travels to Cuba, upon invitation from Ernesto Che Guevara, radicalized his discourse as he continued to represent a powerful opposition to Chile's right-wing presidents. Both Enríquez and Bautista van Schouwen's[18] written texts on armed resistance solidified their leadership of the "joven generación", as the political divide between the older and younger militants deepened.[19] The MIR's expropriation of funds from Chile's national banks, the MIR's grassroots organizing in Chile's shantytowns, along with their role as armed guards of Allende's Grupo de Amigos Personales (GAP), situated their political identity nationally as a radical leftist party that sought the revolution through armed struggle, organizing themselves as "la vanguardia marxista-leninista de la clase obrera y capas oprimidas de Chile que buscan la emancipación nacional y social" (Declaración de Principios del M.I.R 1965, n.pag).

Like Castillo, Miguel Enríquez came from a prominent political family in Chile's Southern region of Concepción. His father, Edgardo Enríquez, was a Professor at the Universidad de Concepción, a Doctor and the Minister of Education during Allende's presidency. Following in his father's footsteps and emulating in many ways the history of Ernesto Che Guevara, Enríquez studied medicine at the Universidad de Concepción, where he received his medical degree with highest honors at the young age of 24. Soon after, he was accepted into Chile's Neurosurgery Institute in 1969; however, he was forced to put his studies on hold, living clandestinely during that same year because of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei's persecution of the MIR. Enríquez's intellect, fluency in English, and his political commitment to the MIR's philosophy cultivated a robust following of university students in Concepción. As described by his friend Luis Felipe Macaya, Enríquez's intellect and physical attraction were admired by everyone who came into contact with him:

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[17] Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party remarks in his conversations with Chilean historian Gabriel Salazar that "los movimientos democráticos de los 50' estaban constituidos por una elite intelectual" (Altamirano-Salazar 2011, 142).

[18] Bautista van Schouwen was killed and disappeared by military officers soon after the coup in December of 1973.

[19] The research on the divide between younger and older militants can be found in Eugenia Palieraki's work: *La revolución ya viene! El MIR chileno en los años sesenta* (2014).

> Primero era un tipo buenmozo, o sea muy buena pinta, un tipo que mediaba un metro ochenta simpático de una risa fácil y estruendosa…Él no pasaba desapercibido cualquiera que estuviera al lado de él sentía que él emanaba poder, y yo creo que mas que nada ese saber que era capaz de determinar hacer cosas y lograrlas, era un atractivo muy grande para las mujeres en general. (*Miguel: La humanidad de un mito* 2005)

Prior to their relationship to one another, both Castillo and Enríquez had already had children with other partners,[20] but because Enríquez was the General Secretary of the MIR and worked alongside Castillo's ex-husband Andrés Pascal Allende, their love story was one that was initially met with secrecy, an aspect of their relationship that would characterize their love as they went on to live clandestinely together shortly after Chile's military coup in September of 1973. For Castillo, her remembrances of Enríquez were of two revolutionaries who mirrored one another's political values: "…cuando dos personas se aman y al mismo tiempo piensan igual y actúan frente al mundo igual, eso es…eso para mí es el amor" (*Miguel: La humanidad de un mito* 2005).

In Julieta Kirkwood's work on gender and politics in Chile, she writes that the most radical aspect of leftist militant politics is localized in the application of the same hierarchical structures of power that were employed by the conservative-right (Kirkwood 1986, 45). Alejandra Oberti also notes in her work on militant families in Argentina's Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (PRT-ERP) that although revolutionaries sought to eliminate the social order to create a new one, "la familia constitutuye el espacio privilegiado donde desplegar ese proceso. Las futuras generaciones serían las herederas de la revolución y en consecuencia la crianza de los hijos en el marco de la familia militante constituía una tarea revolucionaria más" (Oberti 2015, 48). Despite militants' adherence to certain gender roles and identities that would then promulgate the political revolutionary model, Luisa María Dietrich Ortega argues that certain types of masculinities and femininities were construed within certain social spaces and organizations. In her analysis of Raewyen Connell's work[21] on "regimes of gender," Dietrich Ortega notes that despite the marginalization of women militants[22] within these spaces, these "regímenes de género" still resisted traditional "ordenes de género" that inadvertently elevated women's importance within the party (Dietrich Ortega 2014, 95). One important example provided is the discussion of pregnancy which would "servir al objetivo de optimizar la funcionalidad de la lucha armada" (96). The strategic positioning of pregnant women (or those who pretended to be pregnant) to transport weaponry or messages functioned as a support to the party because of the "enemy's" adherence to traditional notions of gender: "se asocian en su cosmovisión [la mujer militante] la feminidad, y la mujer, como pacífica, pasiva y apolítica" (95-6). Castillo's pregnancy, a sign aligned with the family, and more importantly her role as mother, helped to hide the subversive activities taking place behind closed doors. In an interview with scholar Cherie Zalaquett, Castillo herself states the following about her time spent in the neighborhood of San Miguel:

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[20] Enríquez had two children: one named Javiera Pizarro, with his partner Alejandra Pizarro, and Marco Omanami with Manuela Gumucio. For the first couple of months during their time living clandestinely together on Santa Fe Street, Javiera and Camila lived with Enríquez and Castillo. After a couple of months, they were later sent to Cuba where they resided in *Proyectos hogares* along with other children of leftist militants.

> Durante varios meses vivieron con nosotros las dos niñas [Javiera y Camila]… y a quienes habíamos enseñado a tratarnos de un modo que nunca supieran quienes éramos en la realidad. Por fortuna pocos días antes de la muerte de Miguel habíamos tomado la precaución de asilarlas en una embajada para que salieran del país. Entonces yo estaba encinta de seis meses y eso fue un detalle más de naturalidad, porque no es fácil sospechar que una mujer embarazada esté haciendo un trabajo político tan intenso y arriesgado. (Castillo & Zalaquett 2010, 173).

Motherhood was an integral aspect of her militancy; she was responsible for the transport of weaponry and the collection of reports from other militants during this time. The born and unborn children of Castillo and Enríquez's family acted as a buffer that shielded them from discovery for a short period of time. The family and the maternal internal world of motherhood, while simultaneously hiding subversion, still placed Castillo within the overlapping past and present temporalities of life and death. Only three weeks after both Castillo and Enríquez's children obtained asylum through the Italian embassy, their clandestine location was discovered by the DINA[23] through one of Castillo's MIR contacts.

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[21] For more information on this, please refer to: Connel, Raeywen. 2002. *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

[22] Dietrich Ortega's work looks at Peruvian, Salvadorean and Colombian women militants.

The MIR's adage, "El MIR no se asila", reinforced the party's commitment to resist the regime at all costs, in many ways mirroring the martyrdom exemplified in President Allende's refusal to leave the governmental palace on September 11th, 1973 where he committed suicide as his last and final act of resistance against a violent takeover backed by the United States. Like many of the leftist revolutionaries who remained in Chile during the 1970s and 80s, Enríquez and Castillo's clandestine residency in the country's capital of Santiago wavered on a praxis between life and death. While on the one hand, as Hernán Vidal asserts, the utopian trajectory of militancy solidified the identity of militants as "un-ser-para-la-vida", their use of revolutionary violence also designated them as "un ser-para-la-muerte" (Vidal 2000, 96). This life-death duality that epitomized the corporal manifestation of political sacrifice for many of Chile's leftist militants ultimately resulted in tragedy for Castillo and Enríquez at the entry way to their home on October 5, 1974. After living together for close to a year in the neighborhood of San Miguel in Santiago, the whereabouts of Enríquez and Castillo were discovered, leading to an armed stand-off between Enríquez and a group of close to twenty military officers. After the DINA's many interrogations of political prisoners detained throughout the country, they had finally located their home on Santa Fe Street. The night of October 5, 1974, officers began to circle the house, leaving Enríquez and Castillo along with two other comrades no other choice but to escape through the back entryway. Castillo was hit first with a grenade that struck her right arm, leaving her unconscious and Enríquez, prior to the stand-off with armed officers, placed the wounded and pregnant Castillo underneath a piece of furniture. He fought in an armed stand-off with officers for close to two hours, succumbing to his injuries after receiving multiple shots to his face, neck and stomach. Enríquez's assassination signaled what had already become a vigorous persecution of the MIR.

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[23] La Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) is the name of Chile's secret police that operated from 1973-1977 during the military dictatorship. After 1977, it was re-named La Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI), following the murder and attack of Orlando Letelier in the United States. Letelier was a Chilean politician who worked under the Allende administration and was exiled in Washington D.C.

In her testimonial piece, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* (1980)*,* Castillo writes about this tragic day in the third person, amplifying the distance between her past and present self: "La Catita murió. La asesinaron el sábado 5 de octubre al lado de él en ese patio de tierra suelta, la del vientre hinchado bajo el gastado delantal de algodón ordinario… la sangre de Miguel corre y levanta en suaves olas en polvo. Y en esa sangre la Catita se va…" (Castillo 1999, 75).

Castillo's survival in this instance depended on many factors. In her documentary film *Calle Santa Fe* (2007), she dispels the myth that Miguel Krassnoff Martchenko, one of the DINA's lead officers, was responsible for saving her life and that rather, a neighbor informed ambulatory personnel that Castillo had been injured and that assistance should be secured. Castillo was transferred to the Military Hospital where she was surrounded by armed officers as doctors debated whether or not to amputate her arm.

The military's assassination of Enríquez and its public attack on a pregnant woman exposed the tyranny of Chile's dictatorship, sparking political outrage that quickly mobilized the international community to free Castillo from her medical detainment. After her three-week stay at the Military Hospital and surgery on her arm, the British government assigned her a travel visa to relocate to London where she would be reunited with her mother and father who had left for England soon after the coup. Castillo's precipice between this life and death state, in what Agamben would term "a life exposed to death," can also be viewed as a subject "inside or between death"[24] (Agamben 1998, 81; Eltit 2005, 19). Her near-death experience was further intensified, when she would give birth to her son, Miguel Ángel, who would die a mere six weeks later. Her son would face the same fate as his father: "No lo sé de antemano, él, en mi vientre, yo, perdiendo sangre, durante dos horas ese sábado 5 de octubre de 1974, no, los militares lo mataron, a él también, mi bebé. Todavía vive, vivirá, pero está dañado, sin remedio" (Castillo 1999, 184). Unable to withstand the sight of her son, who she knew would not survive because of the injuries she endured on that fateful day on October 5th 1974, Castillo left the country for Cuba, leaving her mother to assume the fate of her newborn child. After reuniting with her daughter Camila, she later left for France in 1976. Castillo's attempted suicide in France further distanced her from Camila, who was left under the care of Castillo's mother, who sent her to reside in

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[24] My translation from the Spanish.

Cuba's Proyectos Hogares along with other children of MIR militants until she was 17 years of age.[25]

Whereas on the one hand, many exiled women militants were forced to re-negotiate their social identity in relation to their male partners while they looked after their children and adapted to their surroundings in a foreign country as exiles, Carmen's plight became the face of an invisible struggle not only for those exiled from their home country, but particularly for women militants whose political contributions to their party were further sidelined by male revolutionaries. Traumatized by the affliction of her newborn son, Castillo left for Paris, France where she was received by comrades, after leaving her mother, Mónica, to look after the death of her son, Miguel Ángel.

In spite of the MIR's pressure for Castillo to reside in Cuba, with the support of Beatriz Allende, Carmen's will to remain in France was respected; however, the pressure to continue her militancy as an exiled *mirista* in another Latin American country continued to be pressed upon her by the MIR's General Secretaries. Although Carmen wrote that "she doesn't know how to name her experience," stating that: "No es por lo tanto un suicidio, no hubo barbitúricos, nada. Solo un aullido ante el desgarro que despertó a la niña y su mirada…" Castillo's wish to annihilate her social transformation post-survival is made apparent in many of her writings (Castillo-Echeverría 1999, 191). Castillo refers to her militancy in the third person, looking outside of herself from inside her own memories: "Quien habla no es la militante. Es la mujer. Una mujer que evoca a militantes sin expresar toda la militancia" (Castillo 1999, 11). Her testimonials, like those of many survivors, reveal the interstices of survival and the limits of organized language, a theme throughout Giorgio Agamben's work, which explores the linguistic limits between survivors and victims as "a language that no longer signifies and that, in not signifying, advances into what is without language, —to the point of taking on a different insignificance—that of the complete witness, that of he who by definition cannot bear witness" (Agamben 1998, 39). Drawing from Agamben's work, we can situate Castillo's suicide as an attempt to return and access that which cannot be told, a will to disappear into the physical realm of the body, leaving her daughter Camila to "witness" the remnants of a mother who can no longer mother.

In Diamela Eltit's introduction to Cherie Zalaquett's work, *Sobrevivir a un fusilamiento* (2005)—a testimonial work on eight political prisoners who survived executions during the dictatorship—Eltit writes that the voices that surface from within murder "[rehacen] precisamente el fin de una vida a la que se le había negado la categoría de existencia humana" (Eltit 2005, 20). Castillo is the surviving feminine residual of an "existence" that emerged out of the obliteration of two male subjects, her partner and infant son. Miguel Ángel's sickness and death are an extension of the violence exerted upon Castillo's body, a site in which the symbolic power of the feminine is located through the corporal trauma, the loss of a political subject, and a future cut short. The pressure placed on the regime to free Castillo rested primarily on heteronormative gender constructions that relegated women to the domestic sphere as mothers and wives, a gendered construction further politicized by the conservative right. In Castillo's case, her devotion to the MIR and transgression of gender norms would come to a halt at the moment her pregnancy superseded her identity as militant. Although militancy required women to situate their gender identity on a more neutral plane so they could take part in more subversive activities, *Guevarismo,* the philosophy of the "New Man," did not account for or reconcile the personal sacrifices women militants would make as mothers (Vidurrázaga 2012, 86-7). Even so, despite militants' transgressions, like many women around the globe "the dominant construction of women as mothers—as objects of both national reverence and protection—has been the most important way in which women have been integrated into various nationalist projects" (Sinha 2006, 238).

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[25] For more information on exiled children residing in *Los proyectos hogares*, see Chilean film-director Macarena Aguiló's documentary piece, *El edificio de los chilenos* (2010).

In Tamara Vidaurrázaga's ethnographic study *Mujeres en rojo y negro* (2006)*,* Vidaurrázaga explores the lived tensions of three women MIR militants and the contradictions they faced as mothers. She writes that this dual and contradictory identity as mother and militant "resignific[ó] el tradicional amor de madre reelaborando el lazo con sus hijos/as en lo que [se ha conceptualizado] como 'Maternidades en Resistencia'" (Vidaurrázaga 2006, 256). Women's social responsibility to REPRODUCE/ "REPRODUCIR" has historically been countered by the male fighter who, according to Vidaurrázaga, "PRODUCE triunfos y admiración para el colectivo" (Vidaurrázaga 2006, 258). Maternity in resistance refers specifically to the dual identity of women militants as fighters and mothers, in which women "adquirieron el poder de la muerte, sin abandonar el dominio sobre la vida que les concernía 'naturalmente' por ser mujeres" (Vidaurrázaga 2006, 258). Cherie Zalaquett, in her discussion of the "mujer metralleta" in the leftist movement, El Movimiento de Acción Unitaria (MAPU*)*, also describes the gendered oscillation this figured evoked.

> El cuerpo construido como femenino no pierde esa constitución, porque la *mujer metralleta* no se despoja de la misión maternal, aun cuando en algunos casos fracase en el intento. Así, la masculinidad, en lugar de desplazar a lo femenino, se integra a un mismo espacio corporal, donde los principios de la fertilidad y de la muerte aparecen reunidos en una misma entidad. En esa representación simbólica, el cuerpo de las mujeres se convierte en el locus que incuba distintas formas de violencia, al mismo tiempo que gesta y da forma a sus hijos. (Zalaquett 2010, 311)

Fertility and death embodied in "la mujer metralleta" acted as a unifying force that exposed women and their unborn children to the biopolitical processes of the regime. Zalaquett and Vidaurrázaga's important theoretical contributions situate the distinct forms of violence that Castillo endured and the implications of her survival thereafter. Survival returned her to the gendered construction of her identity in which her exiled body, a body destined to bring life into the world, resisted this social construction, instead releasing the housed memory of murder and violence that the regime had inscribed onto her identity as woman. Her responsibility to "reproduce" as mother and to "produce" as militant had been obliterated from her social identity.

Castillo's life story is intimately tied to her body; however, as filmmaker, Castillo's work as a global activist allowed for a disjuncture to occur between her identity as a documentarian and as a victim-survivor of the Pinochet regime. In her narration of the Zapatista uprising and her trip to the Lacandón jungle, exactly twenty years after her exile from Chile,[26] Castillo's voice encodes itself onto another social plane, allowing for the re-imagination of an alternate identity to come into view. Her documentary film productions, along with her written works, are just as much an act of resistance as they are a conscious act to reconstitute a social identity that was taken from her. As Castillo states in an interview with Human Rights scholar Michael J. Lazzara, "I have part of my family here [Chile]. I live in Paris. I have another part of my family there. So, well, it's not easy. But how can I take control and make it better? I make films to make it better" (Lazzara & Castillo 6, 2016).

Castillo, like other Chilean exiled filmmakers, "[took] on [the] role [as] cultural intermediaries, reaffirming their commitment to the political vocation of Latin American cinema, even though their films [were] produced in Europe or North America" (Pick 1990, 116). Zuzana M. Pick notes that documentary film "forced filmmakers in exile to devise ways of transmitting their individual and collective national experience" that in turn allowed for film to function as an artistic medium that empowered filmmakers to act as global activists while they simultaneously processed their own trauma as Chilean exiles[27] (Pick 1990, 118). Castillo's sublimated recollections of social events that overlap with her own history as a militant and survivor of Pinochet's regime within the context of the Zapatista struggle[28] operate as "dynamic transfers" wherein her cultural archive on Zapatismo channels "new communal and political identities" to take hold (Rothberg 2009, 11). In Michael Rothberg's work on multidirectional memory, Rothberg illustrates the way memory disengages from official versions of national memory, therein contributing to a more collective expression of the past that connects histories of people from "diverse spatial and cultural sites" to new ones (Rothberg 2009, 11).

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[26] Castillo was exiled from Chile during the last week of October in 1974. According to her published testimonial works, after surviving the attack on October 5th, 1974, she remained in the Military Hospital for three weeks. These dates coincide almost exactly with the interview she carried out with *El Subcomandante* Marcos, which took place on October 24th, 1994.

In Chile, the transition to democracy ultimately meant the expanding presence of a neoliberalist economy in which Christian Democratic President Patricio Alywin and his administration forced a kind of reconciliation between the conservative right and Socialist Party. Diamela Eltit describes the country's transition as a political agreement made between assassins and their victims, writing that: "la centro-izquierda y más nítidamente el Partido Socialista, deben coexistir con sus recientes antagonistas …la centroizquierda necesariamente dialoga, de manera constante, con lo que fueron sus virtuales captores y sus posibles victimarios" (Eltit 2000, 71-2). The political reconciliation between Chile's left and right-wing parties proposed the segmentation of a linear history where the past was associated with the dictatorship, the present with the transition to democracy, and the future aimed at the continued neo-liberalization of Chile's economy. Nonetheless, despite the country's appeal to separate the past from its present under the guise of reconciliation, memory, as Nelly Richard writes, "designa una zona de asociaciones voluntarias e involuntarias que se mueve entre pasado y presente, ambos concebidos como formaciones incompletas en las que se entrelaza lo *ya consumado* con lo *aún no realizado*" (Richard 2010, 16).

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[27] For more information on exiled Chilean-French women filmmakers, refer to Elizabeth Ramírez Soto and Catalina Donoso Pinto's work: Ramírez Soto, Elizabeth, and Catalina Donoso Pinto, *Nomadías: El cine de Marilú Mallet, Valeria Sarmiento y Angelina Vázquez.* Santiago: Metales Pesados, 2016.

[28] Nonetheless, Castillo isn't the only former Chilean militant to have covered the Zapatista rebellion in the mid-1990s. Gladys Marín, the leader of Chile's Communist Youth Party, travelled to Chiapas soon after the uprising and compiled newspaper articles published that same year in a work entitled *Rebelión en Chiapas* (1994). Like Castillo, Marín drew inspiration from the Zapatista movement and urged Chile's leftist parties to support the uprising.

During the latter part of the 20th century, harrowing testimonial accounts emerged in response to the human rights abuses carried out under dictatorial regimes throughout Latin America. Whereas former *montonera* and scholar Beatriz Sarlo critiques the narration of this "tiempo pasado" as a type of "realista-romántico" that favored experience over knowledge, Elizabeth Jelin states that memory is and was "necessary in the (re)construction of individual and collective identities in societies emerging from periods of violence and trauma" (Sarlo 2005, 68; Jelin 2003, vxii). Jelin reiterates testimonies' social importance as a means to "work through traumatic material to confront difficulties and pain," yet in Castillo's case, this documentary re-signifies political defeat into a film production where the possibility of triumph *is* conceivable on an alternate social plane. Instead of channeling the pain of the past into the present narration of her own life story, Castillo dislocates the pain associated with the memory of her detention and militancy alongside her filmic journey and interview of *El Subcomandante* Marcos.

Arrival in Chiapas in October of 1994

Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda begins with the opening image of a plane window that gently transports the viewer into this alternate temporality where Castillo's voice accompanies images and video footage of the Zapatista uprising as she departs off the railway in France.[29] The noise of the plane gliding off and on the tarmac, a sound closely tied to modernity, becomes a portal through which she introduces the viewer to the Zapatistas' history: "La revolución mexicana, la epopeya de Zapata ya cumplieron 80 años. ¿Qué promesas qué esperanzas se cifran en este hito que viene de tan lejos? Zapata vive" (*Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* 1995). The juxtaposition between past and present revolutionary histories is referenced from the very beginning of the film and serves as a historical guide throughout, as Castillo emulates the Zapatistas' covered faces by strategically concealing her own face with newspaper images of the hooded soldiers. Black and white video footage of Emiliano Zapata and his force on horses wearing large *sombreros* are placed alongside archival footage of the Zapatistas when they first occupied the cities' municipalities of San

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[29] What is interesting to note about some of Castillo's other films is that the opening scenes begin with her travelling by car. Her documentary film *La flaca Alejandra* (1995), with militant turned collaborator Marcia Merino, *El país de mi padre* (2004), and her work *Calle Santa Fe* (2007), show Castillo being driven or flying into Santiago, a characteristic of her own identity as a Chilean-French citizen who, because of exile, is in constant flux between these two countries; Castillo is always in a constant state of "return."

Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano and Margaritas on January 1st 1994.

Once Castillo lands in Chiapas, the viewer travels filmically in solidarity with her as she drives into the mountainous region of the Lacandón jungle. As she narrates the images that come into view, rolling images of San Cristóbal are introduced to the viewer from the driver's seat as Castillo describes the city as "[una] ciudad colonial [que] parece flotar en el pasado...el pasado presente—aquí a veces no es tan simple—a veces las líneas se cruzan" (*Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* 1995). Past and present temporalities "that cross over into one another" also cross over into her own story. Almost exactly 20 years to the date from when she was exiled from Chile, she embarks on a journey to meet with the famous Subcommander.

Just as the film introduces us from the very beginning to the way in which modernity facilitates Castillo's entrance into an alternate space of resistance, the insertion of planes and the overwhelming grinding sounds of their engines that are so intimately tied to the destructive forces of neoliberal machination are inserted at different points in the film. Castillo's narration of events that took place soon after the uprising underscore the terrifying outcomes of military violence on the civilian population. As video footage of planes is taken overhead to signal the military's omnipresent power, additional archival footage is juxtaposed with that of people on the ground protesting the government's murder of Zapatistas and civilians after the confrontation between the Mexican Army and the EZLN in Ocosingo on January 2nd, 1994. Castillo remarks that: "El gobierno reacciona como siempre. El enfrentamiento de Ocosingo, combates alrededor del rancho nuevo…Cerca de 400 muertos civiles en su mayoría en unos días" (*Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* 1995). Castillo's statement that "the government reacts as they always do" encompasses the actions of many governments who respond violently to resistance. In this way, she implicitly ties her own story tangentially to that of the attacks faced by the Zapatistas and the surrounding community.

Airplanes are not only a mode of transportation, but also signal death and defeat. The visual references to the Mexican government's panoptical presence[30] both on the ground and in the sky at various points throughout her film remind the viewer that the technical and social configurations that most governments operate under resort to similar power structures created to annihilate subversive entities, whose mere presence threatens the neoliberalist logics of a Mexico that has, with the signing of NAFTA, marked their supposed entrance into the "first world" order. The correlation between the airplanes in this film and the history of Chile's coup d'etat cannot be ignored, when we consider that Pinochet's violent military coup ousted Socialist President Salvador Allende from office, bombarding La Moneda*,* Chile's governmental palace, with two airplanes on September 11th 1973.[31] This time however, in Castillo's film, the camera records, recalls and gazes back at the planes, establishing a type of confrontation with their looming presence as they circle the region from above.

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[30] Dorth Gert Simonsen's excellent analysis and summary of 20th century Swiss-French architect Charles-Édouard Jeannere's work (also known as Le Corbusier's) highlights the following on aeroplanes: "'Le Corbusier promoted the aeroplane as the avant-garde of precision and order. It was no longer the whirling propeller that marked the essence of the machine, but the straight line it drew in the air as it flew directly from one point to another. The compression of the world underneath stabilized the spatial outline, providing the basis for obtaining an objective 'super-vision' through the bird's eye view. Unlike the Futurists, the spacing of Le Corbusier's aeroplane was a sorting out of confused cities and vast land masses; it was an

Just as airplanes serve as a visual recollection of Castillo's own past, the presence of military personnel carrying large automatic weapons across their chest at the first entry into the Lacandón jungle demonstrates the inherent dangers of any type of social resistance. As information is exchanged between Castillo and one of the military officers, a blurred side shot of Castillo's brown hair quickly emerges on screen when an officer approaches the van to ask where she will be headed and ironically asks if she even speaks Spanish. Castillo tells them "San Miguel," and after what appears to be a long wait accompanied by various other questions, Castillo is allowed to continue on. In an inverse re-ordering of her own history, Castillo, now viewed as a foreigner, who at first sight is thought to not speak Spanish because of her light skin, freely crosses paths with heavily armed officers as she re-enters a highly militarized zone that carries the same name as the neighborhood where she and Miguel Enríquez resided together clandestinely soon after Chile's military takeover. Instead of attempting to flee, as she did on that fateful day of October 5th, 1974, Castillo willfully returns to the "San Miguel" of Chiapas to meet with *El Subcomandante* Marcos.[32]

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illustrative topography providing evidence for the course of a future which earthbound man could only vaguely imagine. With its bird's eye view added to the senses of man, the aeroplane disclosed universal structures and laws on the way to a new, joyous machine civilisation" (Simonsen 114).

[31] An important reference for this is Patricio Guzmán's *La batalla de Chile: La lucha de un pueblo sin armas* (1977). Guzmán's documentary is divided into three sections that document Allende's rise to power, the workers' movements that took place thereafter, and the violent military takeover. One of the main scenes of his film is the bombardment of the Presidential Palace on September 11th, 1973.

[32] It is important to note that as Castillo drives on a gravel road up into the mountains, interspersed photos of large groups of Zapatista soldiers in the jungle appear on screen. These images of heavily armed Zapatistas who also carry automatic weapons across their chest simulate the uniformity of the Mexican army. The assault rifles are a reminder that these same

The plight[33] of the Zapatistas is what Gustavo Esteva terms a "radical democracy;"[34] however, democracy in this case does not replicate the formal and representative democracies that have displaced the power of the people to the media, political parties, and the ruling elite. Rather, for the EZLN, "[radical democracy] demands that the political regime [express] people's power in the very exercise of power, not only in its origin or constitution... [For the Zapatistas] the democratic condition exists when the people adopt the social forms of existence in which [they] endow themselves with the political bodies in which they can exert their power" (Esteva 1999, 156). Unlike many of the leftist movements during the 1970s and 1980s, this type of participatory democracy does not look to seize power from the state but rather situates the collective power of the people as a struggle against the destructive forces of global capital through the re-configuration of social networks and structures wherein relational dynamics are construed, "mandando obedeciendo…those who command obey, and those who obey command" ("Principles of the EZLN"). Power is re-conceived through communal networks of engagement as shared acts of resistance, which defy the institutionalization of political representation, power and more importantly capitalism, the driving force behind indigenous exploitation. In Chiapas, the land and its resources of coffee, corn, fruit, sugar, honey and petroleum are transported and shipped "to different parts of the world—The United States, Canada, Holland, Germany, Italy, Japan—but all to fulfill one same destiny: to feed imperialism" (Marcos 1994, 258). The irony of this is that Chiapas was the poorest state in the region

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communities must appropriate certain aspects of modernity in order to guard against imminent dangers and threats to their surroundings.

[33] Mexico's inclusion in the trade agreement between the US and Canada in 1994 worsened social disparities that had already plagued the region with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's abolition of the *Ejido* law in 1992. The amendment to Mexico's constitution of article 27 allowed for "the sale of communal, *ejido* land, while at the same time the government declared an immediate end to any further state redistribution of land" (Henck 2007, 144). Ultimately, the *Ejido* law would prohibit inhabitants in the region from being granted additional land, and the terrain that already did belong to them could be confiscated by local landowners. As Nick Henck reiterates, the amendment to article 27 "[p]sychologically, was akin to exhuming Zapata's corpse and scattering the remains to the four winds" (Henck 2007, 145).

[34] Esteva takes this term from Douglas Lummis's work, *Radical Democracy,* where he explains it in the following manner: "From the standpoint of radical democracy, the justification of every other kind of regime is something like the illusion of the emperor's new clothes. Even a people that has lost its political memory…may still make the discovery that the real source of power is themselves…Democracy is *the radical*, the square root of all power, the original number out of which all regimes are multiplied, the root term out of which the entire political vocabulary is ramified…Radical democracy envisions the people gathered in the public space, with neither the great paternal Leviathan nor the great maternal society standing over them, but only the empty sky—the people making the power of Leviathan their own again, free to speak, to choose, to act" (Lummis 1996, 26-7).

with the highest rates of infant mortality; according to statistical data recorded during the late 1980s & 1990s, 67 % of Chiapas' population suffered from malnutrition.[35]

Marcos frames this Post-Cold War state, as a Fourth World War. According to the Subcommander, neoliberalism is the son that has "[devoured] the father (national capital) and in the process [destroyed] the lies of capitalist ideology" (Marcos 1997, 560). The destructive forces of the progressing neoliberalist order are like "a financial bo... The result of the explosion is not a pile of smoking ruins, nor thousands of lifeless bodies, but a department added to the new planetary superstore, and a workforce retooled for the new world job Market" (Marcos 1997, 561). According to David Harvey, the promotion of a utopian vision of neoliberalism is in actuality, a "political project [designed] to establish the conditions for capital accumulation to restore the power of economic elites" (Harvey 2005, 19). Modernity, on the other hand, can be understood as a break with the past, "a never-ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentations within itself" (Harvey 1990, 12). Nevertheless, this break with history has inevitably resulted in what Zygmunt Bauman notes as the "imposition of rational order," an order that coincides with "the conquest of space" (Bauman 2012, 113). In this way, the project of modernity through the conquest of land "came to mean faster machines. Accelerated movement meant larger space, and accelerating the moves was the sole means of enlarging the space" (113). In essence, "the time of modernity" is wealth that is accumulated through territorial takeover and construction, which in many respects has resulted in the undoing of the historical memory of the land and its people through the imposition of a linear temporal code—with the invention of new technologies and machines—on non-linear cultural and spatial entities. Modernization, from this standpoint, implies the complete overhaul of a nation viewed as "backward" and underdeveloped. The extermination of indigenous peoples, or their cultural assimilation to Western customs, is viewed as the only possible path to progress.

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[35] This statistic was taken from Karen Kampwirth's study on Zapatista women, where she also describes the extreme states of poverty in the region. Her findings were taken from Onécimo Hidalgo and Mario B. Monroy's work, "El estado de Chiapas en cifras" in *Pensar Chiapas, repensar México: Reflexiones de las Ong mexicanos sobre el conflict.* México: Impretei. Kampwirth writes the following: "Un indicador de la extrema pobreza de la mayoría de los habitantes de Chiapas es la desnutrición. Casi el 67% de la población del estado padece desnutrición; aproximadamente la mitad de ellos (el 33% de la población del estado) padecen de 'desnutrición severa'. El residente promedio de Chiapas es mucho más pobre que el mexicano promedio: en Chiapas, 22.3 personas por cada 100 mil mueren cada año por deficiencias de nutrición, mientras que la cifra a nivel de país es de 10.5 muertes por 100 mil habitantes" (Kampwirth 2007, 103). (Hidalgo y Monroy, 1994, 23).

Governments view native communities as a hindrance and "undesirable mass" to the reigning political order (Franco 2013, 8).

The display of *El Subcomandante's* assault weapon is a show of force that emphasizes his role as one of the leading male voices within the movement, while at the same time it acts as a mirrored simulation of violence against a state that also looks to eliminate and demobilize indigenous resistance. The Subcommander's adoption of military tactics extracted from US Marines manuals to train armed Zapatistas counters the enemy by employing its own war strategies.[36] While on the one hand, the Zapatistas do not "[promote] the 'armed way,'" the heavily militarized zones of the Lacandón jungle left them no other option "but to create an army…They are thus an army paradoxically following the tradition of Gandhi" (Esteva 1999, 172). Esteva goes on to note that in this contradictory space between peace, violence, the use of arms and revolution, the Zapatistas advocate to radically dissolve the influence and power of the state, so as to "open up this space and confront people with ideas, not with weapons" (Autonomedia 1995, 298).

The jungle is a refuge where Mayan societies reconstruct their identity and relation to Mexican society alongside the slogan: "Democracy, Justice and Liberty." The Lacandón jungle preserves indigenous ontologies that stand in clear opposition to the systemic violations carried out against indigenous communities. The space guards against the disastrous effects of modernity's neoliberalist order where "[c]on sus machetes y árboles de la selva" the Zapatistas build and create their own society aligning their future with that of a forsaken past (*Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* 1995). Pre-conquest and post-independence figures coalesce to project the Zapatistas into a future where the vertical positioning of Votán and the cultural roots of Zapata's horizontality place the Zapatistas in a conscious act of resistance against the temporal disjuncture and violations of colonial and postcolonial histories.[37] Just as the Zapatistas reintegrate Mexican historical figures such as Zapata and Votán[38] into their movement as the ultimate weapon of combat against the ravages perpetuated by a new world order, Carmen Castillo uses her relationship to the camera as an act of defiance against a political battle that was lost to the expanding neoliberalist forces of Chile's transition to democracy.

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[36] In the *60 Minutes* interview with Ed Bradley in March 1994, Bradley asks the Subcommander where he received his training, and Marcos responds stating, "In the books, ten years ago I read books about Francisco Villa, Zapata and the US Marine Corps, and Green Berets, the manuals, all the manuals of the US Army I know very well." Ed Bradley goes on to note that Marcos obtained these books from a bookstore (1994).

[37] In Carlos Fuentes' writings on Mexican temporality, he describes this as a limbotic movement between the past and present, which the Mexican consciousness has yet to overcome and which displays itself in spatial and temporal disruptions: "Entre nosotros en cambio, no hay un solo tiempo: todos los tiempos están vivos, todos los pasados son presentes. [El tiempo mexicano] es impuro se nos presenta impuro, cargado de agonías resistentes" (Fuentes 1971, 9).

The Interview with El Subcomandante Marcos[39]

As Castillo reaches the top of the mountain, Marcos appears around the side of a small hill where four Zapatistas holding large AR-15s across their chest guard him as he walks towards her. As Marcos comes forward, he consciously lowers his weapon and cautiously sits down on one of the nearby rocks where he begins smoking his pipe, one of his core traits as Subcommander. In the first part of the interview during Castillo's narration outside, she introduces Marcos to the viewer by touching on the mystery surrounding his hidden identity:

> Seguro ahí en México hay gente que sabe quién era antes, que era Marcos, pero no lo dicen…parece que el misterio tuviera mas sentido que cualquier coreografía…Parece que todos juegan el juego de la máscara…sus enemigos insinúan que detrás del pasamontaña oculta un secreto inconfesable…exigen que se lo quite para hablar como hombre…Marcos contesta con una carcajada que Marcos no existe. (*El Subcomandante Marco- La verdadera leyenda* 1995)

This statement made towards the beginning of the interview coincides with Marcos' public letter to Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, a letter that in many respects defied the conventional norms placed on personal identity, when he affirmed to Zedillo that "Marcos" was born dead: "Marcos no existe, nació muerto el 1º de enero" (Marcos 1994, n.pag). The erasure of the self that Marcos proposed with his mask and *nom de guerre* contrasted sharply with previous leaders of leftist movements whose personal stories and identities were tied up in the political subjectivity of their political parties. Marcos goes on to assert during the interview that: "esta imagen del guerrillero es muy seductora…Cualquiera pudiera ser Marcos…aunque no tuviera un arma, aunque no estuviera en la montaña del sureste, aunque no escribiera, pudiera ser Marcos…" (*Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* 1995). Marcos' attempts—although unsuccessful, since he soon became a renowned figure of the EZLN—were intended to diverge politically from the idealization placed on many political leaders. The ski mask became a symbolic facet of the EZLN; he encouraged the public to look inwards in order to understand the plight of Mexico's indigenous communities: "tomen un espejo y mírense ustedes mismos" (Orgambides & Marcos 1994, n.pag).

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[38] Votán is the Mayan God of war. In the Subcommander's interview with Castillo, he states that many people from the region believe that Emiliano Zapata was still alive. The Subcommander goes on to say the following: "Yo le platicaba a alguien el caso de Zapata, como Zapata empataba con el Dios bueno, por llamarlo de alguna manera de los mayas de esta región, lo que nosotros llamamos el Votán-Zapata. Cómo se manejaba por ejemplo que Zapata era chiapaneco; que aquí nació y se fue a otro lado y por eso lo mataron, porque se fue; que nunca debió haberse ido. Otros dicen que no se murió que se vino a esconder aquí, que anda en las montañas, y otros lo conocieron" (Gilly, Marcos, Ginzburg/ Castillo & Brisac 1995, 134).

[39] In many ways, *Subcomandante* Marcos' figure represents the mestizo who has repaired this "irruption of time" instigated by the violence exerted on indigenous communities the moment the Spanish arrived in the New World. By returning to the fragmented component of his indigenous origins in his position as intermediary for the Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena (CCRI)*,* Marcos' role, as one of the leading voices of the EZLN, can be viewed as an act of cultural repatriation of the indigenous component of Mexican identity, forgotten by so many Mexican nationals.

Yvonne Lebot writes that although the ski masks had a basic function (most likely to protect the Zapatistas from the cold weather) their hooded faces later came to symbolize the forgotten ones of Mexico:

> Aunque en un principio el pasamontañas tenía una función exclusivamente utilitaria, adquirió luego la de máscara para ocultar la identidad personal y crear una imagen con la de los olvidados, y con ellos todos los mexicanos ávidos de justicia, pudieran identificarse, sin importar sus diferencias. "Cualquier mexicano puede enfundarse un pasamontañas de éstos y ser Marcos, volverse quien yo soy." El pasamontañas es un espejo para que los mexicanos ("tomen un espejo y mírense") se descubran, para salir de la mentira y el miedo que los enajenan. Un espejo que llama al país a interrogarse a sí mismo sobre su porvenir, a reconstruirse, a reinventarse. (LeBot 1997, 7)

As the Zapatistas themselves write, they are "the voice that arms itself to be heard. The face that hides itself to be seen" (Poncé de León 2001, 103). As I briefly highlighted above, the notion of reinvention for Marcos begins with his *nom de guerre,* a name that pays homage to his comrade, Adeailado Villafranco Contreras, who was killed by the Mexican army at a checkpoint in the city of Puebla in May of 1983. Villafranco, whose *nom de guerre* was "Mario Marcos," was the leader of the Chihuahua branch of the Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional (FLN); during his militancy, he taught the Subcommander about Mexican history on their long journeys together.[40] "Mario Marcos" lives on through the political re-birth of the Subcommander, while at the same time, Marcos' *nom de guerre* also acts as a reminder to all of the state violence that results in response to any type of organized resistance.

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[40] Background Information on Marcos' *nom de guerre* was taken from Nick Henck's work, *The Man and the Mask*.

Castillo, like Marcos, whose identity is also re-figured around death and murder, reconstructs her identity through her partial presence on film. By concealing her face from the camera's view and leaving other identifying markers such as her hair, arms and hands linger on the margins of the screen, she too is "looking at herself in the mirror." Emmanuel Levinas theorizes on the "loss of the human" when one is "captured by the image" (Levinas 1992, 145). The hidden nature of Marcos, the Zapatistas and Castillo in this instance, force the viewer to locate their humanity outside of what Levinas identifies as the restricted bounds of facial power. Although the face is considered the most expressive part of the body, because subjectivity exists beyond the face, it is infinite and cannot be captured through a single image. Marcos and Castillo mirror one another, resembling and further channeling the convergence of their past and present revolutionary his and *hers*tories in a dialectical coming and going where the extraction of male and female militant subjectivities is suspended alongside alternate temporalities. They are the disembodied mediations[41] of their pasts and presents; the body is only a material realm that has facilitated their meeting together in a space tied to many other spaces and times, a type of infinite temporality that extends beyond this filmed moment in which technologies and machines, such as the camera and the assault weapon, act as the primary meeting points between the Subcommander and Castillo.

Castillo's presence as filmmaker in this alternate space of resistance also gives way to a witnessing of the transformation and political divergence from the Marxist-Leninist ideologies espoused by leftist political parties between the 1950s-1980s. Despite the inspiration drawn from figures like Che, Marcos is sure to note in the second half of the interview that he has learned from the mistakes of this renowned revolutionary: "Y en nosotros estaba el fantasma de Che, de Bolivia, precisamente, de la falta de apoyo campesino a una guerrilla implantada artificialmente. No teníamos una visión muy optimista que digamos. Claro, nos ayudaba un poco que había gente de la zona, que hablaba el dialecto y todo eso, pero como quiera no teníamos confianza, la verdad: pensábamos que podía pasarnos lo que le pasó al Che" (Gilly, Marcos, Ginzburg/Castillo & Brisac 1995, 135). In order for Marcos, along with the other founding members of the FLN, to effectively create social change with the indigenous people of the region, they had to learn *how* to listen, and listening also signified a cultural assimilation to the environment and its history. "Antes habíamos aprendido a hablar, bastante, como toda la izquierda, no sé si mundial pero por lo menos latinoamericana: su especialidad era hablar ¿no? Aprendimos a escuchar…" (Gilly, Marcos, Ginzburg/Castillo & Brisac 1995, 138).

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[41] The idea of disembodied mediations is taken from Roland Barthes' essay, "The Death of the Author," in which Barthes describes the writer as a vessel or mediation that channels ideas and thoughts, but whose personal identity should not be linked to the text at hand.

In the second half of the documentary film, Castillo interviews Marcos in a small wooden dwelling; the sound of airplanes looms overhead, leaving their deafening sounds to overlap and intersect with that of insects whose repetitive shrills reverberate loudly on screen. Various Dutch shots of the planes are taken overhead, images that remind the viewer that the Mexican government is diligently watching over the mountainous region. As Marcos goes on to recount his initial involvement in the 1980s, with the indigenous community, in the jungle, his silence surrounding women's participation in the EZLN must not be ignored, particularly when we consider that this film was produced by *mirista*, Carmen Castillo. His mention of women towards the beginning of the interview details, rather, his first contact with the men from the area when he first arrived in the region to teach Spanish and Mexican History in 1984: "Incluso me pedían que les escribiera cartas a sus novias. Ahí empecé con este vicio de las epístolas. Yo les preguntaba más o menos cómo eran. Ellos eran gente que estaba en la montaña y tenían a sus novias en el pueblo, indígenas como ellos. Me contaban qué querían decir, yo les escribía la carta, y ellos la firmaban y la mandaban" (Gilly, Marcos, Ginzburg/Castillo-Brisac 1995, 132).[42] Marcos' comments demonstrate the inherent inequalities and clear separation between men and women during this timeframe. Women were not included in these classes, rather they were away from their partners and were viewed as objects of affection.

As Karen Kampwirth's work on women activists in Chiapas discusses, long before the uprising of the EZLN, women had already begun to organize among themselves with the support of the church, along with other non-governmental organizations. Kampwirth's ethnographic research concludes that women's social and political mobilization took place long before the establishment of the EZLN and contributed greatly to the political force of the Zapatista uprising.[43] As Mariana Mora's work on *Kuxlejal Politics* (2017) also demonstrates, Zapatista women developed strong networks of female solidarity through collective acts of communal autonomy. The funds garnered from communal activities such as cultivating and then selling their own food not only supported men with some of their political activities, but also served as a buffer against populist programs designed to incite families' social dependency on governmental aid, aid ultimately aimed at "[altering] certain cultural habits" (Mora 2017, 173).[44] And yet, in spite of the fact that 30% of the EZLN at that time was made of women, women who had demanded they be treated equally alongside their male comrades—as stated in their declaration "Zapatista Women's Revolutionary Law,"[45] published the same day as the uprising—there was and still is an apparent disregard for women's political contributions. This disregard is made clear in the interview with Castillo, when Marcos fails to mention the significance of women leaders, such as Major Ana María, who led the occupation of the Municipality of San Cristóbal on January 1st, 1994, or of Comandanta Elisa, a founding member of the FLN. The Subcommander's only references to important women figures are at a latter point in the interview, when he discusses the relationship between the mystical realm of the forest and the stories that inhabit the natural world.

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[42] The second half of Castillo's interview with Marcos was transcribed and added to the end of Adolfo Gilly and Carlo Ginzburg's letters to and from Marcos in their work *Discusión sobre la historia*, published in 1995. In order to facilitate the reader's access to this interview in the case that they are not able to view *Subcomandante Marco—La verdadera leyenda*, the pages and dates of the interview have been cited here.

[43] In Karen Kampwirth *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba*. State College: Pennsylvania State UP, 2003.

The stories of the forest that Marcos re-tells are aligned with an indigenous time and space that moves cyclically between multiple temporal modes, impregnating the small space of the wooden dwelling:

> Estábamos mero en la montaña, ahí no se metía nadie. En esa época todavía ese sector de la montaña. El lugar deshabitado [de la selva] era el lugar de los muertos, el lugar de los fantasmas, de todas las historias que poblaban, que pueblan todavía la noche en la Selva Lacandona y a las que los campesinos de la zona le tienen mucho respeto. Mucho respeto y mucho miedo. Ahí empecé a tocar y a hacer parte de este mundo de fantasmas, de dioses que reviven, que toman forma de animales o de cosas. Tienen un manejo del tiempo muy curioso, no se sabe de qué época te están hablando, te pueden estar platicando una historia que lo mismo pudo haber ocurrido hace una semana que hace 500 años que cuando haya empezado el mundo…Cuando estaba empezando la noche es cuando salían estas platicas ya fuera de programa, como decíamos nosotros. Empezábamos a platicar y se empezaba, como decirte, como contagiar el ambiente. (Gilly, Marcos, Ginzburg/Castillo & Brisac 1995, 133)

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[44] Mora goes on to note that women's monthly participation in the honor and justice commissions has generally relegated them to dealing with domestic cases, where they have played an important role in "explaining to men why they cannot mistreat women" (Mora 2017, 173). Nonetheless, according to Mora, during her time conducting research, she "never saw [any of the] women participate in the resolution of agrarian disputes" (173).

[45] This was published in *El despertador mexicano* on January 1st,1994.

When Marcos refers to the indigenous folklore, he is sure to mention the devious ways of Ix'paquinte,[46] a menacing female apparition who seduces men and then harms them once she entraps them under her spell:

> Ahí tenían las historias del Sombrerón, las historias de Votán, del Ik'al, el Señor Negro; las historias de las cajitas parlantes; de la Ix'paquinte, que es una mujer que se aparece en la noche a los hombres solos y hace que la sigan cuando ya van a hacer lo que tiene que hacer, se desaparece y deja al hombre completamente…como pasa con los hombres e estas circunstancias. (134)

It is here, in this part of the film, that Marcos imitates how Ix'paquinte "leaves men;" he moves suddenly, loosening his grip slightly on his large AR-15, which up until this point was placed upright, diagonally across his chest.

Marcos' AR-15 is as much a part of his identity as his ski mask; his weapon emphasizes his male leadership and power, imposing its presence onto the viewer as it sits upright on the Subcommander's knee, coming into view before we direct our attention to Marcos himself. What is more, the AR-15[47] has a longstanding history within the US Air Force, dating back to the early 1950s. The sale of both the AR-10 and AR-15 outside of North America, along with their use in the Vietnam War, highlight the global distribution of this type of weapon to fight leftist political ideologies that had begun to gain momentum during the 1960s and 1970s. After slowly being replaced by the M-16 during the Vietnam War, the patents for the AR-15 expired, leaving it to be manufactured for the civilian market from 1989-1994. Coincidentally, in September of 1994—a month and a half prior to Castillo's interview with Marcos—President Clinton's Federal Assault Weapons Ban signed into law the prohibition and sale of assault weapons such as the AR-15.

We cannot discount the significance of Marcos' display of the AR-15 in this documentary film, at a time when the sale of this weapon was banned in the United States. The AR-15's entangled history in US interventionism, power, and global capital re-situates the use of Marcos' and the Zapatistas' appropriation of a weapon invented and employed by the powerhouse of a global market that manufactures, sells, and then bans its circulation, as a show of force and defiant display against NAFTA. For the Zapatistas, "the lines between democracy and violence are blurred in the context of globalization…" (Johnston 2000, 465).[48] The use of this particular weapon, in this instance, is like using the language and violence of the oppressor, against him.[49]

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[46] Although Marcos says it is the ghost of Ix'paquinte, it appears that he may have pronounced the name of the ghost incorrectly and that he could be referring to the ghost of X'tabay, who is also known in the Spanish as "La Engañadora" or the "Deceptive One" (Peniche Barrera 1982, 69).

[47] The abbreviation "AR" is not a stand-in for the term "assault rifle" but is rather an abbreviation for the "Armalite Company," which was founded in the early 1950s. The sale of both the AR-10 and AR-15 to Malaysia and Nicaragua by Colt Firearms highlights the sale of this kind of weapon outside of North America. The information summarized in this article was taken from Sam Bocetta's article in the *Small Wars Journal,* entitled: "The Complete History of the AR-15 Rifle" (https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-complete-history-of-the-ar-15-rifle).

At the same time, it is only in Marcos' re-telling of the story of Ix'paquinte that he begins to disengage from the AR-15. In this space where the dislocation of temporal junctures meld, Castillo, like Ix'paquinte, is like an apparition but one with beneficent intentions; we no longer see or hear her as she disappears behind the camera to retrieve important information about Marcos to share with the world. Whereas on the one hand, Marcos demonstrates the ways in which the stories of the forest aided in his assimilation into indigenous ways of life, the AR-15, a weapon tied to the contradictory notions of violence and neoliberalism, entangles Marcos in the power of the same market that the Zapatistas are fighting against: "…éste no es un ejército que es armado desde fuera, es un ejército que se arma él mismo. Por eso su desarme es impensable. Porque su arma de cada quien le costó su trabajo, es su dinero, es su propiedad, es como si le quieres quitar su vaca al finquero que tanto defiende su propiedad privada: igual" (Gilly, Marcos, Ginzburg/Castillo & Brisac 1995, 139)

Just as Marcos' automatic weapon is tied to the complex neoliberal logics of US capital, Castillo's camera also acts as a shield and bridge that connects her to this hidden inner-world of the Zapatistas and the increasingly globalized world of which she herself has become a part.[50] Castillo's hidden identity off camera is inscribed onto

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[48] The Zapatistas' use of arms was and is an act of self-defense in response to "an unresponsive state" and "the deliberate violence of the cattle ranchers and armed guards who forcibly took control of cleared land" (Johnston 2000, 474).

[49] I take this idea from Elisabeth Burgos-Debray's introduction to Rigoberta Menchú's testimonial published in English as *I, Rigoberta Menchú; An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (2009). Burgos-Debray writes the following of Menchú's use of the Spanish language in her fight to denounce human rights abuses during the 1980s: "Rigoberta learned the language of the oppressors in order to use it against them. For her, appropriating the Spanish language is an act which can change the course of history because it is the result of a decision: Spanish was a language which was forced upon her, but it has become a weapon in her struggle" (Burgos-Debray/Menchú 2009, xii).

[50] Castillo herself admits in her interview with scholar Michael Lazzara that the increasingly globalized world has impacted her work as filmmaker. Nevertheless, she is also up front in revealing the difficulties in producing film or other work related to the past, an explanation that expands on her reasons for working on movements like that of the Zapatistas: "Up to now I've filmed in Chile and Latin America, but with French production and distribution in European cinemas. I try to adapt to globalisation, too, because I can't stick to the rituals of the first post-coup years, which were ferocious: the rites of compulsory remembering,

Marcos' anonymity as she becomes more hidden, disappearing into the movement of the camera as the lens zooms in and out of Marcos' darkly clothed body, bringing his masked figure into greater view. As Marcos' weapon slowly glides down his lap, the temporal structure of this weapon, a tool bound to the history and violence of globalization and US interventionism, is slowly released, making way for the re-tellings of indigenous ontologies to circulate more freely within the filmic space as the camera closes in on his face.

It is in this political realm of documentary film and the absent presence of Castillo's role as filmmaker that her story as a MIR militant enters into contact within this dislocation of time and space. The Subcommander, a revolutionary figure whose past has been separated from his present, and whose new name, "Marcos," a name that begins with the sound and letter of fallen revolutionary MIR leader Miguel Enríquez, is refigured into Castillo's present, allowing her to attach and relocate an important part of her story through the spatial and temporal disjuncture that emerges through her interview with him. Marcos embodies death, but not defeat.

Elaine Scarry's work *The Body in Pain: The Making and Re-making of the World* (1985) discusses the resulting outcome of the incommunicability of pain via the correlation between the absence of an object with the overpowering presence of what cannot be communicated. Pain, in turn, invokes the emergence of an imaginary realm that allows the survivor to create what cannot be communicated. For Carmen Castillo, the re-making of her world is the re-creation of a political self that is reconstrued through her role as a woman filmmaker, as she extracts herself from her primary identity in order to inscribe herself tangentially onto the Zapatista movement. In this film with Marcos, Castillo "works onto" a tragic memory from her past, by reconstructing a narrative that acts as a type of "developmental repair" that allows her to "experience a healing, that did not happen in life" (Hudgins 1998, 330). Dates, locations, and spatial configurations, along with her extensive interview with Marcos, make way for her to re-enact a more hopeful future through the present. Nevertheless, we must not ignore the gendered constructs that this film elicits. Castillo, in her role as narrator, is the only female voice with a history of militancy in this documentary film. References made to important male figures by *El Subcomandante*, such as Ernest Che Guevara, Emiliano Zapata, *Superhombre*, along with the focus of the film being on *El*

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empanadas, this, that and the other. They're rituals that close people in and create ghettos. And the ghettos of the defeated aren't the easiest affective spaces to live in for someone who's suffering" (Castillo-Lazzara 2016, 6).

Subcomandante Marcos himself, reinforce male protagonism alongside the more marginalized identities of women militants. Despite her partial presence on camera, Castillo, in this way, re-positions the role of women's marginality in militancy. Unlike their male counterparts, many women militants across the globe were forced to choose militancy over motherhood or vice versa; in this case, however, her re-imagining of the present and ultimately the future resistance against the forces of neoliberalism through the Zapatista uprising is also a re-structuring of her identity as an activist. The extraction of her voice from her story and body—and the anonymity of *El Subcomandante's* corporality—are suspended within a spatial realm and temporality that reconciles in at moment the gendered representation and participation of women and men occupying the same space, at the same time on equal planes. However, in this case, Castillo is the filmmaker and Marcos is the subject. Castillo, like Marcos, is no longer tied to her primary identity, which allows her the possibility to participate in an alternate space where her filmic production catapults her back to a social memory when revolution and resistance is and *was* believed to be possible. The zooming in and out on Marcos' face is drawn from this desire to know and access this hidden figure; Marcos' anonymity is a mysterious force that pulls her to and from her own story. The dialectal presence of these two subjectivities—male *guerrillero* and female *mirista* and filmmaker—resituates Castillo's return to the past from the present and into the future. For Castillo, this functions visually as a corporal disassociation from the self to another time and place that ultimately allows for her to participate as a "Producer" and "Reproducer" from the lens of her camera. It is as Freud would note in his work on mourning in "Mourning and Melancholia," a type of reconciliation with the past, situated from a place of triumph and resistance instead of a place that rests between death and defeat. Nonetheless, Castillo's marginalized visibility within the film and the hidden identity of Marcos stand in direct opposition to today's leading indigenous, female protagonist Marichuy, whose visible presence has re-centered discussions on indigeneity throughout Mexico. She is a mobile figure whose presence permeates regions outside of Zapatista territory, where her work as a healer and a political voice acts as a call to reclaim that which has been lost to imperialist structures of power. Moreover, the rise of the EZLN has continued to inspire indigenous movements throughout Latin America, reaffirming that a return to indigenous ontologies and philosophies *can* change the world, where there can be many worlds that exist at once; "un mundo donde quepan muchos Mundos" (Principles of the EZLN).

In conclusion, despite the fact that this film is one of the earlist archives on the EZLN, it is surprising to find that *Subcomandante Marcos—La verdadera leyenda* is very rarely mentioned in the archives on the EZLN. This film-documentary is an invaluable production that provides viewers with a window into the unique types of political solidarities that took place among important Latin American militants and global activists at a crucial historical juncture, when the victory of neoliberalism took hold and leftist movements across the globe were met with defeat. Between these two somber junctures sits a film-documentary that is a reflection of hope and resistance produced by *mirista*, survivor, mother, documentarian and global activist, Carmen Castillo.

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