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WELCOME TO

**HOPE,
STRUGGLE
AND
SOLIDARITY.**

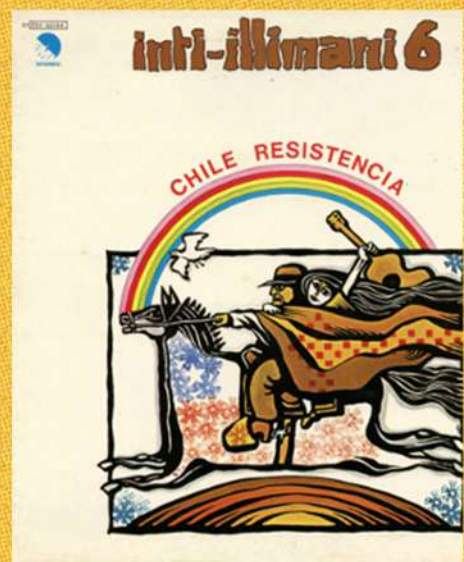
AN EXHIBITION FROM THINKING INSIDE THE BOX: 1973

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Our first exhibition in Left Bank, Leeds



Vinyl sleeve from the Liverpool Popular Music Archives

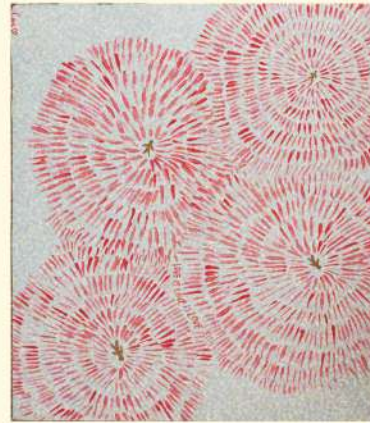


Introduction

Thinking Inside the Box: 1973 was a project that came to the University of Leeds in October 2022. We are the students who joined the project, and this exhibition on Hope, Struggle, and Solidarity is the result of months of archival research and collaboration.

We've visited the Robert Pring-Mill Collection at the University of Liverpool's Popular Music Archive and Senate House Library's Latin America Political Pamphlet Collection. We've also worked with the artist-activist-archivist Antonio Kadima, including a sample of his own artworks which have been digitised as the Memories of Resistance Archive by the University of California.

The motto of our work has been to "think inside the box" - to reawaken hopes, struggles, and solidarities of the past through a performative engagement with the archive. To mark 50 years of the Chilean military coup, our exploration of the archive has been guided by the year 1973, but is not only focused on Chile: in the context of the Global Cold War, 1973 marked a critical political moment for many other Latin American countries.



This exhibition is not limited to the artworks you see mounted on the walls: next to each image, you will find a QR code, which will take you to a reflective essay or some music related to the piece. Scattered around the displays, you will find boxes of postcards - we invite you to take a look inside and see which image speaks to you the loudest. We will also continue to build our own archive, through workshops and activities that generate political artworks and performances of Hope, Struggle, and Solidarity today. This zine was created to complement our first major exhibition at Leeds Student Union on 18th April.



We invite you to join us in this initiative to think together about what is inside the box; to learn from the past and shape the future.



FIND OUT MORE:

[HTTPS://WWW.THINKINGINSIDETHEBOX.CO.UK/](https://www.thinkinginsidethebox.co.uk/)

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 @THINKINGINSIDETHEBOX.LEEDS

Where it began....

At Leeds, we have been working with Anna Grimaldi, a lecturer in International Relations. The seeds for this project were sown during Anna's Master's, when she decided to take up a voluntary position in the Senate House Library, London, cataloguing Latin American archival materials. This culminated in leading a seminar, 'Thinking Inside the Boxes', showcasing the materials to scholars. From there grew a philosophy, which she calls a 'pedagogical framework', promoting the use of such archives in understanding Latin American memories and histories. Years later, Anna and her colleague Vinicius de Carvalho, a reader in Brazilian and Latin American studies at King's College London (and her former supervisor) decided to pick the project back up as an extracurricular opportunity for students to broaden their studies and interests. The exhibition was a huge success in London last year and so when Anna found her first permanent job in Leeds, she knew she wanted to continue it here.

A conversation with Anna:

I wanted to talk about archiving as a means of research but also as a means of perceiving historical events from a more personal perspective. So, can you describe the emotion you felt when you first went to the archives? How does looking inside make you feel?

I've always been really excited by old bits of paper – I'm a bit of a hoarder – always collecting postcards and flyers. It's evidence and memories of things that went on that otherwise would disappear into history. You might remember that you went to a rally but having that trigger of the memory through a leaflet of is quite helpful. I've always liked that so finding it in the archive and using that as historical research is wonderful because I'm combining a hobby with real academic research.

It's also nice to not have to rely on dry historical texts. There's a really important visual component of the kinds of archival material we're looking at. It's a lot more open to interpretation than text is sometimes and I think that's where you build more of an emotional and affective relationship with the materials. Where you can bring yourself into them and interpret symbols and colours and be affected by them. It might trigger memories of things that you recognise – the colours and the tone might trigger certain feelings or emotional responses.

Would you agree?

Definitely - the archives were a far cry from the types of books I'd have to read at school. With them, and academic journals I read now, you do sometimes forget that there's a person behind it. Because with the archive material it's not necessarily an academic that has produced it, it helps you understand the period from a more human level. You don't get that intimacy on JSTOR.

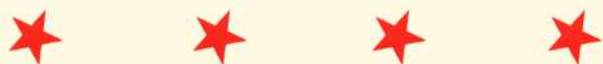
Yeah - you recognise the human being behind the story a lot more explicitly.

Considering that a lot of the material we have been handling has been made by marginalised groups – grassroots activists, students, indigenous communities – how do you think revisiting it honours or revives their struggle at the time?

That's a really good question and something I've been thinking about a lot. What is risked when we look at that period of history is condemning a lot of those groups and their struggles to the past. We risk boxing them in and leaving them there as victims: they are the people that lost in the Cold War battle against authoritarianism, against capitalism, against US economic dominance and interference in Latin America. Whether you're looking at Truth and Reconciliation Commissions or even museums of memory in Latin America, very often they portray these movements, these struggles, and the individuals who died as a result as victims that were lost to history. And we're very sorry and it's a terrible shame but ultimately that's over.

So when we re-open the archive and really engage with that we're giving it life again. We're showing that it's not lost to history – those ideas, those struggles, those strategies, those visual messages. They still have value – they're not dead – they're not victims of the past. They're still very much alive.

And this is a huge debate within Latin American memory studies as it is. Especially with people who survived. People that continued to campaign for the things they were campaigning for under the regimes. I suppose it's a wider debate around how memory is engaged with, so the fact this project does some of that is really exciting.



So through doing all of this, how do you think that archiving – engaging in this way – can enrich or change the process of learning?

I definitely think about Thinking Inside the Box not as a one-off project, but as a pedagogical framework.

On the one hand it's about creating that horizontal relationship with students where there's not an expert teacher that has all the knowledge and "I'm gonna transmit you all that knowledge and you can memorise it if you want—"

– *the banking model* –

Right, the banking model of education...

(Anna sent me a pdf of Brazilian Pablo Ferraire's 1968 Pedagogy of the Oppressed to help me explore the poster I chose about education. It criticises this 'banking model' and calls for a less hierarchical approach to teaching, which he argues is most effective in decolonising education and society as a whole)

...but what's happening is we're acknowledging that we're all in the room, we're all starting from scratch, we all have just as much background, and life experience, and world views, that *matter*. And we're collaborating in creating that new knowledge and interpretation.



On the one hand it satisfies that – challenging that hierarchical model of teaching that is everywhere in university.

Secondly, it gives students autonomy over the learning process. It's quite inclusive in a sense, and one of the things I've said from the beginning is this should always be a source of joy and something that is benefitting you. You can dedicate however much time you want to the project. It becomes much more about students and their needs. And with that people have been able to explore different skills that they can build on. Everyone's taken it in their own direction and that's something they can take forward.

That's definitely where I'm coming from with the pedagogical framework.

Finally, how do you think our themes hope, struggle and solidarity as our themes fit into Chilean history?

I remember the moment that you guys settled on that – it was on the train ride back from the Liverpool archives when this debate came up. Of protest and resistance *against* dictatorship on the one hand: the negative memory of the past; battles and confrontations; violence. But on the other hand, we can look at this as hope and struggle for something better: land reform; education and human rights; indigenous rights; economic equality and equal distribution of resources etc. We can look back and remember the negatives or we can remember that joy.

Interview by Rosa de Korte



Take a look at what we have planned:

Festival 2023

Events:

April 5: Hope, Struggle and Solidarity Exhibition (Left Bank)

Come along to see a taster selection of our main artworks and learn more about our journey on this project. A poster-making drop-in session will be held to open the month-long exhibition from 6.30pm.

April 13: political poster-making drop in (Hyde Park Book Club)

Political poster-making drop in from 4.30-9pm.

April 18: launch of month-long Hope, Struggle and Solidarity Exhibition (Leeds University Union)

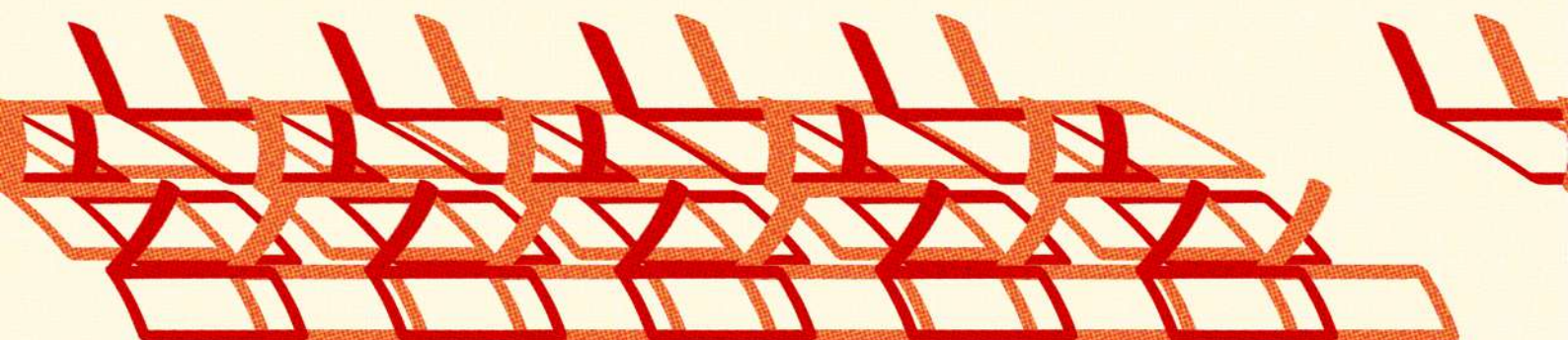
Our main, month-long exhibition at the University of Leeds.

April 20: 1973: A Critical Year in Latin America

Guest Lecture: Taking 1973 as a landmark, Prof. Rodrigo Patto Sá Motta from the Federal University of Minas Gerais analyses the objectives and interests that led certain social groups to support Latin American dictatorships and their tools of repression, as well as the impact these authoritarian regimes had on regional and global history. Now that fifty years have passed, can we consider that democracy in the region is durable? Have the structural and contextual elements that gave rise to the authoritarian wave of the 1960s-70s now been overcome?

April 20 and 23: drop-in poster making workshop (Leeds Art Gallery)

Join us for a day of poster-making! We will be looking at a range of political artworks from the 70s and 80s to draw inspiration and create our own.



**Have a look
at what we've
been doing...**

Liverpool Popular Music Archives:

The Robert Pring-Mill Collection

A VISIT TO THE LIVERPOOL MUSIC ARCHIVES

by Mayu Taniguchi

My name is Mayu, and I am writing this article to share my experience as one of the content creators for Thinking Inside the Box: 1973. I am currently in the third year of my undergraduate degree in International Relations and Spanish, specialising in human security. I got to know about the project through a friend of mine from Peru, who is now one of the team members running our Instagram (see more here: @thinkinginsidethebox.leeds). I decided to join the project because I am interested in Cold War history but have little understanding of how it played out in Latin America. The Cold War is often discussed at the macro-level, generalised as a tension between Capitalism and Communism, namely the US and the Soviet Union; a lot less is known about how “the people” (el pueblo, in Spanish) lived through and survived the period. I have also been curious to learn more about the deeply rooted and complex relationship between the United States and Latin America since watching Tom Clancy’s Jack Ryan, a show that touches on the present day United States’ intervention in Latin American politics.

While every member of the team has their own background and reasons for getting involved in the project, we are now working together to expand our knowledge and draw inspiration from a series of archive visits to launch an enriching, exciting series of events. So far, we have planned two in-person archive visits: The Popular Music Archive at the University of Liverpool and the Latin American Political Pamphlets Collection at the University of London’s Senate House Library. We have also carried out a workshop to explore the digitised collection of Tallersol, a cultural centre in Santiago, Chile, founded in 1977.





Our first destination this year was The Popular Music Archive at the University of Liverpool. We were welcomed by Dr Richard Smith, who guided us to a room full of vinyls, CDs, cassettes, books of song lyrics and poetry, and posters. The materials formed part of a collection relating to hope and struggle in Latin America, with a particular focus on movements for democracy and freedom in Chile. All of us were amazed by the variety of colourful, striking visuals – certain artworks reminded me of cubism with their vivid primary colours and range of motifs. Some contained the iconic clenched fist, raised in the air, while others depicted birds, their large wings spread wide as if trying to break free from their cage, the canvas, and fly towards freedom. It was my first time doing archival research and even though I felt like I was jumping in the deep end without enough prior knowledge, the experience was exhilarating. By looking through and combining the images, lyrics, and sounds, I was able, step by step, to build my own multi-dimensional picture of the events and people I was trying to understand. It was a different way of learning - unlike reading a textbook that packs everything neatly, I was exploring and discovering the hidden contents of the archive. The further I looked the more it felt like peeling back the layers of a big onion that could go on forever – I could see how even a single event of the past could take years to understand this way.

One of the most significant things I learned that day was the about the life story of Victor Jara, a Chilean folk singer who was killed during the Chilean military coup of 1973. As well as a famous singer and songwriter, he was an engaging political activist whose music encouraged and generated civic solidarity to confront the repressive military regime curtailing the democracy and freedom of the people of Chile. According to a biography I found at the archive, Victor Jara said:

“My songs, they are what I feel, they are about my life. But I am a peasant and so they are about millions of people, about suffering, but also sometimes victory.”

Music and songs were a fundamental way to show resistance when the regime banned freedom of expression and censored political literature. More importantly, it contributed to creating a sense of emotional connection and community among people, especially victims of the regime. Although Victor Jara was brutally murdered by the military government during the first few days of the regime, they could not silence his voice because his songs represented the shared experience of all those suffering from poverty, oppression, and fear, not only in Chile, but across the world. To this day, Victor Jara’s music is played and sung by the hundreds and thousands of people from all over the world who are repressed by authoritarian regimes.

Our experiences so far have inspired us to explore the overarching theme of “Hope, Struggle and Solidarity.” The Cold War period in Latin America was violent, heartbreaking, and bleak; it was a period of many struggles... against dictatorship, against authoritarianism, against political imprisonment and torture, and against poverty and inequality. But these were also struggles of hope for a better future. The artworks, songs, and stories we will explore as part of Thinking Inside the Box 1973 are uplifting and full of passion for life, they shine a light through the darkness and encourage optimism when the struggle against oppression seems hopeless, they generate solidarity based on shared hopes that democracy and freedom are soon to come. By opening these boxes of archives we intend to reawaken these struggles of hope and stand in solidarity with them; learning from the past to struggle for a better future.



CANCIÓN PARA MATAR UNA CULEBRA



In September 1970, Salvador Allende, a candidate of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) party, was elected President of Chile. Allende was the first Marxist to gain power in a liberal democracy in Latin America, with a campaign that called for a 'peaceful road to socialism'. However, on September 11th 1973, following months of rising political tensions, Chile's democratically elected president was overthrown by the head of the armed forces, General Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet proceeded to orchestrate a regime of terror and violence in which repression and torture became institutionalised aspects of society. Under his dictatorship, numerous extra-judicial killings were committed, in particular, many political dissenters, artists, and intellectuals were detained and killed. According to Amnesty International, over 3,000 people are officially recognised as having disappeared or been killed in Chile between 1973 and 1990, while 40,000 were subject to political detention and/or torture. Without a doubt, Chile experienced a cultural blackout produced by the repressive measures of the authoritarian state. Many artists went into exile, either abroad or internally, and continued to create pieces of cultural resistance.

Specifically, the image I have decided to study is a vinyl cover that belongs to the Chilean music group, Inti-Illimani, an instrumental and vocal Latin American folk band. At the moment of the Chilean coup, the band was on tour in Europe and could not return to their country as the military junta of Pinochet had outlawed their music. Consequently, they were forced to live in de facto exile. Inti-Illimani was formed in 1967 by a group of college students, and they quickly gained fame in Chile thanks to a cover of the song 'Venceremos' (We shall win), which served as the national anthem of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity party. The vinyl cover I have chosen is from the 1979 album 'Canción para matar una culebra' which means song to kill a snake. The album's title is a reference to a poem titled Sensemayá, by Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén.

The vinyl cover presented speaks directly to 'Hope, Struggle, and Solidarity', the overarching theme of our project and exhibition. The diaspora of artists from Chile is clearly represented in the figure of the man seen holding a guitar and suitcase, and yet this sorrowful scene is contrasted with an exuberant use of colour, as well as symbols such as a white bird and mountains to represent hope and solidarity for a better future. But what really caught my eye when I first saw this artwork was the snake, whose body is wrapped around the vinyl cover but whose head is creeping onto the image we see on the front cover. On the back of the sleeve, it becomes clearer that the the snake, which is coloured to evoke the flag of the United States, has wrapped itself around the mountains. To my interpretation, this is a metaphor for the US' involvement in the fall of the Allende government; the image of the snake wrapping itself around the mountains alludes to the way that hopes for a better future were suffocated. In the name of containing a 'communist threat', the US opted to subdue the dream of socialism.

This element of the artwork motivated me to learn more about the CIA's intervention in Chile, which continues to be one of the most controversial topics related to US foreign policy. In fact, The Chile Declassification Initiative, approved by President Bill Clinton, resulted in the declassification of about 24,000 documents between 1999 and 2000. Yet to this day, academics have still been unable to agree as to whether the US was directly behind the 1973 coup. What is known is that the US backed Pinochet's seizure of power; it is also clear that conditions the CIA covert operations prepared the ground for Allende's demise. Within the context of the ideological confrontations of the Cold War, scholars agree that the US Secretary of State at the time, Henry Kissinger, considered the leftist government of Allende to constitute a threat to US interests as part of the Soviet Union's efforts to expand communism. US anxiety was already heightened due to Cuba's transition to a Communist state. In fact, the US followed a containment policy that sought to keep communism out of the Western hemisphere by subduing the spread of 'communist ideology' in a bid to strengthen US imperialism. Overall, academics acknowledge that Kissinger and the containment of communism coupled with President Nixon's approval played a central role in the US' involvement in destabilising Chilean politics in the lead-up to the coup. Yet, the increased availability of sources made possible by the declassification of official records has not necessarily given us any conclusive answers; more often, it has served to widen the gaps in the existing body of knowledge by creating new layers of debate/contested history.

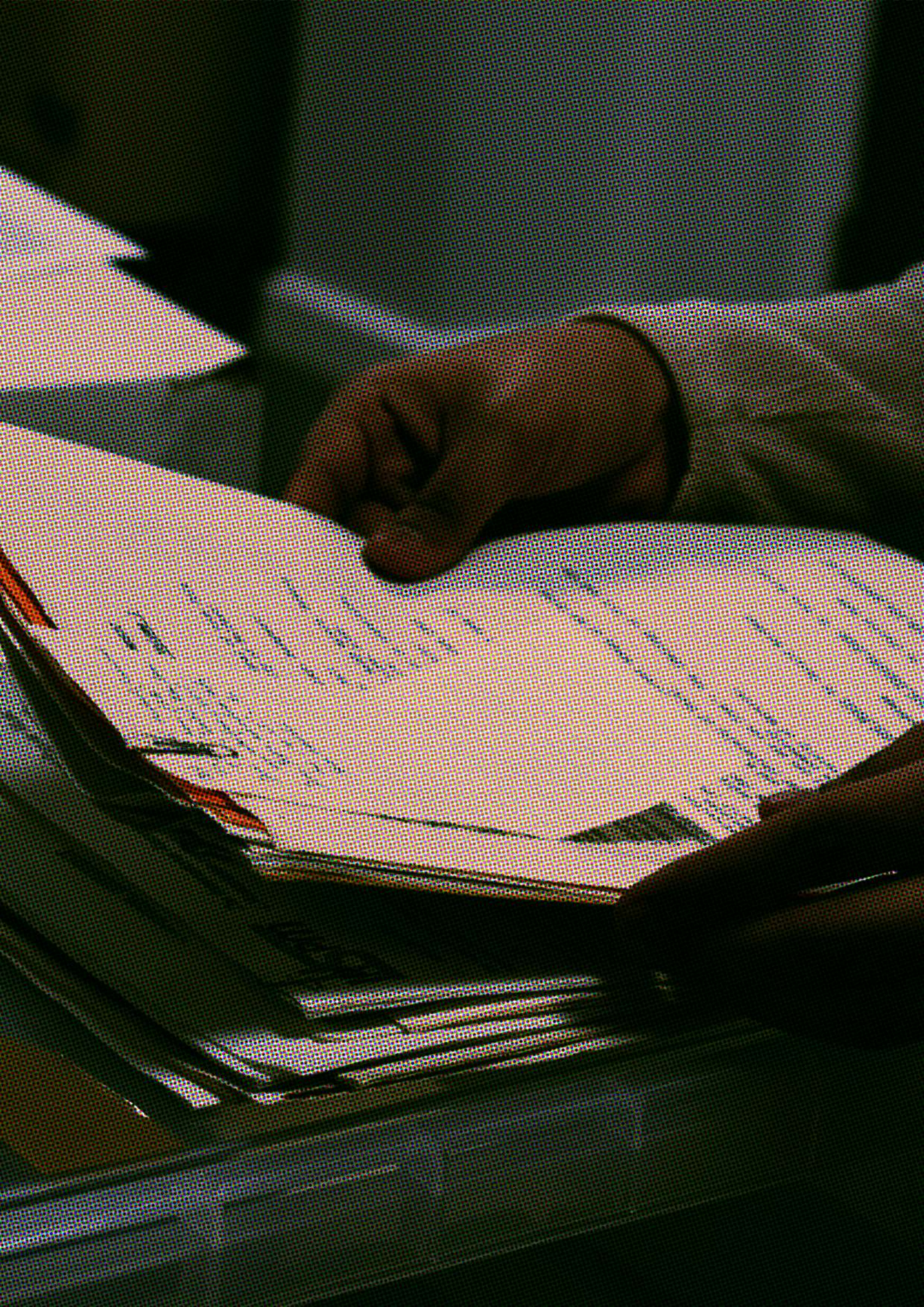
Fifty years have now passed since the coup d'état was staged in 1973. Undoubtedly, the shadow of Pinochet's regime remains as Chilean society continues to experience a great deal of pain for the dictatorships' victims. Similarly, the CIA's reputation remains tarnished by this incident which continues to be discussed in mainstream media until this day. Even as recently as 2021, declassified documents confirmed Australia worked with the CIA to oust the Allende government. There is clearly a vast deal of knowledge that is left to be uncovered surrounding the events of 1973 in relation to the "facts" - but the surviving collections of posters, vinyl covers, political pamphlets, and music produced during this period offer something different by serving as a window into the lived experiences that the regime sought to repress.

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MANIFIESTO



Over the past six months of studying abroad in the UK, I have experienced several cultural shocks, and without a doubt, one of the most memorable has been the industrial strike action taking place in the UK over the past year. Employees that do not hesitate to withdraw their labour are firmly united by a common goal (wages or gender equality, for example) and are making collective demands. What struck me the most was that participants protested in an optimistic, cheerful atmosphere - some sang with instruments while others danced. This experience changed my perception of “protest”, where I imagined people assembling placards and marching in a depressing manner. A month went by before this particular cultural shock made sense to me. I realised that the relationship between music performance and “optimistic protest” was not unique to current-day Britain, but that it had previously existed in Chile in the 1970s.

Who is Victor Jara?

Victor Jara was born on 23 September 1932, in a small village to the south of Santiago, to a peasant family. It was his mother, Amanda, who taught him Chilean folk songs while she played the guitar and sang. Victor had a set of exceptional talents, having learned to play the piano and guitar, and became a theatre director and composer in Santiago. He also became a singer and a member of the Nueva Canción Chilena movement (The New Chilean Song Movement). He started to devote himself to the creation of democratic Chile as a socialist folk singer. One of his biographies cites Victor’s words as follows:

“Ever since I was born I have seen injustice, poverty and social misery in my country. I believe it is for this reason that I felt the need to sing for the people. I firmly believe that man must become free during the course of his life and that he must work for justice.”

For people in Chile, Victor was the leading folk singer of the movement and the key figure who continued to stand up with and for the people of Chile.

What is “Manifiesto”?

“Manifiesto” is often regarded as one of Victor Jara’s masterpieces. It was the last song Victor worked on before his death, brought about by the military coup led by General Pinochet on 11th September, 1973. This piece is indeed a representation of Victor Jara himself- his persistent will, tenderness and modest dedication to be on the side of the people of Chile as projected in one of the lines of lyrics (English translation):

“I don’t sing for the love of singing or to show off my voice, I sing because my guitar has both feeling and reason...My guitar is not for killers greedy for money and power but for the people who labour so that the future may flower.”

“Manifiesto” is also the name of the re-released album, which contains his works recorded between 1968 to 1973. The re-release was intended to coincide with a fund-raising concert for the Jara Foundation in Chile and went on sale just weeks before Pinochet was arrested in Britain.¹

¹<https://newint.org/columns/media/music/1999/04/01/manifiesto>

Story Behind “Manifiesto”

Victor Jara wrote “Manifiesto” just before Pinochet came into power. Jara was rushed to finish this piece because he anticipated persecution - it was clear that the government of Salvador Allende, Latin America’s first democratically elected socialist leader, was facing significant opposition from the military forces.

Victor Jara’s fate was due to the fact that he had become a politically influential folk singer, closely engaging with the New Chilean Song Movement at that time. This worldwide movement originated in the early 1960s, founded in Chile and Latin America and was defined by Victor as “popular” in the true sense of the term, “of the people”. The movement was intended to call for social justice, including people’s freedom from state oppression and labour exploitation.

If you look closer at the lyrics of “Manifiesto,” you may wonder who “Violeta” is, a woman’s name Victor mentions. According to Victor, Violeta Parra was like a “star which will never be extinguished,” who played a vital role in the movement as a composer. Violeta travelled across the country, saw people’s lives and spent time living with peasants, fishermen and Mapuche Indians. Her deep understanding of working-class people, acquired over 20 years of detailed observation, enabled her songs to reflect the reality of the people and their suffering. The whole social movement was not just a passing trend: it was a reflection of voices from suffering people and the insistent demand for social change.

Influence of Victor’s Piece on Politics and People?

Having served as a socialist folk singer was life-threatening once the military coup took hold. Just a day after the coup that deposed Salvador Allende, Victor was arrested and imprisoned in the Chilean National Stadium alongside thousands of other protestors, where he was severely tortured and murdered. Despite his terrible injuries, Victor boldly sang “Venceremos!” (English translation: We shall overcome) as he was killed. He died on 16th September 1973, five days after the former President Salvador Allende.

Three years after Victor’s death, his music was still prohibited under Pinochet’s regime. His dictatorship, with military force, imposed economic depression, chronic poverty and nepotism. People were forcibly taken by police at night and disappeared. Pinochet also made it explicit that there would be no election in his and his successor’s regime. During the military rule under Pinochet, Chile was anything but democratic.

Despite Victor’s tragic death and the authoritarian regime that followed, people remained strongly united and many groups continued searching for ways to combat and survive the fascist government. People kept protesting for their wages, for the freedom of trade unions and the liberation of illegally imprisoned protestors. Although Victor was silenced, his passion for democratisation, courage to resist illegitimate authority and love for his own country were indeed passed onto people and served as solidarity among people. His songs are indeed still alive today.

Mayu Taniguchi



LA POBLACION

LA POBLACION

CANTO PARA UNA SEMILLA¹: *SONG FOR A SEED*



IN HOMAGE OF VIOLETA PARRA AND 'SU PERSONALIDAD CREATIVA'.

¹Alternatively, this can be translated to 'I sing for a seed'.

**Ayer sembró la simiente
que hoy florece y fructifica.**

*Yesterday she sewed the seed
that today flourishes and bears fruit.*

True to her own lyrics, Violetta Parra, a prolific artist of 1960s Chile, planted the seed of the political, social, and musical movement Nueva Canción, nourishing it until her passing in 1967. This album, *Canto Para Una Semilla*, is a homage to her life, to 'su personalidad creativa', her creative personality. Produced four years after her death, composer Luis Advis took inspiration from her poetry collection *Décimas* – or *Stanzas*, in English. All the lyrics from the album are taken and rearranged from *Décimas*.

Nueva Canción was a musical movement that swept across Latin America in the 1960s and '70s. Driven by the political impetus for social justice in countries that were experiencing great poverty and inequality, this powerfully political folk music was developed with indigenous instruments from across the continent. Whilst the guitar - so imperative to Latin American folk music- remained central, the use of Andean instruments was also popular, such as the charango, belonging to the lute family, the quena, a flute made from wood or bone, and the zampoña, panpipes.

Born to a poor family and surrounded by music, Violetta Parra took up the baton for change and popularised her concern for social conditions within Chile with her wide knowledge of Chilean folk music. Her most famous song, *Gracias a La Vida*, is still played often today. Although it was Parra's musical talent that pioneered Nueva Canción, other musicians around her quickly joined and shaped the future of the movement. The two artists who interpreted Parra's work on this album (her daughter Isabel Parra and the stu-

mote and shape Nueva Canción beyond Parra's early death at the age of 49. From 1973, the year that General Augusto Pinochet led the armed forces to overthrow the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende, both the artists and music of the Nueva Canción movement, as well as the Andean instruments they played, were forbidden by the regime.

**Me amarga la situación
cómo cambiarla pudiera.
Pero ordenaré el problema
al ritmo de una canción.**

*I am bitter about the situation
How I could change it
But I will order the problem
To the rhythm of a song.*

The art we see here - the vibrant colours, the depiction of the sun and the bird - is indicative of the Latin American folk art that coloured a dark time in Chile. In a time of great suffering and need for faith, it was the art that connected and reconnected loved ones across the long, thin stretch of land that is Chile. This style, full of wonder and magic, was one that I came across time and time again as part of the project; on cassette covers, vinyl sleeves, lyric books, and protest posters. I soon recognised this style to signify unity and the strength found in hope. I hope you, the reader, recognise it across our exhibition and experience the same.

On this record cover, we see Violeta Parra who is seen above the clouds in the sky, the sun shining on her face as she continues to sing and play the guitar beyond the planes of life. Her life, full of both ambition and sadness, reflects those same themes we are exploring at Thinking Inside the Box:1973 - those of 'conflicto y aspiraciones', of hope and struggle . While those who drive social change become the symbols of hope and of determination, we must remember that the anguish they carry to fulfil this work is deep. By remembering them, through their words, their music, their lives, we can do just this; we can thank them for what they have done and find the courage to uphold the change they fought for.

**Ya no tendrá sus dolencias
porque se fue de este mundo
sumergida en el profundo
misterio de las ausencias.**

She will no longer have her ailments
because she she left this world
submerged in the profound
mystery of absences

Epílogo, Violetta Parra - Luis Advis

Beanna Sophia Amaris Olding



le que es - toy so - lo que te que - ro.
ma que se me ac - aba por - que te ten - go tan
que la vi - da se me ac - aba por - que te ten - go tan
me - sa ver - te que - ro.
que la vi - da se me ac - aba por - que te ten - go tan
que la vi - da se me ac - aba por - que te ten - go tan

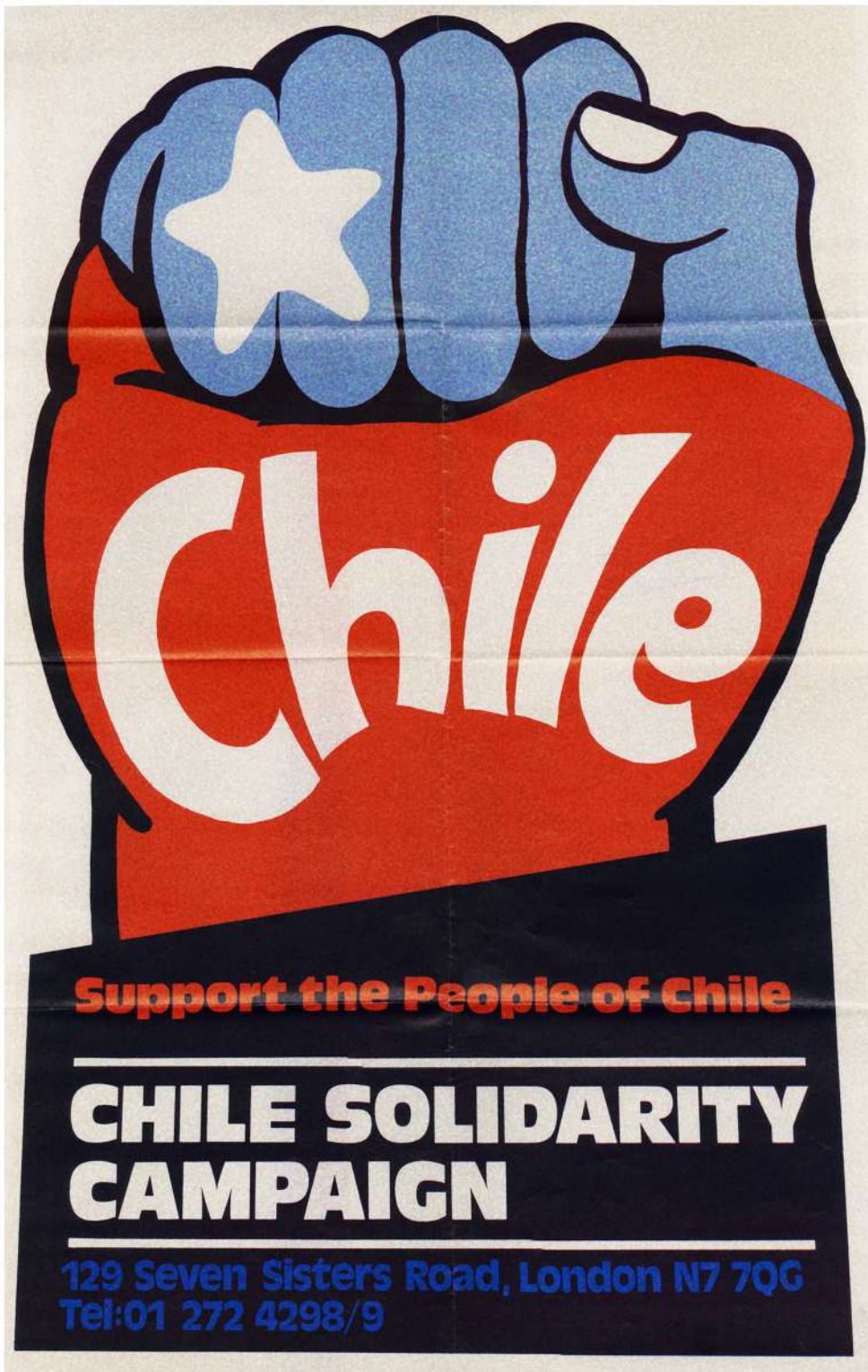
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FINE

sada recuerdo
contengo.
cuando
ngo.

WO
VIC

*My love
that I am to
and that I owe
that my life is all
because you give
My little dove - why do I
I cry with deep - remem -
although I control myself
I cry with rage on the outside
but deep - ly inside me
My little dove I cry*

CHILE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN



LONDON N7 7QG

This is a poster of the Chile Solidarity Campaign (CSC).

The first sight of it may remind you of the flag of Chile. Blue, white, red, and a five-pointed star guiding the way to progress and honour. However, unlike the national flag, the colours on this tightly clenched right fist are not evenly split between blue with white and red. Visually, the red palm and wrist are significantly larger than the five curled fingers in blue and white, so when your eyes fall on this poster, you are drawn immediately to the large red area in the centre of the page. This distribution of colour reveals what the CSC wants the audience to focus on: this vast expanse of red alludes to the blood shed by Chileans for democracy and human rights, spilling into the message that Chileans urgently need more support for their struggle.

The CSC was established in 1973 and closed in 1991. In September 1973, the Popular Unity Government led by President Salvador Allende was overthrown by a military coup backed by the CIA and foreign corporations, and Chile was then plunged into 17 years of dictatorship, led by General Augusto Pinochet. During Pinochet's regime, human rights and democracy in Chile regressed dramatically, with thousands of Chileans killed by state terrorism and hundreds of thousands more forced into exile as they fled or were deported. In the course of Pinochet's neoliberal economic reforms, the rapid economic growth achieved in Chile was accompanied by a sharp rise in unemployment and a great impoverishment of the working classes, as well as the marginalisation of groups such as peasants and indigenous peoples.

In 1974, in a pamphlet produced by the CSC, Ron Hayward, the general secretary of the British Labour Party at that time, stated that 'people in Britain must realise that what happened in Chile in September 1973 not only affected Chileans - it struck a blow at democracy throughout the world'. The CSC was therefore set up in Britain with the aim of influencing British Government policy towards the junta in Chile and calling for more support from the British public. The CSC's solidarity campaigns were conducted in two main ways. One was to isolate the junta by persuading the British Government to halt all arms supplies, break off diplomatic relations, and end trade with Chile. The second was to raise funds for the resistance movements in Chile, mainly targeting the assistance to trade unionists, peasants, students, and the civil society.

Through the CSC's campaigns in Britain, the struggles of Chileans under the junta dictatorship received more attention and their solidarity movements for democracy gained more support. It was not until President Patricio Aylwin came to power in the 1990 free elections and ended Pinochet's 17-year dictatorship that democracy was finally restored in Chile, and the CSC ceased its activities. Even 50 years on, these visual symbols hold a powerful and timely message. Although the CSC closed in 1991, such a visually striking poster gives us hope; it reminds us of the power of solidarity and honours those who struggled in this particular campaign.

Jiaying Qian

168

Institute of Popular Music
THE
ROBERT FRING-MILL
COLLECTION

R. Fring
London
£ 4.99
song-ah

FRANCISCO ROCA


¡CHILE LUCHA!

(CHILE KÄMPAR, CHILE'S FIGHTING, CHILE TAISTELEEE)

VALPARAISO

SANTIAGO

CONCEPCION



'CHILE LUCHA' POR TODO EL MUNDO/ *CHILE FIGHTS FROM ACROSS THE WORLD*: HOW CHILEAN RESISTANCE TO DICTATORSHIP BECAME INTERNATIONAL

The Chile Lucha album represents a story in two halves, told through the protest songs of a musician and the paintings of a visual artist. Released in 1975, it is a response to the violent coup d'état carried out by the army under General Augusto Pinochet two years earlier. The first question that arises when seeing this album, even after a momentary glance, is: why do the translations into Swedish and Finnish feature so prominently? What connects Chile and the Nordic states despite being over 13,000 kilometres apart from one another?

The writer of these songs is Francisco Roca, otherwise known as Luis Veloz Roca. A Chilean folk musician based in Sweden since the early 1970s, Roca's dual national identity is indicative of the international dimensions of the Chilean solidarity movement. Despite living abroad, he joined various bands that incorporated Andean instruments, resulting in his use of guitars (charango lute and Spanish), flutes (quena and zampoña), and the bombo drum in the Chile Lucha album. This grounds Roca's musical work in Chilean culture and keeps the listener aware of the political context throughout. Accordingly, printed on the lyrics sheet is a significant declaration that all royalties were to be given to the Chilean resistance movement. Directly named in the acknowledgments of the album are two of the solidarity campaigns that supported the project. First, is the French Comité de Soutien a la Lutte Révolutionnaire du Peuple Chilien (Committee to Support the Revolutionary Struggle of the Chilean People). As one of many bodies formed in France to support the revolutionary struggle after the coup, they sponsored lawyers who went to represent incarcerated Chileans. This committee may also have been the connection to the Chilean artist that created the album cover, Pedro Uhart, who was based in Paris. The second acknowledgement is to Chile-kommittén i Sverige (Chile Committee in Sweden), which was a group that despite being initially populated by the considerable number of refugees arriving from Chile, quickly achieved a majority native Swedish membership. They appear to have advocated for an international line in all activities by collaborating with Stockholm-based campaigns for freedom in Vietnam, Palestine, and Angola alongside Chile. It is this transnationalism that becomes central to the understanding Roca's Chile Lucha as a record of hope, struggle, and solidarity.

Not only does the title translate to 'Chile Fights', but the photographs of protesters on the inner sleeves and inserts embed an overwhelming sense of active protest into this album. When opening the cover sleeve of the album, the viewer is confronted with crowds holding placards such as 'La revolución se hace luchando, no llorando' (The revolution is made by fighting, not by crying). This may also be a reference to the fact that, for some people in Chile, the way they grieved the murders and disappearances caused by the regime was through action and cultural intervention. When we interviewed the graphic

artist and founder of the Tallersol Archive Antonio Roca about his experiences of the period, he also expressed this sentiment pertaining to art as an outlet or reaction to events as they occurred. On the reverse cover, we see a wall plastered with posters and handwritten messages from the far-left organisation MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement). This is a more literal reference to the types of armed opposition operating in the country up to that point. The MIR was founded in 1965 from various socialist, anarchist, and Marxist-Leninist revolutionary factions whose tactics ranged from political pressure to paramilitary action. After the coup they were heavily persecuted on account of being the foremost guerrilla movement. Alongside the lyrics and translations is a quote from the assassinated MIR leader Miguel Enríquez ‘La lucha será larga y difícil [...] hasta vencer’ (the fight will be long and hard until defeat). But whose defeat? Enríquez’s combined melancholic and hopeful tone denotes the duality of struggle, as he contemplates what he sees as the inevitable loss of life against the opposition’s eventual demise. Roca echoes this in the song ‘Palomita-Palomita’, which alludes to the particularities of the Chilean context. Together with Pinochet’s oppressive censorship, the fact that Chile spans over 4,000 kilometres from north to south meant communication could be difficult. Therefore, the song describes ‘palomita mensajera’ (messenger dove) who must resist her wings being cut so that she can fly to inform people of current events. The dove serves as a triple symbol: for freedom, for communication, and for the natural landscape of the country. This offers an explanation of why birds are such frequent motifs in the protest posters of the period, acting as a signal to the population that the art pieces on which they appeared concealed important communication. Thus, even from beyond Chile, Roca reminds both Pinochet and the wider world that the population would not give up fighting for freedom.

Beyond the music itself, the album artwork provides further insight into the cultural production of Chileans living abroad as well as other global solidarity efforts. The illustration on the vinyl cover was adapted from a painting by Pedro Uhart, who, much like Roca, was born in Chile and moved abroad before the coup. Instead of Sweden, he settled in France. The original piece was one of his ‘floating murals’ painted during September 1973, only weeks after the Allende government was overthrown. Without enough money to buy a canvas, in

murals found in Chile. By adopting this medium, he built upon the Latin American tradition of mural painting. In turn, a reclamation of public space could take place in which Uhart increased the visibility of his politically charged artwork.

INSIDE

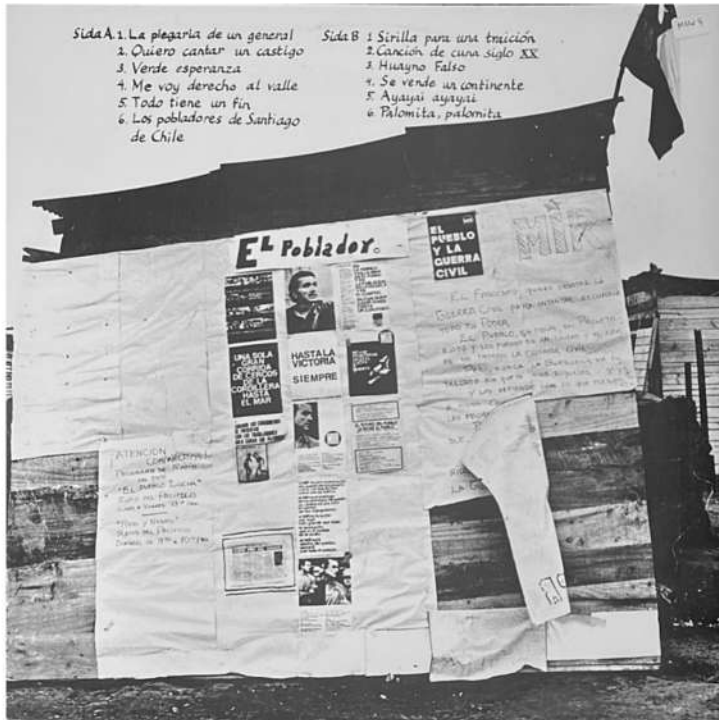


On the 25th of September 1973, 14 days after the coup, Le Monde described it as the Chilean Guernica, in reference to Picasso's depiction of the human experience of terror, during a review of the Paris Biennale. Uhart also displayed the work across the European continent, for example in Warsaw, Poland. However, looking further into the history of this painting serves also to mitigate this hopefulness associated with an international solidarity movement. The original piece and Pedro's subsequent work were subject to censorship by the leaders of French art organisations who did not agree with his overtly political tone. Perhaps this is another reason why the mural worked so well as a medium for Uhart; he could take advantage of the 'outdoor' and 'unofficial' nature of these spaces to raise awareness for Chile in a way that he could not elsewhere.

Present in Uhart's artwork is the style of graphic design found in typical Chilean 20th century posters and cartoons, blended with features of the storytelling tradition and folkloric art practices of his upbringing to create a hybrid Chilean design. The resulting composition has little unfilled space, instead being covered with distinct elements and bright colouring. Such an approach makes the blank section in the top left-hand corner of the mural even more striking, as only a single eye flowing with tears occupies the area. This emptiness locks your gaze onto the section, almost becoming a visualisation of the chasm left by the thousands of people that would end up being displaced from their families over the duration of the dictatorship. Thousands were imprisoned, murdered, or exiled. This largely figurative piece depicts US soldiers standing on top of a Chilean flag, as it is being strangled by the heavy ropes that the artist has woven through the painted sheet. This lays out Uhart's accusation against countries such as the USA for facilitating and later upholding the Chilean coup and military regime. Finally, a sea of people split into waves of red, white, and blue are rising up from the bottom of the mural. These figures carry hammers and guns, or, the implements of manual labour and armed resistance. Roca and Uhart's messages converge at this point, displaying the determination of the Chilean people against oppression. As such, this part of the painting is what appears on Roca's album cover. Yet on the album's modified version of the painting, it has been rotated in a way that the waves of people now appear to form the shape of Chile's coastline. This impression is maintained as the names of key cities in the struggle of the coup (Santiago, Valparaiso, and Concepción) have been added to the drawing.

For people hoping to learn from the experiences of this period in Latin America, 'Chile Lucha' provides a window into this historical context. The artwork provides insight into the roles of key nations and organisations involved in solidarity activism, as well as the challenges they faced. The multiple stories, people, and artforms combined within this one piece is a testament to the collaborative nature of resistance movements linked to the Chilean cause.

Elisa Martinez Relano



BACK



UHART ORIGINAL

Senate
House
Library,
London:

Latin American
Political Pamphlet Collection

POR UNA UNIVERSIDAD LIBRE



**POR UNA UNIVERSIDAD LIBRE DE LA
PRESENCIA IMPERIALISTA**

JORNADA CONTRA LA PENETRACION
IMPERIALISTA EN LAS UNIVERSIDADES **ccbe**

DE LA PRESENCIA IMPERIALISTA

FOR A UNIVERSITY FREE FROM IMPERIALIST PRESENCE

Death to the oppressive regime of imperialist education! – that seems to be the central message transmitted from this political poster distributed by the Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes // Continental Latin American and Caribbean Student Organization (OCLAE).

Still active today and followable on Instagram (@oclae_oficial), OCLAE was formed in 1966 and is at its roots a platform for student voices. Put simply, OCLAE are defenders of – and advocates for – freedom and democracy in education. Increasing literacy rates and access to free education, decolonising curriculums and hierarchies, as well as establishing a foundation of solidarity between autonomous student bodies are some of the ways they work indefinitely towards these goals.

Likely produced in late-sixties Cuba, where the OCLAE was originally founded, this poster visually represents their mission, honing in on the student-led effort to eradicate imperialism from Latin American curriculums. Against a red evocative of communist iconography sits what appears to be a book, which is propped open to resemble a half-open coffin. Inside the book, there is an apple which has the United State's flag planted in it. The significance of the flag can be easily deduced as the 'presencia imperialista' ('imperialist presence'), and may even remind you of the moon landing. But what should we make of the apple?

Perhaps you are familiar with the old American phrase "apple polisher", referring to someone who bootlicks their superior, usually a teacher. This was primarily used between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries along the American Frontier, where students and their parents would gift (often live-in) teachers an apple as payment for their hard work. Symbolically, we can also trace the biblical associations of the apple back to the fruit of knowledge, originating from creation stories of Adam and Eve. Fidel Castro, leader of Cuba from 1959 to 2008, maintained Cuba as an atheist state throughout his years in power, weakening the Vatican's influence in the country. So, it is certainly not far-fetched to consider this icon as a nod to not only imperialist forces, as explicitly stated, but with it, religious ones too.

Now think about how the string is trailing off towards the viewer. These posters would have likely been put up across Latin American and Caribbean countries through national members of OCLAE, who would have displayed them in universities, street corners, and other public spaces. State-sponsored posters were distinct in style and often had the function of educating the masses. They did this through visual media as well as short, ideologically fused taglines, to communicate the 1959's founding revolutionary goals, such as eradicating illiteracy in the country. So, if the viewer were to pull the string, the coffin would fall shut, trapping the imperialist fruit of knowledge inside and closing this chapter of US influence in Latin American education systems. This implication of the viewer empowers them in their struggles towards independence.

Reading so deeply into the symbols may not be imperative but the poster undoubtedly has a general sense of immediacy, inviting viewer participation. What remains in this archival material is a lingering feeling of struggle against structures that can and must be challenged by those it fails to serve.

I am certain that you, a participant of our exhibition, have been affected in some way, shape, or form by the wave of industrial strike action in recent months and years here in the UK. In this context, the poster's ability to empower everyday struggles and the peoples' ability to shape their future becomes increasingly relevant. In looking at the multitudes of ways in which Latin American student bodies collectivised this struggle for change in the past, we can uncover ideas, both big and small, with the potential to inspire us in the present.

Rosa de Korte



A CORDEL OF SOLIDARITY AND STRUGGLE

FIM

Maio, 1979

A PRESCRIÇÃO BIENAL OU A LEI DOS 2 ANOS



Xilogravura de: Marcelo Soares.

S320PAM 13/05

Pro trabalhador rural a contagem é diferente ficando na mesma empresa o direito segue em frente no dia que é despedido começa a correr pra gente.

Ficando na mesma empresa o rural trabalhador vai juntando seus direitos que o patrão não pagou e os 2 anos não correm pois não se desempregou.

Quando vem a despedida tem dois anos pra cobrar tudo que não ganhou tudo vai entrar na dança pois os direitos são vivos estão com toda sustança;

Quem traz esse benefício pro trabalhador rural é o artigo dez da lei que tem grande moral a cinco-oito-ouzo-nove tem esse artigo legal.

Quero lhe dar um recado escute, preste atenção e um assunto sendo de dentro do coração pra depois você dizer qual a sua posição.

É questão de vida ou morte pois com direito e assim ou você segura logo

A lei ga pra entro direito mas e ele car Prescriçã é direito de quem muito te fica sem

Bienel si tem dois anos pra correr pra reclamar o que é seu

só aumenta por 2 anos pois é lá que prevalece da CLT a onze (11)

dade aral re eu digo mal.

anos, omento lhaco nento idor nento,

aim resee nos lece (1) ce. ário cer

Quero lhe dar um recado escute, preste atenção e um assunto sendo de dentro do coração pra depois você dizer qual a sua posição.

É questão de vida ou morte pois com direito e assim ou você segura logo ou de vai ter um fim abra mão dos seus direitos e sempre está ruim.

Se o patrão desonesto não paga ao trabalhador este fica no direito de cobrar do empregador disso que a lei já garante sempre não e nenhum favor.

O direito trabalhista que o patrão embolsou e um direito sagrado e vai para a Lei do Senhor pois o salário pertence ao homem que trabalha.

Quando o patrão não pagou no tempo certo e legal nasce pro trabalhador o direito natural de reclamar na Justiça pra receber afinal.

Afinal já diz a lei que nenhum trabalhador não abra mão dos direitos para o rico explorador nesse ponto a lei dos homens e que nem a do Senhor.

A Lei de Deus é perfeita a dos homens deve ser mas tem lei boa pra nós tem lei que faz parecer ficar de olho na lei e sempre nosso dever.

Quem não recebeu o certo te o direito de cobrar o ue o patrão já deve n e se nega de pagar v e pode ir na Justiça P. a tudo reclamar.

Quero lhe dar um recado escute, preste atenção e um assunto sendo de dentro do coração pra depois você dizer qual a sua posição.

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MAY 1979
AUTHOR UNKNOWN

In Brasil (mainly the Northeast, or Nordeste), the 'cordel', an illustrated pamphlet, was a popular way for important messages to be communicated to a population that had low literacy rates, but who could be reached through their great love for folk music and storytelling. The pamphlets would contain songs like the one we see here, which were written for people to commit to memory and sing in taverns and on the road so that the content of the cordel could be shared with as many as possible. This cordel, with an illustration by Marcelo Soares, aims to inform the nordestinos of 'The Law of Two Years' which gives farmhands two years to collect the money they are owed by landowners (the 'patrão', or boss). While the aim of the cordel, to communicate labour laws, is straightforward, a voice of solidarity amongst working people in the Nordeste is heard loud and clear in the folk song. The last two stanzas read:

*Brothers of this same nation,
There so many different laws
That must be made clear by us,
as Brasil won't leave a trail for us.*

*Read and sing this tolheto -
Study it with your brother,
Your companion, and your friend.
An organised union is the lifeforce of this nation.*

While the image on the front of booklet is credited to Marcel Soares, the song in this cordel is not attributed to one specific author. In this, we learn a wider truth about the nature of cordels and the solidarity they promote amongst a struggling people. The cordel is written with one purpose and one purpose only, to galvanise workers to claim what is rightfully theirs and inspire brotherhood amongst nordestinos. The sense of solidarity here is local, it creates a political subject based on nordestino identity itself; it defines their struggle from the perspective of a largely slave-descended, worker and farmer population living in an area that is prone to drought, dominated by exploitative landowners and bosses, and which has been historically neglected by the central government.

This cordel shows us the solidarity amongst working people and their hope for fair laws and working practices. The cordel gives us an insight into how solidarity was practiced and communicated, and gives a powerful voice to an underrepresented group whose agency is often overlooked in historical literature. In a quiet way, this simple pamphlet says a lot about the ways in which the working man can stand up to a country limiting their freedoms and stifling their hope.

Manuela Tapia Marcondes



En una jaula grande
cal y cemento
bajo siete candados
no justicieros
un pajarillo trina
su desconuelo
cuando las aves pueden
estarle al viento.

las demás aves
ando
caac
bebe
salidas
rdos



CRITICAL STUDIES IN
LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE
The Townsend Center for the
The Humanities
THE GATHERING OF VOICES

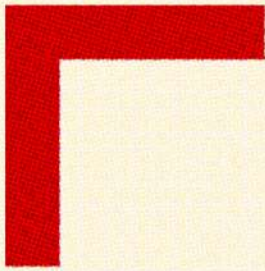


Estos poemas son parte de la vida. Vienen del dolor profundo pero contienen serenidad, una serenidad añeja. Conocen el cansancio sin límite, llegan hasta el final del camino, allí donde está la oscuridad. Y sin embargo nos llenan de la mano, como si fuéramos niños, en busca de la luz. Y nos llevan consigo, con reverencia sagrada.

Estos poemas nos hablan, nos gritan, nos murmuran. Son el amor y toda la esperanza. Estos poemas saben del vivir pero mantienen la fe. Demuestran que la vida puede más que la muerte.

VICENTE ZITO URBAN



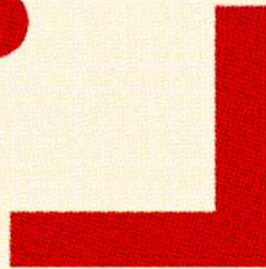
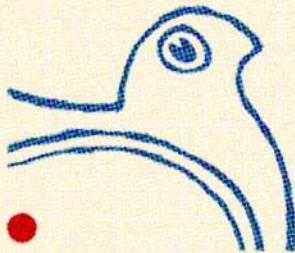


UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

● THINKING INSIDE THE BOX



1973



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