

SOCIAL OUTBREAK AND THE RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION

THE VISION OF THE PROTAGONISTS

HUMAN RIGHTS AS A COMMON HORIZON OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT



**COMISION CHILENA DE
DERECHOS HUMANOS**

Title: *The vision of the protagonists. Social Outbreak and the Right of self Determination Human Rights as a Common Horizon of the Social Movement*

@CCDHD

ISBN: 978-956-9366-20-8

Matter: Human Rights

Main Theme 300, subcategory, 323

First Edition (in Spanish): May 2020

Edition City: Santiago

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**comisión chilena de
derechos humanos**

Presentation

Since its foundation, 41 years ago, the Chilean Commission of Human Rights has promoted in our country the establishment of a democratic system based on the respect and guarantee of Human Rights, acclaimed in diverse pacts and conventions coming from the United Nations.

We understand that this is a common task, of the whole society, because we conceive the Human Rights not only as a normative obligation, but also as a necessary tool to transform the society.

During the first years, our institution defended the victims of violations of Human Rights committed by the civil-military dictatorship, and starting in 1990, when the transition initiated, it requested the accomplishment of the specific obligations that the international normative imposes to the post-dictatorship States: Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of No repetition.

In thirty years, the progresses have been slow and insufficient, especially because the structural bases of the political, economic, social and cultural model that was installed by force on September 11th, 1973, are still intact in essence. The Constitution imposed in 1980 is still there. And the ones who defend the status quo, exercise their power obtained during the Dictatorship to preserve it, prohibiting at the same time the accomplishment of the international obligations of Chilean State.

For this reason, we promoted the need for Chilean citizens to recover the popular sovereignty snatched from them with the military coup, in order for them to exercise the right of free determination, established and consecrated in the homonymous article 1° of the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights

and the International Pact of Social, Economic and Cultural Rights

The exercise of that right recognizes that the citizens can freely establish their political condition with a New Constitution and administrate their wealth and natural resources to assure the economic and social development.

The reforms applied to the Constitution during the past thirty years maintained intact the model established by force and didn't open the possibility to exercise popular sovereignty through a constituent process.

Overall, the Constitution inherited from the civil-military Dictatorship is still in place, consecrating normatively the philosophy of subsidiary State, central pillar of the economic model imposed by force, that subtracted to the State its obligation of guaranteeing social rights and economic basis, as disposed in the international normative of the Human Rights, and didn't allow Chilean people to choose sovereignly their destiny.

For thirty years, the social organizations presented permanently their requests about specific rights. High-school students in 2006 and university ones in 2011, along with their professors, demanded the respect of right to education. The Coordinator No + AFP called for a new system to guarantee the right to social security. The workers from private and public sectors require every May 1st in the streets the respect of their labor rights. Women, in their feminist organizations, massively demanded gender equality and the end of violence against women. Settlers also, asking for the right to a decent home, native populations for their snatched rights, journalists for the right to information and migrants for their immigration rights. Human Rights organizations and group of

families requiring truth and justice and promoting memory, the community of sexual diversity their right to be treated equally in dignity, organizations for children and adolescents rights demanding the respect of rights established in the Convention, and art workers mobilizing in name of the right to culture.

Although they understood that the neoliberal model was the structural reason prohibiting enjoyment and respect of Human Rights, the fights were sectorial and didn't present a unitarian expression, despite their efforts.

The social outburst or rebellion that started of October 18th, 2019, was a massive mobilization of Chileans requiring all over the country the overcoming of the neoliberal model and the replacement of the existing institutional order through a new Constitution expressing Chilean citizens' sovereign expression, allowing the establishment of decent life conditions, guaranteeing basic social rights, right to health, education, work, decent home, social security among others. For the first time, that rebellion became a Chilean society's majoritarian demand unifying the organized social world.

The sectorial defense of a specific human right turned into a common fight for the respect and the guarantee of all the human rights institutionally violated by the model in place.

The Government's response, in its defense of the status quo, was a strong repression that turned into a massive, severe and systematic violation of the human rights, meaning deaths, injuries, mutilations and political detentions, infringements affecting to thousands of Chileans and confirmed in four international organisms' reports.

The Chilean Commission of Human Rights considered necessary to recognize the organized social world's protagonism and unitarian work, in the common fight for all people's human rights, with a publication compiling the organizations' diverse visions and perspectives about the social outburst, articles written in the framework of the event or retrospectively. We also include an international opinion about the process.

We believe that the pandemic put in evidence the validity and legitimacy of the causes of that social outburst. The end of the disrespectful inequality and institutionalized abuse, along with the need to establish a new Constitution based on the respect and guarantee of Human Rights, constitute valid requests that we share and promote, because we consider that the only way to reach human dignity is by creating a political, economic and social institutionality ensuring the complete possession and respect of everyone's Human Rights.

DIRECTORY CHILEAN COMMISSION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS

October outburst and the revolt against the model

Luis Mesina Marín and Mario Villanueva Olmedo,

National Coordinators No + AFP

April 2020

Among all the questions future historians will probably have: Why did the outburst of October 18th, 2019, happen? Why did it turn into a popular revolt that lasted for months, when Chile was appearing to the world as a positive example of development and stability?

The outburst revealed people's exhaustion and the depth of the neoliberal model crisis, that model imposed by the dictatorship in 1973 and maintained by the Concertation and new majority Governments after democracy came back in 1990. That model reduced the part of the State, giving it a subsidiary role and building upon privatization in the sector of economy: natural resources, social security, health, education, sanitary services, electricity, water, housing, transportation, among others. A functional extractivist model for an economy opened to capitals free circulation, giving work very little value and opening doors to a brutal accumulation of wealth in very few hands, with one of the highest inequities in the world and complete vulnerability and violation of social rights.

Such a model, imposing individualism and consumption as essence, settled on the creation of a judicial and political superstructure based pillars: first, a labor plan imposed in 1979 by José Piñera, which finally disarticulated and atomized the union movement; second, the 1980 DL 3500 that created the AFP, put an end to Social Security and imposed individual capitalization, which generated the financial cement of the model using workers savings that reached, at the beginning of the outburst, 220.000 million US\$, with in return miserable pensions to most of the retired workers of the country; third, the 1980 Constitution, the clasp that finished up the new institutionality holding the model.

When the students jumped over the subway turnstiles in protest to the rates increase, it provoked the outburst and revolt, but people didn't protested against the 30 pesos, it was against 47 years during which they had accumulated anger and impotence in front of the model consequences: low wages, retired persons with low pensions, health for rich and health for poor, low quality market education, indebtments with banks, retail and basic services, privatized highways, contaminated environment, sacrifice zones, territories without water for human consumption since it was used for mining and agriculture companies, discrimination toward immigrants, repression of native populations, to a point where violation of liberties and fundamental rights, misery, abuse, indignation and rage reached an unusual level and became unbearable.

October 18th was a catalyst. Like a settler said in one of the thousand *cabildo* organized since then: "I realized that those problems were not only mine, that we were many, thousands of persons living in the same situation and that I couldn't stay isolated in my house, that we had to fight together".

The crisis had been brewing for years. As usual, young people and students were the first ones to protest and go to the street. The student movement had expressed itself several times, asking for the right to a public, free and good quality education. A first outburst happened in 2006, with the "Penguin revolution"; later, in 2011, another revolt occurred with university students as main protagonists, but also participation of high-school students and their families, organized in massive marches during Piñera's first administration. Before October 18th arose another protest, the demand for social security and pensions, lead by the *Coordinadora*

Nacional de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras No+AFP. Massive national marches have occurred since July 2016, a self-summoned plebiscite in which 1 million eighty thousand persons participated and other manifestations reflected the pensions crisis and the AFP failure, sustained by the model supporters.

Santiago and the regions, all of these years, were full of manifestations and protests against vulnerability, violation of social rights and privatization, for the right to water, the defense of environment, the right to health and decent housing, marches in Freirina, in Aysén, the feminist movement claiming for the right to gender equality and the end of patriarchy and violence against women.

Facing that, in June 2019, the *Coordinadora Nacional de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras NO+AFP* sent a letter to the main organizations and social movements, Cut, Fech, Feuc, Anef, Colegio de Profesores, Ukamau, Modatima, Movimiento Feminista 8M, Fenpruss, Confusam, Confederación de Sindicatos Bancarios, Cones, among others, called them to a meeting to converge instead of facing separately the model consequences and effects. It said:

“We consider that the social and political convergence of all the movements and organizations is urgent to defend and recover fundamental rights and strengthen this democracy that is insufficient today. We have no time to keep separated fighting for our requests each on our own. Time overwhelms us because the power is taking advantage of our division to maintain its privileges. People are waiting for a sign, something concrete, for us to act together and mobilize ourselves in unity. We have many differences, in tactics and strategy. Yet, at this moment, we have signals telling us to meditate and act in consequence.”

As a result of that meeting, UNIDAD SOCIAL was created, coordinating the social movements and according a MANIFEST TO CALL CHILEAN MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, starting with:

“A sense of indignation, trouble and rage runs in the country, as we feel that injustice, inequalities and impunity are growing, and as we observe that many sectors of the society are affected by corruption and a moral social that erodes most of the republic institutions.”

It continued saying: “We, the world of work, pensions, health, education and culture, housing, territories, water and environment, women, native people, immigrants, among others, we are living day by day the disastrous and sometimes catastrophic consequences of decades of neoliberal politics promoting individualism over solidarity, where the power holders, the enterprise-class and the ones representing it only think about maximizing their benefits, without respecting and violating Chileans’ liberties and fundamental rights (Human Rights, political, economic, social and cultural rights). That increased with the country current administration, with regressive public politics, a systematic growth of repression and the creation of conservative force correlations in the parliament, to reduce even more the few rights we still have.”

It concluded with: “We, the movements and social organizations that subscribe this manifest, decided to modify such situation, we will not stay immobile and resigned, we will not keep marching unsuccessfully. We want a distinct society with more freedom and democracy, more equality and justice, more solidarity and fraternity. **We all agree in that, so we decided time had come to act together.**

“United to stop the capital voracity in all the sectors of our society, to put an end to abuses, repression and attacks to our freedoms and rights, to stop distributing our wealth and patrimony.”

“From such desire of unity and convergence, we decided to agree on a common purpose, that is simply: **the defense and recovery of freedoms and fundamental rights**, the ones that make sense for simple women and men who aim for a good life.”

The manifest ended calling “all the people, all those who are living on this land, all the social forces of this country to mobilize and take action” for a “**great day of national protest**”, that happened on September 5th in Santiago and cut Alameda for more than 3 hours.

All these elements must be considered to understand the magnitude of what has happened since October 18th. Nobody, no group, person or organization can claim the call per se, it arose spontaneously, by word of mouth and through social networks. But what is important recording, is that the outburst turned into revolt because the conditions had been brewing for years for such a social emergence, for that massive protest, for millions of people to go down to the streets and express themselves in multiple ways, passing the political institutionality, the police, the state of emergency and the curfew established by the Government that had put the militaries in the street when it felt overrun.

The power was questioned, and the political stability altered. The revolt implied a participation and political action of people all over the country, and not only those who normally protest about their rights and complaints. The cry “We are getting tired, we are getting together” resonated on the Plaza de la Dignidad, in the marches and on the walls of cities, communes and squares of the country.

There are many written, audiovisual and oral testimonies about the outburst and revolt per se, telling what happened during these months. It wasn't for free. International Human Rights observers denounced the severe violations committed during all that period by the State repressive forces. The National Institute of Human Rights (INDH), in February 2020, registered more than 10.000 persons in jail, 3.765 hurt, 2.122 of them by bale, small bullet and buckshot, 445 with eye injuries, 34 with vision loss, violations, tortures, excessive use of force and the worst, 34 Chileans and some

migrants' death, all that denounced and documented.

It is important to consider that one of the weaknesses of such process was the lack of a clear conduction, and the fact that, at the beginning, there was no program with specific propositions to synthesize the historic demands expressed in the protests. The same can be said regarding the lack of a political opposition in charge of the popular marches and requests. The political parties and the parliament were not up to the situation and ended up approving projects of a legislative agenda with which the Government was trying to stop the revolt without assuming the demands and maintaining the essence of the neoliberal model that was questioned.

From the social world, the organizations and movements grouped in Unidad Social with a unitary purpose but many internal contradictions, tried to play that part. From the first days, the **Bloque Sindical** formed by the CNT NO+AFP, the Anef, the Colegio de Profesores, the CUT, the Confederación Bancaria, health organizations such as Fenpruss and Confusam, trade unions, mine unions and port unions, among others, called the main marches that were structuring and strengthening that revolt in which many other sectors were participating.

Those organizations promoted and called the October 23rd strike and march and the October 30th protests and general strike. That last one marks a landmark, it already had a list of workers' requests collecting the main and historic economic, social and political demands, not just of the working world but also of all the mobilized sectors that were marching in the streets. They demanded the end of repression and violations of Human Rights, the end of the state of emergency and curfew imposed by the Government, and presented the list of requests, requiring a new Constitution through a constituent assembly and stimulating the *cabildos* and territorial assemblies established in the communities all over the country.

It was clear since then that a huge majority of the The citizens understood that, regardless of the limitations of that agreement and the impositions established by the power, what was getting settled was the need of a new Constitution; for that reason, it was decisive to succeed convincingly in the plebiscite voting “I approve” and “Constitutional Convention”, and that way, moving forward to deeper transformations.

The scenario was the product of the social mobilization, but not everything was confirmed and the power, the dominating groups would do their best to twist and crush the popular decision. In that sense, the sanitary crisis resulting from the Covid 19 pandemic permitted the Government to control the movement and try to recover the initiative. Not everything was said, and it is now possible to move forward, but also to go backwards. The basic point will be to maintain the capacity of mobilization and unity. Without unity, there will be no changes. For that reason, it is necessary to count with a common strategy and an adequate conduction, it will be decisive to move forward and obtain the transformations in which so many, in those months of revolt, put their hopes and part of their humanity.

country wanted substantive and not cosmetic changes, and it's not by chance that all the surveys expressed among the main demands: pensions, health, education and salaries. The deepening of democracy, the end of abuses and corruption and the request of a new Constitution are still in first line of popular requests. The old lifestyle is questioned and the owners of power who dominated for decades cannot continue that way, although they look for simulations and try making superficial changes not to change anything in depth.

The October 30th general strike put in evidence that the power was in danger as well as the world of privileges they had established, and also that the revolt was hard to control.

Then, with the threat of putting the army in the streets, approved by some parliamentarians, in the morning of November 15th, 29 days after the beginning or the outburst, started to take shape in the Congress the “Agreement for Peace and a New Constitution”.



Unitarian Central of Workers

Bárbara Figueroa, President

April 2020

To rebuild reflections on the social outbreak, the actions deployed and the analysis of what expressed the mobilizations that have joined the national agenda since October, is a challenging invitation, facing a context of radical and dynamic changes and a worldwide pandemic.

The analysis, propositions and projections of a budding constituent process, the first step of which was supposed to be a national plebiscite on April 26th, were considered as a priority for most of the social actors and political parties. All that framework of deadlines and concretion of efforts to win not only in the streets, but also and above all, in the political and ideological debate to build a new country, all that was suddenly suspended in the context of the sanitary crisis that we are facing now. A crisis that exceeds by far the national frontiers and defies the time, with a particularity that the mobilizations of October didn't have, the fact that it is a globalized crisis. In October, we could follow a process of popular rebellion in other latitudes, but its national identity gave it a special tone.

Yet, unlike what we could expect, the globalized sanitary crisis that we are facing puts in evidence that, although the October mobilizations were unique, we are now learning that the demands massively expressed in the streets starting in October, and before that the organized actors' call and clamor for changes and transformations, those demands were not movement against the Government, but rather a rejection of the way social and political priorities were handled.

If we review the facts, we notice that those organized actors' proposals and the syndicate's

requests condensed in the so called "workers' document", demanded decent salaries and pensions, the right to a respectable work and trade union freedom, a decent treatment of workers and their recognition as the main agents in the creation of value and country growth, instead of an excessive appraisal of the capital and the political mechanism of protection of the enterprises that have defined the country until now.

In our report at the XII Congress of the CUT, on January 24th and 25th, 2020, we declared: *"In times when they tell us that technology will take our place, they forget that there is no instrument created by humans that doesn't require us to be sustainable, even if the pessimistic want us to be scared considering the robotization and automatization, they forget that all the complex systems will require new abilities, and that will not be replaced, at least on a short term basis, by no one except human beings, the workers."*

We do not want a new Constitution with professional rights to feel satisfied, we want it because it is the only way to restore fundamental values, starting with reversing the distorted relation of value creators that exists in our society. We do not want an ambitious social agenda to do a favor to the CUT; it is rather the concrete sign that we expect from all those who believe that we must defeat neoliberalism and for that purpose restore the value work as something essential. We do not want the abuses to stop because we are resentful, but because those abuses are the most brutal expression of the overvaluation of those who have all the conditions to progress and make money but don't spend a dime for the growth of our society."

Those reflections, expressed in our report as challenges, express, today more than ever, the task we must face in this time of crisis. When the value of life is submitted to the market progress and the capital protection, the restitution of work value, as an essential element for the country development and the society well-being, remains crucial.

As we face a world crisis product of the COVID-19 pandemics, the cry “Enough with abuses!” and the political request for a new Constitution, representing the request for deep changes and transformations, strengthens in the context of the sanitary crisis. Although we do not see massive manifestations, that, precisely, implies a deeper consciousness of the fact that it is not the mobilization that explains the demand, but the demand that expresses itself through the mobilization. Therefore, when that mobilization is not possible, it doesn’t mean that is was suspended or modified. On the contrary, it is getting stronger.

That inflection point is what we are facing now. It’s a time when we had to put between parenthesis the mobilization, but our need for changes didn’t disappear. This adjustment to new strategies and actions is the main challenge that we, social actors and trade union actors, are facing.

Our debate is not about the coherence or correctness of changes in times that are different from the ones we were living until last March. The challenge consists in making visible, in this period and in front of a Government offensive with its projects against the rights, the urge for changes and transformations, which puts in evidence that not only opting for the workforce is an ethical imperative, but it also is a necessity if we want to face the sanitary crisis. Besides, we must face with the best tools the economic effects of that pandemic, and that will be possible only if we place as a priority the value of work and growth, the first measure to reactivate the economy, especially the small scale one.

“The money in tax heavens is not what will start up the economy. It will be the workers, with the fruit of our work, who will initiate the growth of our country.”



The ANEF committed with the social protest and Human Rights

José Pérez Debelli, President of the National Association of Fiscal Employees (ANEF)

April 2020

Since the social outbreak, last 18th of October, we placed the entire ANEF structure at the disposition of the population and workers, as well as its history and the legacy of its founders and presidents, such as Clotario Blest and Tucapel Jiménez. Our first action was to go to La Moneda to defend the legitimate right to social protest, and in order to express our rejection of the Law of National Security, as it was used against the students who jumped over the turnstiles of Santiago subway.

Besides, our reaction as a Confederation was to condemn the state of emergency decreed by the Government to face the beginning of what would turn into months of demonstrations against abuses and a predatory model affecting Human Rights. Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we defended – and keep defending – the right to protest and social disobedience in front of repeated and institutionalized exploitation.

For that reason, we froze our exchanges with the Government during the state of emergency and we required the military forces to move away from the streets, to open a new social dialogue and put an end to abuse and increasing life precarity.

As a consequence, we maintained in the public sector a paralysation of activities, which lasted for almost two months, restricting them to essential services and ethic turns. Likewise, we participated actively in the strikes organized by the Board of Social Unity (MUS), the founding organization to which we belong.

agenda, in order to resolve the population basic needs, an agenda that would lead to the redaction of a multinational and feminist new Constitution, elaborated by the sovereign population through a real constituent assembly. These propositions were presented to the Government but didn't receive any answer up to this day.

For us, the "Agreement for Peace and a New Constitution" was elaborated behind mobilized people's back, which is why we simply reject it. In an unprecedented and offensive way, the legislative power intervenes in a process that belongs to an emerging popular movement.

But we didn't stick to criticism and we motivated the open council meetings and territorial assemblies, we participated in the "Camp for Dignity", we strengthened our union spaces, looking for solutions to the mobilized people's requests, to build together something that would allow us to live in a Chile with more social justice and respect of Human Rights.

Regarding the systematic violations of Human Rights perpetrated by agents of the State, our position is and will be, with no ambiguities: absolute condemnation. Up to this day, we require justice, reparation and complete truth for all the victims of Human Rights, not only victims of the social outbreak but also victims of the dictatorship, whose families keep fighting restlessly for truth and justice.

Occupation of the National Institute

Rodrigo Pérez Figueroa, President of the of Students Center of the National Institute

November 2019

Dear companions,

Before speaking in front of you

I must overcome mi own person

My shadow, my ghosts

My insecurities, my tramps

Why would I talk to you if I can't transmit my feelings?

And to do so, I must overcome what consumes my throat, to feel some happiness... whatever it is

At least having been in this revolutionary school taught me how to face my own fears and insecurities

That was my experience, my crossing by

It was not the place per se

And today, I hope that the school can teach and bring us that

What I had to look for on my own, in loneliness and serenity

And maybe many, in that search, didn't find it

Maybe that experience is enriching: to live it on your own, not to hear the story

To walk there, to find the obstacles and to dream how to transform what they call "status quo"

Many went through that search

But several got lost in the process

It's hard to take decisions, even more when you find a bifurcation, and nobody tells you what is at the end of each option

In this case, we can only take a chance on one of the two paths, and come back if necessary

because that's what we feel inside

Highschool is a roller-coaster

Or in the deepest hole, to be precise

But that's where we come from, and that's why we defend what is ours

Because public education protects the people within its walls

The ones that the system forgets

Or better said, the system always had them in order to keep them in the same place. But public education is the resistance to that paradigm

And for that reason, destroying our school is destroying the resistance, and destroying our people along the way

In our hallways, cold and sometimes burning because of the temperature of the Molotov bombs, (out)lasts our community

The hidden community, the dreaming community, the community of hope

But today it's not only a dreaming community, because it has been divided for a long time already

It's here, among that outlasting community, the people with rage and hate

There are also the sleeping people, who are not quite affected by the questions that appear in their territory

And of course, there are the dreaming people

The people with rage and hate know that we are controlled and submitted

The dreaming people also know it perfectly

The difference that led to the separation of what was once considered as a community, was that they dreamed of a new community and the construction of its cements

Others decided to burn it, in order to build the new one with its ashes, for the ones who stayed alive, obviously.

My position is difficult, because I must speak in the name of the people of hate, the people of hope and the people of resignation

Obviously, among all our people, some shout louder than others; because hate must not stay quite like dreams do.

But one thing is clear to me: there is no remedy for our people.

Because they are not sick

They are imprisoned

We can modify the order of human expressions, correcting them, imposing them, forcing them, giving them the title of economic development and an endless list of paraphernalia

But this has nothing to do with healing a disease, it rather is pruning the plant to make it flourish

If something is necessary, it is to face the division offered by the current paradigm

It can be healed with remedies

It must be solved with humanity

Humanity: humanity is understanding diversity

Feeling proud and respecting the different religions, political ideas, races, ethnicities, physical characteristics and more

To be tolerant, ironically, we must not tolerate intolerance.

We must not tolerate Nazism, fascism

We must not tolerate violence, especially when it's against our own class

When the cleaning persons must wash graffiti in the restrooms

When they must pick the broken glasses off the floor

When our inspectors, in the same process of work dehumanization, in that voluntary decision to perform an inhumane task

Receive the same hate

Because with affection and fraternity, we will show them, my friends, the right way to follow

The task is bigger than we thought, but the history will be written with each of our steps

Because what is challenged today is not the commodity of our seats, nor the quantity of professionals in our classrooms

What is challenged today is our survival

Because we still are here, all of us, despite of all,

We are the survivors

And we will follow the path where our people are walking

We must be loyal to them and we will learn from them.

Today, more than ever, the wind is blowing strongly, to eliminate the traps and obstacles sowed by the dictatorship, that grew like weed among our houses, our communities and our institutions

Today, maybe the dream is not that far away

Today, our dreams are not concealed.



Teachers Association

PUBLIC DECLARATION

Santiago, October 20th, 2019

The Teachers Association National Directory meeting, Sunday, October 20th, in an extraordinary session to face the social explosion that occurred in the country, expresses solidarity and follows the citizens reacting after three decades of abuse and violence backed up by the economic, political and social model supporters.

We reject violence as a method of action, because it is only efficient for the ones who hold the power and need to justify the country militarization. Nevertheless, we claim the right to civil, non-violent disobedience when the elite's abuse and arbitrariness reaches an extreme, like it did and still does in our country.

The solution for this crisis is political and not military. Although the abuses installation is true, it's not only this period patrimony, it's the current Government who is responsible, with its social insensibility and arrogance that caused the outbreak. We request from the Government a response to the extremely complex situation that our country is living.

In this context, we resolved the following:

1.- Demand that the President puts an end to the state of emergency and the military to their encampments immediately.

2.- Annulation of increase of basic services and progress in the creation of an institutionality based on social rights.

3.- Cost-free transportation for elderly and schoolchildren.

4.- Cost-free projects of social security and tax reforms.

5.- We require the parliamentarians to initiate a legislative strike while the Government maintains the state of emergency.

6.- We require the secretary of education to announce officially the suspension of classes, while the conditions of security for the educational process are not in place.

7.- Besides that, we encourage all the teachers, this Monday, October 21st, not to attend classes and the parents not to send their children to school.

8.- This Monday, October 21st, we will follow the national protest call by the Confech.

9.- This Tuesday, October 22nd, we support the strike called by health workers.

10.- We call the unions, professional associations and social organizations to agree on a massive national strike this week.

Dear colleagues, we are living crucial moments in the country, and for that reason, we ask you to be united and to pay attention to the orientations coming from the National Directory.

Public Declaration

Santiago, November 11th, 2019

Exercising the right to protest, millions of citizens show their discontent accumulated for years of institutional abuse and foul inequality, provoked by a model of society that doesn't respect nor warrantee basic rights, such as the right to education, health, social security, decent salary among other things, established in Human Rights Pacts and Conventions subscribed and ratified by the State of Chile but systematically flouted.

This neoliberal model, discriminatory and unjust, opposed to Human Rights, is implemented in agreement with the current Constitution, which establishes a subsidiary State that doesn't respect nor guarantees social rights like it should do, as subscribed in the Pacts. On the contrary, it gives its provision to the market, creating a society in which a few privileged ones concentrate the wealth on a basis of greed and limitless ambition, at the expense of the security of millions of Chileans who cannot benefit from the most elemental rights to live a decent life.

As a response, the Government defended the status quo, using force like the powerful usually have done so many times.

We absolutely reject the excessive use of power, repression, torture and murder of Chileans performed by the State security organisms, which is a severe outrage to Humans Rights and a shame for us, as citizens of this country, which is supposed to be a democracy but acts like a dictatorship.

We reject the brutal aggression suffered by Gustavo Gatica, student of the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano and son of colleagues, who lost his sight because of those

who, although they are supposed to defend the citizens, act as their enemies to defend the interests of the political and economic power holders. The same story happened to the 200 victims of eye mutilation and the thousands who got hurt by pellets.

We also demand justice for the professor Roberto Campos, who is facing accusations from the Internal Security of State, for actions that didn't cost any human life nor cause mutilation, like it is the case for State agents who are free and not even prosecuted.

Both examples reveal the irrationality and arbitrariness of the use of police and justice power that we absolutely reject for they only show the Government's incapacity to understand what caused the social outbreak and the lack of willpower to give the citizens the answer they have been waiting for during decades.

The solution to this serious crisis is to regain the popular sovereignty that was snatched and the right to free determination, to build together a new Constitution, in which the State does its duties and stops being a subsidiary State in order to become a State that guarantees fundamental Human Rights.

Chile Teachers' Association joins all the citizens' requests and their clamor to require a society based on Human Rights and social justice.

From before the revolt to the pandemic

Historic: General Feminist Strike until changing everything

Coordinadora 8 de Marzo

April 2020



Memory centrality in feminist struggle

In August 2019, the house where had functioned Venda Sexy, an ex-center of sequestration, missing persons, torture and political sexual violence, was sold to the investments society Arriagui Limitada, despite the fact that of May 11th, 2016, it has been declared Site of Memory. The Venda Sexy functioned as a center of torture from July 1974 to February 1975, then intermittently until 1981 for the Dina (Direction of National Intelligence). 81 persons were tortured there, a third were women, and 27 classified today as disappeared detainees.

That situation clearly revealed a wider context: the complete impunity in which the Chilean State and judicial system have maintained the political sexual violence, in that place or in others, while fighting women and dissidents are detained.

It exists in Chile a privatization of memory and negationist pacts that make invisible the violations of Human Rights committed during the civil-military dictatorship. Besides, according to the transition discourse, the violations of Human Rights are usually limited to the dictatorship period, but in fact, they never stopped. For that reason, we, as feminists, denounce the fact that the impunity of the past is the reason why the police acts today with impunity. It has been more obvious since October 18th, 2019, when the Chilean revolt started, and when police violence and state terrorism intensified.

The severe violations of Human Rights in Chile, in the context of the massive protests that happened since October, impacted the international community. Not just the United Nations' Human Rights observers, but also the

ones from ONG such as Amnesty International and many others, who expressed their concern about the gravity of Chilean police's behavior.

The police violence, more massive than it used to be, left numerous injured, hundreds of them with eyes traumas, people left one-eyed or blind, which put in evidence policemen's lack of respect of their own protocols when it comes to use force. More indignant even are the reports of tortures, including some that imply sexual violence, with reports of stripping, violations and sexual abuses from State agents, especially against women and children. The same patrons were observed in places such as Vanda Sexy, where State terrorism and political sexual violence were used to politically immobilized our companions.

All that led to question in depth the existence of such Chilean police institution itself, civil police with military structure, systematically violating Human Rights. Yet, the Government took the defense of the police acting and denied the regular violations of Human Rights, declaring that the cases denounced are isolated. Meanwhile, the special forces troops increased in the most conflictive zones.

As feminists, we affirm that the main reason of impunity is that we, women and dissidents, have never been part of official history, because it was written by the State and its patriarchal and capitalist institutions. Therefore, our task consists in writing our own history, which requires us to know our memories of struggle and practice exercises of feminist memory, active and combatant. Likewise, to put an end to our invisibility in the fight processes, we disagree with some discourses that masculinize experiences in which women and dissidences are present.

The feminist movement, before the social peace agreement and the constitutional process, must build a historic memory, but supposing the history doesn't repeat exactly in the same way. What is new in this scenario, comparable to the plebiscite and agreement to end up the dictatorship, is that today the presence of the

feminist movement and the political independence it can have regarding those who administrated life precarity. The following story and archive tell how we have been fighting, as feminist members of the *Coordinadora 8M*.

The road toward the general feminist strike

Some time ago, we, feminists, were dreaming with a change, we didn't accept the snatched history nor the foundations of that unjust system.

Stimulated by those dreams, in December of 2018, we organized the First Encounter of All Those Who Fight, which resulted in a program and a plan of action that materialized in the 8M 2019, with the biggest mobilization since the end of the dictatorship: a massive march and a general feminist strike, that brought to the center of the debate life precariousness, as the main slogan to change everything.

In a country without real right for strike and protests highly criminalized, the impact of March showed us it was possible, that it was necessary to fight until it would be worthwhile to live. October arrived and the mobilization became stronger and more united, requiring a social revolt that would include us, where we would be protagonists, like many other persons. That revolt was focused on a fight against injustice and precariousness. That revolt was ours.

We came back to the streets, moved by our dream of a feminist future. It was not easy because we received answers of horror, persecutions, death, abuses, mutilations, torture, intimidations, criminalization and innumerable violations of Human Rights which, instead of pinning us down, gave us back our conviction that the fight was urgent.

That's how, along with other organizations, the Second Encounter of All Those Who Fight took place last January, designed to reinforce the feminist program against life precariousness, strongly opposed to State terrorism. The General Feminist Strike was the landmark to defend such program, defined as multinational, antiracist, trans-generational, dissident and free of

transphobia, inclusive, against prison and internationalist [1]. And we organized the feminist strike as a continuity of the October revolt, and like the encounter, that instance was antiracist, transfeminist, lesbofeminist, dissident, multinational, against prison, cross-generational and internationalist.

March arrived and thousands turned into millions. We became “historical”, like we wrote in the Plaza Dignidad. The Feminist General Strike lasted two days (8th and 9th of March) and almost the fourth part of the country was mobilized. That day, we read the manifest built with various organizations, confirming in writing the road already covered. That document is still valid in the context of pandemic, when inequality, life precariousness and State terrorism slap us in the face, punch given by a system that doesn’t stop crushing the working class.

Feminist General Strike Manifest 2020

Today is the first day of our Feminist General Strike. A strike that unites us to all the women, lesbians, bisexuals, pansexuals, no binaries, transvestites and trans of the world with whom we are making history today. We are women from the native population in territorial resistance against racist colonialism, the ones who rose up in Brazil against the fascist barbarism threatening Latin America, the ones who rose up in Mexico against the femicide narco-State, the ones who resist against the extractivist depredation, the leaders who resist against persecution and assassinate in Colombia, we are the ones they pretend to imprison in Turkey, we are the guerrilla against fundamentalism in Rojava and we are, in Chile, the first line against State terrorism, patriarchal violence and life precariousness.

The feminist strike is a process. A year ago, we decided to step forward, to make visible what was hidden, to get together in our diversity and to start a process of rising struggle. We decided that feminism should irrupt as a social force to transform and overcome life precariousness and all those who led it during the last 30 years. After

the outburst, our mobilization turned into the expression of millions of people.

Our purpose now is to interrupt normality: today we assert that normality has always been the problem and we will never come back to neoliberal normality. Because it’s not 30 pesos, it’s 30 years, 47, 500 years. The social outburst has been simmering on low flame, on bitter flame. It is made of history and stories. Made of a track of rebellions, the red thread we have been holding yesterday and today, the desire that leads us from a generation to the next one. We are here thanks to yesterday’s women, and thanks to us, tomorrow’s women will be standing up.

This revolt is made of stories that cannot be told, like the biographies that gave it life. Stories of humiliations and violence that do not fit in any registry. But also, stories of resistance, disobedience, disputes knitted with threads invisible to the powerful and sometimes to us. We simmered the rage and the impatience, until today, when finally fire and history are ours.

We are the rebellion in the rebellion, we are the one moving to the first line, because our life is a political problem in the center of injustice, and because we will never go back to the second line. We irrupted to change it all. To change the streets, the squares, our neighborhoods, our houses and our walls. We irrupted to remember that it was not our fault, nor our place, nor our clothes.

Welcome to the ones who are marching for the first time, we were waiting for you. We organized ourselves to make this encounter possible. To be here, we also had to overcome the fear. And if some women listen to us in their home, if they wanted to be here but didn’t join us by fear, we are telling them to come and share with us the confidence to be together. Nobody needs permission to change history.

But not all of us could come to this encounter. Some of us are not here because they we imprisoned by this terrorist regime. We are not all here; the captive women are missing. The

ones who work taking care are not here, the ones whose jobs cannot stop. The victims of feminicide violence cannot be there, nor the ones assassinated by this State yesterday or today. But although they are not here, they are with us. We make them present in our screams and our fight. And it is also for each of them that we are protesting now.

Today we are in this General Feminist Strike, and our strike is not like the other ones. It makes us protagonists, and it calls all the working people to defend the feminist program against life precariousness. The General Feminist Strike demonstrates that if a strike wants to be real and efficient, it cannot be isolated, it must be diverse. This one defies the imaginable, it displays our creative and rebel power, to be numerous in many places at the same time.

That revolt, our revolt, gives us the possibility to imagine another life and to make it real. A life for all of us, in which nobody stays behind. Today we all step forward, the immigrants, the black women, the Afro Chileans, the trans, the transvestites, the indigenous, the Mapuche, the countrywomen, the little girls, the retired ones, the indebted ones, the ones whose eyes were injured, we are the working women who raise other women's children, the housewives without houses, the ones who jump over the turnstiles, the ones who take care, the permanently displaced, the never, the nobody, the without. Together, we can be whatever they don't want us to be. We are protagonists of our present and our destiny.

Today we are on strike and on the first line against State terrorism: we require the end of violations of human rights. Do not pretend to make us keep silent in front of mutilations, missing persons, tortures, abuses, violations, sequestrations, beatings and persecution. We require Sebastián Piñera and all his government's dismissal because they declared war to the people. We require Secretary Isabel Plá to quit because of her accomplice silence toward political sexual violence. We fight for an Independent Truth, Justice and Reparation Commission, and we require the immediate

liberation of all the women arrested during the protests.

Today we are on strike because we have a feminist program against life precariousness. Because we have been declaring how we wanted to change our life for decades. Because we have a lot to say against the violence we suffer and how we want to change it, and we will fight together for these urgent structural transformations.

Today, we are on strike to maintain the track of this historical moment that we, the people, initiated and that makes us live. We are on strike because we want to obtain a constituent assembly to impose our program. A constituent assembly really popular, multinational and feminist, free and sovereign. An assembly where we can imagine, without obstacles nor lashes, the new country we are going to build.

We are not the same we were a few months ago and this country will never be the same. We open political horizons, radical and new. All that is possible today, and we are building it together: we didn't receive any gift, and what we are opening, we didn't snatch it from anyone. We will keep fighting until it is worth living.

We are going on strike because we are fighting for life, that life we are slowly recovering. To all of those who declare war against us, we tell them: go away, we stay. The future is ours my friends, as well as the strike. And it will build history, because WE ARE+

[1] First published in: Síntesis del Encuentro Plurinacional de las y les que luchan 2020.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1YayWL9hF7Tfv0zlhYB39b-KbtS0JlqNC/view>

Síntesis general Encuentro Plurinacional de las y les que luchan 2020:<http://cf8m.cl/sintesis-general-encuentro-plurinacional-de-las-y-les-que-luchan-2020>/<http://cf8m.cl/sintesis-general-encuentro-plurinacional-de-las-y-les-que-luchan-2020/>

After October, we are the people

Doris González

Movement of Dwellers UKAMAU

April 2020

The social outburst in Chile modified the social subjectivity revealing the real possibilities of change in our country, once the fight restarts. The maximum expression of such subjective change is the dichotomous submergence of an antagonism between the workers and the owners of wealth and power. Before October, the mobilizations couldn't place the popular subject in the center of political life; after October, the panorama changed and brought the political discussions to our homes, at each family's table. For the first time in a long time, a wide majority of us stopped being the same, the ones who struggle and act like if Chile were an homogenous group always united and fighting against any adversity: people woke up, and that is our most important success. People woke up and turned into a subject of transformation. The unleashed energy and the lack of unified conduction put in evidence people's need to progress and build their own organs, their own references, in order to recuperate, in an articulate way, what was snatched from them. Like UKAMAU, we are the expression of such popular representativeness, with a perspective of fight, building popular power with new politics of liberation, emancipated and respectable. The dignity to require what is just and has always been taken away, knowing it is meritorious, because the efforts we make day after day at work, in and outside our homes, neighborhoods and towns, deserves more than a handful of

beans. Yet, the revolt didn't put only the popular class in evidence, but also the dominant ones and their despicable and miserable interests. Chile fractured like the society does when class struggle appears and keeps going, often forbidden. They, the privileged ones, the owners of everything, saturated us. Buying flowers, trying to get up earlier, using the doctor's office for social meeting and so much cheekiness, expressing that way nothing but their manner to see us, the poor ones from the city and the countryside of Chile. If we look at us as a big "we", they are nothing but "the others", the ones we do not like, to whom we shout "Enough!". That new social subjectivity created its new expressions and flags. We walked in the streets and made them beautiful, painting on the walls the pain we had kept inside and turning our projects into slogans; we lost our fear. After the summer recess, March was coming up, and since history is not only willingness, a problem we didn't expect popped up: the coronavirus.

More than a sanitary crisis

The coronavirus crisis is not a sanitary one, it is at the least a public health issue. This pandemic is quite different from the ones we saw in human history. Besides an extremely contagious disease, it's a disease that destroyed the myths of the triumphant capitalist model. It showed that the truth of global world was only an ensemble of dependent economies and centers of exploitation, but what happens in Hollywood movies is not the truth. That, in front of a

global threat where we could demonstrate coordination and technology, is the middle-class individualism in first line, the “every man for himself”, also expressed in the “stay home” consign, when the neighbor’s reality is not important. The Southern Cone countries are the least prepared to face this pandemic.

The last 30 years neoliberal adjustment led to the destruction of public health and scientific and technological research, which would have been able to face this crisis. The complete destruction of social security was revealed, and in Chile it couldn’t be more evident with the suspensions of salary and massive dismissals. If the fear of recession was others’ argument, the powerful ones, to stop the social outburst, their speech will be doubly reinforced and they will try to install a culpable speech that would take us back, after the pandemic, to our social production and reproduction centers head down. Not only they will make us pay the crisis bill if we keep going that way, but they will make us reactivate the production and stay with the cake.

We, the people, must not protect ourselves from a virus – which, regardless of the debates about its origin, is real and makes us more vulnerable, since we do not have planes and helicopters for emergency treatments, in a country where even availability of beds to receive sick people show our disgusting inequality. We must protect ourselves from the capital progress, expressed in Piñera’s politics, since he took advantage of that reality to beat our courage with more violence. They do not forgive us for our revolt, and that is why they attack our pockets, our lives, our survival. After taking everything from us, they want to remove the bread from our tables to immobilize us.



The background

The pandemic got worse for the capitalist society’s functioning itself, because behind the popular revolt, behind the coronavirus, is pointing out a global economic recession, a Latin American one; 2019 ended up, according to the CEPAL, with a regional growth of only 0,1% and the possibility to finish this year in a positive way faded out in the first three months. [1] Therefore, it is important not only to evaluate the current situation, but also to forecast what is coming up. If during the last 30 years our life has been constantly threatened by the neoliberal model and its attack against social rights, it is that same model that we should knock down now, or else, in 30 years, Chile will be alike, unequal and unjust. If in October it was important to make progress in the “small

agenda”, today it is crucial. To defend our lives, we must modify the neoliberal model of accumulation and end up with the privileges gained by the upper ones. The coronavirus deepened the recessive panorama and the global economic crisis, but unlike vulgar economy, which identifies the contingent phenomenon as the cause of the economic crisis, we understand that the real reason is the capitalist speculation. On one side, we have the economic regression, on the other, the capitalist central banks that emit money paid per job. In a context where the companies in risk, like Latam in Chile, ask more from the State, subsidies and salvages like in 2008, who is going to pay for the crisis? They hope that we, the workers, will pay the indebtedment and the State injection to privates, once more, the upper group’s collusion, the abuse.

Fighting against the dominant ones and the hunger

According to the IOL, the unemployment should increase worldwide, between 5,3 and 24,7 million of workers [2]. The hunger turns into a real threat, about to knock at our doors, not at theirs, if we do not stop that now. That is why we must get prepared for the fight to come, we must apply that new subjectivity born from the social outbreak energy, and look for ways to coordinate population’s solidarity. Only the people can save the people, and to face the hunger and fights to come, the coronavirus and the economic crisis, we must apply our creativity and experience. We must be ingenious in our practices, we must show that we, the Chilean workers, are able to manage a self-organized and self-managed political practice, to demonstrate our enormous potentiality of coordination and mutual support. Latin America has thousands of experiences of self-managed popular experiences that demonstrated our

enormous capacity to get organized in solidarity in times of crisis. In Latin America, when capitalism made progressed affecting our pockets and bringing massive unemployment, the cooperative self-management projects became supportive economy tools for resistance. Mutual cooperation potentiates solidarity, focusses on collective, establishes democratic forms of coexistence and subverts economy topics, placing human life and our needs in the center. The self-managed production and consumption experiences, such as fair trade networks like the popular consumption cooperative that we launch today, are important because they help us to protect ourselves in rough times, and also to develop and reinforce the control of distribution of necessary goods, to prefigure future society – although at a regional scale -, and to expand and potentiate that new Chile we want to build.

For that reason, we, UKAMAU, define a new challenge and create the Popular Cooperative of Mutual Support (COPAM). The powerful take advantage of the pandemics and squash the people, at the political, economic and cultural level, preparing adjustments for the coming crisis. But we organize ourselves in solidarity for the population’s urgent needs. Like we created COPAM to get over the crisis and hunger. We also require the suspension of dismissals, the elimination of VAT and the prices freeze on basic products, a warranted minimum salary for Chilean workers and an emergency tax reform on big fortunes. Because the only way to end up with inequality, make dignity a custom and reach a good life, is fighting for a superior society to get over those last 30-50 years neoliberal capitalism.

Let's Put a Stop to the Information Barrier

Margarita Pastene

Letter from the President of the Journalists' Association of Chile

October 2019

Considering that the severe situation that Chilean people are facing, from a communicational point of view, worsened today by the state of emergency and the curfew, it is essential for us, as an association, to fight against the information barrier and to put to citizens' disposal our web sites and social networks, with the purpose of delivering the information that doesn't appear in popular press and most on all on television.

Social networks reaffirm the disconformity with journalistic work and question our part and social commitment. They don't require from us anything exceptional; they just want us to comply with our status and ethic code, but also with the essence of our profession.

Yesterday, we questioned the Government in order to stop the state of emergency, because we cannot tolerate that situation in a democracy and as a rule of law. With the same strength and decision, we want to serve the citizens and give them access to the information about what is really happening in this country, not just about the vandalism and chaos.

The universities, the social organizations, the culture and many other institutions broadcasted public declarations that are not mentioned on other networks. We, as an association, must open the spaces, like our colleagues did during the dictatorship, paying even with their lives the defense of our rights.

Just as an example, I would like to mention, from my work environment, that I received declarations from some State universities chancellors, who are "insistently asking the Government to put an end to the state of emergency, because it doesn't give the different actors the possibility of discussing and doesn't bring a rapid solution to this conflict, it only exposes our society to complex moments and polarization. It is the Government's task to present concrete and appropriate solutions, calling the country and the political and social actors, to work jointly in order to obtain benefits from the progress with a better social justice".

Who brings information about that attitude in the State universities? Nobody. We also receive similar requests from the sectors of art and culture, students' organizations and professional associations.

Dear colleagues, let's offer our services to the citizens. Let's counter the information barrier. *El Regional Metropolitano* initiated a task of utmost importance, as we put at the disposition of the country the *Letter to the Journalists* which, during the dictatorship, was an example of journalistic ethics. We can do it!

Chile Woke up, The Audiences Woke up¹

By Margarita Pastene

National President of the Chilean Association of Journalists

October 2019

Chile woke up” is the slogan that hundreds of thousands of Chileans have been shouting in the streets for ten days all over the country. In this awakening, people were not only complaining about social and economic precarity that experiment most Chileans, but also about the sham organized by the media for decades – since democracy came back – to make believe that Chile was a real “oasis”.

That is why Chileans are more and more indignant, observing the orientation of the information that the press is giving to the serious political and social crisis that the country is experiencing. The complaint is essentially focused on TV, which in a few days changed its speech, from the intent to convince the population that they were living in a paradise, to the presentation of a country in war. That because of the protesters, stigmatized as delinquents and looters, which justified the Government’s decision to declare a state of emergency, bringing military troops in the streets and imposing a curfew to reestablish order and tranquilize the population.

The information focused on the violent incidents and lootings – that most people condemned –, not only underestimating the real causes of the massive pacific protests that occurred in the whole country for the inequalities produced by the ruling neoliberal system, but also avoiding to show the military and police repression against the protesters.

The story of journalism in Chile hasn’t been happy. The general press, not only has done

that unseemly work during the last decades, but also did it during the government of the overthrown President Salvador Allende, convincing the people that Allende was leading the country to chaos and destruction, while in fact, that crisis had been forged and concerted before and from abroad.

In 1971, Allende appealed to the press and initiated the Operation Truth. To boycott his government, the general press even created, as part as a strategy of communicational propaganda, media led by the icon of Chilean general press, the newspaper *El Mercurio*. Its owner, the banker Agustín Edwards, not only conspired against Allende from the press, but also was the CIA Chilean tentacle to overturn the president in September of 1973. For the same reason, the population coined a significant phrase that up to this day stays in the Chilean memory: “*El Mercurio* lies”.

After the military coup, the Chilean press, reduced to the two big journalistic businesses owners of *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, contributed deliberately to the concealment and farce on the violations of Human Rights and crimes against humanity, supported by the TV channels controlled and monitored by Pinochet’s dictatorship Direction of Information.

That sad episode of Chilean journalism, almost not questioned, appeared again when Santiago Supreme Court ordered to *La Tercera*, a couple of months ago, in August of 2019, to rectify the information about the execution of two young persons, victims of a crime against humanity. *La Tercera* had informed about that in 1973, saying that the two victims were common delinquents.

That sentence of the highest Chilean tribunal, although it arrived 36 years after the crime, was considered as an historical sentence and a unique opportunity to address the press, which during the dictatorship acted as direct accomplice in hiding the truth.

The media did not notify Chileans' discontent that had been slowly forging itself during the last three decades. The journalistic information turned into a show, while the real Chile was crying out for attention.

The Constitution establishes that the State doesn't intervene in the communication media, but it does not give indications about the State responsibility to rescue citizens' right to opportune and true information, without manipulation or farce, which worsens with the inadequate concentration of media property in Chile, with a political and ideological speech, without counterbalance.

The Chilean Association of Journalists objected that such a situation doesn't guarantee for the country an information responding to the democratic principles nor an informative pluralism.

The alternative media that play an important part hardly survive, and most of them disappeared for financial invalidity. In short, there is a right that is not covered, the right to information, a right that claim, among other requests, most Chileans.

In that scenery, the journalists are suffering the consequences, because the citizens are no longer obedient in front of the cameras of television, on the contrary. In public places, the persons interviewed by reporters refuse to make declarations, they boycott "live" the contents and images and even attack them. The Chilean press is suffering directly that social outburst.

For that reason, the slogan "Chile woke up" spontaneously changed to "Turn off the TV". And it's not casual, because the public also woke up. After the march of almost a million and a half persons in the streets of Santiago and thousands in the rest of the country, the television oriented its speech, echoing President Piñera and the mayor of Santiago's declarations. For the Government, the people who are protesting are not "vandals, delinquents or criminals" anymore, but "Chileans dreaming of a country more just". That communication shift from the Government Palace has the TV channels as main allies and people know that. Turn off the television.



Mapuche people and social outbreak.

Alihuen Antileo Navarrete

Spokesperson, Mapuche Political Platform

April 2020

The social or popular outbreak that happened on October 18th, 2019, surprised most of the Mapuches because of its massiveness, extent and radicalness.

Although the autonomous Mapuche movement has been acting for more than two decades, with constant mobilizations against the economic model and the institutionality inherited from the dictatorship, there was no clear sign of the magnitude of the outbreaks that occurred in the country.

It started with protests against the price increase of public transportation initiated by high school students, that progressively gathered most of the working population.

That massiveness was so impressive that it overflowed the measures applied by the Government and forced it to use repression and finally to apply a state of emergency in most of the regions.

The social crisis led to a political one, which questioned the whole institutionality and turned into a request for a new Constitution, with the population's direct participation, to replace the current one sustaining the economic model.

In many aspects, the country became unmanageable, and neither the state of emergency nor the repression of the movement were able to control that legitimate social protest.

It's in that context that the Mapuche movement joined the protests territorially and sectorially, first in a spontaneous way then in more organized one, defining their requests within their own people and along with the 9 native populations existing in the country.

Six days after the beginning of the outbreak, the Mapuche Political Platform emitted a declaration defining our people's first objectives and requests in these terms:

"The Mapuche Political Platform, in front of the legitimate popular protest that happened yesterday, October 18th, protest that keeps going today and spreads to other regions, declared the following:

Kiñe: We condemn and reject categorically the state of emergency applied by the managerial State led by Sebastián Piñera. That repressive measure brings us back to the worst years of Pinochet's dictatorship and constitutes the most categorical expression of this administration's failure in its intention to implement, no matter what, various measures to strengthen the neoliberal economic model that affected a wide majority of our citizens but mostly the native population.

Epu: The price increase of the subway ticket was the drop that made the cup run over, regarding many public policies that ignore the social movements legitimate requests, such as putting an end to the current pension system, under the slogan of "No more AFP", a system that condemns millions of retired people to perceive miserable pensions, or nationalizing the water and other basic services, or giving access to a free high-quality education and decent health systems, in favor of multinational political representation and against the violence of a police that caused the death of several brothers of ours.

Kula: The restriction of freedom of assembly, association and circulation, applied in Santiago with the state of emergency, is also what the Mapuche communities have been living in the 8th and 9th regions of Southern Chile for several years and permanently, with arbitrary arrestations, application of illegitimate pressures, judicial frame-ups, murders and abuses from the public and police authorities. The Chilean public opinion would then know and understand better what is the militarization of the Mapuche territory and the criminalization of our legitimate requests.

Mari: Therefore, we require the end of the state of emergency, of Santiago and Mapuche territories militarization to regain our ancestral lands.

It is a bad taste jibe to say that the minister Chadwick and the sub secretary Ubilla must assure all the citizens' security, if in November of this year they were called in a tribunal in Temuco, in order to define their responsibility as accomplices and accessories of our brother Camilo Catrillanca's murder, cowardly shot in the back by member of the Police GOPE. The national public opinion witnessed lies supported by the minister of Internal Affairs and his sub secretary.

We require their immediate resignation, since the protests on the 18th and 19th of October clearly expressed the failure of their political management of this crisis, and they do not count with the authority, legitimacy and political suitability that their charges deserve.

In this context of crisis and social protests, the APEC meeting couldn't be hosted on November 16th and 17th, a global encounter meant to reinforce and deepen the capitalist neoliberal model that harmed so much the Mapuche and Chilean people but also hurt at the continental and world level. Therefore, we require the

definitive suspension of the APEC meeting, the treaty TPP11 and the plan Impulsa Araucanía. Finally, we call our people to actively participate in the mobilizations and social protests to defend our rights and fight against the corporate Government and system abuses.

*Freeze the price of public transportation now!
Put an end to the militarization of Santiago and the Mapuche territory!*

Stop the criminalization of the Mapuche and citizens' legitimate protest!

A Constitutional assembly now!

Marichiweu

10 times we shall overcome!

After that, a series of trawuns or Mapuche encounters took place in the Metropolitan Region, and the CONORM – Coordination of Native Nations of the Metropolitan Region – was created. In relation to the instrumental character of the situation, its objective was to make native people and their requests perceptible in the middle of the crisis and mobilizations.

Let's remember that during the first weeks, the Government presented ensembles of measures to get over the crisis, and none of them included specific ones regarding native populations.

The lack of political capacity, which reflected in the rejection of the specificity of our requests and the marginalization of solution measures, created the necessary conditions for the native organizations' articulation. The same thing happened in other regions, and of course in the 8th and 9th regions rural areas.

Such a convergence process put in evidence that the main obstacle to our people's requests was the Constitution imposed by Pinochet. As the native movement organization and

politization was growing, the Government presented strong contradictions and insisted in its strategy of containment through repression of the social movement.

That's how the minister of Internal Affairs was dismissed with the constitutional accusation, then his successor, who had to appear soon after in a judgment in Araucanía for his responsibility in the murder of our brother Camilo Catrillanca, renounced untimely.

President Piñera was more and more isolated and the parties of his own coalition started to underline his differences and move away from him and from the Government. That attitude increased as the president's support was getting down to 6 %, the lowest level ever recorded in the history of Chile.

The social movement, despite the strong repression it suffered, which reflected in thousands of arrestations and hundreds of injured and mutilated persons, kept showing the street social pressure and the police initiative, imposing in practice a political agenda centered on the request of a constituent assembly. The native groups joined the movement and established rapprochements and alliances unthinkable until then.

That's how the CONORM and the Mapuche Political Platform get incorporated to the referent *Unidad Social*, which brings together the main unionized sectors and some territorial organizations of original inhabitants, women, students, artists and intellectuals with national representation.

Multiple Mapuche organizations established territorial alliances in their respective sectors, actively participating in the territorial assemblies. *Unidad social* took charge of the natives' requests and demanded a constituent assembly with equal representation of genders and multinational, welcoming the main revindication

of the Chilean native movement for the last 20 years.

The incipient directionality of the Mapuche and Chilean movement for a new Constitution friendly coexists with hundreds of spontaneous initiatives, generating a virtuous circle of masses mobilization to overcome the neoliberal model. One of these spontaneous and symbolical expressions was the gradual, permanent and more and more massive use of the Wenufoye, the Mapuche flag, that shyly appeared in the protests and rapidly became one of the symbols of the social battle and resistance.

One of the factors that can explain such a phenomenon is that the political class and its most visible parliamentary expressions receive the highest percentages of institutional disapprobation. The citizens, to dissociate from the political parties and show that neither them nor the classical social organizations are leading or interpreting the movement, start building a new political, symbolic and cultural identity, a kind of new Chile that is appearing.

The Mapuche fight, during the last two decades, has revealed and reflected that imaginary. A tenacious resistance, an autonomous management, away from the political parties, a systematical questioning of the current model of economic development, a different relation with nature and mother earth and an attitude of construction and confrontation free from the threat of the State policy and security institutions.

That imaginary, mostly typifying the youngest age range, took form in the hundreds and thousands of persons showing Mapuche scarfs, bracelets, posters and flags all over the country. Those ancestral symbols naturally added to a deeper phenomenon initiated by the Chilean popular sectors, the protest expressed in the countless drawings, graffities, flyers and audiovisual material that were rapidly spreading on the social networks.

In such a context, the possibility of dismissing the president becomes a reachable objective, and that's how it is perceived by some social sectors and the forces. That deep dilemma is also present among the causes evoked when it comes to build the so-called "peace agreement", in which several traditional political sectors set up with the Government a set of measures supposed to canalize people's requests and to avoid more polarization of the country.

Honorable exceptions of some leftist parties, among which the Communist party, Social Green Regionalist Federation, Equality and Humanists stay away from this agreement, maintaining a position closer to the mobilized population, bothered to see the same social sectors which had lived with the antidemocratic Constitution fix the objectives and itinerary of the future constitutional change.

Such agreement, concretely, gave the president and his Government a vital headroom and settled the political initiative in hands of political parties and members of a parliament that, by then, hardly reached 10 % of approbation. What it obtained, being applied behind the citizens' back, is that the request for a sovereign constitutional assembly was diluted in a "constitutional scenery" that allowed the forces of the system to keep important conservative enclaves, because of the high quorum necessary to make changes and write what will be the new Constitution. For example, we still don't know, at the end of April 2020, how many seats will be reserved for the native populations in the constituent organ.

Another aspect that could be emphasized during the social outbreak is the numerous ways that the fight and expression took. In this multifaceted diversity of expressions, they overflowed the current institutionality and made impossible for the Government to establish a frame of normality and governability to the crisis.

The protests, pan banging, performances, obstructions of roads, installation of barricades, massive marches, territorial assemblies and groups of self-care or self-defense, combined inorganically. All those expressions, as they combined simultaneously, neutralized the capacity of the police forces who couldn't control the street mobilizations and protests that transformed the Plaza de la Dignidad (Dignity Square) into a symbol of the new Chile to build.

In that sense, first spontaneously, then more and more massively, groups of self-defense reacted against the repressive and indiscriminatory function of the police special forces around the Plaza Italia renamed Plaza de la Dignidad. Their acting allowed the protesters' masses, violently repressed before to prohibit their presence in the area, and the square turned into a symbol of who were controlling the streets and the country.

The "battle front line", like they started naming that group of young people who neutralized the police repressive action against a valid social protest, causing dozens of injured every day, that front line became a referent per se, anonymously, every day more legitimate because its acting was justified, because it responded to a clamor that was spreading all over the country.

That clamor expressing the social, cultural and political change involved also, significantly, thousands of Chileans living abroad who multiplied their denunciations, their expressions of solidarity with the committees, sanitary brigades to take care of the injured persons, organisms for Human Rights and other ways of protesting.

What we can rescue from this period, which is already considered as "historic", is that it opened irreversibly a new cycle of moves, where the model lost its component of social and cultural legitimacy that made difficult any changes and

conditioned the political actors' strategies. The citizens, empowered and mobilized, can point out the profound moves that must be done and show that the political frame can be modified through all the forms of fighting, having as principal factor and protagonist of those modifications the population in motion.

This year 2020 started with a cycle of mobilizations with women protests that were also quite massive, between one and one-and-a-half millions of participants, which announced a decisive month of March in the scenery to come.

The burst of the pandemic Covid 19 in that same month and the following sanitary crisis, allowed the Government to declare the state of emergency and restrain the population's freedom of movement with the quarantine measures in various municipalities and cities of the country.

That restrained the freedom of movement, hence people's mobilization, and gave a break to the Government and president, whose approbation rate went up to 18 % in some surveys.

Behind the sanitary crisis, we can foresee an important economic one, resulting from the standstill and paralysation of the activity, only comparable with the crisis occurred in 2008 or 1929. Its effects will worsen the situation existing before the pandemic. The dilemma will be to continue the process of constitutional changes and face the upcoming economic crisis that will affect wide sectors of the population.



Association of Disappeared Detainees' Families (AFDD)

November 2020

We are an organization that was created when the civic-military dictatorship set up in our country. Since then, we have been restlessly fighting to make sure that Chile would never live again the State terrorism tragedy that afflicted our families. A dictatorship that left painful and inefaceable marks still affecting us today, as mothers, spouses and children.

To be relative of a person who was detained and disappeared, for each of us, has meant dealing with the unfair absence of a loved one, father, mother or companion. That loved person who didn't come back because he or she was sequestered, tortured, murdered, someone who disappeared because the State agents pursued him or her for thinking differently.

That was 46 years ago, and we are still expecting justice and truth, with the secret hope that we will find out something and encounter their remains. Many of our valiant women are not there anymore, they aged, the pain made them ill and they died without knowing what happened with their loved ones. We built that battle for more than four decades in the streets and in tribunals, raising our voices all over the world, denouncing our tragedy, to make people conscious and to make sure that measures would be taken so it would never happen again: it's not for us, it's for Chile. We always

said that the grief we suffered stayed engraved in our skin, in our minds and in our hearts, that nothing will erase it, and the new generations also wear those scars, so we will keep fighting restlessly to make sure that such sorrow and abuse will never happen again.

Always attentive to what is happening in our country, we observed with preoccupation, grief and active solidarity the Mapuche's tragedy, their territories militarized, the systematic violation of Human Rights they were victim of, we denounced it because we visited them in Temucuicui and we met with their communities. Everything indicated that such calamity could happen again. How wouldn't it, if they kept governing us with the legacy of the dictatorship, its Constitution and economic system – which is why they murdered our families-, if they kept imposing a model that brought suffering and marginalization and caused most people's indignation for decades.

On October 18th, 2019, started at the country level a permanent mobilization process that brought to the streets thousands requiring social justice. The right for civil population to protest must be guaranteed, but it is not the case in Chile. Our country is uneven, the differences are getting worse, life quality has been deteriorating for most of the population. The Government responded to the social outburst with brutal repression, using all the State power, systematically violating Human Rights, and with horror and suffering, we witnessed how what we had fought against

since our first family abuse was about to repeat. And we watched it happen again: kidnappings, tortures, house searches, murders performed by State institutions. We came back to permanent abuses, we saw family suffering helplessly, just like us, losing their loved ones again, we witnessed children, young ones and elderly mutilated as it happened during the dictatorship, we even saw people getting burnt.

The new bloodthirsty dissuasive method consists in ripping out the eyes and leave people blind. We must live with state of emergency and curfew... But the new generation is animated by the strength they received from their missing grandparents to change the country.

You can't imagine what we feel, our fear and anguish when we watch them going to the streets to protest and expose themselves to the violation of their rights like their families did.

Today, the grandchildren of the detained and missing persons are joining us, they are deeply affected as they see how much we suffer with the painful memories piling up and bringing that permanent psychological torture of the suffering without possible consolation, because there is no truth, because we are still living in the dictatorship legacy and impunity, because we are living again terrorism in the country. And that must stop now.



Coronavirus, state of disaster and social awakening: six months starting on October 18th.

Centro de Formación Memoria y Futuro.

April 2020.

The 18th of October is already recorded as an emblematic date in the history of Chilean people's battles. That day exploded the suffering accumulated for many years of exploitation, marginalization and abuses.

For the Formation Center Memory and Future, composed of parents and Friends of the socialist leaders of the first resistance against the coup, executed and eradicated by the civil-military dictatorship, the meaning of that October 18th and the multifaceted and combative popular mobilization that it initiated, was fundamentally important, because it generated, finally, the cultural and political conditions to put an end to an interminable transition toward democracy.

In Memory and Future, we believe that what people have experienced with the post Pinochet Governments is a low impact democracy, semi sovereign, which, in essence, responds to the institutional model created by Pinochet and Guzmán, the 1980 Constitution. An unequal field in which, whoever is governing, what is done or permitted is not substantially different from what the military forces inherited from the dictatorship and servants of the oligarchies would do. Likewise, the large economic groups that in this democracy "as far as possible", accumulated enormous wealth at the expense of increasing social differences, condemning the national majorities to pauperization with miserable salaries, precarious jobs, underemployment and disguised unemployment rebounding in marginalization, indebtedness, privations and distress.

The services privatized or degraded by the minimum level in health, education, social provision and housing, worsen life conditions, building a country deeply split by impressive social differences that reflect an unjust and aberrant social and economic order, which already consumed its potential of easy growth with its primary model exporting low added value, looting nature and condemning wide sectors of the nation to zones of sacrifice and improper life conditions.

To put an end to that order and its political representants, the population rose up on October 18th. The social mobilization spread promptly to the whole country, bursting in mass manifestations of an amplitude that hadn't be observed in decades, in creative and original forms that developed in the squares and Street corners of the main cities and towns. Its epicenters were the numerous *cabildos* and district assemblies, especially the emblematic Plaza de la Dignidad (ex Plaza Baquedano or Plaza Italia), where thousands of demonstrators were involved, each Friday, in magnificent protests, protected by the valiant first line that resisted the state forces' criminal repression and the police ready to stain again its uniforms with citizens' blood: more than 400 victims of eyes traumas, some of them left blind, and more than thirty young persons murdered in popular districts.

The national protest kept active for more than 5 months, until mid-March, when was declared the national state of disaster for the Covid 19.

Pandemic, state of disaster and new forms of social mobilization.

People rapidly understood the seriousness of the threat on public health implied by that new version of Coronavirus. Required to keep working to survive, using during peak hours public transportation, in their narrow homes or working places that do not offer the basic essential protections to control or avoid the contamination.

The main preventive measure for the contamination is social distancing, as recommended by the World Health Organization and as implemented with more or less rigor by the Governments, according to their position to protect people's health and life and at the same time affecting as less as possible their conditions of life, study and work.

In Chile, Piñera's Government declared the national state of emergency that gave them wide attributions and imposed a night curfew, using selective alternative quarantines to the districts. The pandemic as much as the measures to limit its effects implied losses of employment for thousands of dependent workers who had to use the unemployment insurance. More dramatic is the situation of the independent workers who receive only support of limited vouchers. The bankruptcy of hundreds of thousands of small and medium businesses is imminent and only recently are considered credits with 85% State warranty, so that the private banks can lend the Central Bank money with no interest.

In these conditions of national catastrophe, in which all the sanitary and socio-economic measures of the government arrived with delay and the workers were exposed to jobs loss, salary reduction and syndical organization eliminations, we observed a demobilization of the social movement that progressively reverted with actions of complaints and resistance through social networks, art creations, forums and virtual discussions, collective actions such as pan banging, flag waving and actions of active resistance in some popular areas.

The discomfort is growing in front of the peevish and insensible Government and oligarchy response to the population anguish. The displeasure is growing as the most reactionary right wing tries to avoid the plebiscite about the constituent process, postponed to October 25th; the intent to impose impunity to free the Punta Peuco genocides considering their age or illness and diminishing the sentences for horrible crimes, like the 8th courtroom of Santiago Appeal Court did.

Prevented to process a law allowing to commute the imprisonment for house arrest for Human Rights violators, they insist for a presidential selective pardon. The Human Rights movement was deployed and could hold in part that offensive; yet, it is necessary to intensify the denunciations and mobilization, until prohibiting or reverting those recalcitrant rightist actions in search of impunity.

Today, the most important is to protect the population's health and life, especially the most vulnerable to this virus, while maintaining levels of organization and mobilization to defend the rights that are being stolen on the professional and social plans, paralyzing the offensive for impunity and requiring the liberation of persons arrested in the protests who can be contaminated by the virus in the crowded prisons.

The energy unleashed by the October 18th movement and the consciousness built in the following months will come back when possible with a stronger power. We will use that impulse to definitely change the country creating a new Constitution, genuinely democratic, to put an end to the dictatorship heritage and neoliberal order that will collapse in front of that pandemic and its socio-economic consequences. To reach that goal, we must improve the unity between social and democratic leadership and produce an efficient and prestigious management allowing, in a near future, to compete for the Government against the right wing and democratize the country.

Memory and Deniability

Carmen Pinto Luna, Director of the Chilean Human Rights Commission

April 2020

For just over thirty years, a wave of democratization began in Latin America, which by the way has not been free of shocks. Indeed, after decades of instability and dictatorships, democracy seemed to have taken root in our continent. In the case of Chile, the expectations of the great popular mass, the one that risked even death to end the dictatorship, could only engender dissatisfaction, from the beginning of the agreed transition, a stream of underground social unrest was created due to the conditions in which the transition from dictatorship to democracy occurred, with the dictator as General-in-Chief of the armed forces, to which were added the liberal and anti-state reforms leading to an expansion of inequalities and thus the dissatisfaction of large popular majorities.

The increase in the informal economy, precarious jobs, the abolition of social safety nets meant that this climate of social discontent would one day have to explode; however, for a long time there was not much collective effervescence, at least not strong enough to alter the representative order. Democracy in Chile as we know was restored through high surveillance, with the primary instrument of containment being the Constitution of 1980, in force to this day without major structural changes. The currency of the political parties that constituted The Coalition of Parties for Democracy (Concertación) was "growth and social equity" that was intended to be carried out with the support of large advertising campaigns, making citizens and the world believe that our transition was exemplary, particularly in terms of poverty reduction.

However, the weakened democracy became increasingly unbearable, without true freedoms or even equality, the governments that succeeded from Patricio Aylwin to Sebastian Piñera, with greater or lesser emphasis, they surrendered to the free market, violating in many ways the basic rights of citizenship, from the

rudest to the most subtle, converting the country into a true laboratory of neo-liberalism, also relying on an obscene political trickery until very recently, as was the binomial system in the elections.

The consensual left raised hopes in a people who suffered the worst aggressions of the dictatorship with the motto "joy is coming". However, this perception of trust and success became disseminant first and in suspicion afterwards, since expectations were never achieved, that is how an important part of the electorate came to consider that the counting of the vote did not have the value it was supposed to have, allowing Piñera to rise to power (in his second term) with a fictional majority, since only 46% of the voters went to the polls, the remaining 54% did not exercise their right to vote in conviction for many that the election by suffrage was not synonymous with democracy. Democratic progress is aware of this particular choice, while democracy was in theory advancing, the social consequences of a policy far from fundamental human rights, with a people stripped of exercising their legitimate sovereignty, increasing discontent with many and varied sectoral signals; on par with a crisis of credibility in the institutions, affecting the entire political class, parliamentarians and political parties included.

We could then deduce that the social outburst occurred because of an important awareness of the Chilean youth, and first of all the students, who felt the need to conquer the right to have rights. Here a memory that seemed forgotten or hidden opens to the country, at least it was absent from discourse and yet the same phrase "it is not thirty pesos, it is thirty years" evokes a past, a past that bursts into the present with a mighty unexpected force. Not in vain are they in the streets, in the stadiums, in the squares and other public places where the protests have taken place, the songs of other times of social boom such as "*El pueblo unido jamás será*

vencido" (The People United Will Never Be Defeated), *"El baile de los que sobran"* (Dance of the Ones Left Behind) music of the 80s group *Los Prisioneros* is sung, and also as a symbol of pacification, the song of *Victor Jara "El derecho de vivir en paz"* (The Right to Live in Peace) dating from 1969 inspired by the Vietnam War. Every time this happens, before the well-known repression by state agents, the city is illuminated in unforeseen colors. Memory is on the banners displayed by young people, where human rights violations are on the front line: miserly pensions, grandparents who die waiting for medical care, elitist education, lack of social welfare, unjust wages, inhumane housing, criminalization of the struggle of the native peoples, etc.

There is no talk of memory but the present is a necessary consequence of the past, giving meaning to the protest; memory installs its presence as an indubitable truth, an unexpected situation indeed for many. If we wanted to give a name to this memory, it is certainly a subversive memory, because it acts as a critique of an inhuman model that has dragged on for decades, it is memory of the dissatisfaction that stimulates the memory of what happened in the past. On this last point, it is unfortunately the memory of human rights violations on a systematic basis. It is the memory of the accumulation of facts that seemed to have been naturalized and that break into the present bringing us the dangers of another era, of announced transformations that did not come true and therefore speaks of the objective conditions that caused the social outburst whose reflection should be that the path taken since the end of the dictatorship was not the correct path, at least allow it to be questioned.

We cannot deny this subversive memory, lest we want to deceive ourselves. Here, since the 18th of October, 2019, the substantive alteration of the establishment has been at stake and has received the accession of millions of people, welcoming it to a painful past that never paid off its debts in matters of truth, justice, reparation, and therefore, we could not avoid a "Never Again". With this time has been fractured unifying it in the same movement, it brutally shakes us, as an earthquake would; memory takes on in our present uncertain all its weight in

the collective condition of it, characterized by the subjectivity of the human being.

In Chile, and the facts tell us, we should have prioritized justice and not allow the phrase of "Never Again" to be repeated every time the horror reappears as a tragic truth. The facts also tell us that memory lost its way through political disputes, allowing the political class privileges granted to it by a Constitution that is not based on human rights and that was made in the midst of the dictatorship, would accommodate basic needs to the free market, so day by day memory also accommodated the modifications of the present, thus losing its essence and meaning. We should have erased all that inheritance from a totalitarian model as the only way to build another present and another future. With this, we are not stating that politics is not necessary, what we mean is that we cannot allow politics, or any other power, to put limits on memory, because with this we are giving room to a nefarious present called denialism, which only tends to justify facts that should not only be at odds with the conscience of every human being, but be ashamed to give space to the banality of evil.

It is necessary to use memory to "understand" the cruelty deployed by the repressive apparatus of the State, represented by *Carabineros* and its Special Forces, whose model was created during the dictatorship and was unacceptably perfected in the years of transition. Returning to the phrase coined by the Chilean youth "not thirty pesos it's thirty years," these practices do not allow any explanation. Unfortunately, justice and memory are not combined and there we still be the cases of more than a thousand detainees missing as an open sore that should make us reflect as a society.

The political debate we see today transformed into a television show becomes fruitless because we try to find solutions that only contribute to strengthening the capitalist model taken to the extreme, this debate is opposed to the demands of millions of people because precisely the conflict that has arisen since the beginning of the social outburst has its basis in collective memories that are not coincidental and that in the present translate into injustice, inequity, parallel worlds.

Memory is not a master key that opens paths, but when spoken in the plural, when they are collective, common memories, which recognize the legitimate existence of divergent groups, groups that do not agree with the establishment and are also willing to waive the imposition of laws and rules on the grounds that they are against their basic rights, the social explosion was inevitable. Indeed, the memory or the memories when authoritarian and irresponsible measures are submitted or abided lose their attributes and virtues, it is these two qualities that precisely allow the argument in the present to redeem the recent past without the right to education, without the right to health, without the right to a fair wage, without the right to decent pensions and "until dignity becomes customary". This leads us to one last thought, can we link memory to actions of social transformation and thus give it a major political role? For many authors, memory is nothing but a question that has no end.

By the way, the anemia of political parties became clear on October 18, 2019, a situation that jeopardizes the State's decision-making capacity and even social coexistence, it is under these conditions that civil society, still little or poorly organized, is put in motion, with a myriad of sectoral demands, which legitimately turn violent in the absence of an institutional outlet, that is, they are not translated in political terms by formal bodies, such as political parties. In sociological terms we could say that we are not facing a social anomie, despite the high percentage of voters who did not exercise their right in recent elections, we have indeed seen instruments emerge that are still not considered political in the substance if they are, since they have served as a bridge between the social sphere and the formal political space, and it is the latter who must have accommodated the circumstances. This social awakening gives us hopes of alternation, a paradigm shift, and a new social contract with the sovereign participation of the people, which will surely be expressed mostly by a change of Constitution.



The Fire

*Chronicle (in process) of Chile in crisis**

Ignacio Achurra D., President SIDARTE

November 2019

The spark

What are thirty years? some people asked themselves, watching the first breakout of students in Santiago subway. They considered the reaction out of proportion, to get together for a little price rise and defy an essential norm of liberal politeness: pay the ticket of public transportation. An ex-president of the subway declared, with an arrogance that Chilean technocrats use to show off: "That didn't get on fire, kids". With those words, he was joining the Government's authorities as they were minimizing young people's action.

The students declared to the press cameras and microphones that their little act of disobedience expressed solidarity with the unbearable economic pressure that their parents and grandparents were facing. The solution was easy: to freeze the ticket fee and offer a new system to determine the prices. But no! The Government, without measuring the dimension of the discontent in process, increased the police vigilance in some stations and refused all kind of negotiation. That's how started a succession of violent situations. A schoolgirl would be hurt by a police force's shot, inside a subway station. The terror on her face when she saw the blood on her leg and the confusion of her friends and witnesses, froze for a moment Chileans' hearts. The image ferociously turned viral. In the midst of democracy, a young girl had been shot while jumping over a turnstile. From then, Chile would live an unprecedented social outbreak.

In that spring-like night, a Friday 18th of October, the expression of a discomfort controlled for decades was shaking Santiago, with a rare virulence and massiveness. Subway stations on fire, violent confrontations between protesters

and police forces, and the sensation that something would change for good. "Santiago is burning", said the local and international headlines, astonished. The Government, in panic and impacted, tried to extinguish the fire with benzene. President Piñera declared constitutional state of emergency and put the military in charge of controlling the capital. The executive considered that Santiago was basically facing a problem of public order. For the first time since the end of Pinochet's dictatorship appeared in the streets thousands of armed soldiers. The general in charge decided to apply curfew, bringing back, for many people, the traumatic images and souvenirs of State terrorism and the indignant impunity that is still in place. However, the protests and disturbances didn't stop during the night. New generations of Chileans, without the direct traumatism of the past, didn't respect the curfew, and with a mix of ingenuity and rebellion, defied the militaries. What started in the capital extended quickly to other cities of the country.

Chile was fighting against a normality that had become unbearable, intolerable. "They took so much from us that they even took our fear", people said.

Thousands of persons protested in the streets against a situation that oppressed them and forced them to live in scarcity and suffering. "We don't have enough to live", they shouted, suffocated by tear gas canisters. Thirty pesos more on a subway ticket and high school students determined reaction had worked as a spark to put on fire a meadow of frustrations accumulated for decades. And like in every Spring, along with the woods fires, a life system burst in flames, a model of society and economy, a totalizing paradigm that places competition, individual trajectory and inequality as structuring axes to live in community.

The war

On October 20th, president Piñera, after cancelling the subway ticket rise without obtaining the expected results, decided to talk to people. The media and the population expected something that could help to lower social fever. But on the contrary, the president declared: “we are in war against a powerful enemy”, intensifying the social fracture. The general in charge of Santiago (knowing what a presidential declaration of war means), decided on his own to contradict publicly the head of State, declaring with a touch of irony that “he was not at war with anyone.” The slogan “we are not at war” multiplied on social networks and crafted posters displayed by thousands of protesters, turning into the mobilizations hallmark. Yet, the Government was still unable to evaluate the fire dimension.

The state of emergency extended to nine of the sixteen regions of the country, like the curfew. Militaries and strongly armed police became part of the national landscape. The numbers of injured and dead persons, the pillages, massive pacific protests and disproportionate police repression, aggravated a growing expression of contradictory emotions in the population. On one side, fear, rage and helplessness. On the other, a powerful feeling of hope and empathy, the hint of a notion of community lost between the neon lights of a dehumanizing neoliberal system. “Chile woke up” becomes the *leit motiv*.

To win or to waste time

Four days after the outbreak, as the protests were increasing in the country, along with the radicalization of pillages and the irrefutable evidence of violations of Human Rights with fifteen persons dead, the president offered a package of “social measures”. However, such proposition was insufficient, and instead of calming the people, it installed a sensation that

the government didn’t listen to that popular clamor, but instead was trying to manage the crisis, appealing to the social movement burnout and exhaustion. On October 25th occurred the biggest march realized during the last decades in Chile. Over a million and a half persons (1.200.000 in Santiago only) participated to express that their weariness had reached its limit. “No more abuses”, “no more pensions to starve”, “no more health for the poor and health for the rich”, “no more segregated cities”, “no more jails for poor and ethics classes por rich” (referring to the derisory penalty received by businessmen and politicians guilty of illegal financing of campaigns), “no more millionaire salaries for parliamentarians”. All the injustices dissimulated under the carpet for decades, finally, were exposed in the center of the public sphere.

President Piñera, put in a historic corner, evaded again the possibility to lead a process of social transformations and structural democratization opening new horizons to the country and population. On the contrary, it seems that the Government’s diagnosed that those massive protests were the top and what was coming next would be a declining process with an atomized political opposition and a population divided between the ones who wanted a “return to order” and the ones who pretended to continue the mobilization. Which could have been an effective strategy for the Government to save time and avoid “negotiating” at the top of the protests, resulted (considering the movement progress) an invaluable loss of time to intent controlling the fire.

Playing with fire

The social fire kept spreading, not with the attractive and heart-rending flames it started with but moving toward the roots of a fragile social pact. Like fires that grow under the ground, those flames turned into a powerful process of civic re-politization (but also a dangerous

accumulation of rage and violence). Assemblies and self-called *cabildos* took place all over the country, resulting in a deliberative process that installed, gradually but strongly, in the collective consciousness, a need of a new constitution through a constituent procedure. While the president's popularity was falling down to less than two digits numbers, seven out of each ten Chileans evaluated positively the perspective of a constituent procedure, and the numbers were going up. But to initiate the changes of a political and economic model request by the population, the Government must give up a fundamental part of its principles: the absolute and omnipresent freedom of the markets in all the areas of social life. And that must be done with the redaction of a new constitution questioning the key concept of the "Chilean model": the subsidiary State.

President Piñera had already tried actions and strategies to deactivate the conflict: measures deepening the model through the transfer of resources from public to private in key areas such as health and labor; intimidating police and military repression (with enormous costs in violations of Human Rights); drills in civic normalization; appropriation of a feeling of claim (associating it to a dissociation between the slowness of a "capitalist modernization" process versus people's expectations); approach to opposition leaders; and finally, the insisting idea that Chile had been only shaken, those days, by some kinds of anarchists that had to be controlled by the rigor of the law. All the attempts failed spectacularly, threatening the country governability and security.

Yet, to offer efficient solutions, the diagnostic must be correct. And until then, the executive had showed ineptitude and obstinacy. Besides, believing that social violence had reached its maximum expression with that crisis, was hiding the head and refusing to observe other Latin American countries examples. The public and private furniture burning could be seen, retrospectively, as something minor since, with the conflict worsening, people witnessed horrible practices such as sequestrations, selective murders, combat groups with war or terrorism arms. To maintain the order, the Government put in danger any possible social order, and as the fire progressed, its containment turned uncontrollable. More than ever, the indolence and disconnection of the dominating groups became evident: their brutal lack of empathy with others' suffering, their abysmal distance with the critical reality of most Chileans and their negation of the alarming data that social sciences have given for decades about the social fracture resulting from inequality.

The political and oligarchic elites that for so many years had benefited from structurally unequal model, weren't able to echo (even by spirit of own survival) the legitimate requests of a population that woke up to require justice, dignity and sovereignty. What is at stake is simply the social peace of Chile.

*That text was written before the "Agreement for social peace and the new constitution", subscribed by most of political parties, opening the possibility of an unprecedented constitutional democratic process in Chile.

National Coordinating Committee de Immigrants in Chile

Héctor Pujols, President

April 2020

Historically, the creation of the Nation-State and the concept of citizenship were limited to a minoritarian sector not very representative of the population, causing that in various moments, the minorities and excluded sectors struggled for the access to economic, social and cultural rights. Finally, a fight for redistribution of power and State democratization as a regulatory and guarantee entity, a fight to build more equalitarian and just societies. Worldwide, the migratory processes in all the continents put a strain on the idea of citizenship, the belonging to a State and the access to rights. From the Mediterranean and European Union drama, sending troops to control the frontiers and sink boats up to the Central American borders and roots to access the United States and other migratory processes put pressure on the international treaties and organisms in charge of taking care of them. In front of a globalizing process like migration, instead of progressing to a better coordination, the States, without exception, chose the closure to protect themselves from “the other”.

Today, talking of migration is basically talking of Human Rights, and, in practice, breaking any precept conceived by the State and questioning history and humanity. How to guarantee civil and political rights to non-citizens, or how to guarantee economic and social rights to persons whose stay depends on a resident visa, are questions that any political or social organization must consider if its goal is to build a more inclusive and just

society. In that sense, there is a key element to understand the political frontier that migrants must face at the global level: the link between the need of nationality in the host country as a request to have access to full rights.

In the case of Chile, the same Constitution approved during the civic military dictatorship establishes in the article 13 that “*are citizens the Chileans who reach eighteen years*”, limiting, in that definition of citizenship, the full access to rights to persons who, although living in the country and contributing to its development, don't have nationality. The fact of establishing nationality as a requirement to become citizen leads to a series of limitations for the migrant population, its inclusion in the country and the future of Chile, limitations reflected in the legislative decree of alien status, the work code, the access to public services and other Republic laws and agreements. In addition to that element common to all the country, in Chile, the theoretical construction of the foreigner as an enemy, based on the National Security Doctrine and expressed in the same legislative decree, reinforces even more the difficulties for the migrant population to get included. It is important to remember that in the article 15, the law regulating the residence in the country indicates that will not be integrated or will be expelled the persons who:

“propagate or foment, orally, in writing or in any other way, doctrines that

tend to destroy or alter violently the country social order or its administration system, those who belong to syndicates or have the reputation of being agitators or activists of those doctrines, and in general those who execute actions that the Chilean laws define as crime against exterior security, national sovereignty, interior security or public order, or those who achieve acts opposed to the interest of Chile or dangerous for the State.”

In any case, farther than those two fundamentals - nationality as a required condition for citizenship, and the vision of foreigner as enemy of the national authoritarian idiosyncrasy -, there is an important element that allows us to understand the legal framework regarding the migrant population hosting: the Chilean State economic system. From the “chilenization” of the northern regions taken away from Peru and Bolivia, to the conquest and colonization of the southern regions, migration has played a key part in the consolidation and expansion of the national capital. Currently, the migratory process is also important, incorporating in the agricultural and industrial sectors and in the services thousands of migrants who are coming, deliberately or forced by the conjuncture, to take the most precarious jobs.

Based on these three frontiers – not citizens, enemies and precarious – was created in 2014 the National Coordinating Committee de Immigrants in Chile, understanding that the migrant population struggle is not just a fight of a group of people living in a territory to have access to certain rights, but rather the expression of a group striving with others for the democratization of the State and the redistribution of the power in Chile. Yet,

although it hasn't lived long, its structure collected the legacy of various organizations and collective debates, especially the Peruvian diaspora established in the country in the 90s.

We had to face many obstacles and enemies in those years, and we will keep doing it, but always around those three verges. From the one who considers that there is a progress in the integration but doubts of the migrant's obligation for he is not national, to the one who considers the migrant as an enemy or a threat for security - for the jobs he will take or the illness he might bring -, and the one who considers that the migrant must stay in his function of “invited worker”, someone that the country can use and reject to its liking. There are also many allies who understand that we must progress toward a more democratic society, where there is no exclusion for gender, religion, political, ethnical or social opinion, nationality, age, economic situation or any other condition, that we must build more inclusive concepts of citizenship, reaching all the people who live on the national territory, regardless of the place where they are born. Finally, we are united in the defense of Human Rights, because we consider that more than an articulation of defense and promotion of the migrants and refugees' rights, we are an organization of migrants and refugees fighting for those Human Rights.

In 1870, Marx considered that the bourgeoisie stimulated artificially the antagonism between the Irish and English working class in England, knowing that its power was in good part based on that division. In the case of Chile, we witnessed that same phenomenon. For years, as a wise strategy allied with the main media, Sebastián Piñera's Government reinstalled the idea of the foreigner as an enemy. The unemployment, the HIV, the delinquency and even the leprosy were phenomenon associated

every day to migration, in the mouth of the representants and spokespersons of the institutions, disguised in specialists or journalists in the morning news. For a while, it worked. If we review the preoccupations in the opinion surveys in 2018 and 2019, almost at the top of the list comes the control of migration, before health, unemployment and education, only preceded by security. But in October everything changed.

Starting in October, the “migration control”, that was only an established speech blaming the foreigners, collapsed. It disappeared from the surveys, not even appearing among the ten first preoccupations. We met again and observed that the problem was the economic system, the institutions and the Government that was supporting them. We suffered, just like the Chileans, from the rebellion repression, but we made progress. Yet, we know that the social struggle is long and profound, it is not for short distance runners.

The agreement signed in November left us outside, indicating that the “citizens” would decide about the redaction of the new Constitution, a concept that doesn’t include the migrants. It excluded more than 350 thousand foreigners who have the right to vote. Nevertheless, after several mobilizations and a proposition of law, we obtained to be included. This is just an example, but it shows that although the constituent process has been initiated, obtaining the changes we considered necessary - such as the incorporation of the right to migrate, the ampliation of the concept of citizenship and the declaration of an intercultural country-, we will find other frontiers to cross.

Then arrived the pandemic, a new frontier, and the desperate intention to go back to normality. We are listening again to the institutions spokespersons and watching other morning news that are intending to divide. But we are far from that. The migrants and refugees’ demands are requiring the State democratization and focusing on the new Chile we must build.



Fotografía: Felipe Marín Araya

Popular Children and Adolescents in Neoliberal Times.¹

David Ordenes, Coordinator Corporation La Caleta

April 2020

The “Social awakening”, called “October outbreak” by others, placed adolescents and in many cases children on the stage center, fundamental part of the mobilizations and on the first line.

That first line where “the actors arrived first” has nothing to do with President Piñera’s invitation in his first speeches, when he said that in his government “children and adolescents will be first”.

Is it possible that in a capitalist, neoliberal system like Chile, children arrive first?

Let’s not go back to the military dictatorship, when La Caleta¹ started working with children inhaling Neopren as a form of subsistence. Let’s rather concentrate on the impact of the model imposed by the dictatorship and disguised by the following governments, who maintained in depth their mooring and power, with the consequences that we are experiencing now.

Chile has 17.574.003 inhabitants, 4.259.155 of those between 0 and 17 years old. We are talking about 24,2%. 51% are male children and adolescents, 49% female.²

87,4% of children and adolescents live in urban zones; 12,6% of children and adolescents live in rural zones; 12,9% of children and adolescents belong to a native population; 2,8% of children and adolescents are immigrants.³ According to the ELPI 2017, 47,7% of homes with children between 5 and 12 are female-headed.

Currently, 187.825 of children and adolescents attended by SENAME (1.06% of all the children and adolescents living in Chile), 0,3% of them with measures of protection, are in an adoption program; 5% of children and adolescents with measures of protection are in family substitute care; 3,8% of children and adolescents with measures of protection are in residential substitute care. The other children and adolescents are in various ambulatory and focalized programs through OPDS and ONGS.⁴

Children and adolescents are the poorest population group. According to the Casen 2017 survey, 13,9% of them in situation of poverty by income and 22,9% in multidimensional poverty. For the adults, 8,6% of them in situation are in poverty by income and 20,7% in multidimensional poverty.

¹ The Corporation La Caleta has been working for 35 years with childhood, adolescence and youth in popular areas. Facebook: la caleta ong.

² From CASEN 2017.

³ From CASEN 2017.

⁴ From SENAME January-October 2019.

Chile signed the International Convention of Children and Adolescents Rights in 1990, meaning that the State/Government will adapt a Law of Integral Protection of Rights for all the children and adolescents living in Chile. The State is still in debt and the post dictatorship administrations haven't given to children the place they deserve.

The State/Governments' incapacity to minimally respond to the SENAME children and adolescents' reality, vulnerating those children and adolescents' rights, has clearly demonstrated that childhood is not a priority. It implies also that the "focalization" is not an answer.

The model's impact is related with the inequality in which wide popular sectors live, where children cannot live in dignity.

Their inequality is related to their housing (overcrowding and space structure where they live, 35-40 square meters), their schools with important differences (such as the lack of computers, connections, printers for the guides, topics that reach their colleges schools to respond the scholar demand). Many families live on a daily basis and cannot respond to their co-responsible part in their children's rights (2.600.000 of informal workers).

What do we see in this neoliberal capitalist system's practices? Communities and sectors defined as "vulnerable, in social risk", because the State/Government must put its attention on "subsidies, focalized projects during concrete periods, in order to alleviate poverty and violations produced by the system itself. There are between 30 and 40 sectors that were declared critical and are directly "attended" by the crime prevention secretary.

Regarding childhood and adolescence, a Childhood Undersecretary was created in the Ministry of Social Development and Family, with most of its programs focused on severe crimes.

That implies from where and how "action is taken" on childhood and adolescence. An "approach to social situation corresponding to a subsidiary State that leaves individuals and families resolve the present and future condition of childhood and adolescence". The privatization of rights and common goods turns into and depends on "the commitment and effort" that families can reach to respond to "their children's need". The satisfaction of needs comes before the response to universal rights.

When it comes to early childhood, recognizing that progress have been made in Chile with "*Crece contigo*", increase of coverage in preschool and kindergartens; a difference is visible in the conditions given by JUNJI, Integra and people attended by NOGs and, municipalities through "*Vía transferencia de fondos*" (VTF). The VTF have less economic conditions to face this reality in popular sectors. 21,7% of minors of 18 years are between 0 and 3, one of the most important periods in life, during which the bases of the person's future cognitive, social and affective development are mainly defined.

The reality is not distinct. The popular sectors are essentially located in "poor" municipalities and there is a considerable distance between the investment per person in *La Pintana* and *Las Condes*. Which means that children don't have adequate places to play, most of the services offered concentrate on the OPD (Office of Protection of Rights), that most of the time is saturated

with cases. Therefore, the promotion of rights, the development of capacities, the reinforcement of communities to be co-responsible of the protection of rights, are remote and keep relying on each family's possibilities and social organizations.

What Chile's awakening requests is that in the new Constitution, children and adolescents were recognized as legal subjects, meaning recognized as persons and social and political actors, participating in what affects them and what they are part of.

That implies working on a cultural change, to make sure that our adult-centered society puts into play its "power of social control on childhood and adolescence" and to turn the "power" into a progressive learning. That way, children and adolescents will receive binding contributions and will be recognized at school, in their families, in the neighborhood, the city and the country.

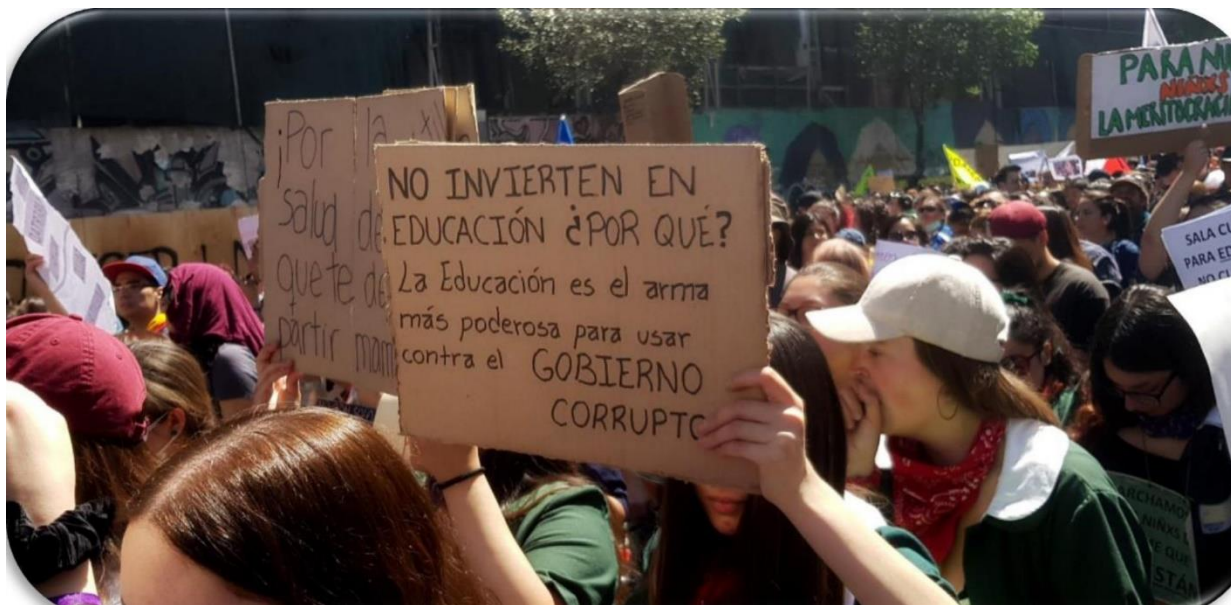
Therefore, the urging processes, beyond the pandemic, are in what should be NOW the conditions to develop children and adolescents' potentialities. It will then be possible for the democracy to receive inputs of those children who are growing in their own BEING and together with others.

A law of integral protection of children and adolescents is necessary NOW.

A new Constitution recognizing children and adolescents as beings with social, political and cultural rights.

A cultural change in our adult-centered society to recognize children and adolescents' binding, cross-generational participation, as learning and action towards democracy.

An organized civil society that would work with children and adolescents, empowered and transversalizing fundamental themes such as evolution towards good living, climate change, water as common property, feminist movement, and others.



Social revolt in Chile

(Or the wide avenues of sexual dissidence)

By Víctor Hugo Robles, journalist and activist of sexual diversity @elchedelosgays

April 2020

“Not 30 pesos, but 30 years”, claimed Chilean young students, leading determined protests, extending and deepening the motivations of a social historic revolt, what journalists would later call “social outburst”. And they were right. Because, initially, it looked like a mere student protest, when in mid-October 2019, they massively invaded Santiago subway, one of the most modern transportations of Latin America, but also the most expressive and unequal one. That’s what it looked like, but only looked, because that social explosion, popular mass rebellion, movement that hasn’t stopped despite the sanitary crisis imposing a social distance, represented the accumulation of a contained and sustained rage, a rage generated by “centuries of injustice”, like Violeta Parra sings, a collective discontent that sums up more than 30 years of social, political and institutional history. Not 30 pesos, and much more than 30 years.

I’m talking about an accumulation of injustices caused by an economic, political, civil–military pact signed in 1988, when we decided, through voting, to put an end to Pinochet’s dictatorship. That voting, spontaneously celebrated by many in its moment and publicized by the privileged cultural elite in the award-winning movie NO, implied the deepening of a neoliberal economic system of capitalist domination that looked healthy for many years. A system put on fire by the social revolt, symbolically exorcizing just and historic quarrels.

While the main national newspapers and international agencies were informing about the growing popular mobilizations in a Chile that was questioning Sebastián Piñera’s messianic leadership, the businessman-president declared war to the population, calling soon after for peace and national unity. Meanwhile, the National Congress political forces, looking for “an exit for the crisis”, bet for a national agreement that

would make a “new Constitution” possible for Chile. That agreement, signed in early morning, behind the mobilized population, was calculated in the middle of a criminal and infame scenario of repression, condemned by the most important organizations of Human Rights worldwide, and especially, in our country, the Chilean Commission of Human Rights.

What mobilized popular discontent? Weariness, rage and distrust. That mobilization represented – and keeps representing – the end of the astonishment, the climax of the neoliberal abuse that meant poverty and a painful, indebted and insecure life (or rather survival), product of unbearable inequalities and permanent sabotage of all public businesses. The sale of land, water, ocean, the wide ocean that doesn’t bathe us quietly anymore⁵. The sale of a dignity that you do not find on the market, the dignity of mobilized people. Those same people who broke the locks of oppression to claim with all their heart: “Chile woke up, woke up, woke up, Chile woke up”.

Chile’s dawn was beautiful but painful. Pinera’s Government’s repressive response was only the repetition of a nightmare, the criminal memory of Augusto Pinochet’s military dictatorship, reiterating the worse practices of police repression from times we thought were forgotten, systematically violating Human Rights. The police shouting in the eyes of mobilized people left hundreds of persons blind or one-eyed, crimes embodied in Gustavo Gatica and Fabiola Campillay, expressed the lack of respect for citizens from an indolent and inhuman police State that doesn’t see, doesn’t listen, doesn’t feel the public clamor. Those are the eyes that do not see and the heart that does not beat. Next to this dramatic reality, we must bring together hundreds of young political prisoners, unjustly incarcerated for their participation in social protests.

⁵ Allusion to the national anthem (Translator’s note).

In Chile, there is no real democracy. In Chile, we live in the neoliberalism dictatorship, defended with blood and fire by a police State calling to social and political order. A call opposed to the civil society collective force, that doesn't recognize this organized repressive institutionality. A multiple and sexually diversified, population resisting the political-communicational fence and rejecting the call for a "new social pact".

Sexual diversity, as we keep claiming it in all tones and languages, is expressed in Chile and in the entire world. In Chile there will be no new social pact without all diversities' voices, the voices of the most vulnerable, the most deprived, the most forgotten, poor people, people who don't participate in TV debates nor dialogues in the Government office.

Long before the social revolution, Chile was shining as a world example, an example of country, successful and stable, democratic and peaceful. That peace, that non-traditional model for exportation collapsed at the rhythm of the incendiary popular protests revealing a deep crack, a raw wound, a wound that hurts.

Why fighting? Just to stay up? We fight to change a system that has been abusive and unjust with many, including sexual diversities and identities of gender, especially the most vulnerable sexual dissidents, poor homosexuals, lesbians and trans, who didn't have access to education, work and decent development.

All of us, male, female and sexual dissidents, are part of that mobilized human group and shake our feathers in the protests and barricades. We had and still have good reasons to become independent. Because we, the poor sexual dissidents, the persons who live and fight against the VIH/SIDA, face the consequences and implications of the worst neoliberalism. We are people, we are resistance and we will resist together, revolted. We are workers (often unemployed), we are Mapuche, we are women, we are pro-abortion, we are environmentalists, we are mobilized people.

Because while, with our sexual dissidences, we refused to participate in publicity dialogues imposed by the political-military boot, other privileged groups of sexual diversity, hegemonic groups like the Movement of Homosexual Liberation and Integration Movilh and the Foundation Iguales, negotiated openly with the Chilean Government neoliberal and rigid authorities. We are not equal. We are not, were not and will not be ever. Yesterday, today and tomorrow we will defend our right to be different. We, the organizations and activists of sexual diversity, coordinated and participated in assemblies, *cabildos* and marches along with the emancipated people. We, critical sexual diversities, join our political-sexual fight to all people's fights because we are part of them, mobilized people never equaled.

Chile is getting organized and assumes its pains, fractures caused by coups and wild repressions, violations of Human Rights that accumulate denounces from incarcerated, beaten, disappeared, tortured and abused persons, asking for justice and reparation. In this pile of denunciations emerge testimonies of persons from sexual diversities and identities of gender, whose rights and dignity have been abused, complaints in the LGBT quarrels documented and informed to the Interamerican Commission of Human Rights.

Today, commemorating 47 years of the first sexual diversity protest in Chile, the 22nd of April 1973, we revendicate our right to sexual difference. From a Chile that is resisting social, political and sanitary crisis, we raise our memories of historical fights and resistances, remembering President Salvador Allende who announced, in his last speech, the 11th of September 1973: "Wide avenues will open, where free people will march to build a better world." Along with Víctor Jara, Gladys Marín and Pedro Lemebel, we, the sexual dissidents who shake social protests with our red heart, recreate Salvador Allende's historic and valiant omen, saying: "Wide avenues will open, where free homosexuals, lesbians and transvestites will march to build a better world".

Chile, Oasis and Illusions

Marco Consolo, International analyst

On October 18th, when the social rebellion burst in Chile, many in Europe were surprised. The cradle of neoliberalism, the first laboratory where the "Chicago boys" applied their neoliberal politics, was the protagonist of a mass movement against the model imposed with blood and fire by the civilian-military dictatorship, thanks to the 1973 military coup. A model that resisted including after the end of the dictatorship, when the "Concertation" governments adjusted with cosmetic changes Pinochet Constitution, which stayed intact in substance. To paraphrase Tomasi di Lampedusa in "Il gattopardo", the result was only "to change something in order not to change anything".

And Chile woke up. But how and why did it happen?

In the last 30 years and during the 17 years of dictatorship, the dominated ones had suffered violence and shameless abuses from the controlling classes. A model of society in which the State is subsidiary of the market, the salaries are a variable depending on the earnings (why not apply also the UF to the salaries?). A model in which the ancestral repression against native populations (starting with the Mapuche) has been "the daily bread", social rights (education, health, alimentation, homes, etc.) have been commercialized and distributed as favors, according to the political affinity with the government in place and the "compatibility" with the system.

In Chile, the nature also has been irrationally exploited, and now, it is time to pay the bill. I am referring to the "waters code", the deforestation and the savage extraction of natural resources (copper, fishes, etc.). In terms of international work division, Chile keeps exporting raw material, with little added value and limited capacity of industrial transformation.

A country where a few families share the biggest part of the cake, presented on a silver tray basically as a result of the privatizations done by the dictatorship. From the little part that remains, a few slices go to a hypothetical "middle class" and only a few crumbs to the rest. With the neoliberal legend "less State, more market", Chile lived in the fantasy of well-being for the 2/3 of the population, an illusion that has never been real, building a growing distance between population and political parties, between people and institutions.

From Europe, it seemed that Chilean people were in some kind of lethargy, numbed by the brutal concentration of the media oligopoly in the hands of the upper group, where lies and censorship are the dominant matrix of the "Chilean miracle", paradise of the multinational investments controlled by a dominant class selling the homeland. The ingredients of such "miracle" were quite simple: huge profits for a small group, miserable salaries and pensions for the majority, 70% of the population with debts, almost no syndical rights, massive repression for the dissidents, applied by center-left and center-right governments.

The image of the oasis boasted by the president Piñera was the result of an illusion. The social rebellion was not an accident, nor something that happened without notice. On the contrary, it was the product of an accumulation of many years of discontent, although fragmented in many conflicts, often without connection between them.

The constant and heroic fight against the impunity of those who violated the human rights during the dictatorship played a key part in it. In the last few years, we remember in 2006 the "penguins' movement" that broke the jail of fear, fighting for a public education, high-quality and free. I remember the mobilization for the environment (HidroAysén and the climatic crisis), the syndical fight to review numerous agreements and to get a minimum wage, the movement NO + AFP and the shout for "constituent assembly", the new student movement that obtained most people's support, the movement of settlers claiming for a decent home, the serious strikes in logistics (harbors). And the incursion of women on the political scene, the most important of the last years, not just in Chile but in the entire world.

At the same time, the collusion scandals in numerous economic Powers (Arauco, pharmacies), parliamentarians buying major businesses (fisheries law, etc.), the corruption involving militaries (*milico-gate*, *paco-gate*), the multiple cases of pedophiles in the Catholic Church. Episodes that deeply challenged the institutionality and illusionism of the ruling classes. Like in the Danish Hans Christian Andersen's stories, the king is naked. Suddenly, the Chilean oasis had no water and the Chilean illusion revealed what it was: a sole illusion.

On October 18th, Chile woke up from the lethargy. On the wide avenues, the population was marching, valiantly, without fear, obtaining respect and attention from the

world. The government, blind and deaf, decided to ignore people's requests. First, a real constituent assembly to give them the right to speak, the original constituent power to renew the pact of coexistence between the citizens and the State. The executive threw gasoline to the fire and initiated a brutal repression, with a dramatic amount of injuries and deaths, massive ocular lesions, severe and systematic violations of Human Rights. Crimes that keep unpunished.

On its side, the parliament was unable to legislate to modify in Depth social inequality, and it tried to dilute as much as possible the contents and deadlines for the plebiscite about constitutional change. Then the COVID-19 came to infect the electoral chronograms.

From the European leftist parties and social movements, several questions rise.

Will it be possible to get over the sectorial fragmentation (typical of diverse and transversal mass movements)?

Will the different movement souls know how to build a collective politico-social direction - political direction doesn't means party oriented-, to converge in a common platform and give an efficient issue to the protest?

Will the movement be able to break the spiral of militarization and repression, respecting the massive character of the protest?

Who will pay the cost of the economic and social crisis already present and aggravated by the pandemic?

Those are questions without answers for the moment.

But the dominating classes shouldn't delude themselves! Everything is stored in the memory, and despite the pandemic, the eyes of the world are still focused on Chile.

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Publication Financed with Contribution from the Europeann Parliament

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