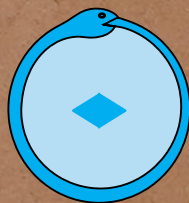
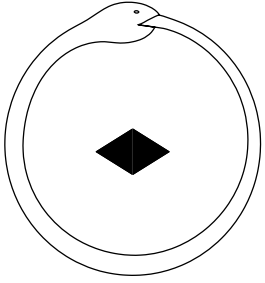


THE DREAMS THAT  
LITHIUM IS MADE OF  
Liam Seeley



notebooks  
SELVAGEM



# THE DREAMS THAT LITHIUM IS MADE OF

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This is an edition of a paper written in January 2021 by Liam Seeley<sup>1</sup> as part of his degree in Literature (Spanish and Portuguese) at Princeton University, in the United States. The article was written under the advisorship of Pedro Meira Monteiro. All the images reproduced below were made by Liam.



no sono rancoroso dos minérios,  
dá volta ao mundo e torna a se engolfar  
na estranha ordem geométrica de tudo  
Carlos Drummond de Andrade,  
*A máquina do mundo*<sup>2</sup>

It would be impossible to start anywhere but the subjective — there is little way to package a 4,000 square mile space into an introductory paragraph that is not in some way sensorially grounded. For the Salar is, if anything, a space made legible (and illegible) through the visual.

My approximation begins, then, in January of 2019, halfway through my year-long, university-sponsored residency in Bolivia alongside 7 peers, grounded in Cochabamba. My recollection of the Salar is admittedly imagistic, mediated through those reflections I can now grasp occasionally in the photos on the digital apparatus that on one particular January day captured them. The Salar de Uyuni, for the intrepid, capitalized Western body and its sensorium, can be profoundly disorienting — a self-aware subject-emplacement is made nearly impossible without typically experienced visual markers that separate foreground from background. One's own body is distanced from the self in a place where the sky is perfectly, mimetically subsumed by the reflective few inches of water that cover the salty skin of the flat surface. Upon arrival, we try to make sense of the absurd in language: it is the *fin del mundo*, an impossible mirror, another planet. A dream. For now, we content ourselves with its unreality.

Marooned in salt and with immense cacti as our interlocutors atop the Isla Incahuasi, our long-term Bolivian instructor Pedro informs us that the Salar was formed long ago (or perhaps not so long) by the nearby mountain, Tunupa, whose breast milk and tears mixed across the expanse of the immediate world when her child died.<sup>3</sup> We move on to take pictures, playing with perspective, much as the Salar has played with us — beneath a playful giant's foot, perspectively shrunken friends are about to be squashed. We fit on the edge of a spoon together, metallic

and tiny, as someone else pretends to eat us. We fit in a plastic dinosaur's mouth. Images, like our willingly traveling bodies, ready for circulation. We finally bike our salty shoes to the waiting 4x4, watch the Salar's solar end of the day (*fin del fin del mundo*), and depart. Maybe we looked back a little. I tell this first journey, this first approximation to the Salar, not as a means of nostalgic rehearsal, and particularly not as a means of drawing out a potentially magical or transcendental production of the Salar. My brief material envisioning with the Salar is marked by my non-pertinence, by the 4x4 driven by a Bolivian tour guide, by my US passport and the ID card from Princeton University, whose immense wealth funded my journey.

Tourism on the Salar has risen over the past few decades — local inhabitants, numbering ~50,000 in total (27,000 in Uyuni), see an estimated 80,000 visitors every year.<sup>4</sup> For inhabitants of the Perisalar (Pablo Laguna's term for the communities surrounding the Salar de Uyuni<sup>5</sup>), this tourism is significant, providing a notable source of income and change in lifestyle for many in the area, who traditionally are *saleros* (salt gatherers)<sup>6</sup> or, primarily, growers of quinoa.<sup>7</sup> Thousands of images are published on Instagram weekly tagging the location of the Salar, circulating the space digitally as image, and producing the site as a highly aestheticized stage upon which capitalized and often transnationally-mobile bodies may visually perform. Neatly capturing the contours (and lack thereof) of a surreal space in a couple million pixels, the tourist gaze is increasingly a hegemonic and homogenizing way the Salar comes to be seen.

Yet, despite what these many photos of the 'white desert'<sup>8</sup> would seem to suggest, the Salar de Uyuni is hardly empty. The 2020 Mineral Commodity Summary, published by the U.S. Geological Survey under the tutelage of the U.S. Department of the Interior, estimates that Bolivia possesses 21 million tons of the ~80 million tons of lithium resources that are accounted for globally.<sup>9</sup> These resources are increasingly crucial — the report goes on to state that “lithium supply security has become a top priority for technology companies in the United States and Asia.”<sup>10</sup> In the age of climate disaster, lithium enters global commodity chains as increasingly implicated in techno-capitalist solutions to global climate

change, as petro-capital seeks to reform its way into the green fascist future.<sup>11</sup> Lithium is crucial, for example, in the production of electric cars,<sup>12</sup> a bourgeois technology that enables the individualization of climate change ‘solutions.’ Lithium is a crucial component in a mode of capitalism that promises that reform, ‘clean energy,’ and the commodity will save us from the world-ending processes put in motion by colonialism and racial capitalism itself. Control over its extraction has proved to reiterate patterns of territorial dispossession and environmental violence towards Indigenous groups by the United States government — lithium extraction domestically has meant the imminent desecration of the sacred lands of the *Hualapi* Tribe in Arizona by Hawkstone Mining Inc., backed by the federal government.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, US interest in lithium has been linked to still-evolving understandings of potential involvement in the 2019 coup against the Morales government.<sup>14</sup> There is express foreign interest in a Salar envisioned to be full of lithium riches.

The Bolivian national government formally surveyed its lithium resources — and their potential value — in 1983, a recognition (indeed en-visioning, the making-visible-of) culminating in the direct contractual invitation for exploitation given to the transnational LITHCO in 1989. This mode of neoliberal extractivism of evaporite resources was firmly rejected by Perisalar inhabitants, who, fearing negative environmental impacts on the water table and other forms of dispossession, organized in 1990 a number of actions in Potosí and La Paz that led to the contract’s termination.<sup>15</sup> When the Bolivian *MAS* (*Movimiento al Socialismo*) government came to power with Evo Morales’ election in 2006, a new and improved Plurinational extractivism was promised. The MAS state announced initial state investment in a pilot lithium production plant at the end of 2007, and inaugurated the project in May the following year. Under the direction of COMIBOL (Corporación Minera de Bolivia), the extraction of lithium, which has now involved over \$1 billion USD of state funds,<sup>16</sup> was to proceed for the first time under the sovereignty of a “state enterprise [...] whose profits should serve the country and region.”<sup>17</sup> As many begin to criticize the project’s seeming unfruitfulness one decade later,<sup>18</sup> the Plurinational state remains committed to citing the Salar as the landscape of radical economic hope for Bolivian

pueblos. This way of seeing the Salar circulates not on Instagram, as the tourist gaze does, but in the political, as a potent rhetoric of demonstrative developmental promise.

This essay is my response to this insistent and ubiquitous paradigm of ‘dream’ as a particularly apt metaphor chosen by the media and state actors to convey the situation now unfolding in the most saline south-east corner of Bolivia for more than a decade. English-language media especially have seemed to linger on a narrative of an ‘awakening’ hope in ‘Latin America’s poorest country,’ which until recently might have seemed condemned to the colonial and neocolonial nightmare — that which was inaugurated in Potosí in the 16th century, and supposedly unending through to Bolivia’s ‘sleeping’ pre-modernity. Articles have consistently appeared with titles including “Lithium Dreams: Can Bolivia Become the Saudi Arabia of the Electric-Car Era?” (The New Yorker, 2010), “Bolivia’s Lithium Boom: Dream or Nightmare?” (openDemocracy, 2015), “Bolivia’s Lithium Dreams” (The Virginia Quarterly Review, 2010), “Dreams of a Lithium Empire” (Science, 2011), and again, “Lithium Dreams” (NewScientist, 2015). Either journalists’ creativity is increasingly tired — or ‘dream’ points to an important materialization of a visionary politics at play on the Salar.

Sociologist Anna Revette, in her 2016 doctoral thesis about the Salar de Uyuni’s recent role in the extractive regime of MAS, certainly doesn’t miss this point. Entitled “Extractive Dreams: Unearthing Consent, Development, and Lithium in Bolivia,” Revette’s thesis draws out the ways in which government officials involved in lithium development reproduce an oneiric discourse and politics. For example, the governor of Potosí, in a speech given in Uyuni in 2013, spoke of the MAS developmentalist paradigm that exchanged Salar extractivism for the *buen vivir* of public social spending: “This is a dream for the people of Uyuni.”<sup>19</sup> One official of the Ministry of National Evaporite Resources said of the lithium industry that “it is not a dream, but a concrete result.”<sup>20</sup> Evo Morales, promising to New Yorker reporter Lawrence Wright that “there will be lithium cars coming out of Bolivia,” went on to say that “this is the dream. Without dreams, what’s anything worth? Dreams become reality.”<sup>21</sup> What the aforementioned English

media recognize, and what Revette makes explicit, is that for state and techno-bureaucratic actors, ‘dream’ is something that has already happened. Dreams are coming true. This discourse implies that, with the first ton of lithium now industrially and plurinationally extracted, Bolivia is at the precipice of ‘waking up.’

I’d argue that the insistent overemphasis on official developmental dream discourse has obscured all other ways of envisioning the Salar. That is, in the wake of a state project that promises it is ‘waking up’ the plurination to the *buen vivir*, insufficient attention has been paid to the quotidian dreams of the Salar’s inhabitants. What happens, then, if we take the ‘lithium dream’ seriously? How does dream, understood literally as the envisioning modalities of embodied dreamers — and not as a developmental metaphor — come to see the Salar otherwise? Who is dreaming, and how do they come to see? And finally, if the Salar is somehow both a space of dream and reality — is ‘awakening,’ as Evo promises, even possible?

While previous work on the Salar explicates well the ways in which the techno-bureaucracy of the Plurinational state figures dream as a rhetorical and developmental hope, this paper emphasizes a different and everyday dream as a way of seeing and being. I consider dream to be distinct from an ‘imaginary’ in that it implies embodied subjectivities, or *dreamers*.<sup>22</sup> In using such a term, I aim to not abstract or reify ‘Indigenous’ envisionings, whilst also attempting to emphasize that the seeming immateriality of ‘dream’ is not ungrounded or incorporeal. I will argue through *Salero* (Plunkett 2016) and a smattering of anthropological works that dream is mode of perception, an or an embodied epistemology wherein time and space is non-continuous, and therefore radically ontologically open. This dream perception, or envisioning, involves aural and vestibular visualities that relate the material with the less-phenomenalized. Thus blurring the lines between awake and asleep, quotidian envisioning perceives an ontological image that, unlike rhetorical state dream, accounts for the densely layered, social-historical — and futural — topography of the Salar de Uyuni.

## DREAM AS A WAY OF SEEING

Dream occupies an incredibly wide denotative realm, referring to a sleeping imagination, the way hope is literally envisioned, or even to modes of prophecy. As I've already hinted, this paper is disinterested in dream as a purely rhetorical referent for aspiration or the future. Instead, we begin from the simple definition that dream is a way of seeing. It is, I'd argue, the foundational vision of cosmovision.

Anthropologist Koen de Munter, following sustained work with alteña *Aymara* families, argues for the term 'cosmopraxis' rather than 'cosmovision,' as "modes of relating to and learning in and with the world are mediated through *practices and experiences, not through ideas and mental representations.*"<sup>23</sup> While this is certainly true, I'd argue that not all forms of vision are engaged in the formation of mere mental representation, as a 'lesser' form of experience. In fact, dreams in *Quechua* and *Aymara* practices are ways of seeing that are attentive to and in direct communication with the world, not merely modes of subjectively representing something inherently and permanently exterior. As di Salvia puts it — "they [here *runakuna* in South-Peruvian Andes] believe that their oneiric experiences have the same veracity as those produced in a state of wakefulness." While dreams in *Quechua* culture often come to be apprehended through narrativization and semiotic interpretation, they are still distinctly "extra-personal."<sup>24</sup> Likewise, in nearby *Aymara* cultures in northern Chile, dreams are "a source of supplementary information"<sup>25</sup> for the dreamer. That is to say, dreams are not emergent from the inner psyche, as Freud might have it, but are already "out there in the world" and eventually make their way to the dreamer.<sup>26</sup> Dream in this sense is deeply cultural and political — not pathological — as it is nascent from a collective 'exterior' of social space.

Andean dreams are an extension of a quotidian existence whereby the materiality of the world itself is animated. This 'animacy' is most commonly understood through the *apu*, a *Quechua* term mistakenly translated as a mountain's 'spirit,' but which actually refers to the mountain itself, as an animated materiality with an 'animus.'<sup>27</sup> For example, "during dreams, a human's *animu* can meet that of a mountain



and receive advice or reprimands.”<sup>28</sup> Andean dreams — or quite simply, dreams — extend the apprehension of an already-animated world, as modes of seeing or communicating more clearly or differently. They are therefore not subjective encounters with unconscious time-space, but a visual, cognitive attention open to multiple time-spaces, or multiple *pachas*. As di Silva notes, following Gerald Taylor’s 1999 study of Huarochirí rites and traditions, “the lexical root of *mus*, of the Quechua verb *mosqhoy* (to dream), ‘corresponds to the idea of immediate cognition.’”<sup>29</sup> Thus, dream is predicated on an ontology that understands the world as a site where the phenomenological contains more than what is materially immediate. In the simple terms of visibility, dream attends to the supposedly ‘invisible’ as much as the ‘visible.’

Demonstrative of this mode of ‘attention’ or ‘seeing’ are the Salar’s many *chullpa* — what anthropologist Pablo Cruz defines as “sites of social memory that regroup all those [semi-archaeological] elements that can’t be identified with the genealogical or historical past,” but that instead pertained to “a pre-solar epoch, a world of penumbra where colors and things weren’t totally differentiated, where there was an abundance of water, one could communicate with plants and animals, and rocks were molded as if they were raw clay.”<sup>30</sup> One such *chullpa* near Colchani, for example, is a cave that contains a mummy that had been opened up to tourism by the local community, but more recently has found itself temporarily closed for lack of tourists, even before the arrival of the covid-19 pandemic.<sup>31</sup> Other *chullpa* include the mountain Tunupa; the Isla Jithiksa in the middle of the Salar, where the Plurinational state officially celebrated the Indigenous new year in 2016;<sup>32</sup> or the most intensely visited island on the Salar, Isla Incahuasi,<sup>33</sup> populated by the aforementioned, centuries-old immense cacti, the *jach’a q’iru* (*Echinopsis pasacana*)<sup>34</sup>. All of these different *chullpa* are understood to emanate a potentially dangerous energy that, upon prolonged exposure without protective measures like offerings and ceremony, can cause a condition of *chullpasqa*, or the transformation of one into a *chullpa* entity. Many *chullpa* are considered to be “trans-dimensional portals (*punkus*) that communicate, in determined moments, with the infra-world and the universe of *saqras* [the animate entities, forces, and spaces of the

infra-world, or *ukhupacha*].”<sup>35</sup> Local ontologies do not espouse a visibility that apprehends and produces the space of the Salar as a dimensional materiality of potential use-value, where the *chullpa* are mere representations or ideas, and where the saline, lithium-laden surface is therefore more ‘real.’ Rather, they propose and engage in a visibility that quite literally sees the complete and real<sup>36</sup> contents of animated, historically-contingent materiality.

Here, the visual ‘attention’ of dream is expressly unlike that of the ocular gaze constitutive and emergent from the logics of extractive racial capitalism — a gaze which visual theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff traces directly from the figure of the plantation overseer to state-entangled modes of ‘post-panoptic visibility.’<sup>37</sup> Moreover, dream is clearly not constitutive of a visibility that ‘looks’ from whereupon official visibility is blind, or what Mirzoeff calls “Visibility 2.”<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the Salar is thoroughly penetrated by the gaze of the plurination, which looks to dispossess the space’s right to mineralogical and social opacity<sup>39</sup> in order to extract promised lithium wealth. Instead, as a visual praxis, as an experience of being-with the world, dream is fundamentally a countervisuality, informed by a particular attentive perceptual apprehension of the senses — ocular and otherwise. Thus, rather than cede the ‘vision’ in cosmovision as too inextricably representational, or as a mere inheritance of colonialism and racial capitalism, I’d contend that dream as a way of seeing importantly reactivates the ‘right to look’ as an attentive political-social mode of being directly in and with the world. Visibility is an important site — or indeed sight — from which implicit political claims are made; dream, I will argue, is an important and indeed foundational part of the apparatus of embodied countervisuality on the Salar.

Diurnal and dichotic logics — asleep/awake, unreal/real, day/night — tend to dominate official dream discourse, or those of ‘Visibility 1.’ As Evo’s aforementioned statement, that “dreams become reality,” demonstrates, there is generally little room afforded for materiality in dream. Claims made from the valorized epistemic position of ‘waking visibility’ usually insists that all perception is that of a fixed, ‘rational’ reality, while less-meaningful or purely figural ‘sleeping visibility’ insists that perception is merely subjective, surrealist illusion that should be

discounted. Dream visuality responds to the reified categorizations of asleep/awake and real/illusion with what Edward Soja, following Lefebvre, calls the thirding “*both/and also*,”<sup>40</sup> or what Javier Medina, in his essay on the ‘trivalent logics’ of the Bolivian *buen vivir*, calls “*tanto lo uno como lo otro*” (‘*as much one as the other*’).<sup>41</sup> That is, dream is always incredibly material, and the material is also always highly oneiric. Dream implies seeing while both awake and asleep, and neither of these things; it can ‘happen’ as a perceptual state in the day or night or somewhere in between. From this acknowledgement, we might begin to understand all embodied countervisuality as always already dream vision, regardless of the state of consciousness of the dreamer. I’d contend that this broad and inclusive definition of dream is necessary in order to take seriously an ontology we tend to perilously call ‘Indigenous,’ in which different concurrent spaces and times are equally real, noticeable, and present. By turning towards the ‘*and also*’ of dream visuality, we arrive to fundamentally different spatial understandings that account for more than just purely material or purely ideal geographies.<sup>42</sup> Instead, this analytical understanding of dream — a visual position just as awake as asleep, irreverent of the Cartesian categories of material and immaterial — actively attends to the ways in which the animated, historical contingencies of space are constantly being (re)produced through their apprehension. Thus, dream visuality is an open and perpetually incomplete praxis, not a reifying perception.

I hope by now it is clear that ‘dream’ visuality is not lesser perception, nor at all tied to sleep, but that it is merely a more open epistemic position. To begin to explore this point further, we must turn to the dreams of one particular dreamer on the Salar — those of Moises Chambi Yucra.



### THE COLLISIONAL MOMENT (AND ITS IMAGE)

The 2016 film *Salero*, directed by NY filmmaker Mike Plunkett, is a timely and stunning audio-visual study of the Salar, as told through the perspective of Moises, a final-generation *Quechua* salt gatherer (*salero*) from Colchani on the eastern edge of Salar. Reckoning with the rising forces of tourism and technological lithium exploitation near his hometown, Moises confronts the declining economic viability of his ancestral trade. As the film stunningly renders the Salar as a space of intense visuality, we also glimpse a masculinity confronted by the impending loss of the legitimizing affect of his labor. Plunkett's film at its core depicts the dispossession inextricably tied up in the MAS state's awakening dream — the loss of a cultural livelihood, or at least its transfiguration, in the name of a plurinational *buen vivir*.

*Salero*, as most other media on the subject, is strongly imbricated in the discursive and material politics of dream. By treating the film as a potent archive that proposes a perceptual relationship between one particular dreamer, Moises, and the space he occupies, we might begin to arrive to a more thorough understanding of how an embodied dream

visuality sees. Early in the film, set over slow motion footage of a laboring Moises breaking ground with his pickaxe in the sunrise, he speaks of a dream he had:

*Una noche ya me había soñado con que mi carro estaba chocando con un coche de turismo. Y pasó dos años, tres años — pasó mucho tiempo. Un auto vino delante de mí un día, y quiso chocarme, o sea, vino contra-ruta. Me acordé de ese sueño que tuve, y dije— este es el momento. [...] Mi sueño, dije, eso ha sido. Y llegue a la conclusión, dije, no, mis sueños se cumplen tarde, o sea, llegarán a cumplirse tarde.<sup>43</sup>*

In some ways, this reads as nothing more than a coincidentally prophetic dream — nocturnal sleep at some point presented prescient knowledge from the outside about the future world. Therefore, our analysis could quite easily proceed from an appreciation for the semiotic: Moises is anxious about the ways in which tourism threatens his traditional economic livelihood, and so the collision is symptomatic, symbolic of the conflict between global capital and traditional labor. While this is certainly a viable interpretation, with its own emergent political claims, it proceeds from a faulty or limited epistemology that validates as ‘real’ only that which is immediately visible and apparent — here, the ‘actual’ collision. Yet, Moises doesn’t see his dream as a secondary, representational reproduction of an *actual* material conflict whose limits end with and at the surface of the Salar. Instead, there is but one ‘thing’ to be perceived — one oneiric Salar.

In his explanation, the dream and the near-miss collision a few years later become articulable as the same singular point in time — “este es el momento.” Moises sees the present through the dream he had many years ago, which only now ‘completes itself’ by once again arriving to perception. He reaffirms that the dream and the material aren’t separate when he says “mi sueño [...] eso ha sido.” That is, he understands the near-collision not merely as his dream ‘coming true’ or ‘becoming reality,’ but as the *dream itself*. We might draw two conclusions from this. First, the way he comes to see the Salar is mediated through dream — dream

arrives from outside of the self, and the self similarly and mimetically arrives to dream, regardless of temporal disjuncture. This is, as Benjamin writes, a “turning inside-out” of dream, whereby “immanent consciousness itself [is] understood as a constellation of the real,”<sup>44</sup> and where the real is likewise understood as a constellation of immanent consciousness. Thus, dream is not merely a subjective happening or knowing, but becomes a way of seeing, an embodied epistemology.

Second — and more difficultly — with dream visuality, the Salar is *image*. To theorize a space as an image would at first seem counterintuitive — for images are generally spectacles, representational products, while space is fluid, lived, and apparent. This image, however, is not one captured on the tourist iPhone. I’d argue that the countervisuality of dream configures and perceives a *counter-image*. This image is not the absence of form, but the sustaining of multiple forms, resultant of the perceptual synthesis of ‘tanto lo uno como lo otro.’ Of course, the obvious and most classic counter-image that sustains multiple forms would be filmic media — for many, Benjamin included, the revolutionary medium *sans pareil* — but film is often only a series of consecutive images, not a sustaining of the ‘both/and.’ For a dialectical (or indeed trialectical) visuality, the true ‘multiple’ image of simultaneity is not to be found in films that depict the Salar, like Plunkett’s *Salero*, and it is certainly not contained in tourist photography. Instead, the ‘image’ is perceived only in and through what Lefebvre called ‘lived space.’<sup>45</sup> Dream visuality is the apparatus through which lived space comes to be perceived as dialectical image, as theorized by Benjamin: “[...] image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is a purely temporal, continuous one, the relation of what-has-been to the now is dialectical: it is not progression, *but image*, suddenly emergent.”<sup>46</sup> This ‘image’ is at once inherent to dialectics at a standstill, present regardless if it is being perceived; but is also seemingly primed by, or nascent from, a dialectical perception that understands time as non-continuous — as Moises does.

Now, Benjamin’s theorizations pertained to, and were emergent from, objects and obsessions of the early twentieth century European bourgeoisie — the German *Trauerspiel*, Baudelaire, the flaneur, and Parisian urban commodity capitalism. Discussing his dialectical image

alongside visions of the Salar risks absurd anachronism, an unnecessary foray into Frankfurt Marxist thought that carelessly misconstrues a marginalized ontology. It is my hope, however, that my use of Benjamin is more analogous than comparative. Much of Benjamin's work is ultimately rather cabalistic, rendering him for some more of a "Marxist rabbi"<sup>47</sup> than a theorist. His writing on image-space was emergent out of an encounter with vanguard Surrealists in the early twentieth century who sought to combat fascism with quite literally new ways of seeing. Thus, 'image' was one of Benjamin's primary concerns, not merely as a visual product of some sort of photographic apparatus, but as a processual and revelatory space of perception. His development of the term is diffuse but insistent, emerging in his works under a variety of names: the dialectical image, image-space, and even, notably, "dream image."<sup>48</sup> Notably, this final image wasn't some universal, or Jungian primal image, as Adorno mistakenly interpreted in correspondence with Benjamin in 1935.<sup>49</sup> Instead, all of these 'images' were the resultant vector of a certain perception, of a particular dialectical epistemology — end-products (or alternatively, radical beginning-products) of a visual praxis. Benjamin insisted on this praxis of 'dream image' as itself potentially perceptive, and therefore constitutive of, the real.<sup>50</sup> The revolutionary task of modernity would then be to prime mass perception through the dialectical or dream image, as a way of relating to or reading fragments of time, towards an "anthropological materialism."<sup>51</sup> Thus, his writing proposes a political epistemology that is radically open to the possibility of that "flash" of contingency of the past, which would then produce the 'habitable image' from which relational possibility is imminent. Image is politics.

It is certainly not my intention to prescribe all the other revolutionary superlatives that came with Benjamin's theorization of the dialectical image to the Salar, or to the people that dream within it. Instead, Benjamin helps us point to the tiny embodied politics of dream counter-visuality and dream image, as modes of forming and articulating the *buen vivir*<sup>52</sup> through the apprehension and subsequent occupation of the image of the Salar. Just as Benjamin's historiographical method is attuned to the cabalistic, or Jewish-mystic, fragments of synchronous

history that may flash forth in text as image, Moises' lived epistemology as a *salero* is perceptive to the flashing-forth of the simultaneity of political time in the Salar. It is by now hopefully clear that Salar is 'image' to the extent that it is the lived space of a countervisuality.

Thus, if we return to Moises' original dream narrative spoken in the film, it is clear that his Salar is not merely a material stage for a linear progression of events, but becomes a dimensional image in which the past and present can synchronize and articulate their intermeshed concurrence. This articulation of image is not on the terms of 'visible' and 'invisible,' but it nonetheless 'flashes forth' in the "now of recognizability"<sup>53</sup> as a revelatory fragment to the dreamer who looks in lived space. As we've already seen, the epistemology of Moises' dream perceives not a 'continuous' temporal relation, but more of a "dialectical" or constellational one — dreamt collision and real collision at once, collapsed in a singular moment. Dream visuality as a revelatory and non-representational perception participates in bringing the temporal awake/asleep dialectic to a standstill as dimensional, lived space. Reading the dialectic in the thirding 'both/and,' Moises 'excavates'<sup>54</sup> the image as the inhabitable site of political alterity. In other words, Moises performs a sort of ontogenesis 'of and within the image'<sup>55</sup> of the Salar through his dream perception. Henceforth, there is no outside-of image, no referential visual object for image — only simultaneous, sensuous, becoming image-space. Image is all there is, and dream visuality almost can't help but see it.

The dialectical image is important in our conceptualization of dream visuality because it elevates the stakes of perception — what is being perceived is not merely latent geographical space. Rather, entire ontologies of political possibility are born of the way in which historical and dialectical attention is oriented. A symbolistic *buen vivir*, as that promised by the Plurination, is a dream whose materialism is delimited to the apprehension or absence of *progress* as a defining temporality, rendering the realm of the political closed to other possibilities of interrelation. But a *buen vivir* whose epistemology is grounded in the perception of simultaneity, as an embodied and quotidian materialist-historiographical practice of looking, is radically more open to the construction of interrelation, a decentralized politics that makes claims and improves



conditions from the decentralized and inhabited body. The dialectical image, or the image-space of the Salar, elevates embodied epistemology as a foundational praxis of being, rather than marginalizing these views as idiosyncratic, ‘enchanted,’ ancestral, or simply too ‘subjective.’

### THE ATTENTIONS OF DREAM VISUALITY

While we’ve established that dream visuality involves a particular configuration of the temporal, and the ontogenesis of the Salar as dialectical image, we’ve yet to explore its sensorium as an embodied perceptual apparatus. That is — how does dream visuality come to see the dialectical image of the Salar?

First, we must note that Moises’ dream is perceptive of itself; it is conscious of itself as a formative part of the apparatus or visuality of image-space. Put differently, in order to acknowledge that dream and reality are one moment — “*the moment*” — Moises must see himself in both places, or in both space-times, at once. In the flash of image of the singular collapsed moment of ‘dream’ and ‘reality,’ Moises is left not with a dissolution of his subject position, but a resolute acknowledgment of his own positionality as a part of the enmeshed and actively looked-upon network of spatial and temporal happenings on the Salar. This registered self-perception is what we could call a vestibular sense — the inner ear of dream visuality, that which provides an inner sense of corporeal balance.

This orienting sense of balance through which dream visuality passes isn’t delimited to his immediate body, but is also nestled in the mobile, nearly colliding metal bodies that also constitute in some part the vehicular ecology of the Salar. To again turn to his first dream narrative, these bodies aren’t symbolic, but are material constituents of the image and sensed as such by Moises. From an attention that proceeds from within and without the constitutive bodies of image — including technological ones, like the salt truck and the tourist 4x4 — Moises senses the often conflicting simultaneity of space. This vestibular attention<sup>56</sup> is inherently a political claim, tending not to the ocular terms of material, non-dialectical image or ‘reality,’ but to the balance, veloc-

ity, and ‘counter-routes’ of beings — visible or not. A dream visuality therefore doesn’t reify the contents of the dialectical Salar-image, but instead radically attunes to them, proposing a more thorough political accounting-for. Vestibular sensing becomes part of a methodology for the act of excavational ‘reading’ that is the act of living in open ontological image. This vestibular ‘reading’ is at once the *buen vivir*, and the embodied route to it.

Vestibular sense, however, is not the exclusive apparatus of dream visuality in its entanglement with the dialectical image. To register other sensorial components within dream visuality, we must turn to another penumbral happening on the Salar, as again narrated by Moises. Between narratively ‘oneiric’ shots of the Salar in early morning darkness, of chewing coca, and of the moon, Moises recounts:

*Una vez fui a las cuatro de la mañana al salar, muy temprano. Entonces, llegué a cargar a mi móvil la sal, casi cargo unos dos montones, y escucho llorar un bebe. Hay una casa en el salar, desabandonada [sic]. Y ahí se pone a llorar — grita y grita. Llora mucho el bebe. Yo digo, ¿qué me está pasando? No debo hacer caso, mejor debo cargar, y debo irme. Yo pienso que si a ese lugar me hubiera ido, yo me habría encontrado con el Diablo.<sup>57</sup>*

This moment is similarly demonstrative of dream visuality in action, as the material and oneiric blur or standstill so as to reveal their simultaneity, and the abandoned house, the baby, and the Diablo come to constitute the truth of the dialectical image of the space. Although Moises doesn’t explicitly describe the house with the aforementioned *Quechua* term *chullpa*, it would seem to generally conform to its characteristics, as a local site of social memory, and as a portal-like source of dangerous, emanating energy. Indeed, rather than remaining fixed in time as a now empty edifice of some salero past, the ‘disabandoned’ house flashes into the present as a site where a *saqra* — here explicitly named as the Diablo — might access the singular ‘now’ of image in which Moises finds himself. The temporality from which the present is accessed is notably not a

pre-solar one, but is implied to be an extractive colonial one, as Moises goes on to say:

*Porque el Diablo siempre te quiere tentar, siempre. En las minas, o en dónde que existe oro. Es como imán. “Ven a mi”, te dice el dinero. “Aquí estoy. Gáname mucho más”.*<sup>58</sup>

As part of the department of Potosí, the Salar is geographically proximate to the mines of Cerro Potosí, where Indigenous labor was violently forced by colonial authorities to extract incredible amounts of mineral wealth, particularly silver, beginning in the sixteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Moises’ invocation of this extraction, of ‘the mines,’ isn’t merely metaphorical. His dream visuality constellates the *aurally* perceived cries of a distressed baby with the moral evils of extraction inaugurated in the Potosí mines five centuries before. That is, what Moises ultimately hears is in some part the colonial past — not as an abstract separate moment in history, but as a suddenly emergent fact that has synchronously arrived to the present of the Salar, the ‘now of recognizability’ through the potential body of the Diablo and the cries of the baby. His epistemology, which deemphasizes the ocular in favor of the vestibular and now the aural, opens up the temporalities of history, rendering the *chullpa* as materially oneiric and oneirically material image — that is, the dialectical image. We might therefore conclude that the dialectical image of the Salar is not an ocular space, but a multi-sensorial one, as it speaks, moves, and even tempts.

#### THE SALAR THAT DREAMS

We have, through the dreams of Moises, attempted to understand the epistemology of dream visuality, and the ontology of image it forms. While our approach has been necessarily processual, aiming to understand the process of ontogenesis emergent from a certain epistemology, it should be emphasized that epistemology and ontology can hardly be separated. They are instead mutually constitutive — the serpent eats its own tail, or more obnoxiously, the material dreams the dream eating

the material which dreams. Obviously, ‘dream visuality’ and ‘image’ are not the terms on which embodied dreamers like Moises understand their own epistemologies or ontologies. The Benjaminian turn of this paper performs no clarification of how local ontologies actually understand the Salar. Such a project would be unachievable and even dubious; to render local ontologies radically transparent through an analytical gaze would reify Indigenous people whilst distilling cosmovisions. The *ukhupacha* (infra-world), and the *chullpa* that serve as its *punku*, quite simply *are* — they require no special analytical-terminological referent to persist, change, and live as they have since the end of the presolar epoch. I have instead chosen to explore the dream narratives of one particular and highly visible dreamer as an investigation into a small part of the ‘other side’ of official dream discourse on the Salar which has seemingly gone unremarked amidst lithium possibilities.

In other words, my aim has been to explore with Moises and Benjamin the ways through which the Salar is socially perceived, as a mode of quotidian and embodied politics. As I’ve insisted, dream visuality is an important epistemic claim as much as it is a way of seeing — as the right to look is not the urge to materialize the as-of-yet unrepresented, but to create and perceive radical image-spaces from which to elaborate a different *buen vivir* than that prescribed by state officials that see the Salar only as lithium, and who dream developmental dreams. Put differently, Benjamin’s often difficultly articulated — and arguably failed — project of visuality of the ‘dialectical’ or ‘dream image’ finds affirmation in Moises’ changing way of seeing the Salar. The ‘dialectical image’ is in fact already belonging to an everyday mode of processual seeing and being — and is not merely latent in the bourgeois modes of allegory, photography, or film that populated both Benjamin’s writing and positionality. What Benjamin usefully shows, however, is that the perception of image is inherently and modernly political, not representationally aesthetic or nostalgic, as Plunkett’s film would on its own seem to suggest. Thus, to acknowledge the thirding synthesis inherent to the dialectical image — to analytically pay attention to the ‘both/and,’ or ‘one as much as the other’ logics — allows us to notice a different praxis of looking that goes beyond the photos of the lithium evaporation pools that seem to multi-

ply in the header of every NYTimes article about the Salar. That is, it is precisely from this dialectical image of the Salar that a radical and crucially inhabitable politics of the *buen vivir* can be ‘developed’ — not as a state visionary project, but as instead a decentralized embodied mode of seeing and developing a praxis of interrelation, across the Salar’s time, space, and the many beings that write its story. We then might look at the Salar, and see the salt also for its dreams, or for what comes next in the simultaneity of a non-progressive future and past.

Only then are we ready to ask the question — how does the Salar de Uyuni dream? In hexagonal labors of many epochs. In volcanic returns, in seasonal reenactments of a sea that’s just a few inches thick. At night, the salty milky way projects itself from Bolivia into outer space, and the cosmic Milky Way reflects back with a wave. Then the brightness of day configures no horizon — instead, the sky and ground become infinite and pure doubles. Flamingos and tears and cacti slosh around in the centuries. And in the image of space between ground and sky, the Salar de Uyuni worlds.



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2. Carlos Drummond de Andrade, "A Máquina Do Mundo," *Cultura Genial*, 1951, <https://www.culturagenial.com/poema-a-maquina-do-mundo-de-carlos-drummond-de-andrade/>.

3. Lois Jammes, Martin Specht, and Oscar Tintaya, *El salar de Tunupa (salar de Uyuni)* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia: armonía, 2000), 18.

4. Pablo Cruz, "Por la senda de los nuevos ancestros. Dinámicas de actualización ontológica en el espacio surandino (Salar de Uyuni, Bolivia)," in *Ensayos de etnografía teórica*, Primera edición., EntreGiros ; 2. (Madrid (España): Nola Editores, 2020).

5. Pablo Laguna, *Mallas y flujos : acción colectiva, cambio social, quinua y desarrollo regional indígena en los Andes bolivianos* (Wageningen, NL: Wageningen University, 2011), 1.

6. Mike Plunkett, *Salero*, Documentary, 2016.

7. Pablo Laguna, *Mallas y flujos : acción colectiva, cambio social, quinua y desarrollo regional indígena en los Andes bolivianos* (Wageningen, NL: Wageningen University, 2011).

8. Maria Daniela Sanchez-Lopez, "From a White Desert to the Largest World Deposit of Lithium: Symbolic Meanings and Materialities of the Uyuni Salt Flat in Bolivia," *Antipode* 51, no. 4 (September 2019): 1318–39, <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12539>.

9. US Dept. of the Interior, "Mineral Commodity Summaries 2020," USGS Unnumbered Series, Mineral Commodity Summaries 2020, Mineral Commodity Summaries (Reston, VA: U.S. Geological Survey, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.3133/mcs2020>.

10. *Ibid.*, 99.

11. T.J. Demos, "Climate Control: From Emergency to Emergence," 2019, <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/104/299286/climate-control-from-emergency-to-emergence/>.

12. Javiera Barandiarán, "Lithium and Development Imaginaries in Chile, Argentina and Bolivia," *World Development* 113 (January 2019): 381–91, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2018.09.019>.

13. Maya L. Kapoor, "Mining for Lithium, at a Cost to Indigenous Religions," *HighCountryNews*, June 9, 2021, sec. Mining, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/53.7/indigenous-affairs-mining-for-lithium-at-a-cost-to-indigenous-religions>.

14. Aponte-Garcia makes a compelling argument here, drawing out the US consulting firm SKR's upwards reassessment of the quantity of lithium in the Salar; Ivanka Trump's conspicuous September visit to Jujuy; and Tesla's interest in "direct participation in Bolivian lithium" (57). See, Maribel Aponte-García, "Bolivia: A World Power in Lithium, the Coup d'état and the Dispute for Technological Su-

premac y Between the USA and China 1,” *The Journal of Applied Business and Economics* 22, no. 3 (2020): 55-58.

15. Weimar Giovanni Iño Daza, “History of lithium extractivism in Bolivia,” *revIISE* 10 (October 2017): 16.

16. Rafael Sagárnaga López, “Bolivia’s Lithium Boom: Dream or Nightmare?,” *OpenDemocracy* (London, United Kingdom: OpenDemocracy, December 21, 2015), <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1750608433/abstract/13882B5CCBE64D-34PQ/1>.

17. Gonzalo Mondaca, “El litio en Bolivia: un cambio radical de tecnología y mucha incertidumbre,” La nueva CEDIB (blog), 2009, [https://www.cedib.org/biblioteca/el\\_litio\\_en\\_bolivia\\_un\\_cambio\\_radical\\_de\\_tecnologia\\_y\\_mucha\\_incertidumbre/](https://www.cedib.org/biblioteca/el_litio_en_bolivia_un_cambio_radical_de_tecnologia_y_mucha_incertidumbre/).

18. CEDIB, “Bolivia, de la industrialización del litio a la del tritio,” La nueva CED-IB (blog), August 11, 2021, <https://www.cedib.org/destacados/litioenboliviapost/>.

19. Anna Revette, “Extractive Dreams: Unearthing Consent, Development, and Lithium in Bolivia” (Northeastern University, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.17760/D20222630>, 110.

20. *Ibid.*, 116.

21. Lawrence Wright, “Lithium Dreams,” *The New Yorker*, March 15, 2010, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/03/22/lithium-dreams>.

22. I owe this term in large part to the work of anthropologist Timothy Choy on the theorization of ‘breathers.’ See, Timothy K. Choy, “Air’s Substantiations,” in *Ecologies of Comparison: An Ethnography of Endangerment in Hong Kong, Experimental Futures* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2011).

23. Koen de Munter, Jacqueline Michaux, and Gilberto Pauwels, eds., *Ecología y Reciprocidad: (Con)vivir Bien, desde contextos andinos* (La Paz, Bolivia: CEPA / TARI / Plural editores, 2017), 33.

24. Bruce Mannheim, “After Dreaming: Image and Interpretation in Southern Peruvian Quechua,” *Etnofoor* 4, no. 2 (1991): 45.

25. Carla Galaz Souza, “Dreamtelling: Making Meaning from Dreams Using Narrative Practices,” *The International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work*, no. 3 (2021): 30.

26. Bruce Mannheim, “After Dreaming: Image and Interpretation in Southern Peruvian Quechua,” *Etnofoor* 4, no. 2 (1991): 45.

27. Guillermo Salas Carreño, “Mining and the Living Materiality of Mountains in Andean Societies,” *Journal of Material Culture* 22, no. 2 (June 2017): 137, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183516679439>.

28. *Ibid.*, 137.

29. Daniela Di Salvia, “Contribución a la ontología animista andina: funciones, poderes y figuras en los cultos telúricos de los Andes sur-peruanos,” *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 46, no. 0 (December 19, 2017): 97–116, <https://doi.org/10.5209/REAA.58289>, 107.

30. Pablo Cruz, “Por la senda de los nuevos ancestros. Dinámicas de actualización ontológica en el espacio surandino (Salar de Uyuni, Bolivia),” in *Ensayos de etnografía teórica*, Primera edición., EntreGiros ; 2. (Madrid (España): Nola Editores, 2020), 376. Translation mine.

31. *Ibid.*, 372.

32. Ibid., 390.
33. Ibid., 374.
34. Lois Jammes, Martin Specht, and Oscar Tintaya, *El salar de Tunupa (salar de Uyuni)* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia: armonía, 2000). 38-39.
35. Cruz, “Por la senda de los nuevos ancestros. Dinámicas de actualización ontológica en el espacio surandio (Salar de Uyuni, Bolivia)”, 377-378.
36. I resist the word ‘enchanted’ because for Andean cosmovision, this isn’t the perception of isn’t a state of enchantment, because there is no outside-of enchantment. It is only enchanted for the gaze of ontologically unopened capital, which actively produces *dis-enchantment* through alienation. Colonialism and extirpation was a form of attempted disenchantment, but to insinuate that the Salar is an ‘enchanted’ space is to essentialize and delegitimize a meaningful cosmovision as Other.
37. Nicholas Mirzoeff, “The Right to Look Or, How to Think With and Against Visuality,” in *The Right to Look* (Duke University Press, 2011).
38. Ibid., 23.
39. For more on the right to opacity, see Édouard Glissant, “Para La Opacidad,” in *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
40. Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996), 60.
41. Koen de Munter, Jacqueline Michaux, and Gilberto Pauwels, eds., *Ecología y Reciprocidad: (Con)vivir Bien, desde contextos andinos* (La Paz, Bolivia: CEPA / TARI / Plural editores, 2017), 85.
42. This is what I understand Edward Soja’s project of Thirdspace to be aiming to theorize. See Soja, *Thirdspace* (1996).
43. In English: “One night I had dreamed that my car was colliding with a tourist car. And two or three years went by— a lot of time went by. One day a car came in front of me, and wanted to hit me— it was coming directly at me. I remembered that dream I had, and said— this is the moment. [...] My dream, I said, that’s what that was. And I came to the conclusion, I said, my dreams complete themselves late— or rather, they will come to complete themselves late.” Translation mine. Mike Plunkett, *Salero*, Documentary, 2016, 12.50-13.50.
44. Walter Benjamin, “Exchange with Theodor on the Essay ‘Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,’” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, 3, 2005, 55.
45. Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996), 10.
46. Benjamin, in Anthony Auerbach, “Imagine No Metaphors: The Dialectical Image of Walter Benjamin,” *Image & Narrative*, no. 18. Thinking Pictures (September 2007), [http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/thinking\\_pictures/auerbach.htm](http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/thinking_pictures/auerbach.htm).
47. Missac in Anthony Auerbach, “Imagine No Metaphors: The Dialectical Image of Walter Benjamin,” *Image & Narrative*, no. 18. Thinking Pictures (September 2007), [http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/thinking\\_pictures/auerbach.htm](http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/thinking_pictures/auerbach.htm).
48. His primary use of the term is in “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” in which he writes of modernity and history: “This [dialectical] standstill is utopia and the dialectical image, therefore, dream image.” See Walter Benjamin, “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings*,



ed. Michael W. Jennings, 3, 2005, 32–48.

49. See Walter Benjamin, “Exchange with Theodor on the Essay ‘Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,’” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, 3, 2005, 50–67.

50. Walter Benjamin, “Surrealism,” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, 2, Part 1, 1927-1930 (Harvard University Press, 2005), 207–218.

51. *Ibid.*, 217.

52. I continue to use this term rather than the *Quechua* ‘Sumak Kawsay’ or ‘Alli Kawsay’ because Moises’ visuality is directly contrasted to the state neo-developmental articulation of *buen vivir* as a distanced, watered-down version of the utopic notion of the Sumak Kawsay. The visual epistemology of dream I draw out is more likely to fit beneath the label of Alli Kawsay than the *buen vivir*, as emergent from and pertinent to the daily life an Indigenous *Quechua salero*; however, I feel uncomfortable ascribing a highly theorized political visuality to a particular Indigenous epistemology, or to somehow explicate academically what is a marginalized and active mode of living. For this reason, I retain the Spanish mis-translation of *buen vivir*, convinced that it is officially used to circulate to a hegemonic mode of seeing that is directly opposed to the countervisuality that contests it and which I seek to describe. This counter version of the state’s version of *buen vivir* is perhaps constitutive of Alli Kawsay, but I am in no position to assert as much — for a helpfully nuanced discussion of these concerns, see Javier Cuestas-Caza, “Sumak Kawsay Is Not Buen Vivir,” Academic Blog, Alternautas, 2018, <http://www.alternautas.net/blog/2018/3/2/sumak-kawsay-is-not-buen-vivir>.

53. Benjamin writes: “The dialectical image is an image that flashes up. The image of what has been — in this case, the image of Baudelaire — must be caught in this way, flashing up in the now of its recognizability.” See Walter Benjamin, “Central Park,” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, 4, 2005, 184.

54. Walter Benjamin, “Excavation & Memory,” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, 2 2, 1931–1934, 2005, 576.

55. Wellington Cançado Coelho, “Sob o pavimento, a floresta: cidade e cosmopolítica,” November 22, 2019, <https://repositorio.ufmg.br/handle/1843/35246>, 33.

56. This line of thinking is emergent from sensory anthropology, which emphasizes attunement and corporeal knowledge. See, for example: Nicholas Shapiro, “Attuning to the Chemosphere: Domestic Formaldehyde, Bodily Reasoning, and the Chemical Sublime,” *Cultural Anthropology* 30, no. 3 (August 10, 2015): 368–93, <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca30.3.02>; Vivian Y. Choi, “Anticipatory States: Tsunami, War, and Insecurity in Sri Lanka,” *Cultural Anthropology* 30, no. 2 (May 25, 2015): 286–309, <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca30.2.09>; and Elizabeth A. Povinelli, “Fires, Fogs, Winds,” *Cultural Anthropology* 32, no. 4 (November 18, 2017): 504–13, <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.4.03>.

57. In English: “One time I went to the Salar at 4 in the morning, very early. So I arrived to fill my truck with salt, and I filled almost two piles worth, when I heard a baby. There’s a disabandoned house on the Salar— and there the baby began to cry, yelling and screaming. The baby cried a lot. And I said— what’s happening to me? I shouldn’t give it any attention, I should load up and leave. I think that if I had gone to that place, I would have encountered the Devil.” Translation mine. Mike Plunkett, *Salero*, Documentary, 2016, 42.20-43.30.

58. In English: “Because the devil always wants to tempt you, always. In the mines, or wherever gold exists. It’s as a magnet. ‘Come to me,’ money says to you. ‘Here I am. Earn even more of me.’” Translation mine. Mike Plunkett, *Salero*, Documentary, 2016, 43.30-44.00.

59. See Kris Lane, *Potosi: The Silver City That Changed the World* (University of California Press, 2019), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvj7wm45>.

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