

Society and Culture of the Spanish Speaking Countries, 6th Week

Chile



April 5

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Organization

Chile

- Country overview
 - Geography and demographic feature
 - Socio-economic profile
- History and politics
 - Independence and oligarchy
 - Salvador Allende
 - Pinochet
 - Transition to democracy
- Society and culture
 - Educational conflict
 - Anti-government protests and Constitutional Plebiscites

Chile: Country Overview

- ▶ Capital: Santiago
- ▶ Independence: 1818 September 18
- ▶ Official language: Spanish
- ▶ Ethnic groups(2012): White or Mestizo 89%, Indigenous 10.8% (Mapuche 9.1%, Aymara 0.7%, others 1%), Unspecified 0.3%
- ▶ Religion(2020): Roman Catholic 45%, Protestant 15%, Other Christian 3%, No religion 36%, Other 1%
- ▶ Land area: 756,096km²
- ▶ Population: 18,430,408 (2022 estimate)
- ▶ GDP (nominal) per capita: \$15,941 (2022)
- ▶ Joined OECD in 2010





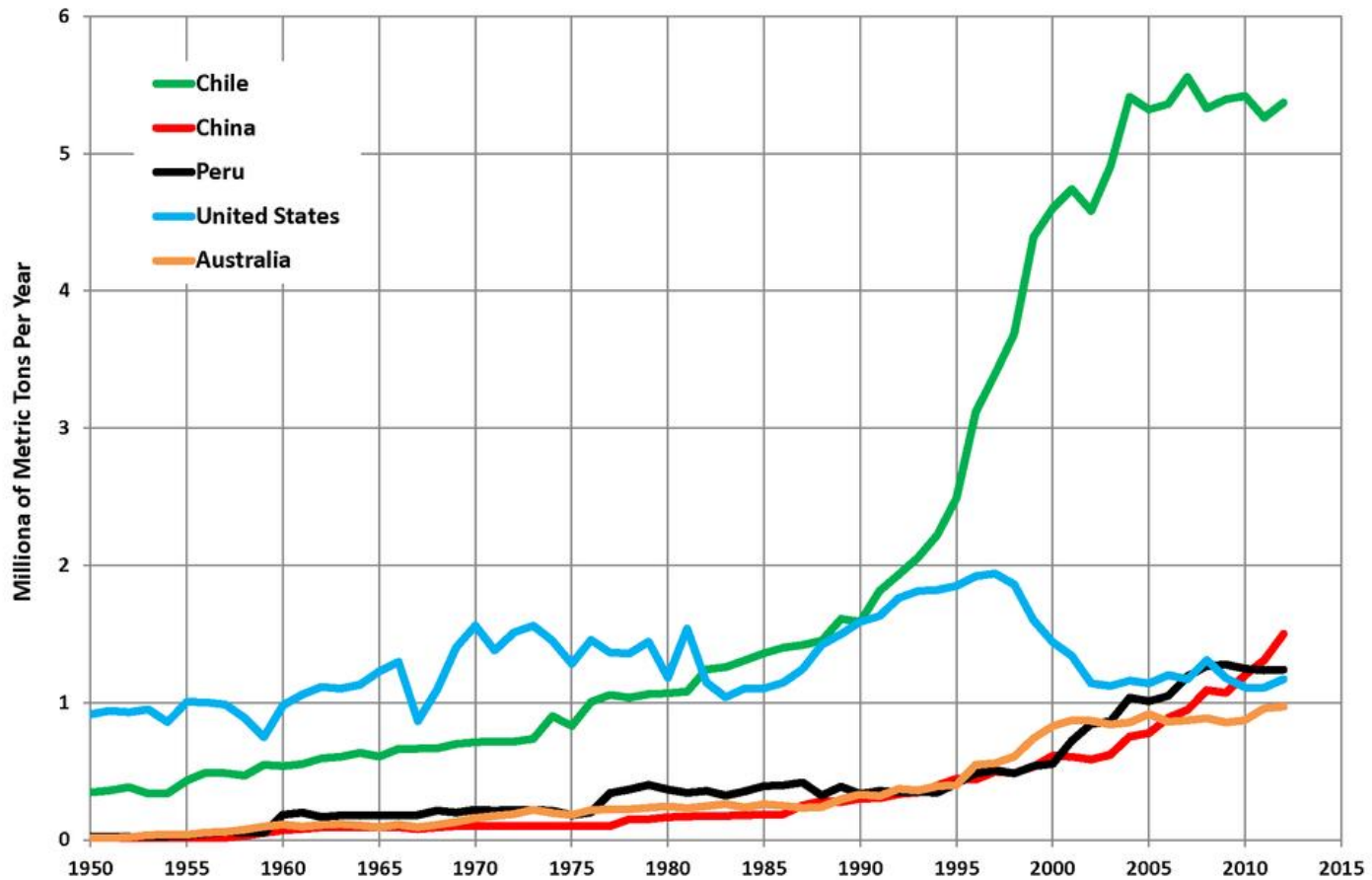
Region	Main economic activity	% of regional GDP
Santiago	Business and financial services	36.14
Chile	Business and financial services	19.08
Aisén	Fishing	25.00
Maule	Manufacturing industry	16.35
Biobio	Manufacturing industry	23.63
Los Ríos	Manufacturing industry	24.66
Tarapacá	Mining	45.52
Antofagasta	Mining	59.70
Atacama	Mining	43.24
Coquimbo	Mining	39.09
O'Higgins	Mining	26.37
Magallanes	Mining	20.44
Arica and Parinacota	Personal services	18.21
Araucanía	Personal services	19.99
Los Lagos	Personal services	16.37
Valparaíso	Transport and communications	16.91





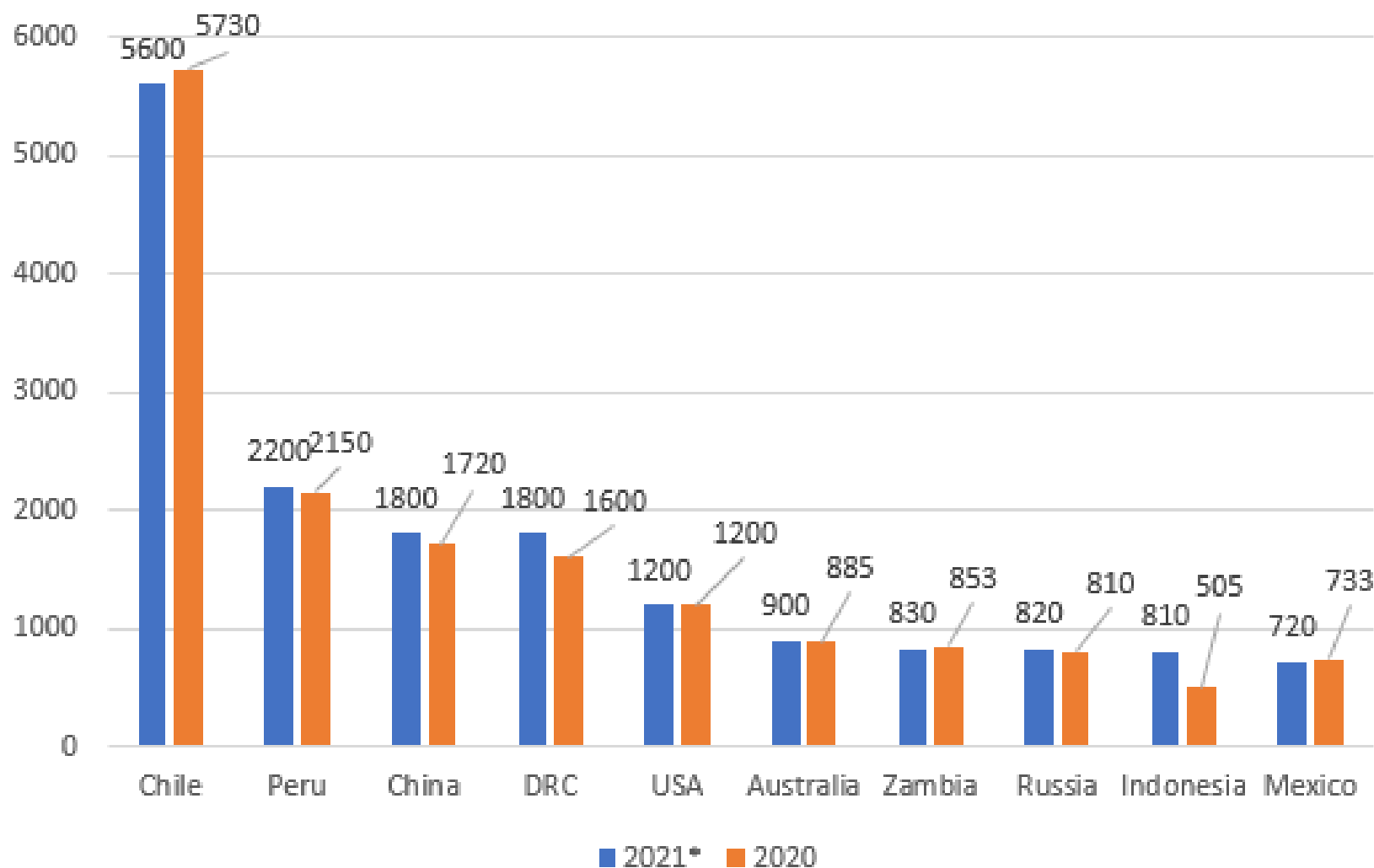
The northern Chilean desert of Atacama

<https://www.wired.co.uk/article/lithium-copper-mining-atacama-desert>



Production trends in the top five copper-producing countries, 1950-2012

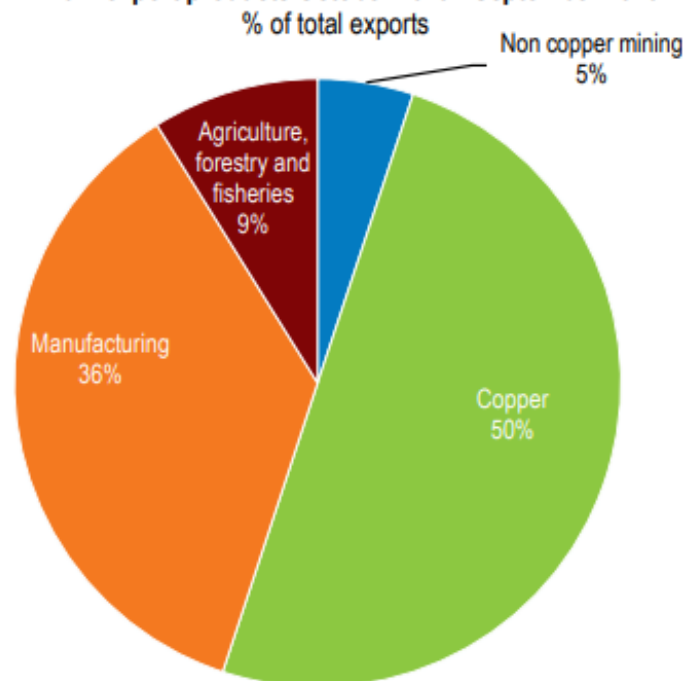
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Top_5_Copper_Producers.png



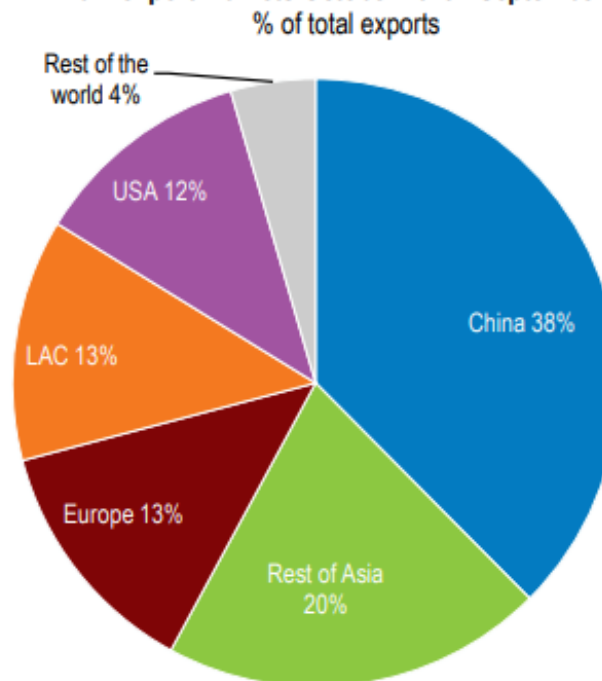
Global mine copper production, 2010-2021, ktonnes. 2021* - preliminary data.
Source: USGS.

Figure 1.7. The concentration of specialised exports to China and the United States is a risk to growth

A. Main export products October 2019 - September 2020



B. Main export markets October 2019 - September 2020



Source: Central Bank of Chile.

StatLink  <https://doi.org/10.1787/888934193307>

<https://www.oecd.org/economy/surveys/Chile-2021-OECD-economic-survey-overview.docx.pdf>



Cuernos Mountains and Lake Pehoe, Torres del Paine, Patagonia

<https://pixabay.com/ko/photos/%ED%86%A0%EB%A0%88%EC%8A%A4-%EB%8D%B8-%ED%8E%98%EC%9D%B8-%ED%8C%8C-%ED%83%80%EA%B3%A0-%EB%8B%88-%EC%95%84-1079691/>



Santiago



Moai at Rano Raraku, Easter Island

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-51750809>

History of Chile, until the 19th century

- The Mapuche people: the original inhabitant of Chile
- The Spanish conquest: beginning in 1520, later in 1535 and in 1540, provoking repeated Mapuche insurrection
- Post-independence 19th century: stratified colonial social structure influenced by family politics and the Church
- War of the Pacific, 1879-1884

Mapuche: the early inhabitant of Chile



www.shutterstock.com · 1178039077



By Raul Urzua (REUS) -
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/raulurzua/4984784473/sizes/l/>, CC BY
2.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=22319359>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?gl=KR&v=rZy88dHxVMA>

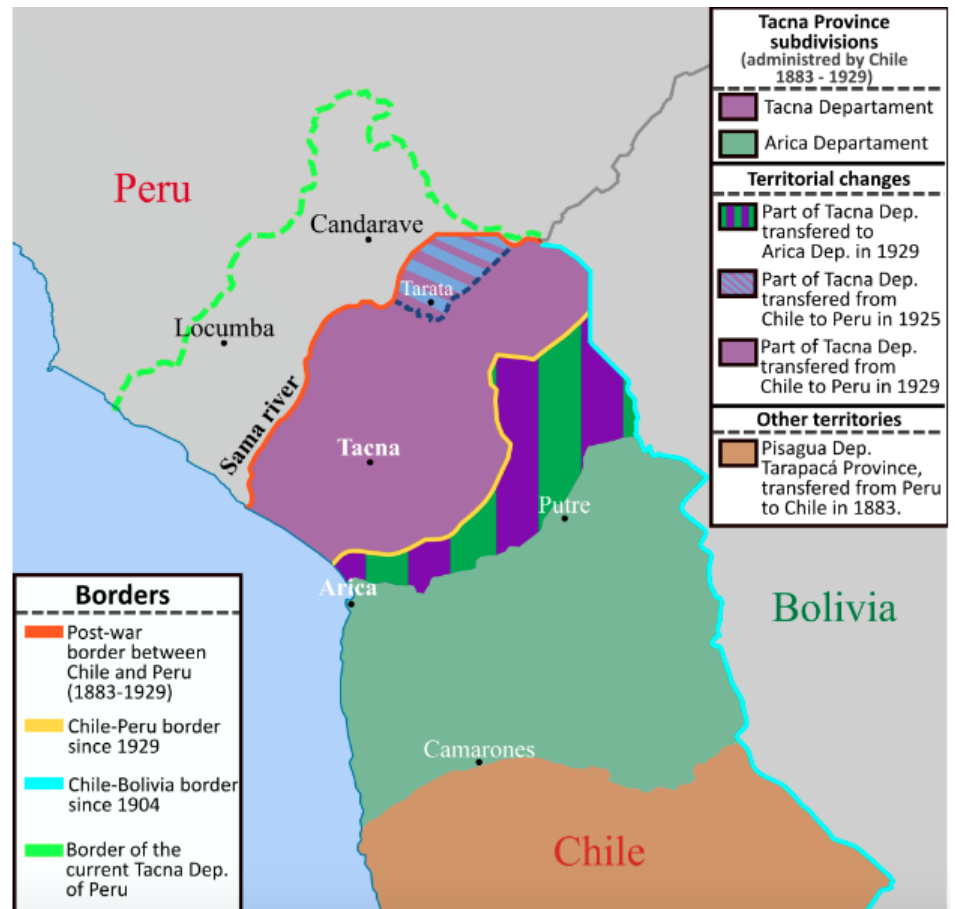
War of the Pacific (1879-1884)

- ▶ A war between Chile and a Bolivian-Peruvian alliance.
- ▶ It lasted from 1879 to 1884.
- ▶ It was fought over Chilean claims on coastal Bolivian territory in the Atacama Desert.
- ▶ The war ended with victory for Chile which gained a significant amount of resource rich territory from Peru and Bolivia.
- ▶ Later in 1929, an accord was reached by which Chile kept Arica and Peru reacquired Tacna and received \$6 million indemnity from Chile. However, Bolivia remained landlocked as a result of the war.



Economist.com

<https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2015/05/09/beaches-of-the-future>



History of Chile, the 20th century and onward

Modern 20th century

- Oligarchy system: ~ 1910s
- Emerging middle and working class: 1920s
- Military coup and political instability: 1924-1931
- Radical Party dominance sustained by strong middle class: 1932-1952
- Return of Conservatism: 1958-1963
- “Revolution in Liberty” led by the Frei administration: 1964-1970
- Salvador Allende’s socialism: 1970-1973
- Pinochet’s military coup and dictatorship: 1973-1988
- Transition and consolidation of democracy: since 1989, characterized by social stability and economic growth, combined by free-trade and the influx of foreign investment
- Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006), Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010, 2014-2018), Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014, 2018-2022), Gabriel Boric (2022-present).

Salvador Allende's presidency (1970-1973)

- ▶ Won the 1970 presidential election as a leader of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) coalition.
- ▶ The first democratically elected Marxist to become a president of a country in the Americas.
- ▶ Implemented a socialist program called “The Chilean Path to Socialism”
 - Nationalization of industry (including copper mining and banking) and the health care system.
 - Dramatic increase of social spending, particularly for housing, education and health.
 - High inflation rate and the rise of black markets.
 - Growing tensions with foreign multinational corporations and the government of the United States.
 - Increasing racial tensions between the poor descendants of indigenous people and white settler elite.
- ▶ Was deposed from the presidency and died during the Coup in 1973 at the Presidential Palace.

Salvador Allende's presidency (1970-1973)



<http://www.ifccenter.com/films/salvador-allende/>

http://m.cine21.com/news/view/?mag_id=30075

In 1971, state visit of the Cuban President Fidel Castro with Allende.

Salvador Allende's presidency (1970-1973)



<https://www.tni.org/my/node/23199>

1973 Chilean coup d'état

- September 11, 1973, organized by the Chilean military and endorsed by the United States (under the Nixon administration).
- Military Junta under the leadership of Augusto Pinochet.
- Bombed the presidential palace (*La Moneda*) and Allende gave his farewell speech before dying during the coup, vowing not to resign.
- Imprisonment of 40,000 political enemies in the National Stadium of Chile. Some 3,000 were killed.

Military coup in 1973



<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b039p32z>

<https://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/11/world/americas/chile-coup-anniversary-40/index.html>



<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/07/chile-coup-pinochet-allende>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Book_burnings_in_Chile





[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_\(1973\)/#/media/File:BNC-Junta_Militar_Chile_1973.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1973)/#/media/File:BNC-Junta_Militar_Chile_1973.jpg)

Salvador Allende's Last Speech

My friends,

Surely this will be the last opportunity for me to address you. The Air Force has bombed the antennas of Radio Magallanes.

My words do not have bitterness but disappointment. May they be a moral punishment for those who have betrayed their oath: soldiers of Chile, titular commanders in chief, Admiral Merino, who has designated himself Commander of the Navy, and Mr. Mendoza, the despicable general who only yesterday pledged his fidelity and loyalty to the Government, and who also has appointed himself Chief of the Carabineros [paramilitary police].

Given these facts, the only thing left for me is to say to workers: I am not going to resign! Placed in a historic transition, I will pay for loyalty to the people with my life. And I say to them that I am certain that the seeds which we have planted in the good conscience of thousands and thousands of Chileans will not be shriveled forever.

They have force and will be able to dominate us, but social processes can be arrested by neither crime nor force. History is ours, and people make history.

Workers of my country: I want to thank you for the loyalty that you always had, the confidence that you deposited in a man who was only an interpreter of great yearnings for justice, who gave his word that he would respect the Constitution and the law and did just that. At this definitive moment, the last moment when I can address you, I wish you to take advantage of the lesson: foreign capital, imperialism, together with the reaction, created the climate in which the Armed Forces broke their tradition, the tradition taught by General Schneider and reaffirmed by Commander Araya, victims of the same social sector who today are hoping, with foreign assistance, to re-conquer the power to continue defending their profits and their privileges.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xZeEfXjTNu4&feature=related>

http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x5vnn2_homenaje-a-salvador-allende_shortfilms#

Salvador Allende's Last Speech (continued.)

I address you, above all, the modest woman of our land, the campesina who believed in us, the mother who knew our concern for children. I address professionals of Chile, patriotic professionals who continued working against the sedition that was supported by professional associations, classist associations that also defended the advantages of capitalist society. I address the youth, those who sang and gave us their joy and their spirit of struggle. I address the man of Chile, the worker, the farmer, the intellectual, those who will be persecuted, because in our country fascism has been already present for many hours -- in terrorist attacks, blowing up the bridges, cutting the railroad tracks, destroying the oil and gas pipelines, in the face of the silence of those who had the obligation to act. They were committed. History will judge them.

Surely Radio Magallanes will be silenced, and the calm metal instrument of my voice will no longer reach you. It does not matter. You will continue hearing it. I will always be next to you. At least my memory will be that of a man of dignity who was loyal to his country.

The people must defend themselves, but they must not sacrifice themselves. The people must not let themselves be destroyed or riddled with bullets, but they cannot be humiliated either.

Workers of my country, I have faith in Chile and its destiny. Other men will overcome this dark and bitter moment when treason seeks to prevail. Go forward knowing that, sooner rather than later, the great avenues will open again and free men will walk through them to construct a better society.

Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers!

These are my last words, and I am certain that my sacrifice will not be in vain, I am certain that, at the very least, it will be a moral lesson that will punish felony, cowardice, and treason.

Santiago de Chile, 11 September 1973

Augusto Pinochet and Military Dictatorship (1973-1988)

- Commander-in-chief of the army (1973-1998), president of the Government Junta (1973-1974), President of the Republic (1974-1988).
- Harsh repression against opponents, 1,200–3,200 people were killed, up to 80,000 were interned, and up to 30,000 were tortured.
- Economic reforms, including the privatization of state-controlled industries, producing so called, “miracle of Chile”.
- Called for a plebiscite in 1987 to determine whether or not he would remain in power until 1997. On 5 October 1988, the "NO" option won with 55.99% in comparison to 44.1% of "YES" votes, leading to presidential and legislative elections the following year.
- Indicted in December 2000 for the kidnapping of 75 opponents.
- Indicted in 2006 for kidnappings and torture at the Villa Grimaldi detention center and for additional charges.
- Died in December 2006, without having been convicted of any of the many serious crimes of which he was accused.

Augusto Pinochet and Military Dictatorship (1973-1988)

- ▶ Economic recovery program in 1975, “shock plan” approach (neoliberal policies)
 - “Chicago Boys”, economic specialists trained at the University of Chicago
 - Reduce government expenditure
 - Increase public sector prices
 - Remove limits on foreign investment
 - Severely limit workers’ mobilization
 - Sell state owned firms
- ▶ What was the purpose of this plan?
 - To restructure economy
 - To find Chile’s competitive advantage
 - To change the political system which allowed Allende’s election to happen

Augusto Pinochet and Military Dictatorship (1973-1988)



Augusto Pinochet with U.S. Foreign Secretary Henry Kissinger in 1976 as Operation Condor is launched.

<https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/Nazis-Trained-and-Supported-Chiles-Operation-Condor-Activities-20161217-0004.html>

President Salvador Allende, right, appointed General Pinochet commander in chief of the Chilean army at a ceremony in August 1973. Less than three weeks later, the armed forces overthrew the government.

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-13/nsw-liberal-mp-defends-dictator-augusto-pinochet/4955594>

Augusto Pinochet (1915-2006)



<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/12/world/americas/12chile.html>



Supporters of General Pinochet outside the hospital where he died Sunday



Opponents of General Pinochet in downtown Santiago on Sunday

Transition to democracy (1988 – present)



All five Chilean presidents since 1990



Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010, 2014-2018)



Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014, 2018-2022)

Michelle Bachelet(2006-2010, 2014-2018)

- ▶ She lost her father for the military coup and she exiled during the dictatorship.
- ▶ She was trained as a medical doctor.
- ▶ She is the first female elected president in Chile
- ▶ Carried out diverse social reform, including pension system, education system, tax, environment, legal rights of civil union, legalization of abortion, etc.
- ▶ Since 2018, she serves as the UN high Commissioner for Human Rights.

Sebastian Piñera(2010-2014, 2018-2022 March)

- ▶ Earned Ph. D. in economics at the Harvard University.
- ▶ He is one of the richest people in Chile. He once owned Chilevision, a national broadcasting channel, a third of LAN Airlines, his own soccer club among others.
- ▶ He is the first right-wing president to be democratically elected since 1958.
- ▶ Copiapo mining accident (2010), Chilean student protests (2011-2013), 2019-2020 Chilean protests.
- ▶ Advocate of free market economy

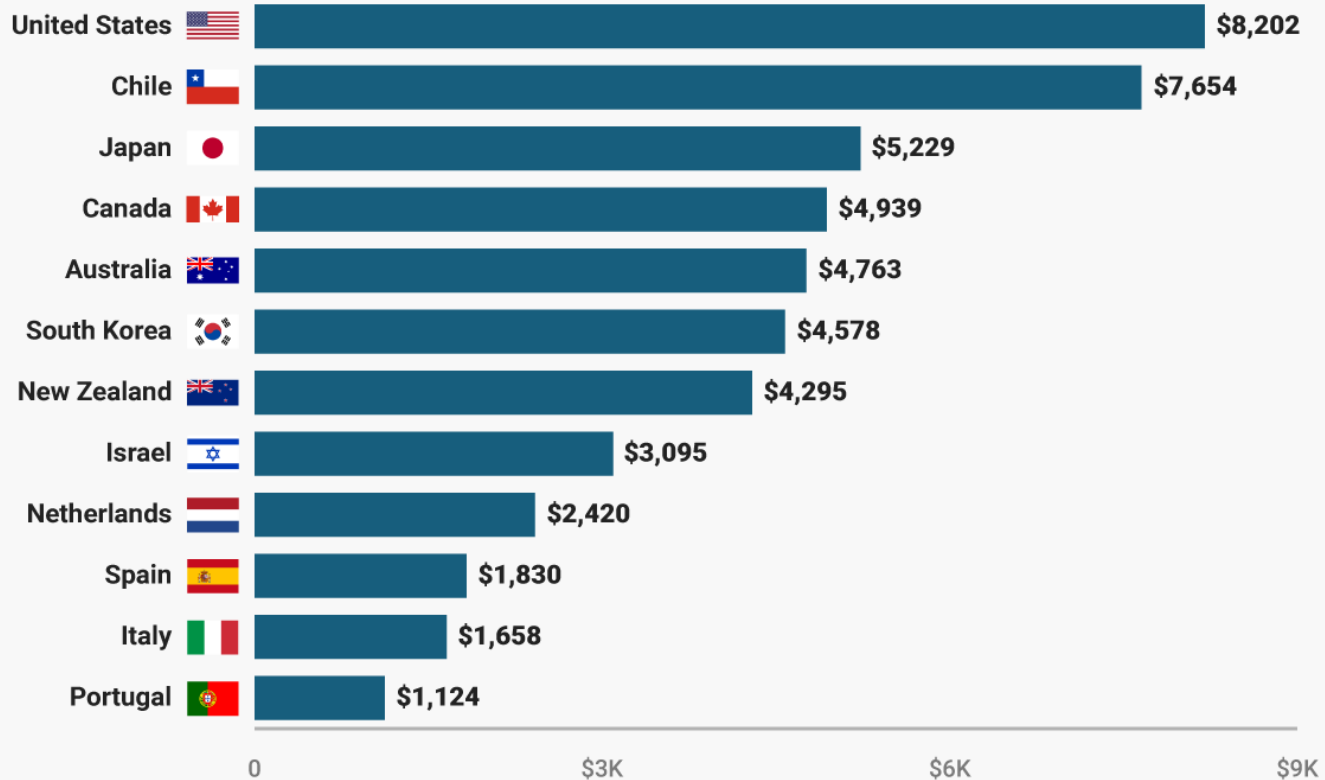
Chilean Student Protests 2011-2013

- A series of student-led protests since May 2011.
- Demand for lower educational cost and stronger state role in secondary and higher education.
- Discontent against high level of inequality. Demand for change in Chile's for-profit education system that originated during the Pinochet Era.
- University students are represented by CONFECH(The Confederation of Chilean Student Federations)
- 1st government proposal(July 2011) and 2nd , 3rd government proposal(August 2011)
- Student protestors have not achieved all their objectives, and Chilean students went back on the streets calling for equality in education.
- In the presidential election Dec. 2021, Gabriel Boric, the former student representative and one of the leaders of the student protests, won the election, obtaining 55.9% of the votes in the second round.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/faultlines/2011/11/201111103913257125.html>

AVERAGE ANNUAL PUBLIC TUITION FEES

Fees at the bachelor level for public institutions, 2015/16



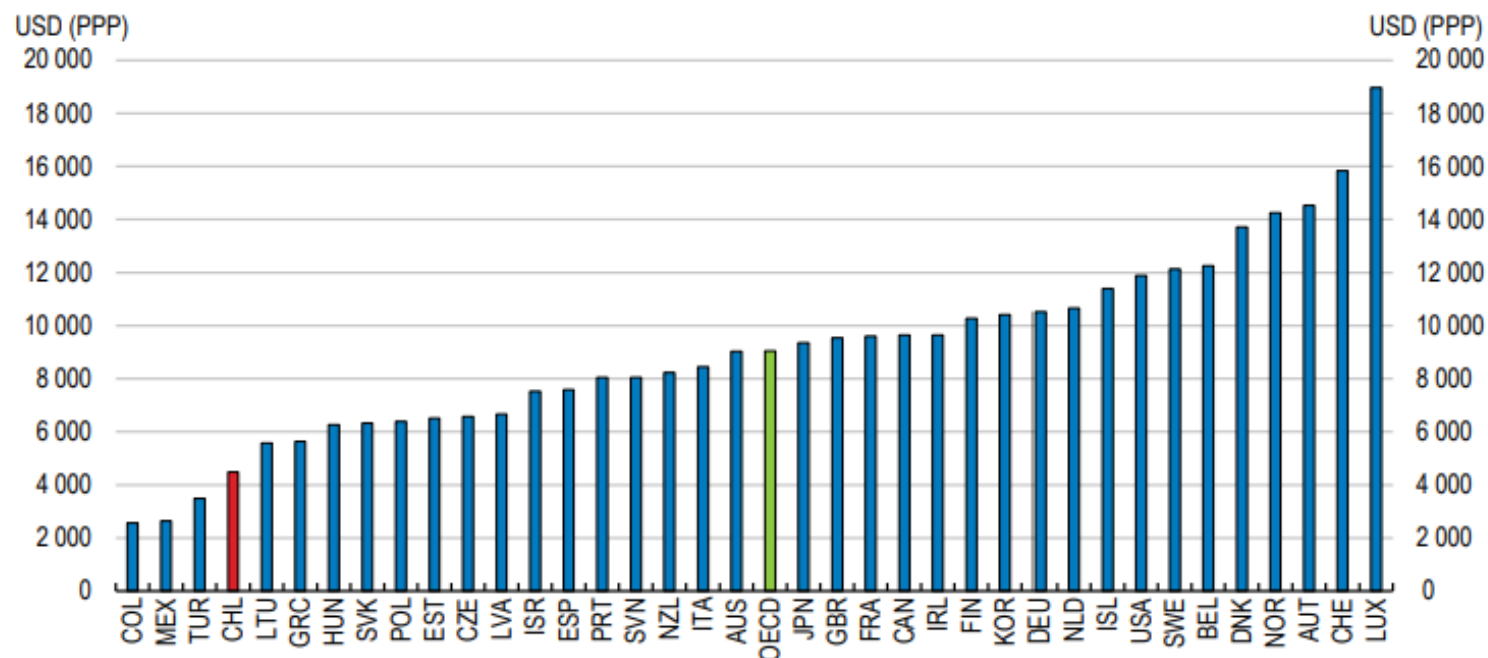
SOURCES: OECD's Education At A Glance 2017, Statista

BUSINESS INSIDER

<https://www.businessinsider.in/It-costs-more-to-go-to-college-in-America-than-anywhere-else-in-the-world/articleshow/60704449.cms>

Figure 1.14. Spending in pre-primary, primary and secondary education is lagging behind

In equivalent USD converted using PPPs for GDP, general government expenditure, based on full-time equivalents



Note: Data for Chile refer to 2017. Data for the OECD refer to an unweighted average from 2016.

Source: Education at a Glance 2019: OECD Indicators - © OECD 2019.

StatLink  <https://doi.org/10.1787/888934193440>



<https://www.americasquarterly.org/Higher-Education-in-Chile-0>

<https://www.dw.com/en/students-protest-as-chile-marks-30-years-of-democracy/a-52732131>



© imago images/Aton Chile/J. Salvo

2019-2020 Chilean protests

- ▶ The protests began in response to a raise in the subway fare.
- ▶ Began in 14 October 2019 as a coordinated fare evasion campaign by secondary school students.
- ▶ The government announced a state of emergency and authorized the use of Chilean Army to enforce order.
- ▶ The protests spread from Santiago to other major cities.
- ▶ The biggest problem was severe inequality. Half of Chileans earn below 500 dollars per month. According to World Bank data, 1 percent of Chileans hold 33 percent of the country's wealth making it one of the 20 most unequal countries in the world.
- ▶ As of February 2020, 36 people died, 11,564 people were injured.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/videos/2019/12/24/chile-wealth-inequality-fuelling-protests>

THE CHILEAN ICEBERG

NEOLIBERALISM CRISIS

Detonation
Effect

Increased public transport cost

What Chilean
governments
have not
wanted
to improve.

Worst education in South America and one of the most expensive in the world.

Poor condition of the Chilean healthcare system.

Pension system crisis. (US\$ 200/monthly)

Miserable Salaries. (US\$400.00 minimum)

Precarious jobs. (45 Weekly Hours)

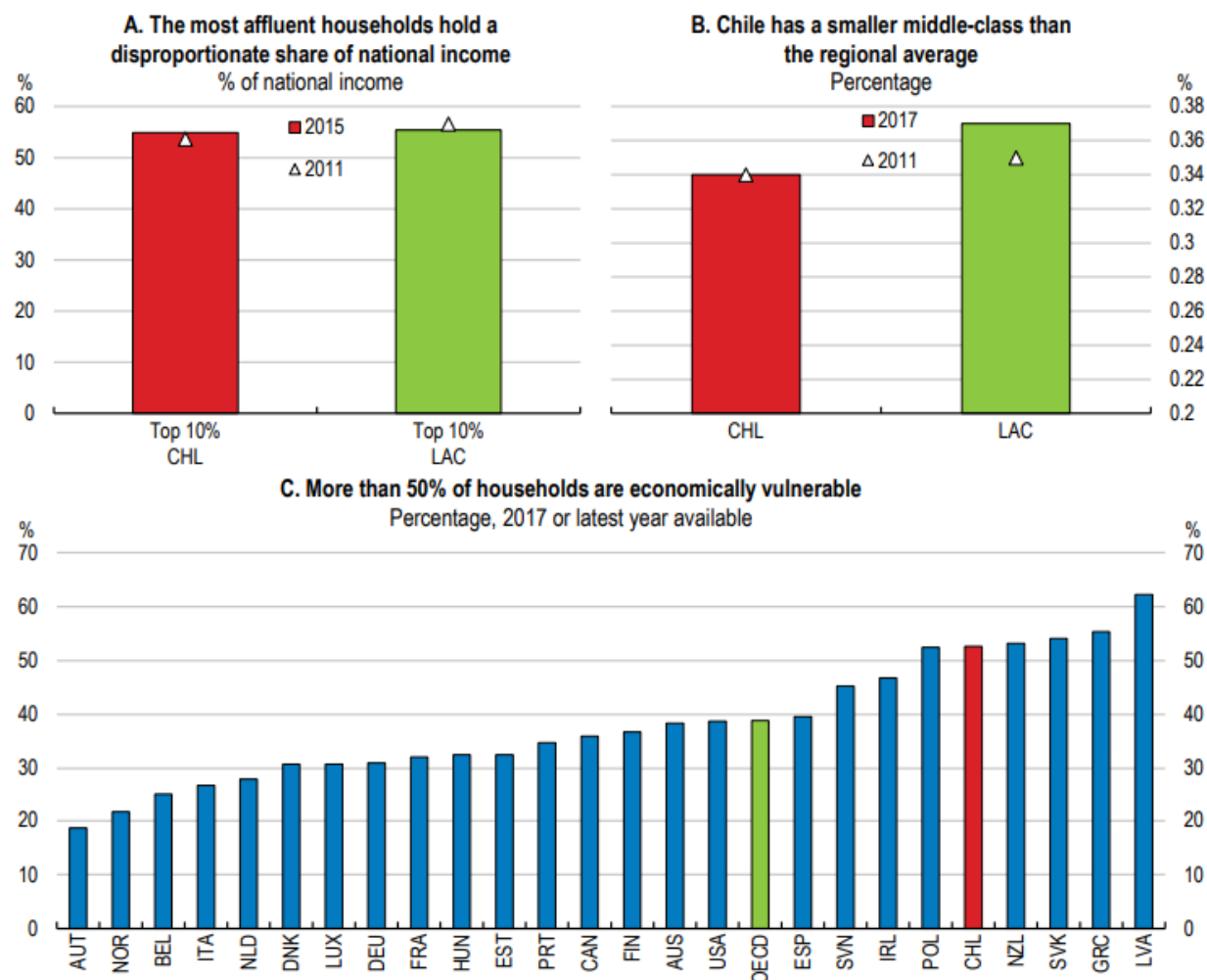
Police gate (US\$46 million stolen by the official chilean police)

Salaries of political elite 33 times higher than the minimum wage.

Lots of collusions (Toilet paper, Chickens, Shipping Companies, Industry Pharmacy)

The only country in the world where water is private.

Figure 1.11. Economic vulnerability is high while income is concentrated at the top

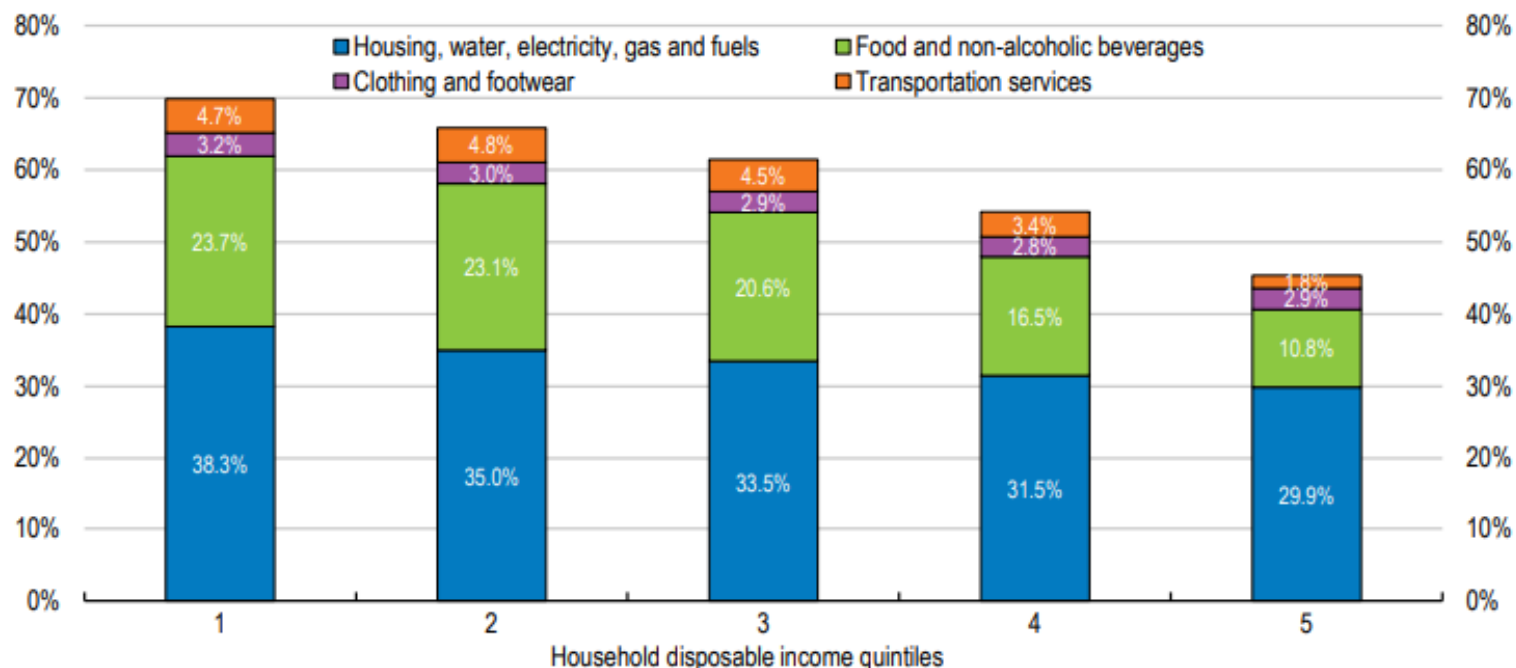


Note: In Panel A, LAC refers to the definition of Latin America in the World Inequality Database. In Panel B, the middle class is defined as the households situated between the 40th and 80th percentiles of the distribution. LAC refers to an unweighted average from the OECD Income Distribution and Poverty database. In Panel C, the “economically vulnerable” are those who are not “income poor” but have equivalised liquid financial assets below 25% of the income poverty line. The OECD average is the simple country average.

Source: World Inequality Database, <https://wid.world/>; OECD, Income Distribution and Poverty database; OECD, Wealth Distribution database.

Figure 1.12. Core spending falls disproportionately on the poorest sections of the population

Share of core spending (as a % of total budget) along the income distribution, 2017



Source: OECD computations based on Casen Survey (2017).

StatLink  <https://doi.org/10.1787/888934193402>



<https://apnews.com/819108269b65dc2dd4dffcfd7712d53a>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-50148714>

2020-22 Chilean Constitutional Plebiscites

- ▶ On 15 November 2019, several political parties reached at the social pact to hold a referendum on whether to write a new constitution. The referendum which was postponed to the October 25th 2020 due to COVID-19 epidemics.
- ▶ On 25 Oct. 2020, the first national plebiscite was held to ask whether a new constitution should be drafted. As a result of the plebiscite, 78% voted for the approval of a new constitution (22% rejected) and 79% opted for constitutional convention which would be made up by members elected directly for this convention (21% opted for mixed convention).
- ▶ On 15-16 May 2021, the election was held for the members of the Constitutional Convention. As a result of the vote, for the first time, 17 seats were reserved for the 10 official indigenous groups. Also, diverse mechanisms were designed to ensure gender parity in the convention. In sum, the Constitutional Convention is composed of 155 members directly elected in this election. Voters overwhelmingly chose people not aligned to existing political parties. Almost half of voters opted for independent candidate, most of them left leaning.

2020-22 Chilean Constitutional Plebiscites

- ▶ A proposed new constitution was rejected in the third national plebiscite that was held on the September 5th, 2022. The new constitution would have had a greater focus on social rights, the environment, and gender equality.
- ▶ Critics argue that the constitution leans too far to one side and does not have the vision of all Chileans. The result is a major setback to President Gabriel Boric. Some voters saw the plebiscite as a referendum on his government at a time when its approval ratings were low.
- ▶ Boric said he plans to draft a new constitution with support from Congress and other political factions. As the first step, he changed the leadership of six government ministries as the opposition demanded.
- ▶ The current constitution was originated in 1980 during Pinochet's dictatorship. A new constitution was among the major demands raised by citizens who call for structural changes in the country.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I74_s2cMMTY



2021 presidential election and Gabriel Boric's New Government

- ▶ In the 2021 presidential election, Gabriel Boric was elected. Elected at 35, he is the youngest president in Chile's history and second youngest state leader in the world. He is also the present elected with the highest number of votes in Chile.
- ▶ As the former president of FECH(University of Chile Student Federation), he was one of the main spokespersons of FECH during the student protests.
- ▶ Boric swore in as president on March 11, 2022. His youthful, progressive, majority-women cabinet is said to be inspired by the democratic socialism of Salvador Allende.
- ▶ His victory reflects the growing social consensus on the need for structural change.
- ▶ Promising to create a welfare state, he plans to increase taxes on large and wealthy companies, end the current pension scheme, and transform the health system.



<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/20/who-is-gabriel-boric-the-radical-student-leader-who-will-be-chiles-next-president>

<https://youtu.be/WQs-J3houJA>