



PROGRAMME

Solidarity with Latin America



Maintaining momentum, holding leaders to account and building alliances

4th and 5th April 2022

In partnership with Latin America Bureau and the University of Liverpool

Day 1: Monday 4th April

4pm – 5pm: Keynote Address

Welcome and Introductions

Mike Gatehouse (Latin America Bureau)

Solidarity is a Two-Way Street -- La Solidaridad: Una Calle de Doble Sentido

Break 5pm – 5.15pm

5.15pm - 6.45pm: Panel 1 (Chair: Pablo Bradbury)

Dr András Lénárt (University of Szeged, Hungary)

The Filmmaker's Resistance. International Solidarity with Augusto Pinochet's Victims through Cinema

Dr Richard Smith (University of Liverpool)

Chile in Liverpool: Music and Memory

Jimena Pardo

Embroidering Memory

Tim Hollins and Maureen Russel (ESNET)

30 Years of Solidarity with Nueva Esperanza, El Salvador

Break 6.45pm – 7pm.

7pm - 8pm: Panel 2 (Chair: Richard Smith)

Tony Luna (Music for Hope)

Introducing Music for Hope

Dr Andrew Redden (University of Liverpool)

Music for Hope: Story-telling and Song-writing in the Bajo Lempa, El Salvador

Day 2: Tuesday 5th April

4pm - 5.30pm: Panel 3 (Chair: Pablo Bradbury)

Emil Osorio Llanos (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
Possible side effects of Covid-19 on generalist Colombian media landscape: A reflection around its discourse on forgiveness.

John McEvoy (University of Liverpool)
British solidarity with Colombia in the New Labour period (1997-2010)

José Luis Granados Ceja (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico)
Anti-imperialist Solidarity in Support of Political Rights as Human Right

Mariela Kohon (TUC International and Justice for Colombia)
Experiences and Challenges of Building International Solidarity with Colombia - an overview of Justice for Colombia and the trade union movement's campaign to support peace, social justice and human rights in Colombia

Break 5.30pm – 5.45pm

5.45pm - 7.15pm: Panel 4 (Chair: John McEvoy)

Dr. Sebastian Garbe (Justus-Liebig-University Giessen/University of Applied Sciences Fulda)
Weaving Latin American Solidarity in the 21st Century - Decolonial Perspectives on Transnational Advocacy of and with the Mapuche

Maria Vasquez-Aguilar (University of Sheffield)
'They tried to bury us, they didn't know we were seeds' – The Chilean experience of solidarity in the UK post 1973 and its impact on the second generation

Emily McIndoe (University of Liverpool)
The El Salvador Solidarity Movement in Britain, 1980 – 2009.

Clare Dixon (CAFOD)

Break 7.15pm – 7.30pm

7.30pm – 8.00pm: Closing address

Dr Marieke Riethof (University of Liverpool)
Constructing transnational solidarity in the global Cold War: South-South solidarity in Latin America and beyond

Eventbrite Registration: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/solidarity-with-latin-america-tickets-276566607167>

Zoom Link: <https://liverpool-ac-uk.zoom.us/j/94546470480?pwd=M3ppZEtHcEdSOVpNK2p1aDI3Y2I3Zz09>

Mike Gatehouse: Solidarity is a Two-Way Street – Una Calle de Doble Sentido

The military coup of 11 September 1973 in Chile launched a wave of solidarity actions across Europe and much of the world unparalleled since the Spanish Civil War. Why? Why, when Chile was a small and distant country with relatively limited links and economic significance in the places where solidarity actions now mushroomed? What was it about Chile and more widely Latin America that aroused such emotions in virtually the whole of the centre and left parties and groups of Europe? In the UK there were spectacular actions by dockers and seamen in Liverpool, Rolls Royce workers in Scotland, British miners and many others. Alongside political solidarity, human rights campaigning and refugee reception there were a raft of cultural initiatives, exchanges, with Latin American music, poetry, novels, poster and wall art fascinating and ‘giving back’ to attentive, avid European audiences. Meanwhile, solidarity flowed also within Latin America and across the Atlantic: Chilean rescue experts helped after earthquakes, Cuban doctors saved lives in Africa, Brazil and many other places. Argentine forensic anthropologists lent their skills in Mexico and wherever unidentified bodies lay buried. The wonderful Venezuelan music education scheme El Sistema was copied in Scotland.

Not so much a two-way street, solidarity is more like a rampant vine that takes root wherever it touches ground. In truth, *Solidariedade Não Tem Fronteiras*.

*Mike Gatehouse studied Development Sociology at Cornell University, USA. He lived in Chile from 1972-3 during the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. Imprisoned briefly in the National Stadium after the military coup, he returned to the UK and worked for Chile Solidarity Campaign and later El Salvador Committee for Human Rights and Nicaragua Health Fund. He is co-author of LAB books *Soft Drink, Hard Labour – Guatemalan Workers Take On Coca-Cola* and *In the Mountains of Morazán – Portrait of a Returned Refugee Community in El Salvador*. Since 2010 he has been a member of the LAB Editorial Team and publishes articles on LAB’s website. He was a member of the team that published *Voices of Latin America – Social Movements and the New Activism* in January 2019, and helps commission new books for LAB.*

Dr András Lénárt: The Filmmaker’s Resistance. International Solidarity with Augusto Pinochet’s Victims through Cinema

The antecedents, consequences, main figures and most important events of the 1973 coup d’état in Chile had a considerable influence on the societies of the world. Protests proliferated in all continents, including Europe, against Augusto Pinochet’s violent takeover, together with solidarity movements towards the overthrown democratic government, Salvador Allende and, above all, the society of this South American country. The events provoked immediate reaction in the political, social and cultural circles, and also among the internationally well-known artists who cried for justice. The Chilean tragedy appeared in all artistic branches and cinema, naturally, was no exception either. The aim of my paper is to highlight some filmmakers and trends associated with the coup’s aftermath, both Chileans and from other countries, as well as the most notable films that are closely related to the events of 1973. Feature films and documentaries have dealt with the consequences of the dictatorship since the year of Allende’s death, focusing especially on the president, the coup itself, Pinochet and, primarily, the Chilean people who suffered the brutality of the regime. These filmmakers, mostly from Chilean origin but also from other countries, showed their solidarity towards the victims and helped raise the world’s awareness about the tragedy of Chile. In all these films, the memory and the trauma of the coup play a central role, reflecting the remembrance that cannot be erased from the cinematic heritage.

András Lénárt, PhD, is senior lecturer at the University of Szeged, Hungary. His main areas of research include the contemporary history and cinema of Latin America, the relations between film history and universal history, as well as Inter-American relations. He is the author of 3 books and more than 130 book chapters, essays and articles published in Spanish, English, and Hungarian. He serves as president of the International Federation for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (FIEALC), is member of various international historical associations, and also of the General Assembly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Dr Richard Smith: Chile in Liverpool: Music and Memory

Music has an important place in Chilean politics, from artists such as Víctor Jara, who campaigned alongside Salvador Allende, to the underground folk clubs, the *peñas*, in Santiago that played an important role in the anti-Pinochet resistance, and the exiled musicians who brought the sounds of home to international solidarity campaigns.

This presentation will introduce the 'Chile in Liverpool: Music and Memory' project, which aims to engage Chilean exiles and their families who settled in the city, and former activists in the Chile Solidarity campaign on Merseyside, with the Robert Pring-Mill collection of Latin American music of 'hope and struggle' in the University of Liverpool's Popular Music Archive. People are invited to workshops to discuss their 'inheritance tracks' - music they have inherited and music they cherish - and to share reminiscences while they explore sound recordings, posters and albums from the collection and their own memorabilia. The goal is to co-curate a digital community archive that combines material from the collection with participants' own items and stories to build a shared repository of collective memories that also deepens our understanding of Liverpool's broader musical heritage. The 'inheritance tracks' workshop is an innovative, participatory approach to exploring cultural heritage that prioritises personal experience and captures intergenerational and community musical memories. The project explores notions of music as an individual and collective inheritance; how music is valued and attached to experience; and issues of identity and community. The paper will present our approach and some preliminary findings.

I originally trained as a chemist before a career in consumer product innovation that took me all over the world, including three years living in Buenos Aires and many more working and travelling across the length and breadth of Latin America. After leaving Unilever, I was innovation lead for a regional development agency and then worked with the N8 universities in the north of England on low carbon economies and sustainable agri-food. On returning to the UK after living in Argentina, I studied Spanish, French and History at the Open University and obtained an MA in Latin American Studies from the University of Liverpool in 2016. I recently completed my PhD at Liverpool on the student opposition to the Pinochet regime in Chile.

Tim Hollins and Maureen Russel: 30 Years of Solidarity with Nueva Esperanza, El Salvador

We have worked as an autonomous solidarity organisation (not a registered charity or legal entity - basically just a bank account and a network of friends and supporters) since 1991. We had been working in Nicaragua for 2 years, and joined the support group for a new community of Salvadorean refugees, who were organising to return to El Salvador before the end of the Civil War. We supported them in Nicaragua as they fought for the right to return, then visited their new Community 'Nueva Esperanza' in the area now called the Bajo Lempa / Lower Lempa. We came back to Birmingham committed to supporting the young 'educadores populares' (people's teachers) through local fundraising to pay community wages, which we have done for 30 years now. A number of organised study tours to the community helped widen the network of supporters, and our group evolved to support not only education but also health clinic costs, and agricultural, building and

maintenance projects over the years. We've also produced and toured 2 plays telling the lives of the community members, and been involved in a wide variety of solidarity initiatives, currently including the Victor Jara festival El Sueño Existe.

Jimena Pardo

Jimena Pardo is a second-generation Chilean who arrived in England with her mother Cristina in 1976 at the age of two. Jimena studied a degree in Fine Art Painting and Art for Society at Wolverhampton University, her artwork strongly reflects her family's experience, including her parent's imprisonment, and her exiled identity. After completing a PGCE in Art and Design at Middlesex University in 2007 she now works as an Art Teacher in East London.

Since February 2018 Jimena has been facilitating workshops for the project 'Bordando por la Memoria' – Embroidering Memory. A collaborative textile art project with the Chilean exiled community. Remembering events from the dictatorship and creating a physical archive of memory. During the quarantine, she was also a lead facilitator in the project Stitch for Change with artist Janey Moffatt and Rossana Leal from the Refugee Buddy Project in Hastings. Where four 'Pandemic' quilts were made and exhibited at The De La Warr in 2021.

Her current art practices include making banners, arpilleras, embroideries, working with recycled materials, using stitching, painting, screen printing, lino printing, and weaving to explore themes of self, memory, community, loss, and human connections.

Tony Luna: Introducing Music for Hope

Tony Luna is from the community Nueva Esperanza El Bajo Lempa El Salvador. When he was 15, he became involved in a community organization such as the leader of the community youth group, during this time had the opportunity to participate in different events in and out of the country representing the youth group. After that, he was part of the local community council (Junta Directiva). In 2013, Tony and artist of El Bajo Lempa found ASDACJI (Asociacion para el Desarrollo de las Artes y la Cultura en Jiquilisco) after that he became the local coordinator of the Project Music for Hope. In 2016, Tony had to leave his community and come to England. In 2018, his family join him. Nowadays, Tony is the coordinator of the Music for Hope charity in the UK.

Dr Andrew Redden: Music for Hope: Story-telling and Song-writing in the Bajo Lempa, El Salvador

Music for Hope was founded in 1997 with an ethos of horizontality. Long term, it was (and still is) a project for young Salvadorans run by them. One of the intended goals was to encourage the production and performance of local popular music that drew from a long tradition of home-grown singer-song-writing linked to social activism. The early years of Music for Hope helped develop a thriving musical culture in which groups developed a repertoire of music that was written and owned by them and was intimately connected with their cultural heritage. Over time, however, as musical tastes interests changed in younger generations, the practice of song-writing gradually began to be lost as young musicians preferred to learn to play covers of popular songs that were nationally (and internationally) known.

In 2017, I filmed performances of a number of participant music groups in Music for Hope at a national youth festival. I uploaded these as part of my role of helping raise awareness of the work they were doing and the progress they were making but within the space of 24 hours noticed that these songs had been monetarised by

the corporations who had originally produced them (which was of course their right). The Music teachers and I discussed this, and we focussed our attention on the lost tradition of song-writing and the fact that despite the brilliant performances of the young musicians, the music they played did not belong to them. They couldn't really call it their own. I talked some more with the groups and the teachers. The main obstacles were that they found it very difficult to think of how to write songs. What would they sing about? This gave rise to the storytelling workshops in which I talked them through a method of telling stories to each other (anything they wanted), choosing the story that meant the most to them and how to turn that story into lyrics with a narrative structure and rhythm. Once they had those lyrics, they could then set them to music. This paper talks through that process and some of the stories that were told.

*Andrew Redden has been researching and teaching Latin American topics his entire career. In 2013, his life and research were changed by a chance encounter with Katherine Rogers, the founder of Music for Hope, at an activist event in Manchester. He was blown away by the project she had set up, volunteered, and visited the teachers and participants in El Salvador that year. Since then, he has continued working with the organisation, visiting as and when he can, and helped in its conversion from an NGO to a registered charity in 2016. He is now a trustee of the charity. He is currently working on a documentary history of the project looking to understand how it has developed and what impact it has had and continues to have on the lives of the participants. As part of that work, he facilitated story-telling and song-writing workshops with the young participants over a couple of years, returning subsequently to record the songs that were written. These songs were release as a CD (<https://musicforhope.org.uk/shop/>) and digital album (<https://musicforhope.bandcamp.com/releases>) in 2021: *Historias Cantadas Siempre Vivirán (Stories That Are Sung Live Forever)*.*

Emil Osorio Llanos: Possible side effects of Covid-19 on generalist Colombian media landscape: A reflection around its discourse on forgiveness.

Forgiveness has been at the center of a general discussion around the peace process signed between the FARC guerrillas and the Colombian state in 2016. A previous experience in the same country, the process derived from the 'Justicia y Paz' law, involving the government of Alvaro Uribe and paramilitary groups, already served as a basis for noting some absence of restorative developments that included the act of forgiveness as part of the justice due to victims. This has resulted, partly, in the weakening of a discourse around solidarity and the intent to find routes of rapprochement between victims and perpetrators. Previous discourse analysis of Colombian media and some institutional actors around forgiveness during the 'Justicia y Paz' era have detected recurring notions around forgiveness as a transactional process, which could be replicated in some stages of the last peace agreements. On the other hand, the rapprochement between victims and perpetrators could have suffered a negative impact during the years of the pandemic in Colombia. Thus, it is expected to pose the notion that some online meetings held during these times, such as the one that occurred in August 2021 (which included Rodrigo Londoño, head of the FARC) have been functional to continue tracing a route of recognition of crimes, but they may also have reinforced the predominance of *persona*-based narratives, identifiable in a media discourse which doesn't seem to reinforce and appeal to notions of solidarity needed between parties, social actors, and general society during the post-conflict era.

Emil Osorio Llanos is a first year PhD student in Journalism a at the Complutense University of Madrid. He holds a master's degree in Social Communication from the same university and he's a Bachelor of Social Communication and Journalism from the Universidad del Norte, Colombia. Emil has worked as an editor and audiovisual producer and journalistic editor in research groups, university media and digital courses at the Universidad del Atlántico and Universidad del Norte in his hometown of Barranquilla. Since his

undergraduate studies, Emil has investigated intersections between literature, cinema, and journalism, to analyze discourses in media works which deal with historical memory and socio-political problems in the Latino American and Hispanic space. He has also participated in the communication congress at the University of Buenos Aires (2015) and has been part of research projects on journalistic habits and coverage in Colombia (2017-2018).

John McEvoy: British solidarity with Colombia in the New Labour period (1997-2010)

In the post-Cold War era, British military and police assistance and human rights abuses in Colombia seemed to increase in direct correlation. Though this does not immediately suggest causation, the killings of social leaders, trade unionists, and community organisations in Colombia at the least called into question the British government's stated commitment of refusing arms sales to countries which could use such arms for internal repression. When New Labour came to power in 1997, the chasm between British foreign policy to Colombia and Robin Cook's 'foreign policy with an ethical dimension' was brought into even sharper relief. This chasm provided space for solidarity movements to press the Labour government to adopt a more transparent, careful and, indeed, ethical foreign policy toward Colombia. As such, during the early 2000s, two British organisations for solidarity with Colombia emerged: the Colombia Solidarity Commission, and Justice for Colombia. This research principally aims to analyse interrelationship between these solidarity organisations and the making of British foreign policy in Colombia. More specifically, it will examine the genealogy of these organisations, interrogate how they understood British foreign policy and tried to influence it, and assess whether they were ultimately successful. On the flipside, it will also look at potential rifts between both organisations, and situate these rifts within debates occurring in the Global South about practical modes of resistance to foreign intervention and multinational resource extraction.

John McEvoy is a PhD researcher and journalist whose work focusses on UK foreign policy and Latin America

José Luis Granados Ceja: Anti-imperialist Solidarity in Support of Political Rights as Human Right

In the face of the exhaustion of direct interventions as a viable means of regime change in Latin America, imperialism increasingly is turning toward "indirect" regime change plots, utilizing supra-national institutions such as the OAS and the Lima Group to advance the interests of Capital and slow the renewed advance of counter-hegemonic political processes in the region.

These interventions—including the 2019 coup in Bolivia and the ongoing destabilization efforts in Venezuela since 2000—represent not only a threat to the right of populations to sovereignly determine their political-economic model and therefore constitute an assault on their political rights; but also serve to weaken experiments in radical grassroots democracy, which are more authentic and fuller expressions of democracy.

My research amalgamates my experience as a practitioner of solidarity and an anti-imperialist journalist into an academic framework in order to elucidate the need to redefine the practice of the defense of human rights in Latin America as one that must explicitly defend political rights as human rights, as advanced by thinkers such as Miguel Concha Malo. This contributes to the defense of political rights as human rights on an anti-imperialist basis, which is arguably the most useful posture for those within advanced capitalist countries seeking to support counter-hegemonic political processes, as it opens room for states to more freely maneuver, but also expands the realm of political possibilities by allowing for radical grassroots democracy to flourish and inspire activists and organizers globally.

José Luis Granados Ceja is a Master's student in the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights at the Autonomous University in Mexico City and has been engaged as a practitioner of solidarity with Latin America since 2005 when he traveled to Venezuela for the World Festival of Youth and Students and became inspired by the Bolivarian grassroots to engage in an anti-imperialist defense of the Bolivarian Revolution. While living in Canada, he engaged in grassroots solidarity efforts through the Louis Riel Bolivarian Circle, the Hands Off Venezuela campaign, and was a founding member of the Hugo Chávez Peoples' Defense Front and the Norman Bethune Front. Since moving to Latin America in 2014, working first for teleSUR English and later Venezuela Analysis, he has continued to defend revolutionary processes and organizations in Latin America through his work as a journalist.

Mariela Kohon: Experiences and Challenges of Building International Solidarity with Colombia - an overview of Justice for Colombia and the trade union movement's campaign to support peace, social justice and human rights in Colombia

The presentation will reflect on the following:

- Explore how Justice for Colombia, the British and Irish trade union backed organisation built solidarity around key issues in Colombia
- Successes and Challenges
- The Colombian peace process and JFC's role

Mariela Kohon is currently the Senior International Officer at the TUC and Vice Chair of Justice for Colombia, the British and Irish trade union founded organisation which works to support human rights and peace in Colombia. As its former Director she coordinated many delegations of trade unionists and politicians to Colombia to witness the human rights crisis on the ground. During the peace negotiations she led an initiative to engage Northern Ireland cross party figures involved in the Good Friday negotiations to share their experiences with the Colombian peace negotiators, taking numerous delegations to Havana, Cuba. Figures from South Africa also shared their experiences. She was then an adviser to the FARC peace negotiating team, she was involved in the negotiations of Chapter 6 of the peace agreement – specifically regarding the role of the international community and the UN, in verifying the implementation of the peace agreement.

Dr Sebastian Garbe: Weaving Latin American Solidarity in the 21st Century - Decolonial Perspectives on Transnational Advocacy of and with the Mapuche

Solidarity with Latin America in the 20th century was mainly addressed towards revolutionary processes and movements in favour of a regional alternatives of socialist development towards social justice and against US imperialist policy. Nevertheless, by the turn of the century, the quest for a socialist solidarity became increasingly sidelined and Indigenous as well as decolonial movements in Latin America, such as the *Zapatistas* or the Mapuche, began to weave new networks of solidarity with possible allies in the Global North.

In this contribution I would like to focus on the transnational advocacy network of and with the Mapuche as a particular case of contemporary expressions of international solidarity. This network has been woven transnationally between Latin America and Europa by the efforts of a Mapuche diaspora in collaboration with non-indigenous supporters and NGOs. Through an activist ethnographical approach to these networked spaces of encounter in Chile and Europe, I offer an analysis of this network's organizational structure and its strategies within human and indigenous rights advocacy. Further, I critically discuss the micro-social and interpersonal encounters of Mapuche and non-indigenous activists coming together in solidarity work. This leads to an empirically and theoretically informed notion of (international) solidarity through the concept of

‘weaving solidarity,’ which describes solidarity as conflictive, creative, and communal. In that way, my contribution presents potential pitfalls of contemporary transnational advocacy but, in dialogue with Mapuche cosmology, suggests new ways of understanding and practicing solidarity in the 21st century.

Sebastian Garbe, born in 1986, works as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Applied Sciences Fulda, where he is the coordinator of the Fulda Graduate Centre of Social Sciences. He also works as a researcher and lecturer at the Institute of Sociology at the Justus-Liebig University in Giessen. His teaching and research were awarded with the Dr.-Herbert-Stolzenberg-Award for the Study of Culture in 2017 and 2020.

Maria Vasquez-Aguilar: ‘They tried to bury us, they didn’t know we were seeds’ – The Chilean experience of solidarity in the UK post 1973 and its impact on the second generation

Following the military coup in Chile in 1973, thousands were tortured, killed or made to ‘disappear’. Forced exile was used by the state to rid itself of its opponents and hundreds of thousands were scattered across the globe; with the UK accepting around 3000 refugees.

The brutal military dictatorship, headed by General Pinochet, was to last 17 years and Chilean exiles across the world actively campaigned against the regime.

Political and human rights networks were formed locally, nationally and internationally and Chilean exiles were at the forefront of exposing the atrocities of the regime and trying to bring about political change. A great amount of solidarity was received as well as given to other political struggles during that time.

Using oral history, I am exploring the political activism of the Chilean refugees in the UK and their non-Chilean supporters over a 40-year period, and the impact on the second generation through the intergenerational transmission of memory and identity.

Political activity did not end with the dictatorship, and subsequent campaigns in solidarity with the Chilean cause (e.g. Extradite Pinochet campaign, 1998-2000) is a key example of the revival of these solidarity networks and the emerging role of second-generation activists.

My presentation will explore preliminary findings, sharing the experiences of the Chilean exiles and the ordinary people who supported their cause. I will also be making the argument that political commitment has passed down through generations of the Chilean community; sowing the seeds for future political action.

Maria Vasquez-Aguilar arrived from Chile with her family as political refugee in 1978. She works in Adult Education and is a political activist and trade unionist. She is in the fourth year of her part-time PhD at the University of Sheffield.

Emily McIndoe: The El Salvador Solidarity Movement in Britain, 1980 – 2009.

Solidarity with El Salvador erupted vocally in the 1980s, in response to the brutal civil war aggravated by US intervention and state-sponsored human rights violations. Rather than existing as one homogenous entity, El Salvador solidarity in Britain was represented through different organisations, each with distinct target audiences, methods and aims. Parallels can be drawn between the political solidarity priorities of the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign (ELSSOC) and the anti-apartheid movement; between the human rights focus of the El Salvador Committee for Human Rights and the Chile Committee for Human Rights; and between the people-to-people solidarity focus of the more recent El Salvador Network (ESNET) and the broader trends of international friendship. The lessons learned by solidarity activists in Britain campaigning on South Africa and Chile can be seen in the decisions made by those campaigning on El Salvador, perhaps most notably in

the decision not to become a homogenous entity in order to broaden appeal amongst the British public. When considered together, the El Salvador solidarity organisations in Britain consisted of a significant element of Britain's relationship with El Salvador and thus deserve more scholarly attention than they receive. This paper considers the strengths of the El Salvador solidarity movement in Britain, suggesting explanations for its longevity and highlighting the ways in which it has evolved over the decades to reflect the changing situation in El Salvador and the needs of the Salvadoran people it supported.

Emily McIndoe is a History PhD student at the University of Liverpool, researching British aid to El Salvador between 1970 and 2009. Her research encompasses British foreign policy, the work of international aid agencies and solidarity networks.

Clare Dixon

Clare Dixon is the Regional Manager for Latin America and the Caribbean at CAFOD.

Dr Marieke Riethof: Constructing transnational solidarity in the global Cold War: South-South solidarity in Latin America and beyond

In this lecture I will examine how and why transnational solidarity activism in support of Chileans under the Pinochet dictatorship emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, challenging assumptions about the North-to-South transmission of ideas as a unilateral process on the one hand, while exploring the impact of Cold War politics in the Global South on the other. Despite the significance of solidarity activism and its role in shaping political developments in the Global South during the last two decades of the Cold War, little systematic research has been undertaken about the motivations for this engagement and its impact, particularly outside of Europe and the United States. To address this gap, the paper examines the large proportion of solidarity activism that took place in Latin America itself, focusing on South-South solidarity activism in comparative perspective. In the immediate aftermath of the coup, the majority of Chileans fled to neighbouring countries such as Argentina and Peru as well as further afield in Latin America, including Mexico, Venezuela and Cuba. Although these refugees received support from local and international organizations (e.g. UN High Commission for Refugees) as well as from foreign governments, they also faced repression as they were deemed subversive and undesirable in the increasingly turbulent political context of Argentina before the 1976 coup. These exiles participated in local solidarity groups, facilitating transnational collaboration by setting up their own political structures in exile. Based on archival sources from Chile, Argentina, and Mexico as well as European archives, I trace the trajectories of these exiles, their political activism and ideas. Their interaction with the new local political contexts in conjunction with developments in Chile positioned their opposition to and analysis of the Pinochet regime in a distinctly Latin American and "Global South" context, which shaped their subsequent activism. Based on these insights, this paper contests the argument that political solidarity during the Cold War flowed primarily from North to South and was defined in terms of the East-West ideological divide. Instead, it is based on an understanding that this activism and these political perspectives were much more fluid and multidirectional than often assumed.

With thanks to our partners and supporters:

Latin America Bureau

Established in 1977, Latin America Bureau (LAB) is an online and in-print publisher and web-platform for independent news about Latin America, focusing on struggles for social and environmental justice and conveying the voices of frontline partners in the region. We are a UK-registered charity and not-for-profit company.

What does LAB do?

- We report from the frontline of Latin America's struggles for social justice

LAB publishes [news](#) and analysis on human, social and environmental rights in Latin America, highlighting the grassroots activism of social movements and conveying the testimony of those involved. We have published more than [150 books](#) about struggles for justice in Latin America and the Caribbean. All new LAB books are published in partnership with Practical Action Publishing and are available in both print and digital formats.

- We make sense of the continent's stories

LAB follows stories over time, long after they fade from the media spotlight, and explores links and parallels with similar movements and events in other countries of the region. We bring to English-speaking readers some of the region's radical ideas about social justice and sustainable alternatives to the prevalent neo-liberal economic model.

[Volunteers and training:](#)

LAB is an ever-expanding network of volunteer translators, writers, editors and thinkers. We help independent writers gain skills in research, interviewing, composing and editing articles. We work alongside skilled video editors and audio producers to provide multimedia content, and we enable our volunteers to learn about fundraising and campaigning as well as working in a charity.

Impact and Engagement:

We collaborate with university researchers to help and train them to disseminate their work '[beyond the campus](#)' to wider publics, in a simple, impactful way.

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You can donate to LAB via the Donate button on our website <https://lab.org.uk>. Or you can become a regular subscriber, via our Patreon platform (click Subscribe to LAB on our Home Page).

Music for Hope

Music for Hope is a dynamic, community music project for young people from the Bajo Lempa of El Salvador, using participatory music as a tool for community development. You can read more about our work on our [website](#), or find regular updates by following us on [Facebook](#) and [Twitter](#).

This year is 25 years since Music for Hope started, and to celebrate we've released a CD – *Historias Cantadas Siempre Vivirán: Stories That Are Sung, Live Forever* by Music for Hope Bands 'Live' – which is the product of a series of song-writing workshops held with the young participants of Music for Hope between 2017-8. The songs include themes such as the foundation of their communities and the struggles of their parents, the

impact of climate change on their low-lying coastal villages and farms, the difficulties some of them faced due to poverty and insecurity, as well as their hopes for the future. The CD is available to buy on our [online shop](#), or alternatively you can buy the digital version [via Bandcamp](#).

El Sueño Existe Festival

Some of the presenters at this conference will also be part of the wonderful 3-day festival of Latin American Music, Cultures and Politics, “El Sueño Existe”, which will be happening on the weekend of the 5th to 7th of August 2022, in Machynlleth, Wales, SY20 8ER. The inspiration of the festival is the song and poetry of Victor Jara, Chilean singer during the Allende government 1970-73 murdered during the military coup. But there will be a huge variety of cultural and political presentations on offer, not just music, but traditional dance, poetry, theatre, visual art, discussion & cultural workshops etc. The main themes for 2022 are the music and culture of El Salvador, and “Peace and Climate Justice” – bringing together not just the Peace and Justice Project launched by Jeremy Corbyn, but a wide range of solidarity organisations, speakers and performers. Weekend tickets £50 / £65 / £80 + camping or B&Bs etc from www.elsuenoexiste.com

Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign (NSC)

The overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by Sandinista forces in 1979 was a defining event in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as globally. Nicaragua became a beacon of hope regionally and internationally. In Latin America, the Sandinista Revolution represented the fulfilment of dreams that had been brutally destroyed in a CIA-backed coup in Chile six years previously. Hundreds of thousands of people around the world participated in a global movement to support the Sandinista Revolution and to condemn US military, political and economic aggression: NSC, set up in 1978, was one such organisation. Our 40th anniversary publication tells the story of the tens of thousands of people in the UK, particularly in the labour movement, twinned towns and local groups, who have contributed to sustaining solidarity through four decades of profound political change in Nicaragua, the UK and globally. <https://nicaraguasc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Nicaragua-Now-10.pdf>

Since 2019, NSC has focused on two main areas of work:

- building solidarity in the UK with the Nicaraguan Rural Workers Association (ATC), a member organisation of La Via Campesina, the global movement of campesinx and indigenous peoples. This work includes the themes of climate justice, agroecology, land rights, food sovereignty, gender equality & the inclusion of young people.
- supporting and publishing articles written by Nicaraguan young reporters reflecting their perspective on daily life in the communities where they live.

Further information: <https://nicaraguasc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/no-to-agribusiness-.pdf>

Bordando por la Memoria – Embroidering Memory

Inspired by the Arpilleras of Chile and the Bordados por la Paz in Mexico, a group of first and second-generation Chilean exiles began to embroider the names of the 3,000 men, women, and children who were disappeared and those who were executed during the brutal dictatorship in Chile between 1973-1991. Many of the participants in the group were imprisoned during the dictatorship and given asylum in the UK after release from prison and almost all have lost either family members or friends as a direct result of the dictatorship. Since 2018, the Bordando por la Memoria group has been meeting to embroider their collective memory.

This project is about preserving memory and highlighting the need for justice. In recent years there has been more of an urgency in Chilean society as well as in the diaspora to uncover the truth. The generation of men and women who were at the heart of resisting the dictatorship is slowly dying and with it their testimonies. Very few families of the disappeared have been able to uncover what happened to their loved ones, with some legal cases against human rights criminals still being processed. There is a divide in Chilean society, those who want to eradicate the past, a phenomenon we call 'desmemoria', and those fighting to preserve it. The military has a pact of silence and with Pinochet's constitution still intact this has enabled each consecutive government to exploit the land, the people and obstruct human rights.

This need to actively preserve oral history and testimony has been reproduced in many books, films, art, theater, and more recently by a new wave of 'Arpilleras' makers both in Chile and in the diaspora. This visual project hopes to answer the need for active memory 'Memoria Viva' and explores collective forms of making to tie together many different strands. The textile language of the arpilleras from Chile and the embroideries such as those in Mexico are relevant and needed in these times of injustice, they speak to many people because they do not exclude anyone, it is a humble art form that has grown out of necessity, that grew from community, loss, pain and the need for women and the families of the disappeared to speak out to the world.

What are Arpilleras?

Arpilleras are visual textile patchworks that tell a story related to the human rights violations from the dictatorship. Made by the families of the disappeared and in the 'Poblaciones'. The Arpilleras were made from recycled fabrics including clothes that belonged to the disappeared and burlap taken from flour sacks. Throughout the dictatorship, Arpilleras were made and sold as solidarity art and were smuggled out of Chile. Today they are recognised as a popular art form and are still made to highlight current struggles across the world.