

Editors' Introduction

The Other 9/11: Chile, 1973—Memory, Resistance, and Democratization

The violent overthrow of Chilean president Salvador Allende Gossens by a US-backed military coup on September 11, 1973, marked a watershed in global Cold War politics. It ended one of the world's only experiments with building socialism through a liberal democratic process, and it ushered in seventeen years of a bloody military dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet, a regime that became iconic of authoritarian rule and human rights violations throughout Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. During military rule, and enabled by the closure of Congress, Chile became an early poster child for neoliberal economics. As the military government radically privatized the welfare state and made market competition the central organizing tenet of civil society, it sought to overturn the policies forged through Allende's "peaceful road to socialism." Celebrated in international business circles as an "economic miracle," the Chilean model would be embraced by, or forced on, most developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, the 1973 coup in Chile also affirmed the United States' desire to protect its own economic interests, as well as its willingness to back brutal regimes and tout its military power throughout Latin America in the name of "national security" and "freedom." Indeed, many of the arguments that Washington currently mobilizes for today's war on terrorism were first crafted for Latin America in the mid-twentieth century as a response to the radicalization process that the 1959 Cuban revolution sparked.

Since Chile's return to democracy in 1990, much of Pinochet's economic model has either remained intact or been further consolidated, thus exacerbating severe inequalities despite continued economic growth and political pluralism. Not-

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withstanding its undemocratic character and illegitimate origin, the 1980 constitution, penned by a Pinochet-appointed commission to ensure the continuity of the dictator's policies, is still in place, as are, to a large extent, its authoritarian enclaves. Yet the legacies of authoritarianism have not gone uncontested. In recent years, massive social movements have erupted throughout Chile to condemn worsening disparities and intensified state violence; dissenting voices also vehemently demand a new constitution. Since 2011, for example, university students have staged numerous strikes over the unaffordable cost of higher education. Their struggle—which grew out of the *Pinguino* (Penguin) student movement of 2006 and resulted in the formation of powerful solidarity networks that included college and high school students and teachers at all levels and large swaths of the citizenry—clamors for free and equal access to quality schooling. Indigenous activists, too, have sustained hunger strikes and other protests against the expansive forestry industry's usurpation of indigenous land and against the continued use of the antiterrorist laws that Pinochet enacted and that the transition governments have repeatedly upheld to prosecute Mapuche activists. Environmentalists and communities that have reacted in defense of their territories are waging an international campaign to prevent private water companies' destruction of the Patagonian wilderness. Labor activists fight an uphill battle against a labor code inherited from Pinochet that severely limits their ability to strike and renders employment precarious through deregulation. Women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) organizations have also become more visible in demanding the legalization of abortion and gay marriage; a first accomplishment is the passing, in 2015, of the *Acuerdo de Unión Civil* (Civil Union Agreement), which affords all types of couples protection of rights. Taken together, all of these emerging demands and movements—which overlap and fuel one another—signal that the authoritarian enclaves of yesteryear are reaching a breaking point and that citizens are demanding that those in power respond with legislation that will truly deepen democracy and diminish inequality.

This issue of the *Radical History Review* revisits the history and memory of the September 11, 1973, coup in Chile, forty years later; evaluates its current legacy; and foregrounds contemporary debates about freedom, terrorism, and democracy in post-Cold War Latin America. In recent years, the date 9/11 has become firmly associated with al-Qaeda's 2001 attacks on the United States and the presumed advent of a new era of global conflict between liberal democracy and fundamentalist jihad. "The Other 9/11: Chile, 1973—Memory, Resistance, and Democratization" reminds us not only that other seminal acts of violence occurred on a prior 9/11, beyond the borders of the United States, but that Allende's 1973 overthrow was an act of documented state-sponsored terror supported *by* the United States against a democratically elected government. The issue's title is therefore less ironic than it is insistent on historical memory, insofar as it encourages reflection on the continuities of US imperialist incursions beyond its borders from the Cold War into the present.

At the same time, it encourages a reevaluation of Popular Unity's transformative politics from a broadened perspective that accounts for the changes that came with Pinochet's dictatorship and two decades of Concertación rule.

Until the bombing of the World Trade Center's twin towers in 2001, the date 9/11 was widely associated throughout Latin America, and much of the world, with Chile's 1973 coup. Whether the acts of the day were condemned, celebrated, or grimly accepted as *realpolitik*, the date came to embody the political conflicts of the entire Cold War era. That today 9/11 has a very different valence, especially within the United States, stems not just from the actual events and traumas of 2001 but also from an intentional forgetting of Cold War violence in Latin America and of US complicity in it. Narrative arcs that emphasize how the United States "won the Cold War" on behalf of democracy (or even the idea that the Cold War was "cold") belie Latin America's historical—and continuous—experience of mass human rights atrocities, civil war, the repression of democracy, and savage economic inequality, outcomes in which US policy played direct and unquestionable roles. A return to the Chilean experience, forty years after the coup, can therefore open up important avenues for reflection on US imperialist dynamics that continue to shape the international arena and generate deep ripple effects through which neoliberal hegemony sustains ongoing forms of violence both at home and abroad.

This issue emerged from a major conference held in November 2013 at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), whose goal was to reflect on the fortieth anniversary of the Chilean coup. The conference, which bore the same title as this issue, was organized by an unusual coalition of academics from across California's unequal hierarchy of public and private universities, including various campuses of the University of California (UC) and California State University (CSU), as well as the University of Southern California (USC).¹ Over two hundred people participated in two days of interdisciplinary panels, film screenings, debates, and musical performances. Many in attendance heralded from activist circles or had participated during the 1970s and 1980s in Latin America solidarity movements, of which California was a particular stronghold. Invited scholars came from the United States, Chile, and Great Britain. They spanned generational divides that ranged from those whose intellectual and political commitments were shaped during the 1960s and early 1970s in the heady aftermath of the Cuban revolution and Allende's election to those who came of age during the 1980s and 1990s at the height of the Latin American military dictatorships, civil wars, and "pacted" transitions to civilian rule.

Like the conference that inspired it, "The Other 9/11: Chile, 1973" offers a series of engaged reflections on histories that both preceded and followed Chile's military coup. The essays are intentionally interdisciplinary, drawing from literary criticism, cultural and visual studies, as well as sociology, political science, law, and history. Our intention is not merely to represent different disciplines but to highlight

how knowledge about violence, memory, resistance, and democracy is differently produced and why this matters politically.

Since the formal end of military rule twenty-five years ago, there has been an outpouring of superb research on Chile's dictatorship and the transition to democracy by scholars in Chile as well as across the North Atlantic. More recently, scholars have begun to examine seriously Chile's democratic experiments with radical reform and socialism in the 1960s and early 1970s, subjects that continue to forge deep divides among Chileans. Some of the most exciting work has been on the contested nature of historical memory and state violence, cultural and artistic movements in the mid-twentieth century, labor and environmental politics, gender and sexuality, urban space and consumerism. While September 11, 1973, still represents a fundamental "break" for most people writing on Chile, numerous scholars now stress continuities between military dictatorship in the 1980s and earlier patterns of state violence. Both the diversity of scholars and the diversity of topics we have elected to include in this issue seek to radically expand understandings of how and why September 11, 1973, should be remembered.

We begin with a feature article by political scientist Brian Loveman, "The Political Architecture of Dictatorship: Chile before September 11, 1973," which argues against the conventional tendency to see Allende's overthrow and Pinochet's regime as completely unprecedented, that is, as a Cold War aberration and violation of Chile's otherwise uninterrupted history of democracy since the nineteenth century. Loveman documents the long-standing practice of antidemocratic policy and human rights violations that characterized Chilean politics throughout the twentieth century: military intervention and rule by authoritarian strongmen, state persecution of Marxist political parties and activists, state-sanctioned torture and extrajudicial execution, as well as the use of executive national security decrees to override congressional authority. While Loveman acknowledges that Pinochet would carry state violence and authoritarian rule to new extremes, he argues that key aspects of military rule had strong continuity with political and judicial practices that predated the Cold War, and that certainly predated the 1970s. His analysis challenges both the nostalgic idealization of Chilean democracy before 1973 and the notion that the September 11 coup and subsequent dictatorship were primarily driven by Cold War imperatives external to Chile, namely, US policy. Loveman squarely situates the Pinochet regime (and domestic support for it) within a longer tradition of Chilean authoritarianism, including that of civilian governments in Chile. In this sense, his article allows for a wider vision of Chile's 1973 coup as a historical event that was produced by both domestic and international forces.

We continue with a forum on the history of Allende's government (1970–73) and the considerable social mobilization that preceded it during the 1960s. In the "Popular Unity" section, three historians explore Chilean struggles to build a radically democratic society, paying particular attention to the tensions between popu-

lar demands for social justice generated from below and state efforts to carefully orchestrate change from above. The opening essay, by Angela Vergara, focuses on the popular forces that were emerging even before Allende's formal election. She zeroes in on housing conflicts in southern Chile, in particular an infamous 1969 case of state violence against a land invasion by urban squatters in Puerto Montt, underscoring how the repression both generated new enthusiasm for electing Allende (as an alternative to state impunity) and foreshadowed arguments and tactics that would be used by Pinochet after 1973. From there, Peter Winn examines the lived experience of socialism by workers in the former Yarur textile mill, after the Santiago factory's 1971 expropriation and reorganization as a worker-managed state enterprise. Based on his own eyewitness account and oral histories gathered during the Popular Unity years, Winn captures the emotional and political excitement of what Allende's government meant to workers and therefore highlights all the more poignantly what was lost with the military coup. Turning to the countryside, Heidi Tinsman's essay looks at rising conflicts between women and men that accompanied Chile's tumultuous and extensive agrarian reform between 1964 and 1973. She argues that while peasant women supported the overall goals of redistributing land and improving rural wages, women's expectations were often bitterly disappointed by the agrarian reform's focus on empowering men.

The next section, "Decolonizing Mapuche History and Action," speaks to the centrality of indigenous struggles and voices in Chile's past and present. The essays by Florencia E. Mallon, Macarena Gómez-Barris, and Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante decenter historical accounts of the military dictatorship by reading that period and its aftermath *from the south*. To that end, they place the coup into a longer historical framework shaped by the interplay of colonialism, racism, and land usurpation. Within this history, the authors highlight multiple forms of Mapuche communities' activism and resistance. Mallon, a historian, opens the section by analyzing the *allanamiento*, or military invasion, of the Mapuche community of Nehuentúe, Cautín, which took place in August 1973, just two weeks before the coup. Mallon shows how local landowners orchestrated both the repression and the media disinformation campaign that followed it to block Mapuche participation in the agrarian reform process. Turning to film and poetry, respectively, Gómez-Barris and Cárcamo-Huechante demonstrate the current vitality and complexity of Mapuche resistance and identities. Gómez-Barris studies how Mapuche people have appropriated film to challenge the "colonial gaze" and put forth alternative images that reinforce their autonomy and recreate their cultural memory. Cárcamo-Huechante then explores the work of Mapuche poet Leonel Lienlaf to highlight how Lienlaf's poems transmit sonic experiences that resist the "acoustic colonialism" imposed by the neoliberal state.

The forum "Memory and Human Rights" brings together six essays that discuss the impact memory has had in Chile as an idea intricately intertwined with

leftist activism, challenges to neoliberalism, and ongoing struggles for truth, justice, and human rights. In the opening essay, historian Steve J. Stern reminds us that memory has a history that dates back to the earliest days of the Pinochet regime. He traces how memory emerged in Chile as a cultural “code word” that gradually, and with concerted effort by grassroots activists, became entrenched in the country’s national consciousness and continues to be redefined by the postdictatorship generations. In a similar gesture, political scientist Cath Collins admonishes that justice, like memory, has a history. She suggests that while the courts have, in a sense, become an important arena for Chilean society to do the work of memory, they have also, in another sense, displaced that work from the public eye and public debate. She shows how transitional justice has turned into a “post-transicional” justice in which state responsibility has been transferred to the victims’ relatives. In her analysis, too, she notes that civilian accomplices, in particular, have evaded prosecution—though new cases, like the one recently opened against *El Mercurio* publisher Agustín Edwards, hint that this may be changing. Continuing from there, cultural studies scholar Michael J. Lazzara examines the ethical flaws and hyperbolic memory performances that civilian accomplices engage in to live with themselves and downplay their crimes and omissions. Interested in the contrived memory narratives and generalized impunity of civilian collaborators, he posits in his essay that cultural criticism can, in fact, be an arena in which to do important memory work or to help “out” perpetrator-figures that the courts have avoided prosecuting or punishing to the full extent of the law.

In a turn toward the victims and their histories, psychologist Elizabeth Lira carefully traces efforts for truth, justice, and reconciliation in Magallanes, Chile, a province in the country’s southernmost region in which more than two thousand people were imprisoned between 1973 and 1974, a number of whom were prominent figures within Allende’s government. Lira’s essay, crafted from archival research and her deep knowledge of the intricacies of victims’ struggles and judicial proceedings, reflects a new tendency in memory studies that seeks to rescue from oblivion lesser known histories from beyond Latin America’s capital cities. Next, literary and film critic Paula T. Cronovich offers an analysis of Pablo Larraín’s internationally acclaimed 2012 film *No*, a movie that tells the story of the October 1988 plebiscite that toppled the Pinochet regime. Bringing to bear rich ethnographic and archival work, Cronovich reconstructs the often-overlooked plebiscite moment, thoughtfully responding to critiques of Larraín’s film and rescuing from oblivion the “uses” of memory that emerged in a key political juncture, as well as the ways in which “human rights” were treated and messaged. To round out the section, cultural critic Alicia del Campo turns to the creative ways that new generations are using the past to wage political battles in the present. She focuses on the eruption of massive protests led by the 2011 student movement and looks carefully at the movement’s performative appropriation of public space, which became a strategy for challeng-

ing the theatricality of state power and the pervasive legacy of 9/11. The students' performances, like the zombie-esque "Thriller for Education" or the highly publicized "Kiss-in," cry out for a deepening of community and the abatement of rampant inequality. The students who occupied Santiago (and other cities) challenged its fragmented socioeconomic stratification and, in so doing, paved the way for a massive, multiclass expression of neoliberal discontent.

The Curated Spaces section centralizes visual culture and its intersections with history and politics. Here cultural critic Verónica Cortínez compiles images from a number of films by Chilean filmmaker Sergio Castilla, whose work was screened and debated during the UCLA conference. Her visual montage and notes on four of Castilla's films—*Mijita* (1970); *Pinochet fascista, asesino, traidor, agente del imperialismo* (1974); *Prisioneros desaparecidos* (1979); and *Gentile Alouette* (1985)—show the impact that revolution and dictatorship had on the production of one of Chile's most acclaimed artists. The images move from the optimistic view of *Mijita*—shots of smiling workingwomen empowered by Allende's revolution—to dark and violent scenes of torture. The filmic stills speak for themselves, illustrating the human dramas of state terror, sexual violence, and impunity that made the Chilean dictatorship infamous worldwide. At the same time, they remind us of how Castilla's films brought the story of the other 9/11 to international audiences and played a vital role in forging a transnational solidarity movement.

The Archives section features a reflection by Peter Kornbluh, director of the National Security Archive's Chile Declassification Project and one of the foremost experts on US foreign policy toward Chile. Kornbluh's essay provides a succinct summary of the lessons derived from his years of tireless work to shed light on the US role in destabilizing the Allende government and fomenting the Pinochet coup. Noting the Central Intelligence Agency's resistance to heed President Bill Clinton's mandate to declassify records of its operational role in Chile, Kornbluh argues that pressures from the executive branch and human rights agencies ultimately resulted in the release, in 2000, of twenty-three thousand documents that subject notorious figures like Richard M. Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Pinochet to the verdict of history, even though they never were held accountable in a court of a law. According to Kornbluh, the Chile Declassification Project stands as one of the most ambitious and important emblems of US citizens' right to information and transparency on foreign policy. Moreover, the documents have had far-reaching legal effects for trying military officials in Chile and, as Kornbluh writes, remain "the ultimate case study of morality—or immorality—in the making of US foreign policy" (203).

Teaching about human rights, state violence, and genocide—both global and local—has gained importance in US colleges and universities. Many educators today engage these topics as ways to shape responsible citizens who are aware and critical of their own place and duties in a world plagued by global terrorism. From this perspective, Katherine Hite, in the Teaching Radical History section, reflects on

her experience traveling with US college students to human rights memorials in Chile. In what she calls an “encounter” between local human rights activists, victim-survivors, and young college students, she analyzes the tortuous path toward empathy and understanding, while wondering about the effectiveness of memory sites as places for sparking political engagement and awareness. Her essay offers a fascinating look at the emotional and academic challenges of teaching about memory and demonstrates how a radical curriculum and pedagogy can contribute to cultivating more peaceful and democratic societies.

Hite’s essay seems an appropriate place to finish because it begs a consideration of what Chile’s experience over the past half century can teach us. To that end, this issue of *Radical History Review* is not just about marking an anniversary or revisiting history but also about pausing to reflect on why the experience of Chile over the past forty years has been so important. While, on the one hand, the case of Chile speaks to the US role in upholding dictators in the name of neoliberalism, on the other, it brings into relief the formation of powerful solidarity networks, human rights advocacy, and pressure by citizens committed to truth and justice. It is a fact that today the United States and Chile remain among the most unequal countries in the world—a clear testament to the way several US governments have turned to the Pinochet regime’s economic policies as a model to emulate, even while reviling the dictator himself. The coup has long passed, but the effects of the “original” 9/11 continue to be felt and remind us that imperialist politics, neoliberal hegemony, and struggles for rights and social justice are alive and well around the world. It is therefore our profound hope that this issue will urge readers to think about how Chile is not just a part of our past but also very much a part of our present.

—Alicia del Campo, Michael J. Lazzara, Heidi Tinsman, and Angela Vergara

Note

1. The conference, “The Other September 11th: Chile, 1973—Memory, Resistance, and Democratization,” was held at UCLA from November 8–9, 2013, and co-organized by Alicia del Campo, Verónica Cortínez, Macarena Gómez-Barris, Michael J. Lazzara, Heidi Tinsman, Ericka Verba, and Angela Vergara. It was made possible thanks to generous support from the Humanities Research Institute at UC Irvine; the Latin American Studies Institute, UCLA; the College of Natural and Social Sciences, CSU Los Angeles; the College of Liberal Arts and the Romance, German, Russian Languages and Literatures Department, CSU Long Beach; the Department of History, CSU Dominguez Hills; the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies; the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, UC Davis; the Dean of Humanities and the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, UCLA; the Departments of History and International Studies, UC Irvine; and the Department of American Studies and Ethnicity, USC.

Several related events took place on the conference organizers’ home campuses. A preconference roundtable discussion was held at CSU Long Beach, with the participation of Collins; Kornbluh; Dr. José Quiroga, a Chilean physician who was in La Moneda with

Allende on September 11, 1973; MA candidate Lautaro Galleguillos; and moderators Maricela Becerra and Oscar Ulloa. Lautaro and Oscar provided valuable help as graduate assistants. This event, as well as the main conference, benefited from the generous support of the CSU Long Beach College of Liberal Arts Scholarly Intersections Award and contributions from Provost David Dowell and Vice-Provost Cecile Lindsay.

The main conference ended with Chilean *peña* masterfully orchestrated by musician Ericka Verba, a co-organizer. It featured an exhibit by Chilean artist Francisco Letelier and brought together a talented array of musicians from the Los Angeles area.

