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Blood, organs and other tissues for sale: Diamela Eltit's Impuesto a la carne and the afterwards of the neoliberal development in Latin America.

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"La patria se ríe (con carcajadas ominosas)
ante nuestras heridas históricas que no cesan de sangrar
y la nación no va a reconocer nunca
la magnitud de las infecciones que se deslizan
por los metales de las camas."

*Impuesto a la carne* (2010)
Diamela Eltit

"La cuidad colapsada es ya una ficción nominal.
Sólo el nombre de la ciudad permanece,
porque todo lo demás ya se ha vendido
en el amplio mercado."


As Marx elaborated in *Capital: Volume I: A critique of political economy* (1887) at the moment human labour is sold, the subject participates in an ominous plot where she/he becomes a commodity. In a capitalist mode of production, the subject’s alienation from his/her humanity occurs because the individuals can only express labor through a privately-owned system of production in which he/she is an

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1 Here I’m using the notion of "plot" as an image of a social narrative. What I think Marx is doing on this part of his theory about commodity, fetishism and value is to establish the interconnections among politics, economy and the subject under a capitalist social plot. A plot is composed for events that make up a story, the way events relate to one another in a pattern, a sequence, cause and effect. When Marx argues that it is inevitable for the subject to become a commodity as a result of selling his/her labor, he is setting the plot of how the relationship between labor and the modes of production affects the subject’s notion of humanity. See Marx, Karl. *Capital: Volume I: A critique of political economy*. trans. Ben Fowkes. London: Penguin Classics, 1990. [128].
instrument, a thing. This dehumanization process submits the subject under the exchange transactions of the market, where labor value is detached from the production process and it becomes abstract. Once in the market as a commodity, the subject’s relationship with others changes since the material, political and personal paradigms are transformed.⁴ The sale represents in this dilemma, the main exchange activity in which the market circulates commodities and reproduces itself, its market’s vascular system. In the Chilenean writer Diamela Eltit’s narratives, the body have been represented several times as part of sale transactions, in which it is consumed, manipulated and eventually thrown away as garbage.

The main argument of this work is that Impuesto a la carne (2010) by Diamela Eltit uses the image of a hyperbolic sale of human bodies, blood and organs to represent how the neoliberal development in Latin America has radicalized the objectification of the subject and surpasses his/her psychological and physical limits. Under this neoliberal context where the novel is inscribed, it is not enough to sell one’s labor in order to acquire the means for living an appropriate and healthy life.

2 According to Marx, value is "abstract human labor objectified in the commodity” and as a consequence labor circulates as part of the arbitrary exchange transactions of the market as an object (Marx. 126-128). See also Langman, Laura & Devorah Kaleki-Fishman, eds. The Evolution of Alienation: Trauma, Promise, and the Millennium. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. [181-182].

3 The treatment of human beings as a thing, disregarding his/her personality reproduces the same paradigm in all human relations and his/her environment. The denial of his/her autonomy, the notion of human ownership, the idea of human as an exchangeable object, and the possibility of been treated as if it is permissible to damage or destroy him/her are the consequences of the detachment of human nature. Since mid 1970’s the advance of capitalist neoliberal development has undergoing a process of profound social restructuring. The moral imagination, notions of poverty, family, solidarity and social exclusion have notably changed under the new unregulated market. See Silver, Hilary. “Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms.” International Labour Review. Vol. 133, 1884, [5-6].
With the image of selling bodies, organs and blood, the narrator is representing the logic of fierce consumption of the system and consequences, the afterwards of this economical development in Latin America. This version of the history executed through fiction, contrasts with market's discourse of abundance, prosperity and wealth, in turn Impuesto a la carne presents the physical and psychological disintegration of the cultural subject of this century under the neoliberal regime.

This novel imagines the nation as a terminally ill person who is waiting in an emergency room without hope or remedy. As Sandra Cornejo proposed in her book review: "Diamela Eltit: La fuerza del cuerpo," this book "tiene la virtud de ofrecernos una versión inédita de la realidad." This unedited version of the truth can only be found by the author through literature.

As it has been well established by the critics, the body is the main character in Diamela Eltit’s literary work. For Eltit, the body becomes the surface where this narrator inscribes her own version of the truth. If we go back on her narrative

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6 Critics like Mary Beth Tierney-Tello, Bernardita Llanos Mardones, Francine Masiello, and Michael J. Lazzara to mention some of them, have concluded the importance of the representation of the body in Diamela Eltit's narratives as a metaphor where she inscribes the disintegration of society as a result of the new market logic under neoliberal context. See Masiello, Francine. El arte de la transición. Buenos Aires: Editorial Norma, 2001. [45-93].
7 Michael Foucault idea of the body as a framework of power relations is very important for Diamela Eltit's notion of body and its function in literature. Foucault argues that: "This political investment of the body is bound up, in accordance with complex reciprocal relations of power, with its economic and domination, but, on the other hand, its constitution...," where the social events are inscribed. See
trajectory, her novels have been imagined with different notions of the body for sale, as part of the new logic of fierce consumption and extreme market's exploitation. In her novel El cuarto mundo (1988) for instance, the girl who is born at the final scene of this story is submitted for sale in the market as a metaphor of a new generation which enters into a different material and political paradigm during Chile's political transition. The post-dictatorial generation represented in that girl will face according to this novel, the conditions of the new capitalist economic order that will be even more radical due to its consumption dynamic and deregulation of the market. Later, in her novel Mano de obra (2000), the writer figured this cultural body within the supermarket, as an allegory in the 20th century of the new political, social and economic relations in the peak of the neoliberal economic development. The narrator of the first part in this novel symptomatically represents his body parts crushed by the weight of a system which is ripping him apart during his labor time in the supermarket. On the second part of Mano de obra, the nation is represented in a house as an allegory of the nation, but this time not any more as a family, thus

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8 If we see the publication date of this novel 1988 it was the same year when the Chile's plebiscite was celebrated. In this consultation Pinochet was rejected by the Chileans as a president of that nation. However, by that moment all the privatization reforms and deregulations of the market where well established. The new democracy was entering to Chile side by side to the new neoliberal regime. See Carrasco Delgado, Sergio. Génesis y vigencia de los textos constitucionales chilenos. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Jurídica de Chile, 2002. See also: Cavallo, Ascanio, Manuel Salazar & Óscar Sepúlveda. "54 - 5 de octubre." La historia oculta del Régimen Militar: Chile 1973-1988. Santiago: Grijalbo-Mondadori, 1997. [571].

introducing a new social paradigm. In *Mano de obra* the nation is represented in a very dysfunctional community of workers living together in a house where the solidarity has disappeared and where the individuals treat each other the same way as the supermarket treats them. For her most recent novel *Impuesto a la carne* (2010), the main subject of this paper, the space of the nation and the body are placed permanently in an emergency room where it is raped, mutilated, and submitted to inexplicable surgeries. Finally, the body's organs, tissues and blood are going to be sold during this narration in an unknown market.

The novel *Impuesto a la carne*, initiates with the following statement: "Nuestra gesta hospitalaria fue tan incomprendida que la esperanza de digitalizar una minúscula huella de nuestro recorrido (humano) nos parece una abierta ingenuidad" (9). Since the beginning of this novel, the narrator wants to leave a record, a memoir that inscribes an alternative account of the history. She pursues the creation of an effective and penetrating image that registers her version of the political and economic consequences of the national transformation represented in this hospital. She is looking for a metaphor that recovers her lost humanity. It is interesting to notice on this part that she puts "humano" using parentheses, as if she wasn't human any more. The narrator is elaborating a discourse through images that only fiction
can provide in a very particular way, beyond the market superficiality or simulacra. This account wants to enter inside the human flesh and mind breaking up with the neoliberal utopia and challenging the "Chilean Miracle" notion of economic development.

According to Luis Cárcamo, in his book *Tramas de mercado: imaginación económica, cultura pública, y literatura en el Chile de fines del siglo veinte* (2007) with the entrance of the neoliberal order in Chile, the new national narratives were transformed. He says that the culture was "(re)imagined" now from the metaphors proposed by the market, transmitting its violent logic on them (11). In Diamela Eltit’s case, the cultural subject is figured as a sick person in this novel, a prisoner, incapable of imagining a different alternative to this condition. In fact, the use of closed spaces like the house in *El cuarto mundo*, the supermarket in *Mano de obra* and in *Impuesto a la carne* the hospital, illustrates a panoptic notion of an economic and political system where it is impossible to escape from. Following the same

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10 According to Baudrillard, since the commodities we use are part of a complex industrial processes, we lose touch with the reality behind the things we consume. In other words, it is capital that now defines our identities ideologically disguised in market discourse. The subject begins to think of his/her own lives in terms of money, in terms of how much is my time worth? How does the consumption of commodities define himself/herself as a person. See Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and simulation*. trans. by Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994. [1-20].

11 This notion of "Chilean Miracle" was used by Milton Friedman as part of the integration of Chile’s economy after the dictatorship, to his new neoliberal vision. See Cárcamo, Luis E. *Tramas de mercado: imaginación económica, cultura pública, y literatura en el Chile de fines del siglo veinte*. Santiago: Cuarto Propio, 2007. [148].

12 As Foucault argues, the process of modernization contains disturbing effects related to the subject and the control of government over society. He explores ways in which government has claimed control over the society and private aspects of personal lives. In order to maintain order in a capitalist society, people
sequence of novels this cultural subject is constantly supervised first by the family, then by electronic cameras and supervisors in the supermarket and now by an army of doctors and nurses. Only the imagination has the potential to be subversive from that kind of "supervision" which is precisely what the narrator is doing with this account.

*Impuesto a la carne* presents a sick mother and her daughter locked inside a hospital for more than two hundred years. This is a clear reference of the "Bicentenario de Chile" celebrated in 2010 when this novel was published and also represents a long account of a historic national resistance. The nation now is represented as a hospital which is figured as an image of the relationship between patient and doctor. This relation is based on the notion of the superiority of the former and the weak body of the latter. The narrator says: "Moriremos de manera imperativa porque el hospital nos destruyó duplicando cada uno de los males. Nos enfermó de muerte el hospital. Nos encerró. Nos mató. La historia nos infligió una puñalada por la espalda" (9). Here the text is making reference of how certain

historical events were crucial in the destruction of the subject represented as a sick person and a nation. These events are related with the Pinochet’s coup in 1973 to Allende’s government. The dictatorship, in fact, isolated this nation and submitted its subject to torture, disappearance, and death. Eventually the nation was submitted as well to the discipline of the market. As the narrator says, the nation will never be the same after those events.15

Using the hospital as an allegory of the nation, the narrator captured in the medical metaphor, the agony of this individual and collective body: "De inmediato la nación o la patria o el país se pusieron en contra de nosotras" (10). Implying with this image the irreversibility of an inevitable death as a consequence of the bloody dictatorship which not only terrorized the nation, but also introduced the experiment of the neoliberal economy which scientifically, surgically, and medically destroyed the possibility of a different future from this barbaric market development.16

Tomas Moulián in Chile actual: anatomía de un mito (1997) analyzes the contrasts and contradictions of the transition process to democracy in Chile after Pinochet’s dictatorship. He argues that this process only served to establish neoliberal policies that were later responsible for severe economic crises (13). On one hand, there were "juntas" or special committees organizing the search for the

15 The terror used by Pinochet’s regime worked as a method to restructure the Chilean people subjectivity until the point of permanently change their cultural narrative. See O'Shaughnessy, Hugh. Pinochet: the politics of torture. New York: New York University Pres, 2000. [85-90].
disappearances and looking for justice for the tortured people under the Pinochet’s regime. On the other hand, there was the narrative to forget, which proposed the "brain wash" and at the same time introduced the reconstruction of the country within the neoliberal vision of the market (11). The degeneration of the mother’s and daughter’s bodies in this novel is a metaphor of the destruction of the subject, not only through the dictatorship regime, but as a consequence of what came after.

In fact, the narrator makes reference of the first "medical" intervention which broke up their destiny and the destiny of the nation. The narrator says:

Con una precisión documentalista mi madre me contó que el médico, el primero que se apoderó de nuestros organismos, la miró despectivo o no la miró, sino que se abocó a la estructura de sus genitales y el conjunto tenso de los órganos. Lo hizo con una expresión profesionalmente opaca, distanciada. Y luego se abalanzó artero para ensañarse con ella de un modo tan salvaje que en vez de examinarla la desgarró hasta que le causó un daño irreparable. Mi pobre mamá se sentía morir molecularmente y ese médico provisto de todo su poderoso instrumental le arruinó el peregrinaje.

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17 Pinochet dictatorship in Chile was an economic project which radically transformed this society from a welfare state model to a neoliberal economy controlled by the market. This project brought racial and class discrimination against the popular classes who were persecuted. Pinochet’s methods for reprogramming Chilean minds was well known: torture, murder, disappearance, and exile. See also Alexander, William L, ed. Lost in the long transition: strategies for social justice in neoliberal Chile. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009. [1-40].
The violent image of this first intervention by this doctor works as a metaphor of Pinochet and his dictatorship. This doctor performed this surgery on the very intimate structures of the nation’s body represented here as a sexual assault on the mother which eventually prepared the ground for the neoliberal market. 

Naomi Klein in her book *Shock Doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism* (2007), argues that Chile constitutes the *locus* of the "violent birth" of the neoliberal economy (99). In this novel both mother and daughter say that this first doctor "las hizo nacer a las dos," and "se inició una nueva etapa que incluso favoreció la medicina misma" (13). Their birth was the product of a violent rape which represents the violence of Pinochet’s regime. The medicine what she is talking about, I argue, is an image of the "therapeutic shock," that Klein uses as a representation of this economic transformation. This is the "shock" introduced by the violent dictatorship which transformed the individual and collective narrative. However I also argue that the narrator is making reference to the same medicine that Milton Friedman prescribed on his visit to Chile in 1975. In his speech he said: "The fact is, Chile is a very sick

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18 Sabine Sielke in the book: *Reading Rape: The Rhetoric of Sexual Violence in American Literature and Culture, 1790- 1990* (2002) argues that the representation of rape has been a major force in the cultural construction of sexuality, race, gender, class, and national identity. She analyses the complex anxieties that motivate this constructions within the cultural imagination. This is not only an image related with sexual constructions of gender but also sexual violence has been a conventional troubling trope for other concerns and social conflicts (1- 12).
country, and the sick cannot expect to recover without cost." Right after this, he described his solution to Chile's economical crisis as "sour medicine" necessary to lead Chile to his neoliberal economic vision.\textsuperscript{19} I argue that Eltit places this novel using this metaphor of the hospital and the sick subject in clear and direct reference of what Milton Friedman said about Chile as a sick nation. What Eltit is illustrating with this novel is precisely high price of the neoliberal medicine.

After the description of their sick bodies using a rigorous symptomatology, the image of selling blood and organs emerges as an outstanding metaphor which captures the essence of the material and objectification logic in this neoliberal economic context. The narrator says: "Yo estoy segura de que las enfermeras venden nuestra sangre, pero dónde o ante quién podría denunciar esta irregularidad o esta franca tropelía. Sí, ante quiénes me atrevería a deletrear la palabra sangre o la palabra venta o iniciar un juicio criminal rotulado como malversación sanguínea" (6). The blood of these women along with the blood of other patients from the nation/hospital will be sold in an undetermined market. This represents how the dehumanization of the body allows the violation of its physical and psychological boundaries by the new material order.\textsuperscript{20} The same way the vitality of human beings is represented in the blood, as an essential fluid, which circulates around the body, the same fluid is


the main component now for the circulation of the capital.\textsuperscript{21} The blood is taken away by the capital sucking labor as blood, emptying the body of its humanity. The nurses at this monstrous hospital reproduce the Marx’s image of the capital as a vampire: “Capital is dead labour, which, vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks” (226). This stage of neoliberal development is imagined on these pages of Impuesto a la carne using the same metaphor that Marx uses as part of his theoretical representation, the difference is that fiction makes more vivid and ominous this image of the capital, in fiction this trope is more dynamic.\textsuperscript{22} Capitalism in this novel is embodied in the corps of these doctors and nurses of this allegoric space of the hospital. It is an entity which empties the subject by extracting his/her vitality. The blood constitutes the mysterious matter contained in the objects-commodities, the abstraction of the human labor. Using the image of Deleuze and Guattari of the capitalism as a "body without organs," I argue that in this novel the

\textsuperscript{21} Marx argues in Capital, Volume I. "If capital money " comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek, then "capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt (266).

\textsuperscript{22} Metaphors are pervasive, not only linguistically but also in thoughts and actions. If our conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical, literature more than any other discourse have the ability to impact our notions of historical events and reality. The image of the human body for sale pretends to challenge the abstraction of human value in the neoliberal market by the direct representation of the human as a thing. In this case literature is exposing in addition an intellect image, a visual one, illustrating the consequences of this economical development. See Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. Metaphors we live by. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. [14-15].
new corporate nation takes away the blood and the organs of the subject and it uses those body parts for its functioning and reproduction.  

The narrator is constantly emphasizing that her blood will be sold in the market making this metaphor the central image of this account: "Caminamos con distintos grados de seguridad ante la sangre, la mía y la de mi madre, nuestra sangre que se va a vender en la trastienda de un mercado desconocido pero seguramente devaluado y transitorio" (81). The devaluation of the blood price represents here the devaluation of the labor exposed as a commodity in the global market. The reference to a transnational market which depreciates the money-blood of the nation, constitutes a metaphor of a radicalization of this deregulated market and its new competition rules in the global scenario.

These nurses extract blood from different hospital branches as a representation of a global market. As part of this competitive system and the uneven capital development, she knows her blood has a disadvantage.

Eltit in this narrative purposely surpasses the body’s physical limits represented on these almost cannibalistic surgeries as an image of the radical transgression of the

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23 In Mano de obra for instance, the narrator of the first part is describing part by part his tortured body as a different manufacturing part of an industrial machinery. I argue that this dismembering of human body into separated parts works as an image of a structure which take those parts to complete its own body, making of human pieces an unlimited source for replacements. See Deleuze, Gilles & Felix Guattari. Anti- Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983. [1-16]. This book is in full text at http://1000littlehammers.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/anti-oedipus-fixed.pdf.


subject body and psyche under this neoliberal order. The narrator continues: "Siento que me voy a desmayar porque la enfermera de turno ya me ha sacado demasiada sangre que va a vender a un precio razonable mezclada con la sangre de mi mamá que tiene que enredarle sangre gratuitamente a nuestro hospital patrio, a nuestro recinto nacional, a todo el territorio hospitalario del país para que la mantengan viva las enfermeras que sirven a los médicos con una dedicación no sé si voluptuosa pero si insensata" (70). The reference here about "demasiada sangre" remarks an emphasis about the extreme exploitation suffered by the today’s subject.26 The neoliberal logic is always pushing the limits of the body and the human psyche by extending the labor time, not taking in to account the worker’s health and work place conditions. As Eltit represents in her novel Mano de obra, workers’ exploitation under this deregulated market has broken the body beyond its capabilities. After the blood is extracted, the same thing as when the worker spend years of selling labor, the body is destroyed and eventually becomes human industrial trash, like parts of a machine that are not useful anymore, which happens with these two women at the end of this story.

During this narration, the girl describes the medical institution as a structure that allegorically works as a corporation which determines what to do with their blood and organs: "No lo sé, no estoy segura pero si es completamente verídico que

entendí con una claridad iluminada que ese médico iba a poner precio a mis órganos. Lo haría una vez que yo hubiera ingresado al cautiverio que me ofrecía y más adelante comercializaría mis retinas en el mercado manejado por el cuerpo médico y sus enfermeras” (102). Everything is subject to be sold, the labor, the blood, the organs as machinery parts, as things. This dismemberment of the body treats the subject as an object representing the extreme consequences of the dehumanization of the subject under neoliberal development. These women, the mother and the daughter represent the history and the actual generation. They are still together, inseparable as a representation of how the historical events are part of our present.

Both of them are terminally ill, as an allegory of a different reality of the nation. Meanwhile the market is insisting on its discourse and promise of prosperity and its wealth this narrator is showing the contrary, taking away the mask of this economic developing and demonstrating its dark face.

At the end of this novel, the mother considers selling her organs as an economic solution, thus reproducing the same violence which is going to destroy her at the end. The narrator says: "podríamos rifarlo, rifar un riñón o dos, uno mío y uno tuyo" (132). She continues:

Entramos en un tiempo sorprendente, proclive a los desmanes sexuales, incluso a comportamientos orgiásticos [...] para qué saco las cuentas si nada es suficiente en este tiempo que se come todo, que se come todo,
que se come todo, y así, ¿cómo nos compramos los remedios?

¿dime? Yo ya ¡Ay qué vendo! Un enfermo me dijo los dientes, pero no puedo vender mis dientes ¿qué vendo? (137)

When the narrator says "todo se come," represents that everything is subjected to this consumption logic, even the human body. That’s why as Frantz Fanon proposed in his book The wretched of the earth (1961), "violence reproduces itself," in this case the narrator reproduces the system logic of consumption in a horizontal way (34).  

Since the mother cannot defeat the dictatorship of the market, she is reproducing its logic as a possible solution for her sick condition. The nation becomes as an image of a very strange hospital, where on the contrary of cure and returns its health, it is making this collective subject even more sick, as an image of an terrible morgue of humans remains.

Nelly Richard, in her article "Las marcas del destrozo y su reconjugación en plural," in agreement with Alberto Moreiras, says that the post-dictatorial thought: "es un pensamiento que transitó, esperanzado, desde la violencia militar hacia la recuperación democrática pero, también, desesperanzado, desde el fervor militante de los grandiosos ideales revolucionarios y de las solemnes convicciones históricas hacia el escepticismo del valor que hoy cultiva el indiferente relativismo del mercado neoliberal" (103-104). The neoliberal order made the subject believe that this is the

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only way of life. The market's narrative sold the dream of the possibility to be rich by exacerbating the subject's notion of individuality and breaking up the human psyche reproducing its logic in his/her subjectivity. That's why the mother in this account, is considering to sell her organs, as a solution that can provide her the means to save herself under these extreme conditions. In this nation-hospital it becomes normal this violence executed against patients, and it implies the normalization of this illness as a human condition, or the acceptance of this extreme exploitation without a fight.

In conclusion, the body, the blood and the organs that have been sold in this novel represent the ultimate consequence of the neoliberal economic and political project. This experimentation started in Chile with Pinochet's dictatorship who transformed the country as a laboratory for the new neoliberal project-medicine. In this nation-hospital we can find the "guinea pigs" where this experiment took place by 1973 and represent today's continuous experimentation by the neoliberal medicine. However, this major surgery has been expanded beyond Latin American borders spreading its medicine-logic to the rest of the world. At the end of this account, mother and daughter are ground up by the industrial machinery of the neoliberal development, fused, transformed into bodily waste and finally sold in pieces in an uneven and unknown international market.

28 Concepts like "American Dream" or "Neoliberal utopia" make reference to the promise sold to the society that under a complete deregulated market and competition nations and its subjects can find an unlimited way of enrich themselves. This novel contrast this "dream" as a nightmare. The freedom the enrichment only apply for certain sector of the population, a very little part of it. See Harvey, David. A brief history of neoliberalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. [28- 40].
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