THE ARTS AS MEANS OF CULTURAL INTEGRATION: A CHILEAN CASE STUDY

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Abstract

How might the arts help to unveil and integrate realities so as to facilitate shared meanings and understandings between peoples and thus generate the conditions for the participatory, creative cultural diversity which may contribute to the construction of more democratic societies?

Taking contemporary Chile as its case study, this research delves into the potential of the arts to mirror and integrate fragmented sectors in a society's drive towards human development. To this end, it uses an interdisciplinary methodology comprising complementary empirical and theoretical approaches so as to investigate the arts as *transcultural formative experiences*.

The former entails a comparative analysis of two groups of Chilean artists (one group in exile in Britain, the other resident in Chile) through data obtained primarily via in-depth interviews. The theoretical approach contextualises and universally grounds these social actors' discourses in order to identify commonalities which may bind both groups together. The thesis addresses the question of how these artists make art to construct, mediate and sustain meanings, senses of belongings and humanising spaces for transformative learning, exchange and integration in society, giving valuable insights into subjective as well as collective processes of identity construction in the era of globalisation. The findings take the shape of a written text following the logic of the categories emerging from the artists' narratives, together with a series of video projects - an emergent outcome of the research.

This research is situated at the junctures of critical, cultural and educational theory. It is of interest to cultural policymakers as well as scholars of contemporary art theory, social history, political philosophy, Latin Americanism, exilic narratives and the poetics of the audiovisual.

Keywords: culture, arts, integration, Chile, identity, society, pedagogy, exile, video, interdisciplinary

Supervisors: Prof. John Baldacchino, Dr Charles Juwah and Prof. Abelardo Castro Hidalgo

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Tiene que haber sido por entonces que detuvieron al General por allá, por Londres, y que tuvimos que volver a Santiago. Bernard se encerró a escribir sobre el cautivo lejano y yo, como hago siempre en estos casos, me fui a visitar el Museo Histórico. A mí casi todos los museos me dan miedo. Pero éste no. Éste me da más bien apetito. Pero no de comer cualquier cosa. De comer útil. Yo me digo en estos casos, “Hay que comer útil”.

(Raúl Ruiz, *Cofralandes, rapsodia chilena - Tercera parte: Museos y Clubes de la región antártica*)

Part I

THE CASE: FRAMEWORK AND APPROACH

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION - BEFORE AND AFTER PINOCHET

1.0 Pedagogical threads: The "why" and the formulation of this research project

1.1 Beneath the Articulation: Key autobiographical moments unveiling my stance

As human beings, all researchers are predisposed to particular ways of thinking the world, which are shaped through experience in dimensions both public and private. Such predispositions inevitably reveal themselves with/through these researchers' view of the world and how they position themselves within it. Looking inwards can provide us with more personalised understandings of our own thought processes as well as the strengths and limitations of the scope of comprehension that our epistemological stances equip us with. Here an account of a similarly reflective journey provides a fuller understanding of my own reasons for researching and writing this thesis (the *why* of the research) and goes some way to making its ontological and epistemological foundations transparent to you, the reader.

I will begin by critically presenting certain key autobiographical details in relation to the development of the logic of reasoning which was always present as a unifying thread of thought throughout each stage of this research project. These particular personal experiences, set in specific socio-historical contexts, become a cast which inevitably shapes and reshapes the ideas and thoughts as developed during the project. Thus, the paragraphs which follow present a sense of personal trajectory, situating this research within an autobiographical continuum.

1.1.1 Formative years

Born ten days after the Chilean military coup of 11th September 1973, I grew up in the socio-historical context of General Augusto Pinochet's repressive military regime (1973-1990). Possessing no past referents through which to articulate and understand what the coup might have meant, I recall that I perceived during my formative years an

atmosphere with regard to the country's cultural-artistic scene[1] which neither felt nor looked right. Indeed, the unprecedented, paradigm-shifting influx of mainstream cultural products from abroad and complacent "swallowing" of foreign cultural stimuli fitted in rather well with the old Third Worldist assumptions that culture and art produced in the West are by their very essence superior and that their appropriation by less developed countries would naturally help pave the way to national development.

My experience of primary and secondary education (1978-1990) in a half-private, half-State (*particular-subvencionado*) school in the city of Concepción was remarkable for the frontality of the teaching-learning process. Teachers passed on given information and were the holders of Truth. This educational model's omission of minority discourses encouraged a culture of segregation. The memorisation of non-contextualised facts called for students to regurgitate information provided by teachers without understanding its relevance to their personal lives, promoting passivity in favour of critical thinking. Also, looking back with the benefit of hindsight, I see the reproduction of postcolonial hegemonic values: the emulation of European high culture to the detriment of the understanding of immediate, meaningful realities. This inevitably provoked harmful "dehistoricising", permitting Chilean schoolchildren to study local indigenous groups, to take one example, without feeling and understanding in any meaningful way that they shared the exact same territory with these groups.[2]

1.1.2 Becoming a post-transitional teacher and educational researcher

In the context of ongoing national reconstruction from 1990 onwards, political and economic stabilisation was prioritised by the government and national renovation and reform became (and to a large extent remain) the norm. My training and work as an English-language teacher and then educational researcher at the University of Concepción took place in the context of the Chilean State's Educational Reform process

[1] I refer to *the arts* (rather than *art*) to emphasise a pluralistic, integrative approach. The *formative experiences of cultural making* are intended to encompass the cultural-artistic and its pedagogical, political, aesthetic and historical components.

[2] Francisco Brugnoli, a leading Chilean conceptual artist of the Sixties and director of the University of Chile's Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC) since 1998, maintains that the Pinochet regime's strict imposition of school programmes from which teachers could not stray "created an invalid generation" which needs to undergo a slow, difficult process of rehabilitation (*Off the Record* TV interview accessed at http://es.arcoiris.tv/, my translation). For a more contextualised account of Chilean education, please see section *17.0* below.

which began piecemeal in the early Nineties and were formalised in 1996. State monies set aside for the Reform were never exactly plentiful, but significant efforts were being made to comply with the key redemocratising goals set by the Ministry of Education: quality, equality and equity.

During this transitional period, my professional research specialisation involved the development of a participatory model of curricular construction for the integration of knowledge in vocational schools.[3] These experiences provided me with an *integrative approach* not only to thinking about education but also thinking other realities. In this research, this was also the approach I used to ground and articulate my thoughts about culture and the arts, fields in which I had always been interested yet which I had always postponed. I could see a vital human aspect of culture and the arts which was part of everyone's heritage, independent of their economic status; a wasted potential for proposing coexisting alternatives for different fractured pluralities. This humanistic dimension of national reconstruction was not only the result of reflection on my professional experience but the aesthetic dimension that my personal life and background had given me.

It now seems to me that the most relevant (de)constructions of my formative experience in Chile are the understanding that academic disciplinary fragmentation and compartmentalisation of the wholeness of knowledge - to delineate and delimit its fields of enquiry - tend to hinder people's ability to interrelate the simultaneous processes which make up the world and therefore their ability to intervene in that world consciously, and the understanding that the educational system operates as an integrative whole which contains multiple variables interacting organically with one another in a societal context.[4]

Education constitutes a space within which society can renew itself; the spheres of our

[3] For a detailed account of the participatory model for integrative curricular construction, its implications and impact, see Castro Hidalgo (2006). Information about the Reform can be accessed at the Ministry of Education's website: http://www.mineduc.cl/ (also Spanish-language).
[4] It was significant to familiarise myself with Urban Dahllöf and Ulf P. Lundgren's interactive model for evaluating educational systems ("frame factor theory"), which was adapted and utilised by the University of Concepción's Faculty of Education as a tool for the organisation of a praxis for educational change. My feeling at the time was that the complex dynamic that this model proposed could act as a microcosm of society; or be part of a theory of *transforming action*, in Paulo Freire's words.

cultures are more interconnected than we are encouraged to believe. There is also the need to turn *towards people*, where the intellectual resource resides, and the belief that participatory research can be a tool in emancipation. Knowledge belongs to all humanity and should therefore be allowed to circulate naturally within the many social spheres, so we are all able to appropriate it and thereby gain new understandings.[5]

1.2 ¿Qué Hacer? *Jumping out of the mould and deciding what to do with it*

Moreover, having experienced the compartmentalisation of knowledge for years on end and feeling somewhat intimidated as a non-artist studying at an art school in the First World alongside colleagues who had developed their research and professional long-term trajectories inside art schools and/or as arts practitioners, I initially assumed that my background in educational research was no strength. Feeling doubly foreign because I lacked my colleagues' technical and art-history expertise, it took an interim period for me to "free my mind" and come to regard my educational background as an advantage and utilise it in order to approach the arts with fresh eyes. I used this "moment of liberation" to make new connections, play around with my thoughts and ideas and experiment. Thus I embarked on a journey during which I learnt from others and I, in turn, attempted to reciprocate with my understandings of and views on education as well as culture and the arts. My approach for looking at and understanding educational realities and how human interactions take place within them had influenced my exploration of a new field of enquiry.

1.2.1 Delimiting the field of enquiry

The formulation of a Research Question was the initial attempt to collate professional and personal experiences to determine and contextualise the specific areas of interest, thus setting the boundaries for the scope of this project.

How might the arts help to unveil and integrate realities so as to facilitate shared meanings and understandings between peoples and thus generate the conditions for the

[5] In Fondecyt Project 1990466 (1999-2001), participatory research in the form of "circles of investigation" consisted of dialogical spaces in which members of staff could empower themselves through knowledge exchange and critical thought to improve their students' learning conditions, responding to the students' particular needs (Castro Hidalgo 2006).

participatory, creative cultural diversity which may contribute to the construction of more democratic societies?

1.2.2 A general objective to orient and focus the research

Taking contemporary Chile as its case study, this research explores the potential of the arts to mirror and integrate fragmented sectors within a society's drive towards human development. To this end, it develops an interdisciplinary, multi-method approach which approximates the arts as *transcultural formative experiences*.

1.2.3 The specifics: objectives and study proposals

Objective 1: To develop a comprehensible, reflective discourse within critical cultural theory in order to understand the dynamic of the arts within society.
Study proposal: Construct a universally grounded platform of knowledge whence to explore the main themes of the research in an interdisciplinary way, unveiling and making explicit their interrelations.

Objective 2: To formulate possibilities for cultural integration through the arts within contemporary Chilean society.
Study proposal: Compare how a UK-based community of Chilean artists and an equivalent group of Chilean artists resident in Chile relate to and use the arts to create and sustain senses of community and belongings, identifying common strands which bind these groups together.

Objective 3: To make an original interdisciplinary contribution to the understanding of the arts as participatory cultural constructs for a humanising perspective.
Study proposal: Systematise and present the knowledge constructed in a way which is understandable and meaningful for researchers, artists and policymakers working in diverse fields both nationally and internationally.

2.0 *Los que sobran*: The "what" and the "what for"

The title of this thesis - *The arts as means of cultural integration: A Chilean case study* -

provided the main themes upon which the language and philosophical discourses were constructed: arts, cultural integration and Chile. The first two themes, as a result of their encompassing nature, were labelled as the “universality”, while Chile was labelled the “specificity”.

The first steps on the road to an approach to these themes consisted of a review of the existing literature in the field. Initial findings provided evidence of a discourse on the arts which was compartmentalised within the realms of specific academic disciplines and which did not make transparent a unifying understanding of the arts that could resituate them within society in such a way that their potentially integrative value could be released and thus contribute to human development. For Beatriz Sarlo, there is a need “for incorporating art back into our reflections on culture, from where it has been dislodged by broad definitions of culture along anthropological lines” (Sarlo 2001, p160). This became a turning point which made it necessary to direct this research’s philosophical argument towards the search for an integrative understanding of the dynamic of the arts within society and to unveil the processes involved in such an interaction.

There were several significant findings in the preliminary articulations of the themes. Firstly, many of those who contribute to debates on the arts describe, celebrate or condemn them as the creation of objects of contemplation for those elite groups and/or individuals who possess the necessary cultural capital and refined sensibility.

Secondly, the arts are on occasion regarded as entertainment and (one therefore is led to assume) secondary in importance. The school, by reducing its curriculum to craft, entertainment and doing, is a prime social agent reproducing these values. Moreover, schools sometimes use the arts as a tool for enhancement of literacy and numerical skills. In this context, the arts represent diverse “communities of practice” that share a methodology which stimulates the development of more “important” disciplines (evidencing subordination to a positivist approach), thus relegating the arts to an inferior category.

Thirdly, the arts in Chile, as in all globalised, market-led economies, are subject to the principles of commodification. The artwork, if it makes any sense at all, will only function

logically as a commercial product intended to generate the highest possible profit. In addition, the age-old debate about what “qualifies” as art is subject in Chile as elsewhere to elitist, hegemonic aesthetic discourses that are based on the production-consumption model. In Chile, it is clear that innumerable peripheral forms of artistic expression and creativity remain little-known, and wasted, as intellectual resources because they are not regarded as conforming to mainstream standards. There is little articulation of differences which can facilitate peoples’ constructions of a common sense of “becomings”, “beings” and “belongings”.

Furthermore, lack of support and repressive governments have led to the emigration of many of Chile’s innovative and creative people. While this is no new phenomenon, internationally speaking, it is symptomatic of how Chile historically squanders value and resources. There is a need for *the construction of an atmosphere* where the ideas of those who have attained higher levels on their own are not stigmatised and denied support.

Fourthly, the social networks that artists operate within are evermore complex and require artists to adapt to new conditions and take art beyond the realm of galleries and museums. The professional artist is being called on to self-manage the construction of alternative spaces, make them meaningful for their audiences and also assume a critical role which today does not rely exclusively on curators, art critics or theorists. The multiplicity of roles that artists must inevitably today assume positions them in a more holistic stance on terms of addressing the socio-political as well as aesthetic dimensions of everyday life.

These preliminary findings reveal to us: *the market*, whose globalised workings give society a distinctive order; *the school*, which, subjugated to the needs of the market, reproduces its values and orientation; and *the artists*, who, responding to this particular state of affairs, can assume the role of agents of change and question the established order through the construction of alternative spaces and times.

Reflection on the implications of the thesis title unveiled the distinctly political dimension that the notion of “cultural integration” gave this research. Cultural integration, understood as a society’s multiple cultures establishing horizontal relationships of

exchange and understanding, can only be realised by means of intentional acts.[6] Intention towards transformative action could, as in the particular case of cultural integration, be assumed and executed by government or State, say. In a context of critical citizenship, however, it must be carried out by social actors themselves as part of the natural process of self-constitution through participation and dialogue. There is always a social actor behind a given cultural construction whose intentions to act are always to be political; therefore, by positioning the arts as cultural construction, the artist is by implication repositioned as a social actor and a potential agent of change also.

2.1 The Intentionality and Spatiality of Cultural Integration

Artists and the society in which they operate became the central focus of this research. An interest in artists as social actors was particularly relevant to a general enquiry about an artist's position at a time of global unrest and uncertainty; the first years of the Twenty-first Century having brought to the fore more than ever questions of individual actions and responsibility. In this universal context, teachers, for example, are required to assume the role of a *facilitator* of learning, allowing their students to take on a more "protagonistic" role (i.e. to generate the conditions which may allow students to develop strategies and abilities to intervene in the world both creatively and autonomously). Moreover, Unesco has highlighted time and again that international development in today's world requires serious consideration of "creative diversity" (Pérez de Cuéllar 1998) as well as "cultural diversity" (as enshrined in the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the 2006 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage). The artist and the arts have a vital role to play in this universal formation, which has traditionally been left to teachers and schools (as is argued in *3.2*).

An approach to understanding the interactions that artists establish within society and how they might pave the way to cultural integration opened the door to inquiry about artists' *intentionality*; how they give a sense of direction or projection to their work and charge it with meaning in mediation. At the same time, the spatiality encompassing these interactions naturally led this research to address the notion of space, beginning with the

[6] This definition of cultural integration parallels Fontcuberta's definition of interculturality (see *17.2.3*).

assumption that we are spatially oriented beings and that, through social practice and collective learning, we can all participate in the construction and transformation of the *spatialities* in which our social relations take place. Space in this context was understood as a "society-making" formative experience.

3.0 *El volantín*: The "how", research dynamic and thesis structure

Complementary theoretical and empirical interdisciplinary approaches were used to amass and analyse data. The theoretical approach worked towards a universally grounded philosophical discourse through which to frame the research and contextualise the Chilean social actors studied, simultaneously informing and being informed by the research's empirical element. The empirical approach entailed a comparative analysis of two groups of Chileans - the first a group of UK-based exile artists and the second a comparable group residing in Chile - addressing how they relate to and use the arts to create and sustain senses of community and belongings, identifying common strands which bind these groups together. The data gathered derived mainly from in-depth interviews conducted during fieldwork trips to London and Chile, an empirical dimension creating a space within which to collect and (re)present the voices and experiences of real people or, as Clifford Geertz puts it, construct other people's constructions (Geertz 1993, p9). Combined with the theoretical dimension, this enabled the research output to arrive at a more integrative understanding of the dynamic of art within society.

3.1 Making Transparent the Intentions and Implications of the Research

> A democratic society is not one in which the "best" content dominates unchallenged but, rather, one in which nothing is definitely acquired and there is always the possibility of change.
> (Laclau 1996, p100)

The relation of universality and specificity used in this research draws upon Ernesto Laclau's conceptions of *universalism* and *particularism*, which he describes as "incommensurable" yet the "very precondition of democracy" (Id. at 35). On the one hand, Laclau defines a particularism as a "differential identity" which takes place in a specific context, constituting itself through non-differential means in which a particularism satisfies its demands in terms of universal principles shared with the rest of the

community (Id. at 27). On the other hand, he defines universality by stating that the "universal emerges out of the particular not as some principle underlying and explaining the particular, but as an incomplete horizon suturing a dislocated particular identity […] the universal becomes a symbol of missing fullness" (Id. at 28). Incompletion of totality generates what Laclau calls *empty signifiers* or "signifiers of a lack, of an absent totality" (Id. at 42). Laclau's interrelation of universalism and particularism makes explicit the need for a space for political struggle for a society's pluralities to constitute themselves as such in coexistence. This is the struggle for partially "completing incompletion" (or fulfilling a lack which, in the case of this research, corresponds to "cultural integration"), the struggle for democracy.

> If democracy is possible, it is because the universal has no necessary body and no necessary content; different groups, instead, compete between themselves to temporarily give to their particularisms a function of universal representation.
>
> (Id. at 35)

Following Laclau's conceptual logic, it is possible to argue that the group of exiled Chilean artists studied in this research constituted a particularism whose claims were universally grounded by means of their interaction with a wider context provided by the group of artists residing in Chile and by the theoretical framework presented in this project. The group of exile artists became a particularism in relation to the group of artists resident in Chile in the same way that the wider Chilean case (i.e. both groups studied) becomes a particularism to the dominant world powers.

The cultural themes, processes and interrelations studied in this research are by no means absolutes; it takes the assumption that societies are in a state of *becoming* rather than *being* (Finkelpearl 2000, p290). It also recognises the existence of multiple realities and that no reality is superior or inferior to another; "it all depends on where one understands power comes from" (Irit Rogoff, Aberdeen University, 10th June 2005).

A hitherto unplanned series of digital video experiments emerged organically during the research process; an "emergent outcome" which became a means of presenting the diverse experiences that I encountered during fieldwork and my memories of this journey. These audiovisual re-presentations enable alternative connective possibilities,

giving the reader/viewer another means of engagement. They can also be considered an end in themselves in that they constitute a possibility for exploring and reconstituting experience (see Chapter Six).

The theoretical and empirical dimensions of the research "interacted" with one another in a *mirror-image* relationship, reflecting, refracting and generating new angles on knowledge, alternative perspectives and spaces for a wide range of readers and audiences to connect, engage with and make new constructions. The interrelation between theory and practice became then two inseparable moments of human praxis (see Paulo Freire in Finkelpearl 2000, p291), a reflexive process of distance and proximity.[7]

3.2 Filtering with a Pedagogical Approach

Radical educational theories provided the research with the inevitable filter that I carry within me as an educational researcher. It helped me to contextualise the arts within a network of socio-cultural formations and also facilitated understanding of the pedagogical potential of the processes involved in these operations and their political implications. Critical pedagogical theory thus gave common grounds for art and pedagogy where key shared notions such as dialogue, social mediation and transformation contained possibilities for humanisation and democracy.

The points of intersection between art and pedagogy could be established at several different levels:

3.2.1 Teaching methodologies

Both teacher and artist are communicators. Broadly speaking, there are two major forms of communication - *frontal* and *dialogical* - which, in educational terms, constitute two distinct teaching methodologies. The former consists of a unidirectional model in which information travels from one end to be passively received at the other, leaving the sender in a disparate position of power and control in relation to the recipient. The latter, a

[7] See *8.0* on the researcher-as-*bricoleur*-theorist (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

participatory model, sets the grounds for senders and recipients to collaborate in the construction of meanings and understandings through dialogue, thus positioning them in a fairer power relationship. The effectiveness of communication does not rely solely on the individual efforts of artists and teachers but also on variables external to the educational/artistic process as such, like infrastructure, which can either facilitate communication or be to its detriment, as discussed below in a comparison between schools and museums. Finkelpearl reflects on Freire's conception of education as an "act of depositing" as introduced in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968), "in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor", and identifies how this unidirectional model of information works in the art domain:

> This dialectic can be applied to the artist-audience relationship. In the context of the museum (the equivalent of the school), artists, through their work, often take on the role of moral/intellectual/aesthetic teachers, while the audience takes on the role of the passive student. And in the narrative structure of the museum, artwork can become "lifeless and petrified," dead in the mausoleum. Of course this does not need to be the case. When it is not, it is because the viewer takes on an active and critical position in viewing the work - a position for the viewer that is only occasionally encouraged in the structure of the contemporary museum.
>
> Against this model, Freire suggests the "problem-posing" model of education, which is based upon mutual communication rather than a one-way transmission of information[...]
>
> (Finkelpearl 2000, p278)

3.2.2 Infrastructure

Infrastructure refers to the platform of operations which, in this case, both the art and educational systems offer. It includes, for instance, contents, space and time specifications and the possibilities for handling them; in other words, the "rules of the game". In this sense alone, infrastructure can either facilitate the conditions for the development of the unidirectional model of information or the participatory model of communication (as stated above), independent of the teachers/artists' personal intentions. Infrastructure is therefore indirectly related to the levels of freedom and power that artists/teachers have at their disposal to manage their pedagogical spaces and create meaningful learning conditions (i.e. to operate "within the system"). It is thus necessary to frame transformative actions in an effort to identify the structural changes to be made for the proposition of "fairer" games which can open spaces for wasted

pluralities and their creative potential.

3.2.3 Pedagogical resources

Teachers use pedagogical resources to contextualise, support and encourage their students' learning. They can range from merely informative or factual pieces to more complex materials intended to develop students' reflective capacities and critical and creative thinking. Any human construction, and the natural world surrounding it, can potentially become a pedagogical resource. This depends on teachers' connective intentionality and how they facilitate the construction of engaging experiences which encourage students to make their own connective *language games* (to borrow a concept from Jean-François Lyotard, courtesy of Wittgenstein). Different groups of students, with specific backgrounds and immediate contexts, offer their teachers a universe of possible pedagogical resources which could be incorporated into schools to help students see, make meaning and understand their actualities in a critical way, and thus encourage them to intervene more meaningfully in their surroundings. Seen from this perspective, schools become a means of mediation which, situated in their communities' problematics, facilitate the construction and appropriation of knowledge and also the development of skills and abilities required for action; the basis which provides students with an "ordering logic" to make sense of and understand their own realities and connect to the world at large.[8]

In this way, artistic production is a pedagogical resource both at the level of *processes* (the pedagogical experience of the making itself, benefiting as many social actors as the production entails) and *products* (the specific form[at]s that the output can take on; the finalised version of the cultural construction) whose pedagogical dimension will depend on dynamics of circulation, appropriation and engagement. In the latter category, artistic production circulates, as does knowledge, waiting for people to grasp it and integrate it within a chain of constructions, which will vary from individual to individual. At this point,

[8] Ivan Illich (2004) and John Taylor Gatto (1990) reflect at length on the need for transforming the social constructs of time and space that govern schools, asserting that students must be given the time to become involved in the reality of their communities. Community participation helps students create a sense of citizenship which gives them power to act. Thus, education can become a political project towards the construction of civil society, as Gabriel Salazar often argues with specific reference to Chile.

artistic production becomes an “open space” that people can inhabit in multiple subjective ways, independent of the artist’s original intentions. Through this level of freedom, part of the dynamic of knowledge generation, new creative possibilities and formations may arise.

3.2.4 Learning scope

The full spectrum of epistemological and philosophical stances upon which artists position their artistic production represents an entire scope for learning; from *imitative stances* in which artists copy “ways of being” in the art world, together with its fashions and techniques, thus reproducing the actual state of affairs, to more *autonomous stances* in which, through criticality, artists develop the autonomy to find their own voices through their praxes.

This thesis thus travels the overlapping space between art and pedagogy and concentrates on the possibilities it generates. The arts, understood as cultural constructions formed through social interaction, possess a pedagogical dimension which takes shape in their capacity to develop within people senses of belonging and identity which give continuity to their multiple formative trajectories. There is pedagogical potential in all human action which is cut through by an aesthetic dimension (i.e. the making and uses of culture are essentially pedagogical and aesthetic). The learning involved in the arts then, at any level, has the potential to make people “improve” themselves and thus push the whole of society towards awareness and human development. Artists conscious of what performance artist-turned-educationalist Charles Garoian calls “the cultural agency that art enables” (Garoian 1999b, p205) may offer resistance to society’s injustices through the creation of contexts for their audiences to engage with their artistic constructions - much in the same way that critical pedagogues can use the educational establishment as a site for emancipation because, to return to Freire, “consciousness emerges as ‘intention’ and not just as a receptacle to be filled” (Freire 1985, p115). So, artists can and in many cases *have* become potential mobilising agents of change who facilitate the conditions for people to become protagonists in the making of society.

Our globalised, multicultural societies find today a pressing need for approaches to

thinking and reflecting themselves which are congruent to their plural condition. As is argued above, the compartmentalisation of knowledge has acted to the detriment of the formation of integrative society-making discourses. In such a context, the arts need to be repositioned within culture so they become part of the ongoing formative experience involved in the constitution of identities and senses of belongings, thus providing societies with the contents they need to understand themselves better - the platform we need to project ourselves into a more equitable society.

This introductory chapter outlines the main themes of the thesis and provides the reader with certain biographical referents which frame them. This research claims to make a humble contribution to explorations of the "positive value" (Laclau 1996, p101) of the arts and the artist's role in society, through an interdisciplinary, multi-method approach.

4.0 Chapter overview

Chapter One has outlined the scope of the research. It posits artists and the social interactions within which they operate as the focus and makes visible the key spatial, aesthetic, political-historical and pedagogical threads which bind together these interactions and their integrative and transformative possibilities. It also presents the philosophical foundations of the theoretical and empirical approaches used, in order to introduce the reader to the intentions and implications of this research.

Chapter Two presents a coherent body of knowledge: a review of the relevant literature around the themes derived from the research's universality (arts, cultural integration) and specificity (Chile). The universality provides a common ground for cultural formation - a shared humanising terrain which facilitates the construction of profounder, more equitable relationships with the specificity. The specificity adds a level of contextualisation which permits more direct understanding of the social actors studied in this research and of their immediate realities.

Chapter Three provides a detailed account of the interdisciplinary, multi-method approaches developed to approximate the arts as *transcultural formative experiences*. It explains the relationship between the two levels of "theory construction" undertaken (i.e. universality and specificity), and how it informed - and in turn was informed by - the

“empirical construction” (the making of meaning of the formative experiences of the two groups of social actors interviewed).[9]

Chapters Four (*Identities in Exile*) and **Five** (*Belongings in Chile*) present the findings of the research organised according to the logic of the categories which emerged from the interviewees’ narratives and illustrated with their own voices. The comparison of the categories raised in each group suggests clear similarities and differences in the interviewees’ experiences of cultural formation and their levels of reflection to make meaning of such experiences. The categories provide an interaction of meaningful (aesthetic, pedagogical, political and historical) contents - the material needed to direct our intentions towards the construction of common grounds of understanding which might help facilitate cultural exchange between and therefore integration of the two groups.[10]

Chapter Six summarises the argument of this research and proposes an interdisciplinary understanding of cultural formations, recontextualising the dynamic of the arts in society. It identifies common strands that bind the two studied groups together and also presents the audiovisual as a poetic possibility for reconstituting the subjective and collective memories necessary for peoples to see one another, reconnect and coexist in more democratic ways. It finally lays out the implications of the research and identifies possible strands to take forward.

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[9] See **Appendix 1** (*Fieldwork Picture*), **Appendix 3** (*Interview Transcriptions*) and **Appendix 4** (*Four Video Projects*) for the full scope of the empirical construction.

[10] **Appendix 2** (*Vocal Development and Expression*) presents the main categories analysed in Chapters Four and Five through the trajectories of two artist interviewees.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTION

Era una suerte nacer en Chile. Antes que se produjeran las catástrofes políticas, era un país de poetas, un país mágico, como una isla.
Alejandro Jodorowsky

Pourquoi un monde moderne, si de pareils poisons s'inventent!
Arthur Rimbaud

5.0 Research universality

5.1 The Arts in Society

The focus of interest here is the phenomenon of art as an essential cultural formation whose universal dynamic could have the potential to bind human beings together. In this sense, one could argue that the arts are essential to human evolution and provide us with the referential structure we need to give shape to our societies or, as Geertz argues in his essay "Art as a Cultural System" (Geertz 2000, pp94-120), art may work to consolidate social membership.

The processes we go through to learn and comprehend the world are intrinsically artistic: we literally learn by creating, constructing and inventing. From an early formative stage, the arts interconnect us with our world as we build it and allow us to (de)code and interpret our immediate realities. They offer us a dialogical means of relating to one another: "capacities to see, or hear, or touch, sometimes even to taste and smell[…] are brought into actual existence by the experience of living in the midst of certain sorts of things to look at, listen to, handle, think about, cope with, and react to" (Geertz 2000, p118). These multilayered human capacities position us as aesthetic beings with an aesthetic disposition to everything we do. The lifelong aesthetic process is also a lifelong pedagogical process which has a significant collective component because we construct in interaction and mediation with other human beings; Geertz argues that all human capacities are "a product of collective experience" (Id. at 108-109). Pedagogy here must be understood in the continental sense, as John Baldacchino argues:

> In its Greek original meaning as *paideía* and *agogí*, pedagogy carries an ontological implication, which is not found in the Anglo-Saxon operative

> meaning of "pedagogy" as "*a technique of teaching*"[…] Let us reconsider pedagogy as *agogí* - as "a manner of life," "a direction," and a "way of leading."
>
> (Baldacchino 2002, pp139-141)

As part of their pedagogical components, the arts can serve as a *mirror* for us: "They materialize a way of experiencing, bring a particular cast of mind out into the world of objects, where men can look at it" (Geertz 2000, p99). Only when one is able to see oneself can one understand oneself better and learn about oneself; one is able to explain and improve oneself. Similarly, the arts have the ability to map and mirror our interactions with others. The arts may encourage us to see ourselves in our own mirrors and in the mirrors of others. If we were to open spaces for the arts to integrate mirror images of the different groups in a population (i.e. nurture from the plurality of the contents of life), we would be able to exchange the diverse transformative possibilities contained in each group's cultural formations and thereby help stimulate mutual understanding and equitable development. The exchange of gazes, in turn, can set the grounds for a shared vision, which is necessary in order to give direction to transformative action (i.e. the political dimension which gives the cultural a sense of projection).

The arts have been broadly defined as a type of "cultural expression". Freire, who devoted his lifework to Latin American development, and Geertz, as well as contemporary cultural critics like Augusto Boal and Fred Inglis, agree there is a *human need for expression*; a first principle which suggests that the dynamics underlying the art-forms in existence today respond to a human condition likely to remain in existence, regardless of how environmental (economic, political, socio-historical, technological, etc) factors alter their surface detail over time.

The arts can show us the most basic, mundane and imitative to the most complex, radical and provocative of everyday life and, grounded in the full spectrum of experience, can also be a vehicle for the deepest thought and emotion: "The variety of artistic expression stems from the variety of conceptions men have about the way things are, and is indeed the same variety" (Id. at 120).

The arts can also become a source of *power*, generated through human interaction, and thus *knowledge*. They can either reinforce or resist the dominant power-knowledge framework within which they operate.

> […] that sector of society which holds the economic power[…] is evidently interested in the transmission of that knowledge which helps it to maintain its power, if it already possesses it in an absolute form, or if not, helps it to conquer that power.
>
> (Boal 2000, p53)

Power-knowledge relations raise questions of equality, signifying, on the one hand, people's chance to access existing knowledge or generate their own and, on the other, their capacity to use it to construct more significant meanings of their realities. Any analysis of this type of power must be complex and avoid homogeneous standardisation if it seeks to grasp and unmask the levels of inequality which affect social collectives (Hernández Castillo 2003, p7, my translation).

Moreover, according to Inglis in his study of Geertz, art is "first of all a way of theorizing life without paying in blood or money" (Inglis 2000, p86) and shares with science "a responsibility to truth" (Id. at 123). Freire refers to this last idea as the scientific unveiling of reality, claiming that "cultural action for freedom" is committed to the scientific unveiling of reality, that people must "grasp with their minds the truth of their reality" (Freire 1985, p85) and that "[t]he more we can uncover reasons to explain why we are as we are, the more we can also grasp the reason behind our reality and thus overcome our naive understanding" (Id. at 101). This concerns intentionality towards the world which, according to Freire, cannot take place unless some level of consciousness has been attained.

Conversely, a society's formation of collective symbols and ideas finds in the arts an essential platform. The arts play a vital role in the constructions of societies' "collective imaginaries" - defined by the 2002 UNDP Report on Human Development in Chile as the images and ideas that a society uses to represent how it lives and also how it would like to live[11] - claiming that its vital importance rests on the fact that it stands for ways of *living*

[11] A later UNDP definition of this potentially confusing term: "The collective imaginary is neither an illusion nor a fantasy-based idea. On the contrary, it is a real phenomenon. Every society projects

together, including the actual concrete means which organise people's lifestyles. Thus the arts may facilitate the constitution of a referent which can help us to (re)present our experiences, explain them to ourselves and to others.

As the collective and the subjective go hand in hand, the concept of collective imaginary necessarily raises the question of how the Subject's aesthetic cultivation and disposition are formed. Of the individual's subjective, experiential referent, Baldacchino has written that "aesthetic identity transcends cultural boundaries and accommodates plurality: a plurality of beginnings which defy any attempt to standardize every aesthetic sensibility into one identity" (Baldacchino 2001, p187). The arts have the potential to "take in" *all* forms of singularity and plurality.

5.2 The Trans-formative Potentiality of the Making of Culture

Freire argues with infectious conviction that, as we construct the reality we reside in, we are also able to transform it. He writes that we can only change a given reality when we actually become conscious of it and conscious of our own ability to change it: we "appropriate" it; or, better still, we realise that we are at the centre of the realities we construct and have a responsibility towards giving them truth. Thus, each of us participates in the process of making culture. Or, as Joseph Beuys - whose principal stated goal was "to awaken the populace, shake one out of the routines, the acceptable rigors one can pass through life with unobservant of the disparities and conflicts all around" (Masters 1998) - might have said, every individual's creativity makes this construction possible: indeed, it is his or her work of art.

In this context, it is also relevant to return to Freire's conceptualisation of "cultural action for freedom", which involves *humanising the world by transforming it*. Put another way, a dehumanising situation must be *denounced* and a humanising transformation *announced*; and thus *conscientisation* developed. Moreover, there is a fine line between *formación* and *transformación* - indeed, each feeds into the other. It is the experiential dimension involved in transformation which allows formation to take place: an acquisition of the values which make us human; the values we develop through the making of

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an image of itself and it is through this imaginary that it recognises itself as a collective" (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo PNUD 2004a, p15, my translation).

culture “form” us and open our eyes to the world. And conversely, the construction and acquisition of values empower us to initiate new transformations.

It is during these formative and transformative processes that artistic formations comes into play as “experimentation”, as Lyotard claims, or as what I would call *exploration*: opening flexible channels for critical dialogue. The exploration carried out through artistic formations pertains to the earliest condition of being human. Regardless of our advances on the scale of cognitive evolution, we always maintain those basic approximations to life which have allowed us to survive as a species: the learning which comes to us through our senses - the initial steps towards our connecting within the world. Furthermore, Lyotard refers to the process of “connecting together a series of data that were previously held to be independent[…] [t]his capacity to articulate what used to be separate can be called imagination” (Lyotard 1984, p52).

Art is the language of all our senses united, which makes it both experiential and formative. It is the “experienceness” that art gives us which makes our learning “meaningful” (following David Ausubel) or, in other words, *transformative*. Through a connecting capacity, art awakes in us new gazes at the world, stimulates our aesthetic sensibility and shows us, through experience of emotions, the universality of human interaction. However, as Lyotard demonstrated some two generations ago, the “postmodern condition” of our sociological and educational formations has developed upon the principles of *performativity*, “in which the goal is no longer truth, but… the best possible input/output equation” (Lyotard 1984, p46). It is still very much the case that this “language game” is a key component of selected groups’ hold on power as well as a neoliberal means of appropriating formativity.

As a result, performativity has inevitably also had an enormous impact upon our aesthetic sensibilities, the ways in which we relate to art. The culture industry continues to propound art as a commodity which is justifiable only in that it satisfies the logic of a market and generates the highest possible profit levels. Needless to say, this has also had the effect of annulling art’s profoundest potentiality:

> We no longer converse with works of art, says [*Walter*] Benjamin, or at least they no longer return our gaze when we look at them, which shows

> just how deep-seated the crisis of perception is. You may think this crisis is over but hasn't it got even worse?
>
> (Lyotard 1989, p182)

> There can be no work of art if the seer and the seen do not hold one another in an embrace, if the immanence of one for the other is not manifested and glorified, if the visual organization does not make us feel that our gaze has been seen and that the object is watching.
>
> (Id. at 224)

Furthermore, Lyotard argues that our educational systems are designed to privilege and reinforce this performative paradigm, a manipulation which has the effect of fragmenting, rather than integrating, knowledge and resources. Our education should, however, be designed to promote an aesthetic cultivation which in the long term will allow us to develop an aesthetic awareness or understanding of our social relations, ensuring a new insight into our socio-historical processes. In addition, today's educators need to develop their students' most complex learning strategies, metacognitive as well as what Abelardo Castro Hidalgo has coined their "supracognitive" strategies (Ávalos and Castro 2003, pp75-83; see *12.6.3* for definition) if they are to become active participants within a free democratic, albeit globalised, society.

Moreover, the potential of the impulse and processes involved in creating and experiencing cultural formations offers us an interesting possibility: a route back to formativity for us both as individuals and members of collectives. The arts embody processes which offer us a pedagogical possibility. For example, one critic, referring to Beuys' work, states that his "system offers the alternative of accepting all as part of the art process, not just the pristine result, suitable for framing and admiring; and buying and selling. His art is a call for inclusion" (Masters 1998). No matter how long or how profoundly we allow performativity to govern our societies, the formative and transformative potentialities of art remain, waiting for a new language game, sporadically kick-started into action.

5.3 The Arts as Means of Integration and Reconstruction: A possibility for Latin America

Despite the historical impregnation of aesthetic forms in Latin America *from outside* and the consequent loss of concern for cultural-artistic formations *from within*, the latter contain

valuable knowledge: a summary of what we are at a particular moment in time with historical traces sending us signals about how we should project ourselves in the future. This rich source of knowledge can be used to narrow the conflictive disparities in Latin America by bringing its plurality of peoples towards a better understanding of themselves and each other. Freire's point of departure - his conviction that, with a little engineering, long-term social transformation *is* possible *from below* - is not merely another of the many "subversive" utopian perspectives fallen victim to the harsh realities of dictatorship, neoliberalism and globalisation in Latin America (Hopenhayn 2001).

The problem of not recognising, understanding and integrating singularities does not, of course, pertain exclusively to present-day Latin America. Geertz too insisted on the "decline of the uniformitarian view of man" and argued that "[b]ecoming human is becoming individual, and we become individual under the guidance of cultural patterns" which "are not general but specific" (Geertz 1993, p52). For this reason, Geertz believed that there is an urgent need "to grasp firmly the essential character of not only the various cultures but the various sorts of individuals within each culture, if we wish to encounter humanity face to face" (Id. at 53). At the same time, Lyotard adds, "singularity is not merely compatible with a sort of potential universality; it demands it" (Lyotard 1989, p232). Of the need for articulating universality and singularity - through what Chantal Mouffe calls "a chain of equivalence": the articulation of a plurality of groups' demands "through the principle of democratic equivalence" (Mouffe 1992, p236) - Laclau asserts that:

> There is no way that a particular group living in a wider community can live a monadic existence - on the contrary, part of the definition of its own identity is the construction of a complex and elaborated system of relations with other groups. And these relations will have to be regulated by norms and principles which transcend the particularism of *any* group. To assert, for instance, the right of all ethnic groups to cultural autonomy is to make an argumentative claim which can only be justified on universal grounds. The assertion of one's own particularity requires the appeal of something transcending it.
>
> (Laclau 1996, p48)

Laclau introduces the concept of "hybridisation" as an inevitable result of the universality-singularity relationship, which favours the formation of plurality of identities.

> This universalization and its open character certainly condemns all identity to an unavoidable hybridization, but hybridization does not necessarily mean decline through the loss of identity: it can also mean empowering existing identities through the opening of new possibilities[…] the particular can only fully realize itself if it constantly keeps open, and constantly redefines, its relation to the universal.
>
> (Id. at 65)

Socio-historical, economic, political and geographical processes have given Latin American countries multitudinous particularisms; particularisms reflected in unique forms of aesthetics and creativity. These forms must be "opened" and framed in a larger and more universal context if we are to discover commonalities which will allow us to make links of exchange rather than of dependence. Thus our specificity can be used to our *advantage* if we integrate the cultural capital that our immediate context provides us with into our own society's interpretation of the world around it.

> The ability to situate particular conflicts within a general framework is a political device rooted in knowledge, ideas, ideals, and experience. Giving up on this device can only be done by simultaneously giving up on the project to bring about deep or lasting changes in society.
>
> (Sarlo 2001, p153)

Through the arts, Latin American groups in general can reveal stories about themselves; stories which can be made open to the different groups, shared and exchanged. Inglis writes that, when such a project is undertaken at the profoundest level, people "not only view themselves, they remake themselves as well" (Inglis 2000, p87). This process will also enable them to assemble the constituent parts of their realities and, as a result, see "the bigger picture". It will allow people to recognise elements in other groups which could help them explain themselves and broaden their own views. The arts "are forms of life which men and women use to think about life" (Id. at 116). The development of a critical view of their own lives will in turn allow them to have more control over those lives, as opposed to passively waiting for external intervention.

Interestingly, the shopping mall has been heralded by some as a construct which serves to "unify" the urban populations in Latin America, providing a physical and symbolic space where everyone comes together in order to consume and is convinced that he or she is acting freely. Several Latin American cultural critics, Sarlo and Tomás Moulian included, have written in great detail about this phenomenon as a space designed for the

satisfaction of the individual ego, a space where we absorb and swallow a pre-packaged, throwaway identity, where our historical referent declines and disappears as we assume the mall's referent of the kitsch. In this shared platform, there is no need to rescue the collective referents of the past or to construct new referents for ourselves.

5.4 Spaces for Personal Reflection and Communal Exchange

Several authors, writing in different periods and from different perspectives and fields of expertise, agree on the potential and value of art but intuit that meaningfully participatory spaces must be created so as to set the conditions for the arts to perform an emancipative, empowering social role. I share Freire's vision of cultural action for freedom - wherein everyone is invited to participate in the process of transformation - and believe that, if people are not aware of the need for the facilitation of these spaces, most will never call for them or participate in the process of their construction.

As ever, I draw a parallel here with my experience as an educational researcher in Chile: effective, sustained transformations are only achieved in a school when every actor in the school's community understands the need for change and feels that he or she is, or at least was offered the chance to be, an active protagonist in the transformative process. This involves strategic thinking about the optimisation of human and material resources: the context for the actors to empower themselves is constructed, giving them a horizontal space to reflect on their work (as well as that of their colleagues), detect problems and negotiate the best ways of solving them. This participatory process also involves setting the grounds for the development of a common language that everyone understands in order to facilitate a sense of cohesion necessary for everyone's move towards a shared goal.

We need spaces for all of us to interact and for those with greater capacities to act as models of ethical commitment to innovation and change. It is these very people, however, who do not feel represented and often become intellectual resources elsewhere. By disproportionately privileging certain groups of people or fields, human value and intellectual resources are also, inevitably, wasted. We have lacked an ethical platform for all groups to push society as a whole towards reflection and transformation.

Latin American countries desperately need these transformative spaces, common platforms which can give all peoples a more integrated sense of themselves.

Following Laclau and Mouffe, it is possible to constitute a commonality or "chain of equivalences" which could bind together diverse groups in Latin America which continue to struggle to raise their claims and satisfy their rights and demands. The process of understanding who we are and the roles we play in the world implies that we *share a common background* to which we can refer consciously and critically, and history offers us a meaningful vehicle. From his prison cell, Antonio Gramsci claimed that we are all the products of history,

> […] which shows how thought has been elaborated over the centuries and what a collective effort has gone into the creation of our present method of thought which has subsumed and absorbed all this past history, including all its follies and mistakes.
>
> (Gramsci 1998, p327)

Knowing our past can help us understand our present and project ourselves into the future with greater clarity and dynamism. Our cultural-artistic formations are always situated in a historical context, which is filled with the many traces of who we are at a given point in a historical process, and are consequently informed by this context. Our artistic formations are a "hidden treasure" which must be unveiled and made available to us all.

> […] the image of a constant human nature independent of time, place, and circumstance, of studies and professions, transient fashions and temporary opinions, may be an illusion, that what man is may be so entangled with where he is, who he is, and what he believes that it is inseparable from them.
>
> (Geertz 1993, p35)

Latin American societies have the latent capacity to generate their own knowledge, unveil their own potential and establish links with the universality via a solid platform of understanding which does not permit subservience to dominant epistemological frameworks (i.e. become a field of possibilities). In itself, the arts are means of *connecting* oneself to the rest of the world: a particular and valid construction of a reality - positioned well beyond the usual "add-on" category - which sends us signals about the road to take in order to set the grounds for personal, communal and national identities.

6.0 Research specificity

6.1 Chilean Cultural-Artistic Development

This section is intended to provide a socio-historical picture which contextualises cultural-artistic development and policy in Chile in the years leading up to the 1973 coup, describes how the Pinochet regime traumatically fractured the existing cultural-artistic model, explains the characteristics and implications of the new model that it installed and traces the efforts of the transitional 1990-2007 Concertación ("Coalition of Parties for Democracy") coalition governments of centrist and leftist parties to institutionalise culture and the arts. The goal here is to present the national picture in which the interviewees are positioned and thus, in the findings, make meaning of their perceptions and personal experiences with regard to their trajectories as artists in a time continuum; in other words, to offer a basis for the reader to interact with these artists' discourses, understanding the past and present social, political and aesthetic dimensions of their narratives.

6.2 Before the Coup

Looking at emerging political trends in Latin America in the Fifties and Sixties, social development researcher Martín Hopenhayn refers to the "Demiurgic State - driving force of modernization, impartial arbiter of social conflicts and great political totalizer" (Hopenhayn 2001, p.xv) working with development strategies "based on accelerated industrialization, import substitution and the stimulation of domestic demand, with the strong participation of the State in economic action" (Id. at xix). During several Popular Front coalition governments (1938-1952), the State began to give the Chilean middle and working classes the chance to be included in the public sphere for the first time, constructing a participatory process which involved the expansion of cultural production to the country's diverse social sectors. Jorge Larraín writes that, spurred on by industrialisation, the Great Depression, rapid politicisation of the working classes and Keynesian economic trends, an interventionist and protectionist commitment took control of practically all economic life and introduced unprecedented - albeit limited - health, social security, housing and cultural measures (Larraín 2001, pp97-109). Larraín also

asserts that the increasing integration of the middle and working classes into the public scene was the result of a long-term process of identity awakening and construction which had begun earlier in the Twentieth Century, the "anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic conscience" following nearly a century of hegemonic control by rival elites (Id. at 99).[12]

Sociologist and political scientist Anny Rivera-Ottenberger writes that in this period the Chilean State promoted the democratisation of culture and, through an organic process responding to democratising pressure as political parties became mediators between civil society and the State, operationalised its actions through structures provided by schools, universities, councils and other centres for cultural exchange and active engagement (Rivera 1983, p3 and p14). State universities, one of the most important cultural apparatuses open to the community, driven principally by middle- and working-class sectors, were charged with promoting "Chilean cultural values" through their printing presses; the State film studio and, in the Fifties, the State radio station and the first Chilean television channel also came into being. Mass media, responding to the need for diverse sectors to make public their world vision and cultural constructions (Id. at 5), broadened the country's cultural landscape, thus further facilitating the conditions for wider politicisation. In such "mixed (half-State, half-private) economies" (Hopenhayn 2001, p.xv), the State and the private sector took on distinct roles: the role of the former was to guarantee smooth social coexistence and development through an *integrative* dynamic while the latter followed its profit-driven logic. The rapid and unprecedented political empowerment of middle and then working classes, in addition to governments slow to shift from import substitution industrialisation to an export-oriented development strategy, set the stage for the polarisation of the country which was to permeate all society and explode in the Seventies.

Borrowing Hopenhayn's categorisations, we now jump from "State Modernisation and

[12] Larraín, a sociologist (and director of the University of Birmingham's Department of Cultural Studies, 1988-1993), provides a compelling historical-structural analysis of how Chilean national identity, or *chilenidad*, exists in the dynamic relationship between Chileans and six discourses - Hispanist, religious-Catholic, psychosocial, military-racial, business-modern and popular culture - which have formed and constantly transformed during Chile's trajectory to modernity in the contexts of the last 200 years and constitute a set of shared qualities, values and experiences. Like Devés, Pinedo and Sagredo (1999), Larraín (2001) provides an introduction to social scientists cited in this thesis as well as the work of Aníbal Pinto, Osvaldo Sunkel, Hernán Godoy, Pedro Morandé, Pedro Güell, Eugenio Tironi, Sonia Montecino, Bernardo Subercaseaux, Hugo Fazio, Brian Loveman and Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, among many others.

Development Discourse" to "Utopias Promising Social Change" which became prevalent in the continent in the Sixties and Seventies. Many Chileans partook in the leftwing, Cold War utopias of national and continental pride in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution (1959). Philosopher (and founder of the radical folkloric group Quilapayún) Eduardo Carrasco writes that:

> Culture is a delayed fruit, most especially in countries formed by immigrations which enter into history with profound identity problems that time alone can resolve. In the work of Neruda and other creators, what was trying to emerge in Chile was a way of providing an answer to these problems, a way of inventing a national identity[…]
>
> (Carrasco 2003, p133, my translation)

Music became the most popular vehicle in the drive to depict and celebrate the ideals of Chilean identity. Moving beyond much traditional folk music and the *Nueva Ola* ("New Wave") movement's staid repertoire of twists, boleros, tangos and *música romántica*, many musicians began exploring, rescuing and integrating those dimensions of everyday life (and most particularly, as in the case of an artist like Tito Fernández, rural life) which had long been disregarded by dominant cultural discourses. This desire to look inwards, to locate and attribute value to the heart of "Chileanness", the oral culture which was rarely if ever preserved, studied or celebrated, found its uttermost expression in the pioneering research on popular culture of singer-songwriter and folklorist Violeta Parra. Parra's dissemination and popularisation of hitherto little-known local cultures from the early Fifties onwards was to inspire the development of the politically and socially committed *Nueva Canción Chilena* ("New Chilean Song") movement whose key practitioners included Victor Jara and the groups Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani - figures who became international icons of the Popular Unity[13] Presidency (1970-1973) of Salvador Allende, the world's first democratically elected Marxist head of state, and for resistance to the Pinochet regime which came afterwards. Although the *Nueva Canción Chilena*'s anthemic, conscientised radicalisation of folklore would tend to polarise audiences, it was also on occasion known to produce cultural hybrids or fusions: Jara's work with rockers Los Blops on the album *El derecho de vivir en paz* (1971); progressive

[13] Popular Unity was an uneasy coalition of six leftwing and centrist parties (Socialists, Radicals, Social Democrats Communists, API and MAPU). Having won 38% of the popular vote in 1970, it remained at loggerheads with the rightwing National Party coalition, the centrist Christian Democrat party and the far-left MIR.

rock group Los Jaivas' introduction of indigenous instruments into improvisational happenings and later studio compositions; and Quilapayún's work with composers Luis Advis on his "popular cantata" *Santa María de Iquique* (1970) and Sergio Ortega on the protest song cycle *La fragua* (1972), all formed bridges with Chile's burgeoning hippie movement and the rarefied Eurocentric world of classical music.[14]

This shift of gaze can be said to have permeated all artistic disciplines to varying degrees. The poet Pablo Neruda fled Chile for four years in 1948 after denouncing the outlawing of the Chilean Communist Party but was confirmed in 1971 as the foremost poet of Latin America by being awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Neruda was nominated as the Communist Party's Presidential candidate in 1970 (though he bowed out of this contest, offering his support to Allende) and died of leukaemia twelve days after Allende's downfall. It is difficult to underestimate the influence of Neruda's poetic voice in Chile, a country which often bills itself as a "land of poets"; Neruda to this day tends to eclipse key contemporaries Gabriela Mistral, Pablo de Rokha, Vicente García-Huidobro, Joaquín Edwards Bello, Jenaro Prieto, Manuel Rojas, José Santos González Vera, Juan Emar, Hernán del Solar, Pedro Prado and Oscar Castro. However, alternative voices did begin to emerge in Chilean literature in the Fifties, including those of Gonzalo Rojas, Luis Oyarzún, Francisco Coloane, Armando Uribe and the "antipoet" Nicanor Parra; the so-called Generación del 50 (writers such as José Donoso, Enrique Lihn, Jorge Teillier, Jorge Guzmán, Jorge Díaz, Enrique Lafourcade, and so on); younger writers who emerged in the Sixties like Ariel Dorfman, Antonio Skármeta, Óscar Hahn, etc; and, in the decade before the coup, much of Chilean theatre was revitalised through the adoption of social realism and heady Brechtian didacticism in leading University companies as well as independents like Teatro Ictus, Mimos de Noisvander and Teatro El Aleph.

Chilean visual arts also saw notable developments. In the Forties and Fifties, small

[14] US-based historian Patrick Barr-Melej has said that his ongoing research on Chilean counterculture movements "indicates that hippies were actually repressed during this time period and that Allende's government and the Pinochet regime shared much of the same cultural conservatism that, in many ways, permeates Chilean society today" (see http://www.las.iastate.edu/newnews/barr0920.shtml). Moreover, information on the Symphonic Orchestra of Chile, Santiago Philharmonic Orchestra, Santiago's Municipal Theatre and Ballet, Frutillar Music Festival, conservatoires and university departments, composers such as Juan Orrego-Salas and world-class virtuosi such as Claudio Arrau can be found at http://www.latinoamericano.cl/ and http://www.municipal.cl/ (both Spanish-language).

modernist and abstract art groups like Generación del 40, Grupo de Estudiantes Plásticos, Taller 99 and Grupo Rectángulo[15] formed within Chilean institutions of art education (principally the art schools of the University of Chile and the Catholic University). The Sixties saw many of these artists join younger, emerging professional practitioners in avant-garde clusters which embraced Pop Art and conceptualist experimentation - Grupo Forma y Espacio, Grupo Signo and Los Diablos being prominent examples. The mid- to late-Sixties were marked also by the flowering of the Ramona Parra Brigades: "muralist workers" of Communist Youth urban activist collectives encouraging self-expression in local communities in order to capture the streets for the Left and counter the rightwing hegemony of much of the Chilean mass media. The best-known Chilean visual artists were expatriates such as the surrealist painter Roberto Matta and the photographer Sergio Larraín; enraptured by the utopian vision and visuality of Popular Unity, the former returned to Chile briefly in 1971 and collaborated with the Brigades.[16]

Chilean cinema, a relatively minor player in *Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano* ("new Latin American cinema") in the late Sixties saw veteran directors like Sergio Bravo, Patricio Kaulen, Aldo Francia and Helvio Soto doing their best work while younger, more radical filmmakers like Raúl Ruiz, Miguel Littín, Charles Elsesser, Patricio Guzmán, Pedro Chaskel and Silvio Caiozzi emerged who were willing and able to explore new avenues in filmmaking, often taking their lead not only from Italian Neorealist Cinema but also Free Cinema, the French New Wave, Direct Cinema and New American Cinema in stark rejection of the hegemony of Hollywood's culture industry.

Polarisation and instability came dramatically to a head in Chile with Allende's election to the Presidency in 1970 and Pinochet's brutal military backlash in 1973.[17] The deep-

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[15] Spanish-language profiles of visual artists of this period such as Carlos Hermosilla, Matilde Pérez and Elsa Bolívar can be found at http://www.portaldearte.cl/.

[16] See http://www.colectivobrp.cl/ and http://www.abacq.net/imagineria/ (both Spanish-language). In the pre-exile years, many key artists like Mistral and Neruda spent years outside Chile working as consuls or, like Matta, Jodorowsky and Claudio Bravo, emigrated permanently while in their twenties. Incidentally, the 2006 San Diego Museum of Art exhibition, "Transmission: The Art of Matta and Gordon Matta-Clark", brought together works by Matta and his son, the celebrated US conceptual artist, for the first time.

[17] For information about the Allende administration, see http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/42a/130.html. For details of Pinochet's policies and human rights violations, see http://chile.exilio.free.fr/ (Spanish-language), http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/chile/index.html

rooted internal conflict between Left and Right had been exacerbated still further by Allende's radical programmes of industrial nationalisation and land redistribution, divisions between moderates and extremists within Popular Unity itself as regarded the pace of reform, the collapse of the economy and the US government's stepping up of its programme of covert operations strategically designed to destabilise the country.[18] Generally speaking, the cultural-artistic scene was similarly divided, one side committed to social realism as well as protection for local cultural-artistic expression and the other to the dictates of the market. Chilean cultural-artistic expression in the years before the coup was also accompanied by rapidly expanding private mass media and a State unable to construct appropriate spaces for productive dialogue between militantly opposed socio-political sectors.

> The cultural space, rather than a space of dialogue and synthesis between diverse groups, became a space of conflict and struggle[…] a polarisation into power blocs which, rather than negotiate, mutually denied one other.
> (Rivera 1983, pp34-35, my translation)

The utopian revolutionary spirit which had integrated much of the Latin American Left - a distant cousin of Europe and North America's "spirit of '68" - soon lay in tatters, paralysed by a series of reactionary, repressive military *coups d'état*, Operation Condor's coordinated human rights abuses, and socio-economic models designed to ferment an individualistic mode of human interaction over notions of solidarity and national or continental identities.

(Spanish-language), http://www.chipsites.com/derechos/index_eng.html, http://www.remember-chile.org.uk/ and http://www.amnestyusa.org/countries/chile/index.do.

[18] Go to http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20001113/ and http://foia.state.gov/SearchColls/Search.asp for links to recently declassified US government documentation and reports relating to the CIA's covert actions in Chile in the period 1962-1973, often abetted by ITT Corporation, Pepsi-Cola and David Rockefeller's Business Group for Latin America. The US, fearful of Chile becoming a Soviet satellite in the Southern Cone and keen to reverse Allende's 1971 nationalisation of Chile's copper industry, stepped up its efforts to topple Allende after 1970 and was unequivocal in its support for the Pinochet regime in the aftermath of the coup.

6.3 The Chilean Military Regime (1973-1990)[19]

> […] artistic practice became, for thousands of people, a basic way of expressing oneself, of saying what cannot be expressed with other languages.
> (Id. at 114)

> What people don't realize is that culture is powerful and could be dangerous too. As long as culture is talked about as though it's a kind of nice little add-on to make things look a bit better in this sort of brutal life we all lead, as long as it's just seen as the icing on the cake, then people won't realize that it's the medium in which we're immersed, and which is forming us, which is making us what we are and what we think.
> Brian Eno (in Brockman 1997)

6.3.1 Installation and consolidation: rayado de cancha y formas de operar

Many Chileans hark back to a national tradition of a strong yet benevolent Republic and to the relatively stable democratic party-political system which existed between 1932 and 1973. However, there are many examples of pre-Pinochet repression and extremism: the brutal "pacification" of Araucanía (c.1860-1885), massacres in Santiago, Iquique, San Gregorio and Marusia (1905, 1907, 1921 and 1925 respectively), the Ibañez military dictatorship (1927-1931), the Ránquil Massacre (1934), the Seguro Obrero Massacre (1938), the outlawing of the Communist Party (1948-1958) and a further bloodbath in Puerto Montt (1969). Moreover, the intense ideological polarisation of the Seventies had its forbears in the rival strands of conservatism, authoritarianism and liberalism within a nineteenth-century Chilean oligarchy of semi-feudal *hacienda* landowners or *latifundistas*, businessmen and industrialists. The conservative elite, which had striven to preserve colonial social structures and strict Catholic moral codes, was politically tremendously powerful between 1924 and 1932 (represented by the National Party) when political chaos accompanied the emergence and rapid growth of reformist movements and parties representing a new entrepreneurial middle class (the Radical Party) and a newly mobilised urban working class (the Communist Party and the Socialist Party). Moreover, the nominally apolitical Chilean military officer class, particularly after the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), the Chilean Civil War (1891) and an intense process of "Prussianisation" in the late Nineteenth Century, often harboured

[19] Valuable contemporaneous accounts of culture and the arts during Pinochet's reign can be found in work by Rivera (1983), cultural critic Nelly Richard (1986) and art historians Milan Ivelic and Gaspar Galaz (1988).

pride in ethnic as well as martial superiority and a conservative, interventionist desire to protect Chile from radical governance (see Larraín 2001 and Contardo 2005). The filmmaker Raúl Ruiz (about whom, more later) in a recent interview described his return to Chile after ten years of exile in the following terms:

> […] when I returned, it was shocking… it was very odd, that Chile of 1983[…] I realised that the military government was like the logical outcome desired by all Chileans[…] When I was a boy, I heard talk that Chile needed a dictatorship. Some said it needs a war[…] the petit bourgeoisie[…] They also said this country needs a firm hand[…] If Allende fell, it was less as a result of his socialist measures than his inability to impose order. The military reproached him for that[…] Chile, not so much in terms of votes or rational opinions but, profoundly, was a country which adhered to the way a military government functions, that the military government spoke to a good number of Chileans[…] All Chilean Presidents have to play the soldier… to speak of imposing order, because in the mind of the Chilean there is a soldier in every part. We really like military marches; the military parade lasts longer than any high-quality cultural spectacle[…]
>
> (Ruiz in Cerpa Orellana 2005, my translation)

Chilean social historian Gabriel Salazar (himself a former exile in the UK) contextualises this traditional consecration of the stability of order as an end in itself under national leaders such as Diego Portales, Arturo Alessandri, Carlos Ibáñez and Pinochet to the extent that authoritarianism, government arbitrariness and repression of civic and human rights come to be celebrated as patriotic values (paraphrased from Somarriva 2006).

Shaking the foundations of this relative stability, Pinochet's regime intervened in all areas and attempted to erase all trace of the previous government. This involved dissolution and censorship of participatory practices - including the formation and reconstitution of political parties and representative organisations as well as the popular cultural-artistic movement which had been associated with Allende's administration. More than 3,000 Chileans were killed, 250,000 unlawfully imprisoned and/or tortured in prisons and concentration camps and as many as 500,000 may have gone into exile abroad[20] (around 3,000 arriving in the United Kingdom, settling principally in innercity areas with

[20] Some began to return to Chile as early as 1976, though the period 1990-1992 saw the largest *retorno*. A first (voluntary) 2005 census by Chile's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Statistics Institute found that 1,951 Chileans are registered as living in England, 50 in Scotland and 3 in Wales (out of an 857,781 total of Chileans living outside Chile) (Minrel/INE 2005, p26).

leftwing local councils in London, Sheffield, Hull, Coventry and Glasgow). The removal of many artists and intellectuals signified a major loss of national intellectual resources (to which the later boom in cultural and intellectual production by Chileans in exile is clear testament).[21] The military regime set clear delimitations and boundaries between what it regarded as official art, which found acceptance in the public space, and that which was not to receive support. The mechanism of fear through which the military governed also inevitably generated self-censorship, further facilitating its control over the country's cultural activities.

In 1975, the regime handed the design of the wounded Chilean economy over to the so-called "Chicago Boys";[22] their free-market policies attempted to make Chilean industry (and the country's thriving upper-middle class) wealthy in the short term, wealth which would then theoretically "trickle down" to other social sectors. These reforms marked a sea change in Chile's economic, social and cultural history, replacing as it did certain previous governments' socially integrative, participatory models with a vertical, market-driven model which - implementing unprecedented market deregulation, trading liberalisation, political decentralisation, social expenditure reductions, as well as privatisation of industry, education, health and pensions - promoted an individualist,

[21] The cultural-artistic and intellectual production of the Chilean diaspora is evidenced by the oeuvres of any number of prominent exiles: Francisco Varela, Alfredo Jaar, Nemesio Antúnez Zañartu, Juan Downey, Juan Domingo Dávila, Guillermo Núñez, Gonzalo Rojas, Volodia Teitelboim, Armando Uribe, Jorge Edwards, Carlos Droguett, Alejandro Sieveking, Germán Marín, Adolfo Couve, Roberto Bolaño, Antonio Skármeta, Ariel Dorfman, Isabel Allende, Óscar Hahn, Luis Sepúlveda, Carlos Cerda, Patricio Manns, Roberto Ampuero, Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Los Jaivas, Osvaldo "Gitano" Rodríguez, Raúl Ruiz, Patricio Guzmán, etc.

[22] Approximately 25 Chilean ex-students of the University of Chicago's Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman. The ironically monikered "shock treatment" they applied to Chile's economy is still a major bone of contention among Chilean economists and historians. Its prominent adherents (Jaime Guzmán, José Piñera, Sergio de Castro, Hernán Büchi, Gonzalo Vial, Hermógenes Pérez de Arce and, in Britain, Sir Alan Walters, Lord Norman Lamont, Sir Peregrine Worsthorne, Dr Robin Harris, Brian Crozier, Robert Moss, etc) regard the Chicago boys as the pioneers of Reaganite-Thatcherite free-market monetarism and the architects of Chile's current success. Its critics (Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, Manuel Riesco, Carlos Huneeus and, outside Chile, Noam Chomsky, Naomi Klein, etc) dispute the empirical basis for the latter claim and that the Concertación inherited economic instability, fluctuating unemployment levels and an exacerbated gap between rich and poor, to say nothing of the human rights abuses and increased pollution levels. The Pinochet family's recently uncovered clandestine international bank accounts have further undermined the regime's reputation for fiscal responsibility. Pinochet's death in December 2006 was mourned and celebrated, his legacy fêted and condemned; his grandson expelled from the Army for publicly declaring allegiance to his grandfather while the grandson of the General Carlos Prats, assassinated on Pinochet's orders in 1974, was beaten up for spitting on Pinochet's coffin.

consumerist ethic. Chile's much-touted Economic Miracle kicked off with the boom of the period 1978-1981.

The Chilean cultural-artistic scene was directly affected by the implementation of these deregulatory economic measures and a hard-line government which, dramatist Benjamín Galemiri claims, saw culture "as an act of terrorism" (Billington 2004). According to Anny Rivera, the military regime did not institutionalise cultural-artistic development but rather drew up guidelines to orient and sustain cultural initiatives based on what she calls certain "ideological categories". Firstly: *nationalistic-authoritarian* - inclining towards a "national art" with special emphasis on "harmless" Chilean folklore like Los Huasos Quincheros and landscapes to express the ruling class' and the military's view of the rural working class. Secondly: *traditional-bourgeois* - consisting of sectors with economic power which were looking for the means to satisfy their tastes for the classics and high culture; a conception of all-encompassing, universal values pertaining to traditional Western models. Private theatre companies were often only permitted to put on classical plays, forcing directors to use metaphor to smuggle in any social commentary or criticism they wished to convey. Ballet and opera flourished. And finally: the *financial-bourgeois* or *nouveau riche* - tending to privilege the most fashionable imported trends from the US.

Many artists who chose to remain in Pinochet's Chile had to learn to play the market-led game in order to survive, joining the blossoming publicity apparatus and taking part in "entertaining, simply structured spectaculars - café concerts, shows" (Rivera 1983, p50, my translation). Some found work in broadcasting and advertising while others suffered frequent unemployment. The military regime privileged the importing of foreign products (albeit usually subject to strict military censorship) which the national could not compete with. Behind the Chicago Boys' façade of neoliberal modernising credibility, a complex network of cultural dependency was also installed. The opening up of Chilean markets to foreign investors, imports and markets had the effect of limiting interest in many Chilean cultural products and privileging the circulation and consumption of mainstream products from abroad (US television being a case in point). The experience of the arts as *collective cultural constructions* made little sense within the globalised mercantilism which commodified cultural-artistic *products* and *services* and reserved access to the arts for the sectors of the population with the requisite disposable income. The new

cultural framework provided by the cultural industry stratified society with separatist, exclusionary aims, helping to create the conditions for social reproduction.

> […] programming became uniform in typical schemes adapted to audiences differentiated according to socio-economic stratum and age.
> (Id. at 50)

Social fragmentation, instigated through the tactics of terror, was complemented by the less immediately visible form of domination through the marketplace which generated a new social order whose legacy remains today. Consumerism became an apparent vehicle for participation and integration, its spaces welcoming all sectors of the population while negating memory of the recent past. *Human exchange* was in effect abruptly superseded by *exchange of goods*.

> The project of authoritarian modernisation imposed by the military regime was oriented toward the full opening of the Chilean economy to foreign competition and the total integration of the country into the world market. The neo-liberal economic policies led to a full-scale privatisation of state-owned industries and put an end to the traditional role played by the state in the country's socio-economic development. The idea was to replace the state by the alleged impersonal rule of the market as the main mechanism for the allocation of resources in society.
> (Silva 2004, p68)

6.3.2 Economic crisis: una etapa de baja credibilidad y de infiltraciones

The Latin American debt crisis of 1982 seriously impaired the credibility of the neoliberal economic model. Following several years of spectacular economic growth, many of its principal supporters - the burgeoning business and middle classes - became sceptical of the Chicago Boys' "silent revolution". The very foundations of the economic model were questioned, most notably after revealing figures became public knowledge: "while in Latin America the GDP fell between 1 and 2% as a result of the crisis, in Chile it fell 10 times as much (16%)" (Rivera 1983, p135, my translation). Unemployment peaked at well over 20% in 1983.

> An unexpected resurrection of party politics in Chile took place in the early 1980s when a powerful opposition against Pinochet emerged, mainly as a result of the sudden collapse of the economic model in the years 1981-1983. The reorganisation of Chile's political parties was also facilitated by

> the campaign against authoritarian rule during the 1988 referendum[…] In this way, during the 1980s, political parties partially regained some of their former pivotal position within Chilean society, being responsible for the relatively successful conduction of the process of democratic transition[…]
> (Silva 2004, p66)

In a period characterised by increased discontent and disillusionment, especially among the most deprived sectors of society, the military once again stepped up its repressive measures. The exigencies of the economic crisis led the military regime to turn towards national artistic production as a cheaper option to foreign imports, for the first time creating an officially sanctioned opening which welcomed certain excluded nonofficial artists into the public sphere.[23] "Even with restrictions and frequent exceptions, this previously marginalised 'alternative art' began to be reincorporated as a valid expression of a national culture" (Rivera 1983, p146, my translation). The country's cultural-artistic scene reencountered old cultural formations and identities which went beyond the military's "official" and "nonofficial" categorisations. Rivera summarises the implications:

> Certainly, it would be unwise simply to attribute this phenomenon of relative opening towards national, popular and "dissident art" to a commercial imperative (to lower costs). We think that in this period a crisis of the pre-existing order took place[…] During this process, the old, the historical trends reappeared. During the search for other parameters of identity, eyes turned inwards and towards history, and also towards the negated. Violeta Parra returned as an important figure of the cultural-national, and not only for the old opposition to the regime. In such a context, the rigid boundaries between the "official" and the "alternative" were redrawn.
> (Id. at 138-139)

Rivera distinguishes two phases in the development of dissident art during this period: firstly, art as a spontaneous means of expression aimed at rescuing a jeopardised national heritage and, secondly, art assuming the role of constitutor of identities. She goes on to claim that, when this form of art was disseminated and entered into the public sphere, it did so "not only as an identifiable sign, not only as expression and knowledge of reality, but also in the dimension of its rupture and questioning. This is the dimension

[23] Also, popular Chilean rock groups like Los Prisioneros and La Ley, more experimental groups Illapu (folk-indigenous), Congreso (folk-classical) and Electrodomésticos (electronica), and the *Canto Nuevo* ("New Song") movement (not to be confused with the earlier, more explicitly revolutionary *Nueva Canción Chilena*) were able to employ rebellious styles and Spanish-language lyrics in their songs.

of uncertainty, of the questioning of the possible which allows art not to remain tied to a function referring to the existing, immediate social and historical reality. And which also contributes with its ludic, entertainment dimension" (Id. at 154).

6.4 C.A.D.A. and the Escena de Avanzada[24]

Censoring the past meant burying the collective identities constructed before military intervention. Dissident, interdisciplinary artists were always active within as well as outwith Chile - much of their underground cultural-artistic work attempted to keep memory alive and revive the forbidden symbols and collaborative forms of interaction of the past. Many used the space of the fracture for new socio-aesthetic exploration; artists responding to the need to generate spaces in which they could express feelings about traumatic experiences and to mirror one another in a search for intersubjective empathy; through this dangerous, difficult interaction, to reconstitute themselves as autonomous and critical subjects. Interestingly, it can be argued that the military regime's attempt to exert complete control over the arts and culture produced, circulated and consumed in Chile had the inadvertent effect of creating the conditions for the development of the country's most nonofficial, alternative, excluded and radical art practices yet. These practitioners generated their own means of production and circulation and invented codes and signs to mask their subversion. Survival sprang from metaphor.

In the years of renewed state of siege, curfew and extreme repression (1983-1985), a new generation of theatrical talent (Andrés Pérez, Alfredo Castro, Ramón Griffero, etc) emerged in private companies (El Teatro de Fin de Siglo, Teatro Itinerante, Teatro Urbano Contemporáneo [TEUCO], etc), performing in autonomous cultural venues such as El Trolley and Maturana Garage in Santiago. Underground, dissident theatre, performance art and rock music (Pinochet's Boys, Unemployment Index, etc) were often unallied with cultural institutions or political parties and adopted a highly satirical approach to the military regime (Pottlitzer 2001a). Radicalism also emerged in literary endeavour (Juan Luis Martínez, Carmen Berenguer, Diego Maquieira, etc) and conceptualist art collectives such as the Escuela de Santiago (Eugenio Dittborn, Gonzalo Díaz, Arturo Duclós, etc) and Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis (Pedro Lemebel and Francisco

[24] Richard (1986) and Rivera (1983) are key sources of information about this period.

Casas).

However, it is the Santiago-based Escena de Avanzada (or “advanced scene”) and C.A.D.A. (Colectivo de Acciones de Arte or “art actions collective”) which, thanks in large part to critics Nelly Richard and Eugenia Brito’s determination to historicise and theorise their output, today resonate as having played a *critical* role in bringing the arts together with socio-political reality during the military regime. In the late Seventies and early Eighties, these groups, which counted novelist Diamela Eltit, poet Raúl Zurita and visual artists Lotty Rosenfeld, Juan Castillo and Carlos Leppe among their members, excluded from mainstream channels of artistic production and exhibition and sensing that repression demanded a radically activist art which went beyond entertainment or “art for art’s sake”, worked in varied disciplines, on occasion bringing together installation and performance art, photography, sociology, literature, psychology, video art, and so on. This was the only way the movement could survive as it underwent subjugation and social isolation. Their art “took the place of the banned politics by bringing back together again all the fragments of identity caused in 1973, by stressing a *common* past and by resurrecting its censored values” (Richard 1986, p106).

The Avanzada was excluded from formal educational institutions; the members of the movement wanted its cultural production to transcend the academic sphere and felt that Chilean art schools were overly centred on technical, manual specialisations and were not promoting reflection and analysis to encourage students to comprehend new forms of artistic expression. For them, few emerging artists produced “unpleasurable” work which addressed the meaning of Latin American societies, peripheral cultures and cultural dependency after 1973 (Id. at 101-102). As a result, interest in the Avanzada was restricted to small groups which sought out spaces alternative to museums and galleries. It turned towards the city, intervening in it, and used the body as a physical site where the individual and the collective were integrated. Photography, which was often regarded as something of an impoverished aesthetic medium, became central to the movement,[25] challenging the common preconception in Fine Art that painting is the “truest” means of expression. The Avanzada brought this visuality together with performance, literature and theory.

[25] This can be observed in collaborations between photographer Paz Errázuriz and radical writers Diamela Eltit and Pedro Lemebel.

The movement developed an extremely innovative approach to writing, creating new types of literary texts to meet the requirements of the historical situation and their thinking. Written texts also reflected their need to theorise their work, an intellectual exercise which encouraged them to understand who they were and the subversive nature of their production. They developed a common language which allowed them to critique and explain their work to one another and to others. Clandestine publications shared these reflections, but the military regime's impoverishment of Chilean culture, known as the *apagón cultural* ("cultural blackout"), and the obstacles imposed on publishers, marginalised the texts, their circulation and dynamic of social engagement.

The Avanzada movement attempted to encompass a more scientifically-minded approach to writing about art, a new writing also inspired by the atmosphere of exclusion and repression. It is interesting to note that several leading members of the Avanzada were women writers and artists - the repressed gender within the repressed politic within the repressed nation. These women creators tended to work in the fields of gender and sexuality, searching for ways to express the dramatic changes to the traditionally conservative and chauvinistic family unit, often severely exacerbated by repression, exile and/or unemployment.

The Avanzada's challenging work in the late Seventies and early Eighties emerged from the margins of a fragmented society. To this day, its work remains largely unseen and unknown for the vast majority of Chileans, though most of its members have gained great acclaim and participated in the election campaign of Michelle Bachelet, Chile and Latin America's first woman President (2006-2010).[26]

[26] The movement received its first major public showing at Santiago's Museo de Artes Visuales in September 2006. Also, the New York-based Instituto Hemisférico is planning to make *C.A.D.A.*'s audiovisual output available online in 2007. The social impact of Bachelet's election is hard to overestimate, particularly as regards the *machismo* mindset historically prevalent in Chilean society (Richard 2006). Bachelet as candidate is seen to have represented the "pure" world of women and the home in opposition to the "corrupt" world of politics. Moreover, it is to be hoped that, in the near future, Chile can also count men and women from indigenous minorities among its national leaders.

6.5 The Return to Democracy

> Chile represents what Latin America can be[…] I think it really is a symbol of what the rest of the region can achieve if the principles of democracy and free markets and free trade and concerns for the well-being of people are maintained.
> US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (April 2005)

> […] the richest 10% takes 47% of incomes, while the poorest 10% is left with 1.2%[…] Chile is placed at the same level as countries with the world's worst income distribution, like Paraguay, Honduras, Swaziland and Zambia.
> (Varas 2005, my translation)

6.5.1 Wishful beginnings (1990-1999)

While the military regime outlawed party-political activity, the mobilised resistance, sustained by communal networks of national and international support, worked towards the restoration of democracy. Cultural and political activities kept this network alive, giving the dissident sector a vibrant life of its own. The return to democracy saw the deactivation of this network, cutting off an important means of engagement that society had developed. With the restoration of democracy, the socio-political game abruptly changed.[27] The most adept players have been the Concertación, which won the election of 1990 after the military regime held and lost a plebiscite in 1988.

While Alain Touraine (2006) maintains that "successful globalization" makes Chile feel "increasingly less a part of Latin America", fellow sociologist Manuel Antonio Garretón has argued persuasively that, despite the Concertación's many achievements, Chile remains an "incomplete democracy" (Garretón 2003b and 2005). The Concertación indeed represents "the negotiated nature of the transition, as democracy was finally achieved following a series of bargains between the democratic forces of the

[27] Paula Rodríguez's documentary *Volver a vernos* (2002, aka *Pinochet's Children*) shows militant anti-Pinochet student-leaders unable to "recycle" themselves after Pinochet stepped down. In interviews, three prominent former student activists - Alejandro Goic, Enrique París and Carolina Tohá - describe the austerity and oppression of the military regime, the solidarity of the underground movement in the Eighties and the disheartening reality check that re-democratisation brought for them as individuals. Caught up in everyday resistance, they had spent too little time projecting their energies into the future. When Gramsci argued for the importance of records, systematising and historicising the world, he indicated a way of projecting resistance; with no record of past struggles, the struggles of tomorrow become tougher and more groundless (Gramsci 1998, p324).

Concertación and representatives of the military regime" (Silva 2004, p70). The coalition, following a policy of caution to secure "governability" of the fledgling democracy, facilitated conditions to maintain the political deactivation which had been installed during the military regime.

> […] the new authorities consciously preserved political deactivation in order to maintain political stability and to facilitate the process of national reconciliation[...] So while the military and its rightwing civilian supporters frenetically attempted to avoid a repetition of the Allende experience, the democratic forces have determinedly deployed any and all means to avoid a repetition of the political conditions that brought the old Chilean democracy to an end.
>
> (Id. at 65)

Depoliticisation is of course highly compatible with the principles of neoliberal economics in the drive towards *economic growth* (which Garretón contrasts with *economic development*). The economy becomes the key building block of social life, a state of affairs praised by international commentators (Margaret Thatcher, Jean-François Revel, George W. Bush's administration, etc) but has profound implications for the way Chile looks and feels from outside and how it is perceived by its own peoples.

One consequence of this model is the transformation of Chile into a modern consumerist society and the construction and definition of identities through the purchasing, selling and exchange of goods. The consumerist logic of "the model of market conceived as image of society and not only as a mechanism for assignation of resources" (Garretón 2001, p23, my translation) implies "a system of meritocratic and individualistic mobility" (Silva 2004, p69) favouring individualistic processes over the collective processes of political reactivation.

However, within the context of this *consensus democracy*, the neoliberal model has had to be somewhat readjusted to allow the State to control the market "in the name of social justice, economic development and democracy" (Simon and Picazo Verdejo 2005, p26). The Concertación has placed educational reform as a strategic transformative "centre" where the spheres of national development could "meet" during the transition. The adaptations made to the neoliberal model since the return to democracy have prompted two recent critics to label Chile a "Post-neoliberal State":

> […] the technocratization of public decision making that characterized the Neoliberal State and continues to characterize the Post-neoliberal State is not very coherent with a democratic discourse to encourages [*sic*] citizen participation. Indeed, citizens are demanding greater participation in the decision making that directly affects them[…] The political challenge to achieve consensus requires finding spaces where technocratic expertise and public deliberation and negotiation can interact.
>
> (Id. at 25)

The post-neoliberal State, as these authors assert, has demonstrated significant contradictions and has not been entirely successful in developing the fundamental value of civil participation, thus hindering the Concertación governments from making Chile a fully modern society. Moreover, the insertion of the country into a globalised economy has created an unprecedented landscape of urban marginalisation; a socio-cultural scenario where subaltern sectors have been developing their own processes of identity-construction and exchange using their own cultural expressions to talk and think about themselves. Salazar has argued that:

> … it is a literary, linguistic and discursive expression. It is an accumulated, unpublished culture in Chile. During the Sixties and Seventies, expressions like the *Nueva Canción Chilena*, for example, addressed the whole popular mass in order to generate revolution and obeyed the instructions of the party or the State; they operated by means of ideologies. Today, however, movements emerge from their own cultures[…] The State and the globalised system are suspicious of this youth; they call them "anarchists": they repress them and label them a "social risk". But if we look at the phenomenon from the perspective of social movements, which is a broader concept, these expressions are positive and offer hope, because they are autonomous processes of identity construction…
>
> (Salazar in Cárdenas 2005, my translation)

It should come as little surprise that many committed artists who suffered the indignities of the Seventies and Eighties (both inside and outside Chile) continue to feel intensely frustrated by the seemingly politically deactivated post-1990 transitional democracy, in some cases claiming that Chile still owes a debt of rehistoricisation to their lost generation and that younger artists who have found support and success have "had it easy" making "light", uncritical and non-contextualised products.

Moreover, the case of mainstream culture since 1990 - and in particular radio and television - is instructive here, despite its distancing from grand political or ideological movements. Chile has undergone significant processes of globalisation over the last twenty years as airwaves and ratings have come to be populated by light entertainment shows, confessionals, soap operas, celebrity gossip and generic American, British and Latino pop, rock, rap and *romántica*. It is also notable that the few Chilean films (though the very concept of a "Chilean cinema" comes into doubt as international co-production is now the industry norm) to have competed successfully with mainstream Hollywood product have tended to owe a great deal to radio and TV and not to travel well outside Chile, while filmmakers of greater substance like Ricardo Larraín, Gonzalo Justiniano and Andrés Wood have not yet achieved sustained recognition. However, traditional Chilean folk music, old *Nueva Ola* stars, ex-*Nueva Canción Chilena* groups (which in several cases split acrimoniously into factions in exile) and many of the rock groups already named and younger groups such as Los Tres and Los Bunkers (plus local hip hop, metal and Reggaetón) have also maintained or developed strong followings. Clearly, as elsewhere, the rapid explosion of digital technology and the internet is influencing how Chilean creative people finance, create, distribute and discuss their artworks. While it would be disingenuous to argue unreservedly that the Digital Revolution is heralding "democratisation of culture", a new age of critical thinking and expression or an end to globalised cultural hegemony, the possibilities presented by this revolution for what Salazar calls "autonomous processes of identity construction" are indeed remarkable (Cárdenas Ortega 2005).

6.5.2 Cultural institucionalidad *(2000-2007): a human priority under globalisation or neoliberal damage limitation?*

Despite undergoing economic slowdown and high unemployment rates in the aftermath of the Asian and Russian crises of the late Nineties, the Chilean economy resumed a rapid growth from 2003 onwards and has successfully cemented its international reputation as one of the world's most dynamic, fiscally disciplined and sustainable emerging economies. Moderate centre-Left President Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) portrayed Chile as a multilateral open economy with a newly social component: a "consensus-democracy", "growth-with-equity" alternative to the unbridled neoliberalism of

the Chicago Boys' trickle-down free-market economics and to the neopopulism of Venezuela's US-baiting President Hugo Chávez and Bolivia's Evo Morales.[28]

The Lagos years were also notable for the design and implementation of innovative cultural legislation seemingly with its roots in human development and democratic discourses. Taking his cue from an Advisory Commission proposal (1991, presided over by Garretón) and report (1997), a Chamber of Deputies Meeting about Public Policies, Legislation and Cultural Proposals (1996) and five United Nations Development Project (UNDP) National Human Development Reports (1995-2006),[29] Lagos announced an unprecedented systematic State cultural policy in May 2000, two months after assuming the Presidency. Rapid socioeconomic and cultural change brought about by economic growth and integration, trends in globalisation, increased urbanisation and life expectancy, etc had made it imperative for the State to define explicitly and show its commitment to generating the conditions for constructing, consolidating and promoting citizenship, identity, cultural diversity and human development through the coordination of and support for: artistic creation, diffusion, appreciation and freedom of expression; improvements in television standards and reading habits and an end to book piracy; the formation of a reflective and critical spirit; equity in access to arts, cultural products, services and technologies; democratic public participation in cultural development and the creation of works of art; the equilibrated decentralisation of cultural policy; preservation, conservation, distribution, public awareness and enjoyment of linguistic, archaeological, historical and natural heritage; international exposure for Chilean arts and heritage; and development of cultural industries (Lagos 2000, Squella 2001, Swinburn 2004). No longer would the Chilean State vacillate between extremes of

[28] The Concertación's continued economic liberalisation has seen Chile sign numerous bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with North and Central America, the European Union and Asia since the mid-Nineties, with plans now emerging for similar deals with its South American neighbours. Noam Chomsky argues, however, that Chile owes its continuing economic success principally to the State-owned copper company Codelco rather than to its neoliberal policies (Fredes 2006). The international credibility and economic integration policies of the Nineties have been joined more recently by a cautious drive towards "open regionalism" in Latin America, as Chile needs gas and oil supplies from its neighbours.

[29] *Human Development in Chile* (1996), *The paradox of the modernisation* (1998), *Towards a strong society for governing the future* (2000), *We the Chileans, a cultural challenge* (2002), *Power: for what and for whom?* (2004) and *New Technologies: a leap into the future?* (2006). See http://www.desarrollohumano.cl/ for Spanish-language downloads and English-language synopses.

populism and absenteeism: "without the State there is indeed culture, but without the State there is no cultural development" (Lagos 2000, my translation).

The key moment of the wide-ranging governmental reform which followed, known as "the new cultural *institucionalidad*" (literally "institutionality"), has seen the establishment in the 2003-2004 period of the National Council for Culture and the Arts (CNCA) and the National Fund for Cultural Development and the Arts, its Directorate and Consultative Committee, as well as Regional Councils for Culture and the Arts.[30] This brought together diverse organisations and recent initiatives such as National Funds for the arts (created in 1992 and popularly known as the FONDART), books and reading (1993), art schools (1997) and youth orchestras (2001) as well as the so-called "Valdés Law" (1990) aimed at encouraging cultural donations from the private sector. It has also been accompanied by the abolition of film censorship (2002) and the creation of the National Laws, Councils and Funds for music (2003-2004) and audiovisual art and industry (2004-2005). During 2006, the CNCA has also worked towards the creation of a Cultural Heritage Institute to identify, preserve, safeguard and disseminate Chilean heritage and improve the pertinent policies of the Ministry's Directorate of Libraries, Archives and Museums (http://www.dibam.cl/, founded in 1929 and currently collecting, housing and cataloguing works by Chileans abroad in the Biblioteca del Reencuentro in the National Library in Santiago) and Council of National Monuments (http://www.monumentos.cl/, created 1925) as well as other public and private organisations. Other initiatives have included the openings of the Mapocho Station (http://www.estacionmapocho.cl/, 1995), Matucana 100 (http://www.m100.cl/ or http://www.matucana100.cl/, 2001) and Moneda Palace (http://www.ccplm.cl/, 2006) cultural centres in Santiago, the expansion of public

[30] See http://www.cnca.cl/, http://www.fondosdecultura.cl/, http://www.consejodelamusica.cl/ and http://www.chileaudiovisual.cl/ for details (Spanish-language). Interestingly, approval of Law 19.891 forming the CNCA was delayed in 2001 because of lack of political support, to Lagos' obvious consternation. It should also be noted that the policies that Lagos and Squella outlined in the 2000-2003 period are constantly undergoing revaluation. In addition to *Revista Pausa* (CNCA quarterly published since August 2004), reflections at the CNCA's first Annual Convention in Valparaíso in 2004 led to the publication of *Chile quiere más cultura: Definiciones de política cultural 2005-2010* (presented to Lagos in May 2005). The second Convention looked at the *Políticas regionales de cultura* which each Region's Cultural Directorate and Advisory Committee had been formulating since May 2005. The 2006 Convention was a space for CNCA representatives from all regions to reflect on how these policies are being implemented during the Bachelet administration. More recently in 2007, the CNCA adopted "creating Chile" (*creando Chile*) as its slogan.

library coverage around the country (http://www.biblioredes.cl/) and the long build-up to Chile's Bicentenary in 2010 (http://www.obrasbicentenario.cl/).[31]

These initiatives were designed to put an end to the fragmented, scattered nature of the existing cultural policies and provide a coherent infrastructure for calling for, receiving and evaluating arts, culture and heritage project proposals and awarding public funds to projects on a competitive basis. Agustín Squella, named Presidential Advisor by Lagos in 2000 and entrusted with drawing up and coordinating the new *institucionalidad*, writes that:

> The final objective is to obtain better levels of truly human development, that which is measured by the integral quality of people's life and by the satisfaction of those more intangible and profound needs and aspirations which have to do with the creation, access and enjoyment of the symbolic goods which derive from a country's art and culture.
>
> (Squella 2001, my translation)

The bestselling UNDP report on Human Development in Chile *We the Chileans, A Cultural Challenge* (2002)[32] analysed in detail the grave lack of social cohesion which had generated a phenomenon of "two Chiles within one Chile". The results of the UNDP's statistical analysis painted a disturbingly familiar picture of a Chile where the path to restoring economic and political stability has robbed us of part of our humanity. It suggested that Chileans are in fact a rather unhappy lot, that the Chilean environment is too hostile and competitive to establish productive intercultural exchanges and that most people do not feel that they are protagonists in their own society, can give direction to their own lives or even explain their own conditions. The report urged the government to plan an institutionalism to make possible the conditions for the construction of equitable spaces for the development of the creative diversity in society, as part of a strategy to constitute and strengthen Chileans' sense of identity.

> In an increasingly globalised world, only those nations which are able to increase their cultural density will endure with genuine identity. The others, those which cannot attain that greater density, will be mistaken for one another and probably be the victims of the cultural hegemony of the most

[31] There are obvious parallels here with the "cultural revolution" of Tony Blair's New Labour governments in Britain (1997-2007): technocratic approach to culture and the arts, renewed public interest in certain national cultural institutions and boom in art collecting.
[32] Available at http://www.desarrollohumano.cl/eleccion2002.htm.

powerful nations.

(Lagos 2000, my translation)

This has clearly already transformed the arts scene and, by extension, the cultural atmosphere: "consciousness has arrived in Chile, decades late, of the need for critical and written memory" (Crespo 2006, my translation). The last five years have seen a surge in privately as well as officially produced books, catalogues, webpages and blogs dedicated to Chilean arts and culture, following years of scattered written production after the publication of the classic *Chile Arte Actual* (1988).[33] The new cultural *institucionalidad* is officially intended to give greater "cultural density" to the country, a democratic governmental space for cultural development for the first time, but leading curator Justo Pastor Mellado[34] frequently centres his critical eye on the repercussions for artists and the country as a whole of the *institucionalidad*'s ignorance of the practical processes of art.

An example of an attempt to insert Chilean artists into the international art market is US-based art critic, historian and curator Gerardo Mosquera's editorial involvement in *Copying Eden: Recent Art from Chile* (2006), a book (critiqued by Mellado and fellow essayist Adriana Valdés as a product aimed at situating Chile in the international art marketplace) looking at Chilean visual art over the last thirty years and the work of some seventy Chilean artists. Interviewed in the conservative national newspaper *El Mercurio*, Mosquera profiled the current Chilean arts scene: Chile has not produced enough books on art; Chilean artists lack projection and institutions have not helped to internationalise them; Chilean art is too academic; Chilean art is unknown abroad mainly because of its geographical isolation, the effects of the military fracture, provincialism and lack of initiative and institutional support; the Chilean artists known abroad are those who live abroad; there is no correlation between the economic growth of the country and its artistic development and the modernisation process has *not* included culture; Chile is an oligarchic, conservative country which has *not* supported contemporary art; there are no collectors of contemporary art in Chile. "The bourgeoisie, which carried out the economic

[33] In particular, out-of-print books, articles and audiovisuals are being given new leases of life on webpages like http://www.textosdearte.cl/, http://www.memoriachilena.cl/, http://www.umatic.cl/ and http://www.cinechileno.org/ (all Spanish-language). Also, in 2006, long-term émigrés like Jaar, Ruiz and Jodorowsky have been "rediscovered" by the mainstream Chilean art scene.

[34] Mellado is constantly evaluating processes, identifying faults, intervening in the public sphere and opening spaces of dialogue and critical discussion through his website (http://www.justopastormellado.cl/).

changes in this country, collects landscape artists of the Nineteenth Century"; Chilean artists need to learn to self-manage (Mosquera in García 2005, my translation).[35] Indeed, the State collection of contemporary art was initiated as recently as 1995, through artists' donations (CNCA/Galería Gabriela Mistral 2004).

Another of the recent wave of books, *Chile Arte Extremo: Nuevas tendencias en el cambio de siglo* (2005), contains interviews with twenty Chilean artists who have emerged in Santiago since the Nineties. One of the questions raised: "Why do these authors appear to be closer to international avant-gardes than to the history of Chilean art?" (Lara, Machuca and Rojas 2005, p9, my translation). This question becomes relevant when positioning artists within a historical continuum and is particularly relevant when trying to identify and comprehend points of connection which link the Chilean present with its past; the past within the present and the present within the past as shared spaces of pedagogical possibility. Any exploration of the potential of this multiple temporality is clearly also important to my interviewees' experiences.

An attempt to answer the question demands reflection about capital city Santiago de Chile's long tradition as the dominant centre and its relationship with other Chilean cities and the countryside. The centre/periphery tension between Chile and the outside world is duplicated within the country itself where "Chile" can often come to mean "Santiago", as if the city could encompass the intercultural diversity of an enormously diverse country populated by multiple circuits which tend to encourage distinct local identities. Over 60% of the Chilean population resides outside the Región Metropolitana (where Santiago is located). As well as our Spanish/indigenous *mestizo* roots (see *12.6.4*), waves of immigration have taken place to the north from England, Ireland, Italy, France and the Balkans in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries and to the south from Germany in the Nineteenth Century as well as more recent migrations from neighbouring countries (primarily Argentina, Bolivia and Peru), Korea and Palestine. Our natural borders consist of the Atacama (the world's driest desert) to the north; forests, lakes and volcanoes and Antarctica to the south; the Andes Mountains to the East and the Pacific to the West. This diversity, added to the slimness and length of the country, produces extreme cultural diversity as well as a peculiar breed of insularism. Santiago, as the

[35] In addition to Mosquera, international curators who have shown an active interest in contemporary Chilean arts include Gabriela Rangel and Cecilia Brunson.

country's only major cosmopolitan metropolis (Concepción is the second city with a population of 212,000 compared with Santiago's 5.8m), is the bridge connecting Chile with the international arts scene and it is Santiago which tends to create strategic spaces for the insertion and circulation of its products into international markets. It is the postmodern look and feel of Santiago's arts scene which makes sense to a uniform world and which awakens the greatest interest for international curators, critics and theorists. While Santiago has its own physical urban margins, the *Regiones* have become the extended marginalities of Santiago. Despite ongoing efforts to decentralise the country's cultural-artistic activity, the provinces are frequently excluded as they do not always conform to the homogenising structure of the culture industry.

To conclude, the socio-historical contexts that Chilean, and most especially Santiago-based, artists operated in during the military regime differ appreciably from those of the post-dictatorship. There are important structural and thematic differences: artists today work within an officialised, modernising cultural platform provided by a governmental mindset and *institucionalidad* which seeks to professionalise their work, meaning that they have to learn how to "play its games". They are being encouraged by the government to do this in a competitive, market-driven global dynamic which offers different cultural referents from those which influenced artists during the military regime. Homogenisation thus may inadvertently become the characteristic of the years to come despite the government's clearly stated commitment to the promotion and protection of diversity.

> All of [*the emerging Santiago-based artists interviewed*] demonstrate a concern with self-promotion and self-improvement through postgraduate studies, academies and residencies both at home and abroad (the majority have a Masters in Visual Arts from the University of Chile). Many are teachers. "Artist-managers", they know full well how to direct their artwork and "move" it on the circuit and outside our borders. They are noted individuals who tend not to be members of collectives, dialoguing only occasionally with the other spheres of the arts[…]
>
> (Id. at 13)

The stark change in context and dynamic is palpable in the following two brief voices. Two relatively high-profile Chilean visual artists illustrate this generational shift. Arturo Duclós (born 1959) asserts that:

> The rules of the game have changed. Before, everything was "amateur", almost everyone had other jobs and art was a hobby or an intellectual pleasure, nobody made a living from art or from scholarships. Moreover, we were totally isolated from an international circuit.
>
> (Duclós in Landaeta 1998, my translation)

Conversely, Patrick Hamilton (born 1974) - one of the few younger Chilean artists to have studied the work of conceptual artists like Díaz, Dittborn and Dávila and now seek to do work equally in tune with the context of modern Chile (Lara 2004; Cáceres 2005) - claims that:

> Every time I leave [*the country*], I start meeting people. That's very important in terms of circuit, contacts and also the profile that my work is acquiring. In the regional sphere, I relate to a sort of scene where we discuss questions foreign to an artist who is not in Chile, when there's no longer any interest in exhibiting at the Animal, Metropolitan or Mistral [*galleries*], because this is of the market and this is marginal.
>
> (Lara, Machuca and Rojas 2005, p80, my translation)

7.0 Research suppositions

The theoretical articulations presented above in sections *5.0* and *6.0* facilitated the formulation of the following four suppositions which help sustain the principal philosophical arguments developed in this research, providing the grounding for the emergent methodology and analysis.

The arts' contents of plurality: as cultural formations emerging from the expression of a plurality of social groups, the arts contain traces of meaningful constructions which could offer us possibilities for democracy. The arts deal with the certain and the uncertain, the diverse and the specific, public and private; a plurality of socio-historical contents which offer evidence that there is no set equation that can take in the whole of humanity (i.e. people cannot be profoundly, accurately interpreted via positivistic calculation, however precise this may appear).

The arts' epistemological dynamic: the arts, their processes and products, may constitute an attempt to understand and make sense of reality. They can therefore involve the

construction of approximations to knowledge and the development of cognitive strategies which may help shape the distinctive “style” or predisposition that a particular group values, explores and uses to understand itself and others. The arts have the potential to be a renewable form of knowing and knowledge, having profound effects on the types of interventions to be made in the world.

The arts’ humanising possibilities: the meaningful multisensory experiences entailed in the arts could broaden people’s aesthetic scope and thus open new spaces for human interaction and understanding. The arts could become alternative spaces for transformative learning, providing society with humanising approaches.

And a fourth supposition which encompasses the previous three:

The arts’ democratising spatiality: spatial formations involve the interaction of our corporealities which are filled with the *contents* of personal and collective memories and whose chance to act also implies *knowledge* and relations of power. To be conscious of these spatial interactions is to be aware that *we* are the builders of the (aesthetic, symbolic, objective and subjective) spaces which embrace us. The arts have the potential to open spaces for excluded groups and integrate them into the society-making articulation and thus generate conditions for political agency and *humanisation*. The arts not only provide us with spaces “to construct” our contexts but also “to reflect” on them, thus making the experience of participating in the construction of society formative: we learn to see ourselves, see others and project our understandings.

CHAPTER THREE: TOWARDS SCULPTURE - LETTING SHAPE DEFINE ITSELF

> Research has much to contribute to knowledge as well as to the recognition of the cultural-historical specificities of social subjects… it is important to identify the different shades of grey which exist between the black and white emphasised by the analysis carried out in the past… to look for creative ways of producing knowledge and of suggesting strategies for struggle.
> (Hernández Castillo 2003, pp6-7, my translation)

> The multiple methodologies of qualitative research may be viewed as a bricolage, and the researcher as *bricoleur*. [...] The researcher-as-*bricoleur*-theorist works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms.
> (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, pp2-3)

8.0 Literature review methodology

This literature review has been undertaken along two parallel lines: (a) identifying the *methodology* which best met and satisfied the research objectives; (b) identifying and exploring the existing *bodies of knowledge* related to the universality of this research (arts and cultural integration) and revising the historical evolution of the interviewees' cultural-artistic context stipulated by the specificity of the Chilean case study.

(a) A growing understanding of the nature of the research became vital for the selection and development of an appropriate methodology upon which to base a suitable research design. A detailed revision of the research objectives unveiled both theoretical and empirical dimensions that complement one another organically. The *theoretical dimension* aimed at developing a universally grounded philosophical discourse in order to position the research in "the broader picture", and a specific discourse to understand the particularism of the case study. The *empirical dimension* was intended to give direct insight into real people's experiences and perceptions about culture and the arts, and thus interact with theory in a grounded, contextualised way. As Rivera claims, it is not possible "to speak of culture except in relation to specific social actors, also with specific practices and modes of symbolisation and values" (Rivera 1983, p67).

The multidimensional character of the research demanded research tools and strategies which would provide *flexibility* for exploring the spectrum of the phenomenon studied as

fully as possible and sufficient *proximity* and *depth* for understanding it, finding in the multi-method focus of the qualitative research tradition the most suitable means to meet its needs. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln provide a compelling portrait of the qualitative researcher-as-*bricoleur*-theorist, a notion we can attribute to Claude Lévi-Strauss, which helps to make better sense of the qualitative nature of this research:

> The *bricoleur* produces a bricolage, that is, a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation. [...] If new tools have to be invented, or pieced together, then the researcher will do this. The choice of which tools to use, which research practices to employ, is not set in advance. [...] the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Objective reality can never be captured. [...] The *bricoleur* is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks, ranging from interviewing to observing, to interpreting personal and historical documents, to intensive self-reflection and introspection. The *bricoleur* reads widely and is knowledgeable about the many interpretive paradigms (feminism, Marxism, cultural studies, constructivism) that can be brought to any particular problem. [...] The *bricoleur* understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting. The *bricoleur* knows that science is power, for all research findings have political implications. There is no value-free science.
>
> (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, pp2-3)[36]

(b) On the one hand, the process of reading universally grounded twentieth-century thinkers (Lyotard, Geertz, Laclau) and contemporary Latin American theorists (Martín-Barbero, Sarlo, Richard) helped to bring together different languages and philosophies which provided this research with a multiple-perspective approach. It consisted of revisions of existing knowledge and thinking pertaining to the main themes of the research, critiquing and then generating its own interrelated knowledge sources, thus enabling the construction of more autonomous, contextualised thinking on culture and its multiple formations and meanings.

On the other hand, however, the scope of the literature review was significantly narrowed by the establishment of the *nature of the groups* which constitute the case study of the research. This more specialised literature review helped situate the interviewees

[36] In this regard, it is worth highlighting the parallel between researcher and artist, following the Ruizian conceptualisation of filmmaker-as-*bricoleur* (see Chapter Six).

accurately in their socio-historical contexts, thus in a time continuum, making meaning of their cultural-artistic constructions.

9.0 Research methods

> The philosophical roots of qualitative methods emphasize the importance of understanding the *meanings* of human behavior and the socio-cultural context of social interaction. This includes developing *empathetic* understanding based on subjective experience, and understanding the connections between personal perceptions and behavior.
> (Patton 1987, p20)

The choice of research methods was made in relation to the research objectives of this thesis.

In order to accomplish *Objective 1* ("to develop a comprehensible, reflective discourse within critical cultural theory in order to understand the dynamic of the arts within society"), it was necessary to undertake an intensive theoretical exploration as a way of setting the grounds for knowledge-construction. This theoretical foundation was accomplished through a literature review designed to support, inform and be informed by the empirical stage of the research. The starting point was the development of a body of knowledge around the universality of the research: arts and cultural integration.

During the earliest stages of the construction of this body of knowledge, I relied on the expertise and advice of my supervisory team. Key texts on critical cultural theory provided a grounding whence to start mapping out the terrain of my research and position it within a broader cultural theoretical enquiry, until it developed greater autonomy. Three prominent sources of authority were Lyotard's articulation of the postmodern, Geertz's anthropological interpretation of cultures and Laclau and Mouffe's theorisation of democracy.

Lyotard's work provided this thesis with pluralistic, as opposed to homogenising, grounds upon which to understand the unending process of society-making. His work on the "postmodern condition" is an influential reflection on the disintegration of the modern *grands récits* - totalising narratives for understanding society and the world at large - despite the fact that we all need to be gathered in a believable narrative. Homogenising

models, Lyotard argues, have created the conditions for performativity - a social context "in which the goal is no longer truth, but… the best possible input/output equation" (Lyotard 1984, p46) and where people become mere "players" of institutions' "pragmatic posts", rather than agents of change. The educational system plays an important role in the reproduction of this set of circumstances, which is to the detriment of the struggle against inequality and, therefore, the fostering of plural democracy.

Geertz offered the thesis an anthropological perspective through which to approximate artistic phenomena sustained on the claim that the arts cannot be separated from culture, which Geertz describes as a "general system of symbolic forms" (Geertz 2000, p109), "vehicles of meaning" (Id. at 118) and "modes of thought" (Id. at 120). For Geertz, culture "is always a local matter" (Id. at 97) and a "theory of art is[…] at the same time a theory of culture, not an autonomous enterprise" (Id. at 109). The development of our multisensory capacity (sight, hearing, taste, touch) is directly informed by our surrounding environments. Geertz argues for an investigation of *symbols* "in their natural habitat - the common world in which men look, name, listen, and make" (Id. at 119). Art is the expression or materialisation of a sensibility which "is essentially a collective formation" (Id. at 99) and it is necessary to understand the factors, "as various as life itself" (Id. at 119), which cause artworks "to seem important - that is, affected with import - to those who make or possess them" (Id. at 119).

Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical project on modern democracy permitted the thesis a framework for looking at democratic societies and their "increasing lack of social cohesion" (Mouffe 1992, p230), and also a possibility for fulfilling minority groups' demands in an effort to democratise their access to society. These two authors agree on the impossibility of a fully completed democracy and call for society's pluralities to struggle for partially "completing incompletion": the ongoing construction of democracy. Towards the fulfilling of this "missing fullness", Mouffe suggests a radicalisation of modern democracy's "liberal-democratic regime" (Mouffe 1992, p3) in order to articulate "individual freedom and civic participation" (Id. at 231). Mouffe suggests *citizenship* for such an articulation, which she claims must be understood as a socio-political and therefore participatory ethical notion, acting as "a form of identification, a type of political identity: something to be constructed" collectively (Id. at 231). This in turn, following Mouffe, will allow radical democratic citizens to construct "a 'we', a chain of equivalence

among [*various groups'*] demands so as to articulate them through the principle of democratic equivalence" (Id. at 236).

This universal theoretical grounding facilitated access to ongoing debates in Latin American cultural studies where theoretical specificity was often cut through by universal discourses. Establishing a network of academic contacts became crucial, through subscription to electronic mailing lists and membership of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) in the US and the Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS) in the UK, and participation in both organisations' annual conference in 2004. This goal was also met by assistance at three international symposia: *The Conundra of Vision: Reflexivity in Latin American Visual Culture* (Cambridge, February 2005), *Four Lines: Creation, Collection, Education, Exhibition - Art from Latin America in Contemporary Practice* (Essex, April 2005) and *Visual Synergies: Documentary and Fiction Film in Latin America* (London and Cambridge, June 2006). Theory also provided the research with a more comprehensive framework through which interviewees' socio-historical context was documented, situated and articulated in order to make meaning of their cultural-artistic trajectories.

A comparative analysis was carried out in order to accomplish the empirical dimension of *Objective 2* ("to formulate possibilities for cultural integration through the arts within contemporary Chilean society") which signified a comparison of the perceptions about the role of art and its position in Chile among a UK-based Chilean exile community of artists and an equivalent group of Chileans artists still residing in Chile. The artists' perceptions were collected through *semi-structured in-depth interviews* in order to create the possibility of readjustment where necessary and incorporation of relevant issues which had not been considered prior to the interviews (see *10.3*). This fieldwork also entailed *observation* (of performance, artwork, presentations, talks, etc). Analysis of the outcome facilitated the understanding of who the exile artists were and their cultural-artistic constructions, the current Chilean cultural-artistic scene and its artists' perceptions, and the commonalities shared by the two groups and the possibility for meaningful transformative exchange between them.

To accomplish *Objective 3* ("to make an original interdisciplinary contribution to the understanding of the arts as participatory cultural constructs for a humanising

perspective"), I approached the phenomenon of cultural formation in a multi-method, cross-disciplinary fashion: social theory, for example, facilitated a way to understand the vast number of social issues which make up everyday life, history to understand the past and connect it to the present, empirical work to turn towards social actors and their cultural constructions, pedagogy to understand the intrinsic pedagogical formations of culture, and video experimentation to present alternative narratives for the articulations of meanings.

10.0 Fieldwork

10.1 In London

10.1.1 Traffic of symbols

I first encountered London's Chilean exile community on 13th September 2003 at the conference entitled "Chile: The other September 11th - A day of videos, discussion and music to mark 30 years since the military coup in Chile" coordinated in London by a young second-generation exile. I received the details of this unexpected encounter through an internet mailing list and attended primarily because I was curious about what a conference on Chile in the UK might be like and hoped to fill in some of the gaps in my knowledge. The conference was a unique experience and the most striking aspect for me was the unspoken importance of artistic expression (neither for the purpose of entertainment nor edification). The conference revealed important aesthetic dimensions that this community had developed in exile as a way of reconstructing memory and coming to terms with its traumatic past and the issue of impunity in Chile. The conference congregated first- and second-generation Chilean exile, as well as British, audiences, and made visible the second generation's contribution to maintaining consciousness about the Chilean issue at university level and the implications of bringing the British and Chilean communities closer through dialogue.

The conference developed in a space which generated a particular atmosphere through the transit of symbols which referenced and recreated an aesthetic experience of the Chile of the past. Visualities played a key role in this process: walls were adorned with pictures of the Chilean military clashing with protestors and activists, canvases and

portraits of the “disappeared”. The home- and handmade aesthetic of the conference was reminiscent of public demonstrations in Chile. Activities nominally outside the academic scope of the conference, like the sale of Chilean cuisine during coffee breaks, had a role to play in the aesthetic experience. Representatives of the Latin America Bureau LAB, The Latin American Workers’ Association and the Human Rights International Project had set up stalls showcasing their publications as well as handouts advertising websites and fundraising events, giving the surrounding space a more strategic, officialised look which facilitated intergenerational and intercultural audience engagement and interaction.

Live music and video played between sessions, combined with the surrounding atmosphere of the venue, had a calculated impact. People attended in order to reinforce the sense of communal and family solidarity. It became evident that some needed to have sufferings publicly aired and “re-enacted”. Thus the cultural-artistic side of the conference did not constitute “extra-curricular” activities aimed at entertaining the audience and lightening the mood of the conference; rather, it was a vital, integrated element of the programme constituting another means of denunciation and expression, reinforcing the commemorative message: the act of remembering. The organisers were openly keen to encourage the Chilean community to keep talking about events that they believed were being passively forgotten and actively written out of history. The central concept: “this cannot happen again but it will if we allow one another to forget”.

10.1.2 Aesthetic identity

The encounter with the exile community in the specific socio-cultural context generated by the conference helped to crystallise an aesthetic dimension of identity. The fact that this encounter happened, having the formations of the host culture as a contrast, or spatial dislocation, facilitated making visible the processes related to identity construction. This process can be found too in the thinking of Beuys: “[w]e recognize common things[…] but it is their arrangement into unfamiliar confluences that startles us and transforms the way we perceive the formerly taken for granted” (Masters 1998, p6).

The re-enactment of the aesthetic experience of Chile in the context of the conference unveils “two Chiles”: *the Chile of here* and *the Chile of there*, and how much the latter is

contained in the former and how little the former is integrated in the latter. I feel positioned in both because I see the formative possibility that the community of exiles signifies for Chile but at the same time understand exile as part of the human condition, particularly in the age of globalisation.

> Each of us is an exile: the thought is a hackneyed one, but it still retains a little force. We are exiles from our mother's womb, from our childhood, from private happiness, from peace, even if we are not exiles in the more conventional sense of the word. The feeling of looking back for the last time, of setting our face to a new and possibly hostile world is one we all know. It is the human condition; and the great upheavals of history have merely added physical expression to an inner fact. Thinking with longing of somewhere we can never return becomes an obsession...
>
> (Simpson 1995, p.vii)

The first encounter with the community of exiles in London revealed a dynamic of identity formation which gave an aesthetic insight into the Chilean exile community. The community's value resides in its unique constructions which possess the potential to contribute to the understanding of a plurality of ways of being Chilean and to the development of a sense of cohesion in a society which is still culturally fragmented.

10.1.3 Bridges of exchange

During the Lagos administration, concerted efforts were made to integrate Chileans residing outside Chile. The Directorate for Chilean Communities Abroad (DICOEX), which functions as an arm of the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs,[37] was created at the start of Lagos' mandate in 2000, aiming at constructing an *institucionalidad* as the basis for the design of public policy for future exchange between Chilean individuals abroad, embassies, consulates and other public institutions. The government's intentions to create public mechanisms to encourage the Chilean intellectual resource residing abroad to feed back into the country is a conscious strategy to broaden the levels of civic participation in Chilean democracy. However, Chilean artists abroad could not apply for

[37] DICOEX (Dirección para la Comunidad de Chilenos en el Exterior, http://www.dicoex.net/ and http://www.dicoex.cl/) was created in 2001 as a section of the Lagos administration's Foreign Office (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, http://www.minrel.cl/). It represents the Chilean government's first formal attempt to address issues of institutionalism, communication, culture, social provision and census-taking as they relate to the hundreds of thousands of Chileans resident outside Chile.

national funds until the FONDART application form was made available online recently.

> Chileans can make a precious contribution to the progress of the country from outside, constructing from diversity. The global [*sic*] world is much more than just interchange of merchandise. It is above all interchange of experiences. From this reality, the Chileans inside and outside should start a broad dialogue based on their experiences in the most diverse fields…
> (Anon 2002a, p3, my translation)

However, I did not know about the government's efforts to integrate Chilean communities residing abroad until after I encountered London's Chilean community. Between 2000 and 2002, I did not observe any evidence of exchange with the Chile of outside either as an individual, as a teacher or as a researcher. Exile was not at the forefront of my imaginary and I perceived no official attempt to introduce the symbolic referent of Chile from outside into everyday life. This explains why, when I encountered the community in London, my spontaneous reaction was to imagine ways it might exchange with Chile.

Structural transformations are still at an early stage. The efforts made thus far to create an official space constitute a potential umbrella for the diverse spheres of Chilean exile. My research contributes to the understanding of cultural-artistic expression, one of the many dimensions of the intellectual resource's potential abroad. However, I believe that this dimension cuts through the totality of the expatriate experience, as I argue throughout this thesis.

During my fieldwork, several members of the Chilean community in London highlighted that the Chilean government "owes them". Many present themselves as important contributors to the restoration of Chilean democracy and agents of change raising consciousness among international audiences through their testimony. These artists tended to agree that there has been little to no sustained official exchange or strategic institutional support in London allowing them to communicate their artwork and experiences with Chile. Rather, they described the Chilean Embassy in London as a principally administrative site with its own cultural agenda, which consists of bringing selected artists over from Chile rather than the other way around.

10.1.4 Proximity to the exile community - acercamiento desde el acercamiento

During this unplanned encounter with the Chilean exile community, an intention emerged to understand how this group's potential could be transformed into human energy for subjective as well as collective growth which could transcend particularism. This called for approximation to the community and its ways of experiencing and perceiving the arts. My first move was to contact two Chilean women I met at the conference, whose biographies had resonated with me, and who kindly provided me with names of possible interviewees. Links of trust which started to grow through silent, invisible exchange - a concept Lyotard in fact uses to refer to communication through the arts - spontaneously led to links of generosity, invitations to share and dialogue. Access to people's private worlds helped me to make sense of how they constructed human relations, interactions and the aesthetic component, and how they, through their families, made meaning of their exile experience from their private realm in the UK.

Thus, proximity was established. It was from this closeness to the community that the empirical side of my research flowed and new referents came to light. *Noticias Latin America* and *ExpressNEWS* are bimonthly Spanish-language newspapers circulated free among the community in London. Cafes and restaurants such as El Vergel and La Piragua are meeting places for community members. Organisations such as Instituto Cervantes, Canning House and Praxis also facilitate spaces for events I attended in order to network, observe and engage with the community's interactions. Finally, the Chilean Embassy represents the community's institutional link to Chile.

This initial exploration was vital for the delimitation of the scope of the empirical side of the research. Conversations and exchange enabled me to stratify the community. Preliminary categories arose: a group of artists (i.e. the makers) and a group of non-artists (i.e. the consumers); a group which did not participate in the community's cultural-artistic activities and another which did; first- and second-generation groups. Simultaneous theoretical exploration also played a role in narrowing the empirical scope, determining a field of inquiry which could open new contributions to knowledge and offer me space to position the research in an ongoing personal trajectory. Thus, initial exploration though brush interviews permitted me to select the specific area of empirical interest: the role of the artist and his or her position in society, which became an

important axis, most especially to the series of in-depth interviews to come, and also to familiarise myself with the interview process itself.

10.1.5 Meeting the artists of London's exile community - a generous relationship

Since the process of redemocratisation began in Chile, the number of Chilean exile artists residing in London has dropped sharply. The following paragraphs detail the processes involved in making and stratifying an inventory of artists.

My attendance at a series of cultural activities organised by the Latin American community in London allowed me to identify some of the most active Chilean artists, see their work and have initial conversations with them. I gained access to these activities and was quickly incorporated, even on occasion becoming a helper or participant in communal, solidarity-inspired operations. This immersion permitted me to have spontaneous, informal conversations with almost all the Chilean artists who participated in the activities organised, capturing the "tacit knowledge" contained in their interactions (Fontana and Frey 1994, p361). I encountered musicians, composers, poets, painters, actors, writers and theatre directors; each was part of the first-generation exile group. However, a small number of the community's artists were economic migrants who found in the cultural-artistic programme of the community a collective creative space which gave meaning to their more utilitarian stay in the UK - their artistic production tended to consist of music and poetry.

It is also important to note that a more independent group of Chilean artists who did not participate in the cultural-artistic activities of the community was encountered, mainly through the internet and word of mouth. This group was comprised of both first- and second-generation exiles whose work was successfully integrated into the British cultural scene. They had more international contacts and their activities were rarely advertised in the newspapers which had helped to map the fieldwork cartography.

The chart below presents the categories of artists formally interviewed in June-July 2004 and January 2005 and includes the spectrum of specificities: male and female voices both of first and second generations; voices of artists (both formally trained and autodidacts); and from artists who had only had a temporary residence in the UK.

Speciality	No.	Gender		Generation		Artistic status		Stay status	
		F	*M*	*1st*	*2nd*	*Trained*	*Autodidact*	*Def.*	*Temp.*
Painters	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
Musicians*	7	1	6	6	1	1	6	4	3
Writers	5	-	5	5	-	1	4	5	-
Graphic designers	2	-	2	1	1	2	-	2	-

* Almost all were poets too. Two had had acting experience in UK feature films.

10.2 In Chile

10.2.1 Meeting the artists

The same principles were used to guide the fieldwork in Chile. Its trajectory was mapped out mainly through the following sources: information in newspapers, contact with cultural officials and contact details provided by artists in London.

Two daily newspapers - the national *El Mercurio* and the regional *El Sur* - helped to construct a picture of the arts scenes of Santiago and Concepción respectively. Santiago is Chile's mainstream and vanguard artistic *centre*. The regions tend to keep distinctive, usually more traditional or *démodé* dynamics; access to Concepción's smaller, local artistic circuit gave me a better grasp of how "sense of community" worked among artists in Chile and to compare it to the sense of community that Chilean exile artists had developed in London. Moreover, by looking at the logic behind artistic production and circulation in Concepción, my research tried to understand what the peripheral relation to Santiago meant in a country whose centre-periphery contrast has generated opposing (and sometimes conflicting) cultures (see *6.5.2*). This more balanced, integrative approach was geared to paint a picture of the artistic development in modern Chile which was more meaningful to the artists interviewed in London (who themselves originally came from both capital and provinces). Fieldwork in Chile, as in London, relied on official sources of information without losing an openness to capture a broader spectrum of the specificities which constitute these diverse, multidimensional realities.

These strategies were combined with contact with key cultural officials and attendance at public debates, symposia, conferences, launches, etc organised by central and local government, universities and private institutions. This enabled me to get closer to and get a feel for the country's institutional discourses on culture and the arts.

Finally, some former members of the London exile community were contacted in Chile, information based on an inventory of returnees made from the information supplied by the interviewees in London. The objective was to discover more about the Chilean community in London - however, it also opened a door to the returnees' experience of "doubleness" and social reintegration.

The following chart presents the categories of artists formally interviewed in Chile during July-September 2004. To make this group more readily comparable to the London group, the categories include the same specificities as above.

Speciality	**No.**	**Gender**		**Generation**		**Artist status**		**Stay status**	
		F	*M*	*1st*	*2nd*	*Trained*	*Autodidact*	*Def.*	*Ret.*
Painters	4	2	2	2	2	4	-	4	-
Musicians*	9	3	6	8	1	1	8	9	-
Writers	3	-	3	2	1	3	-	2	1
Graphic designers	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-

* One musician was originally from Central America but has lived in Chile for more than twenty years and, as an active cultural manager based in Santiago, had intimate knowledge of the Santiago cultural scene as well as a more objective take on the Chilean scene.

In addition, three other people were formally interviewed who did not fit into the artist category. One was a returnee (a former cultural administrator who played an active role in the London exile community during the Seventies and Eighties), the second was a sociologist and member of the UNDP research team, and the third was the director of a Regional Council for Culture and the Arts.

10.3 In-Depth Interviews: Structure and dynamics

The interviews were a dialogical space occupied by people willing to share their perceptions and experiences. Experience acquires sense when it is told and also it is human to tell History, not just to talk (i.e. to construct sharable meaning) (Jesús Martín-Barbero, *Conundra of Vision* symposium, Cambridge, 2005). Thus the main purpose was to unveil *how* the interrelationship between *artists*, their *work* and *society* manifested in the narratives of real people (i.e. what the underlying processes and connections were and how to make them explicit). To narrate is to search for meaning; it is not necessarily linear: it involves discriminating, prioritising and giving order, cohesion and meaning to elements so that other human beings can understand them (Ana María Machado, *Sentidos de la Educación y la Cultura* conference, Santiago, 2005).

The interviews were structured taking into consideration two distinct moments which acted as a guiding framework. The first was general in character. Its main aims were: to capture the artists' personal understandings and perceptions about art's value and how this was engraved in the artists' work and their own reflections on that work; to comprehend the intentions they pursued through their artwork and how it interacted with society; and to understand the meanings that artists gave to their creative output and its implications.

The second moment was more specific and involved a critical analysis of the Chilean cultural-artistic context. Its aims were: to map the artists' perceptions about artistic expression in Chile (before, during and after the military regime); to understand the sense of the collective that they developed abroad and/or in Chile and the role the arts played in this process; to capture the artist's perceptions about recent Chilean cultural policies.

The vast majority of the interviews were carried out on an individual basis and in Spanish. It was my responsibility to contact the interviewees, tell them about the themes that the interview was to address and establish links of trust in order to create a friendly, stimulating atmosphere, emphasising the value of their opinions and experiences. During the interview itself, I began by introducing relevant autobiographical information so as to position myself on relatively equal subjective grounds with the interviewees and outlining

the different issues stipulated by the interview structure which the interviewees were asked to talk about. This took the shape of an approximately five-minute introduction with a conversational, relaxed tone to establish a rapport and engage the interviewees in spontaneous dialogue. The intention of this was to provide the interviewees with the *freedom* to articulate the different issues in their own way and at their own pace.

> … a true conversation cannot be preestablished. I cannot know beforehand what you will say to me in answering my question. I have to become engaged in order to follow our process of conversation. Do you see? Of course, I have to program my conversation. Nevertheless, I have to know that my conversation cannot be precisely as I planned it.
>
> (Freire in Finkelpearl 2000, p286)

One of my main tasks was to ensure that all the issues stipulated in the interview structure were covered, making general notes as each interviewee spoke. When necessary, I intervened in the conversation giving feedback by reflecting back on and clarifying statements in order to reassure the interviewees that they were indeed "making sense" and that I was "inside" the cultural and discursive "positionalities" that informed their claims (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994, p154). In addition, I used examples to illustrate and clarify their ideas.

All interviews were recorded on MiniDisc cassette, then transcribed in their original language, keeping each interviewee's anonymity (see Appendix 3 for interview transcriptions). The transcriptions were read through thoroughly so as to identify the plurality of themes which emerged from each artist's "narratives". These themes were organised in a series of categories presented in the findings section of this thesis, containing passages of the interviewees' voices (which I translated into English where necessary).

10.4 Observations

The observations recorded during fieldwork also involved the three cornerstones of the interviews (artist, artist's work and society in which artist is situated). They involved the maintenance of informal *fieldwork diaries* in which I kept written records varying from anecdotes, informal chats, impressions and interpretations to talks given during art exhibition openings and other cultural events specified in Figure 1 below and in greater

detail in Appendix 1. In some cases, video was also used to capture and keep records of the work of the artists interviewed, its surrounding context/interactions and an anecdotal record of most interviews (see *11.3*). We are all observers of our surrounding realities, at some level or other, but during fieldwork I intentionally positioned myself as a conscious observer, uniting my senses to try to capture and read an unspoken feeling, a surrounding atmosphere which permeated my understanding of reality, allowing me to give a profounder insight into my analysis, materialised in the organic development of the critical and reflective categories presented in this thesis.

Figure 1. **Fieldwork picture**: the totality of encounters.[38]

UK

Type of contact	No.	Date range
Exhibitions attended/visited	2	21/06/04 to 18/05/05
Informal conversations with artists in situ	9	12/06/04 to 01/01/05
Informal conversations with cultural managers	3	08/06/04 to 27/06/04
Performances attended	4	28/05/04 to 27/06/04
Public interviews/presentations attended	2	08/06/04 to 29/06/04
Conferences and miscellaneous events attended	6	12/06/04 to 26/06/04

Chile

Type of contact	No.	Date range
Exhibitions attended/visited	14	26/07/04 to 08/09/04
Informal conversations with artists in situ	7	06/08/04 to 06/09/04
Informal conversations with cultural managers	3	27/07/04 to 06/09/04
Performances attended	10	30/07/04 to 10/09/04
Public interviews/presentations attended	10	06/08/04 to 06/09/04
Conferences and miscellaneous events attended	7	28/07/04 to 08/09/04

[38] See Appendix 1 for nature and place of each encounter.

11.0 Video work: Alternative approximations

My work with video started soon after the research began but did not have an explicit, formal space within the research design. It consisted of a series of spontaneous audiovisual experiments responding to an organic need to explore and understand the artistic experience "from within". This "creative disruption", to borrow Garoian's phrase, became an "emergent outcome" facilitating the re-presentation of meanings and reflections constructed during fieldwork which organically fed into and illuminated the thesis thus becoming both a means and an end.

This first-hand experience and the reflective processes it involved contributed to the development of a more empathetic relationship with the artists during the carrying out of fieldwork, thus facilitating dialogue. The nature of the trajectory of the video experimentation (a process of self-construction outside the conventions of the world of the arts practitioner) offered broader levels of independence of thought and knowledge, a fresher perspective inspired by the spontaneous aesthetic encounters that the research experience generated.

In total, four videos were produced (see Appendix 4), capturing and expressing several moments in the aesthetic cartography of the research journey. Each becomes a catalyst for the communication and delivery of the research constructs.[39]

11.1 Video 1: An audiovisual essay - the beginning

Chile Denunciation and Annunciation (2003, 4mins) was shot and edited at the end of the first year of my studies and responded in part to readings of Gramsci and Freire, the experience of studying at an art school and the implications of my lack of training to make art which would serve the school's institutional culture of production and exhibition. The main concepts of the video title - "denunciation" and "annunciation" - are borrowed from Freire's theory of transforming action which postulates that the denunciation of a dehumanising situation must be accompanied by the annunciation of its transformation -

[39] The aesthetic decisions involved in these videos are my own. However, they would have not materialised without the technical support of my cameraman and editor Lindsay Hodgson during production and post-production.

part of the humanisation process. This project was an attempt to re-present the personal and reflective mental transition which occurs in the space between these two Freirean processes, with Chile as context. *Chile Denunciation and Annunciation* primarily denounces the lack of a more critical, conscious understanding of the multidimensionality of history and how the potential pedagogical role that the arts could play in this realisation is wasted. Annunciation is contained in the protagonist's realisation that "social reality can be transformed; that it is made by men and can be changed by men" (Freire 1985, p39).

11.2 Video 2: A fictional narrative - in transition

River Scene (2003, 8mins) was made immediately after *Chile Denunciation and Annunciation*. Its aesthetic is partly inspired by external responses to the first video. References to Chile in its predecessor simply failed to engage some viewers who felt alienated by the re-presentation of a seemingly remote reality. *River Scene*, however, does also deal with Chile but in an ambiguous, non-explicit fashion. It conjures up a short fictional narrative in which the protagonist's return to the scene of a past trauma stirs stagnation caused by his or her inability to move on. The video illustrates recurring pain caused by this failure. This project did not use the monological structure of the first video to convey its ideas; rather, it experimented with new filmic resources like an ambient soundtrack mix, metaphor and jarring camera angles to convey a mind haunted by shocking memory, encouraging viewers to make their own interpretations. The openness of this structure seemed to work more for viewers who did not relate to its predecessor.

The underlying theme of *River Scene* is history inspired by the need to heal a wounded past in post-transitional Chile. The reconstruction of democracy has involved the reconstruction of memory which contains subjective and collective dimensions. Norbert Lechner, a key sociologist (and adherent of Castoriadis) working on Latin American postdictatorial culture and identity, writes that:

> […] collective memories construct and are constructed by order. Thus they establish *a mediation between the time of order and the time of everyday experience, between history and biography.* The transformation of social order and the construction of individual biographies and, above all, the complementing of the two are committed in our capacities for recognising

and processing collective memories and hopes.

(Lechner 2002a, p82, my translation, original text's italics)

Each video project has developed its own treatment. While the first owes a debt to the essayistic form, the second looks for independence from written discourse, exploring means which were closer to film language. The third and fourth videos look for their own voices.

11.3 Video 3: Towards a poetic construction

From Outside (2005, 28mins) is the most ambitious and complex of these experimental pieces and was completed with raw footage shot as video records during fieldwork trips to London and Chile. The main challenge here was to explore and materialise a possibility for cultural integration, crystallising the potentiality of the interviewed artists' profoundest, most personal aesthetic constructions. The video can be said to be articulated through what Gloria Anzaldúa calls "poetic association, another way of organizing experience, one that reflects our lives and the ways our minds work" (Anzaldúa 1990, p.xvii). Its visual and audio narratives are based on detailed revision of observations and comments in the fieldwork diaries in an attempt to express atmosphere, ambiguity and contradiction as faithfully as possible.

My narrator speaks from a subjective stance. She positions herself as a medium; multiple voices speak through her and thus gain their own autonomy. She intervenes in the aesthetic space of the video and locates herself in time: the shots which bookend *From Outside* position her as a reflective being in a here-and-now (i.e. the northeast of Scotland). In emotion recollected in tranquillity, she evokes the human encounters she has had with the Chilean artists she met during her fieldwork. The composition of short pieces of music, sections in slow motion, black-and-white and so on, contribute to the recreation of the plurality of emotions and feelings collected and experienced.

11.4 Video 4: Returning

The fourth video - made as my journey ends - closes a circle, bringing me back to where I began: the city of Aberdeen. This video turns my gaze outwards after a long period of

introspection. The reencounter with myself became a meaningful experience which gave me a fresher perspective on my surrounding realities. *Returning* (2007, 4mins) brings together the resources my previous video projects generated and I feel confident about using them to communicate my encounters in a territory now more familiar to me. I am aware of the plurality of the life contents that everyday experience contains and of their learning potential; how, as an artist, I can intervene in reality, creating spaces to present these contents in unique combinations to stimulate profounder understandings of life's plurality.

Part II

FINDINGS: EXILE AND CHILE

CHAPTER FOUR: IDENTITIES IN EXILE

12.0 The exile experience

12.1 Departure: General implications

> *To be wrenched from home, family, everything pleasant and familiar, and forced into a world that is cold and hostile, whether the expelling agent is the Angel of God or Stalin's NKVD: this is the defining experience to be exile. The word itself carries powerful connotations of sorrow and alienation, of the surrender of the individual to overwhelming strength, of years of fruitless waiting. It was Victor Hugo who called exile "a long dream of home". There is also a lingering sense of defiance, a refusal to accept that what has happened can be permanent, an obsessive watch for any sign of weakness and decay in the enemy camp which might permit an eventual return. But what lasts the longest is the shock of the original expulsion.*
> (Simpson 1995, p1, original text's italics)

The military regime used exile as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, exile was another means of internal repression (a sign of punishment; the "L" for *Listado Nacional* stamped on the passports of those prohibited from re-entering the country) which stigmatised as "traitors to the country" those who were exercising what they believed to be their rights as citizens. On the other, exile was also used as a symbol of the regime's supposed humanitarianism towards opposition in order to improve its international image after 1976 (Wright and Oñate 1998, p40). Within this fabrication, a widely circulated discourse emerged: "the image of a 'golden exile' - a comfortable, even luxurious existence that contrasted harshly with the economic hardship faced by many Chileans at home" (Id. at 9).

This distorted image of exile, most artists argue, has had a significant impact on Chileans' perceptions about the meaning of exile which persists to this day and precludes a real understanding of many peoples' lives abroad and the learning possibilities that the exile experience can offer. Many exile artists, discussing their recent visits to Chile, refer to a prevailing sense of resentment towards exiles and particularly towards those who went to the "First World" and were received by countries which supposedly gave them the economic and social stability it would have been impossible for them to obtain in Chile. Reflecting on what it has meant for Chilean society to sustain

its understanding of exile through simplified symbolic models which hinder future exchange, and how his own family has been affected, a second-generation artist asserts that:

> … a lot of my mother's family have an image of her as The Rich Lady From Over There who can, you know, pay to go to Chile when she wants and she doesn't want to come back because she's got a nice life over there. And that's partly true, I suppose, but there was a long time when there was no way she could go back… there are all sorts of different difficulties that are specific to being an exile, as well as simply being in another country. And I imagine that a lot of people in Chile won't see that far. (*visual artist, second generation*)

This general perception, sustained by the materialistic "golden exile" discourse, offers an insight into how the exile community feels that the Chilean general public today perceives it. A more specific level of perception is also raised, in a moral positioning founded on an ideological patriotic ideal; exiles' decision to leave Chile was judged through an ethical model which some artists criticise for ignoring consideration the variables which apply to each exile's situation. Its dualistic principles have constructed either/or categories which label departure during the military regime as an "abandonning" of the struggle and therefore a badge of dishonour. This second level of perception was an extra burden that exiles still carry. Of the moral dilemmas implicit here, the artist quoted above adds that:

> … there are people who are criticised for different things like: if you left, is that cowardice? If you stayed, is that braver? Is that somehow better?… "Those people got out. They were safe." You know. And they don't always think about the difficulties of exile. I mean, you take my mum's case. Her husband had been tortured and killed; murdered, OK, to put it bluntly. She tried to get some sort of justice and was then threatened herself that they would kill her and her children. As a mother, what do you do? Do you continue? Do you put your children in danger? Do you know what I mean? You have to make earth-shattering decisions at a time when you are also under massive amounts of stress. You have a limited number of choices available to you. You have a limited number of resources. And some are lucky and some are not. My mum took the decision to get out. (*visual artist, second generation*)

Following on from the coup, many Chileans were expelled from the country and therefore had very little choice about staying or not. Others faced the moral dilemma of choosing (and here a caveat is necessary because "freedom of choice" was impaired in cases of

extreme military intimidation) between staying to resist the military clandestinely or going into exile to save themselves and/or their families (an alternative which some envisaged as a possibility for resistance from abroad).[40] Departure, regardless of its specificity, brought for all exiles personal and collective dislocation and pain: the abrupt disconnection from networks of interrelations, private and public spaces and imaginaries.

Leaving behind identity, projection and meaning was disconcerting and incomprehensible for many. The arbitrariness of departure, the experience of the sudden loss of freedom and abolition of shared symbolic referents encouraged exile artists to question Justice and all the values of the democratic processes that they, as part of a collective project, helped construct before the military intervention. A poet describes the mixture of feelings:

> … I had that persistent singularity of feeling this arbitrary and violent fact of having to abandon a country and live in places one hasn't chosen… This fact, which undoubtedly marked our time outside, was a very difficult, complex, painful process. Accepting reality, the very everydayness of being in that situation. (*writer, first generation*)

12.2 Encounters with the Unknown

Artists have used many means to try to capture and depict the sentiment involved in the encounter with an unknown space following the traumatic experience of socio-historical, spatial fracture. They have experimented with everyday language and given it the density necessary to reconstruct and communicate complex feelings of strangeness and misplacement that they experienced on their arrival and resettlement in the UK. The poem quoted below in its entirety, written by a poet of London's Chilean exile community,

[40] Many people requested political asylum in different embassies in Santiago in the months following the coup d'état. Some political prisoners were sent into exile directly from prison as substitute for sentences handed out at military trial. Another group left the country soon after being released from custody, for fear of being imprisoned again. Others went into exile after their lives were threatened or they were made unemployable because of their political affiliations (Committee for the Defense of People's Rights CODEPU 1989, quoted in Espinoza and Buchanan-Arvay 2004). Wright and Oñate (1998, third chapter) provide a more detailed account of departure and its plurality, including the vital role played by a network of support created by religious, Chilean and international organisations; they also present interviews with Chilean exiles in four continents and a general profile of "the circumstances leading to their expatriation, the challenges they faced in adapting to life in countries around the world, and the difficulties of returning to a Chile that had changed profoundly during their absence" (Wright and Oñate 1998, p.ix).

recreates this shared atmosphere and depicts the mixture of emotions at play.

Lost in the Fog

I don't quite know
what I do in this strange realm
clouds cover my daily skies
cannot see stars of nights
cold penetrates my old bones.

I do not understand their tongues
nobody can pronounce my name
I can only mumble theirs
people always scurry
fading away in all directions
like souls dashing from devil.

Nostalgia wears away my soul
solitude stabs my chest
I wander along streets of this great city
lost among fog
I surely don't know
whether I am coming or going.

(Vera in Salgado-Rocha 2004, p137)

Initially, experiencing the after-effects of a profound shock, exiles found it difficult to accept and come to terms with exile. The stress surrounding the randomness of departure had given many a mental block. In this context, artists feel compelled to reemphasise that they left their homeland by obligation rather than choice, a distinction which may lead to social alienation, aloofness or a ghetto mentality; it took many exiles years to come to terms with the realities of their host country (Beckett 2002, pp157-164). This experience is crystallised in the voice of a second-generation musician who, reflecting on her parents' experience, states that:

> My parents didn't accept exile. Curiously, they'd spent many long years abroad before meeting, studying and having their careers but they always intended to return to Chile... I think they never integrated into a foreign society. They were never happy there and, sure, there's a huge difference between choosing and not choosing to live abroad. I think it would've been different if they'd chosen to leave the country voluntarily. And, well, it was very complicated for everyone; for them too because they were stuck with the Chile that they left and it was very shocking. (*musician, second generation*)

In the Seventies, a wave of international solidarity and support for the victims of the Pinochet regime helped generate mobilisation within the exile community, stirring feelings of hope among many exiles. The most notable incidence of solidarity in the UK was the East Kilbride Rolls-Royce workers' boycott of Chilean aircraft in 1974-1978 (Beckett 2002, pp148-156). One poet refers to the mixed emotions and the welcome afforded by solidarity groups thus:

> ... the seven months I lived in Lima[41] represent the first impact of exile, the most incomprehensible, but it was also the first impact of the enormous solidarity that I lived through outside the country. Above all Lima, where I worked with other writers, I experienced the friendship of others, added to a live action of solidarity with the Chileans who were there. In my case, the group I lived and worked with for those months was a group of exceptional human quality. (*writer, first generation*)

Some former refugee artists, three decades after they left Chile, today recall their first encounters with the exilic world and analyse it from a critical, objective perspective. They realise that they could have integrated into the foreign culture sooner, so as to have recycled their experience and formed a front of resistance. Human interaction generated unexpected forms of power that some believe they could have channelled better. The widespread misconception that exile was going to be short-lived (sustained on the premise that Chile's relatively stable democratic tradition would lead to the fall of the military regime sooner) made the process of integration into British society even slower. Moreover, many exiles on arrival privileged political activity over understanding of and adaptation to the new culture, thus contributing further to the deceleration of the integration process.[42] The extreme emotional conditions in which exiles were immersed at the early stage of exile barred their development of an attitude to encounter and explore their host society, a state of affairs that one writer evaluates in the following

[41] The process of exile started for many Chileans in Latin America (especially in the neighbouring countries of Argentina and Peru), but the political instability of the continent at the time, plus Pinochet's intervention in many Latin American countries through Operation Condor, forced many to seek asylum elsewhere.

[42] While Kay (1987 and 1989) is forthcoming in explaining the political factions, Montupil (1993, first chapter) describes this initial stage in great detail. Two periods are said to characterise the Chilean experience of exile in Europe: *the Seventies*, a period of heightened political activism backed by an international solidarity network, which reconstituted in Europe the political parties dissolved by the military, and through which exiles organised activities to raise awareness in their host countries and to help the victims of the military regime; and *the Eighties*, a period of reflection on global politics and relative quiet in response to the realisation that the levels of political activity developed in exile did not correspond to the levels within Chile and that the military regime was to last longer than anticipated.

terms:

> Not everything is so black and white. To begin with, many Latin Americans reacted with total and utter rejection. So that seems to me a mistake as well, an error. And, well, that probably impeded my integration to begin with, that attitude. (*writer, first generation*)

A new scope for possibilities opened up for exiles with the realisation that they could turn the exile experience into a resisting force to contest the military's intention to negate and erase all trace of them. Their physical and spiritual spaces, which had been territorialised by the formative experiences of the pre-coup years, became a site for resistance (see *15.1.1*). These territories contained social values with the potential to articulate new beginnings. They thus participated in the formation of cultural constructs constituting a praxis which fortified their stance in a foreign land. Their shared nostalgia for Chile and Latin America helped to generate energy which empowered their communities on subjective and collective grounds (see *12.6*).

Exile only became a living landscape after exiles collectively discovered and used its potential. A predisposition to learn from and interact with British culture signified for many artists a possibility for personal and professional growth. When reflecting today about what their life in London has meant, artists describe cultural activities through which they have reconstituted themselves and their relationships with Chile and also established links of exchange and understanding with British society. The rewarding human exchange and personal growth involved in this cultural interaction is crystallised by another poet's experience:

> ... there are very good local avant-garde theatres. They have an incredible reputation in London and constantly want to renew their repertoires. They want Latin American plays; they want plays which aren't British. Of course, we do everything in English. We have to because theatre survives through the English public which comes to see it... not just seasons with foreign plays, but also regular cultural days with music, poetry, mime... It's work which is integrated with the British community but which has to do with our solidarity with our culture. It's testimony through the British media. (*writer, first generation*)

12.3 Nostalgia: Añoranza con volver y sus posibilidades

> […] though Chilean exile officially ended with the return to democracy in our country, those of us who have been exiled one time think that we never cease being exiles. We carry the mark of having been uprooted for ever. And we still remain outside the country, perhaps not because we want to, but now because of socioeconomic and family circumstances. And until when? Nobody knows, not even us. But as we try to understand the reality of our comrades in Chile, we hope for reciprocity too.
> Jorge Salgado-Rocha (in Montupil 1993, p168, my translation)

> Exile is essentially open-ended, a condition which generates new uncertainties and dilemmas as the duration of exile is prolonged.
> (Eastmond 1997, p11)

All exile artists express, in diverse ways, a desire to return to Chile or at least maintain a fluent interaction with the country. The reasons they give are numerous (inability to identify with a foreign society, for example) but the most commonly mentioned reason is the conviction that, after an enforced departure, it is natural to return, reencounter, come to terms with and "find themselves" on an intimate personal as well as social level. For some, Return became a philosophical statement; a way of proving that they can choose where they go and where they live. Most artists perceive return as part of a natural cycle; part of a harmonious resolution, the final pulling together of a fragmented and scattered memory. One young UK-based artist born in exile recalls this sense of natural continuity as the main reason which encouraged her parents to return after years of nostalgically recreating Chile:

> I don't think they questioned it. It was as if it were written, as if no other possibility would fit. Including in those moments when, professionally and economically, the situation was more favourable where we were than in Chile. (*musician, second generation*)

In 1984, amid economic crisis and escalating national protest (see *6.3.2*), the military regime began to allow certain named exiles to return. It was not until the 1990 redemocratisation, however, that the National Office for Return (ONR) was created and for four years offered material and psychological support to returning exiles.[43] It would

[43] Wright and Oñate (1998) distinguish between two main periods of return: *pre-1990* - had a significant impact on the 1988 plebiscite result and coincided with the clandestine arrivals of

now seem appropriate to classify the Chilean political exiles remaining in the UK today as "post-exiles", as there are no legal restrictions on their return. The reasons why they have not yet returned are multiple and will be addressed in the pages which follow.

> The Chilean diaspora and its consequences did not end, then, with the return of civilian government in 1990 or with the closing of the government's Oficina Nacional del Retorno (National Office for Return, ONR) in 1994; they will continue to affect individuals, families, and the nation for decades to come.
>
> (Wright and Oñate 1998, p.xi)[44]

Many exile artists' desire to return to Chile has been hampered by conditions beyond their control; *structural deficiencies*, for example, which to varying degrees have affected them all. Despite intense ongoing reform, Chile still has a limited cultural-artistic infrastructure which does not facilitate the formation of spaces that most exile artists require in order to carry out the dynamic of work they have acquired in exile (*6.5* details the recent conformation of cultural *institucionalidad*). Artists' structural needs and the way they have tried to fulfil them in order to construct better possibilities for a future exchange with and even return to Chile can be usefully divided into the four groups which follow.

Some artists point out that the Eighties and Nineties saw the key waves of return of those exiles with more conventional qualifications and whose careers made sense in a utilitarian system. The pragmatic logic underlying the formal process of reintegration in Chile is not far removed from the principles sustaining the support Chilean exiles received upon their arrival in the UK.[45] The scholarships they were offered, some artists assert, clearly privileged "useful" or "down to earth" courses over arts and humanities, meaning many unqualified exiles wishing to initiate or continue a career in the arts had to

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political as well as guerrilla resistance groups; and *1990 onwards* - operated through the ONR set up during the Aylwin administration.

[44] The usually short-term economic migrants interviewed do not belong in this category, for obvious reasons.

[45] Muñoz (1980), Kay (1987 and 1989) and Joly (1987) published studies of Chilean settlement and integration in the UK in the Eighties. A brief summary of these publications can be found in Gelsthorpe and Herlitz (2003, pp8-9). Non-UK-specific texts of interest in this regard also include Montupil (1993), Eastmond (1997), Wright and Oñate (1998), Agosín and Sepúlveda (2001) and Espinoza and Buchanan-Arvay (2004) and del Pozo (2006).

forego academic training.[46] As a consequence, many of them today do not hold a formal degree, rendering the possibility of successful professional reinsertion into the Chilean workplace more problematic. Conscious of this, some are still looking for alternative means to better their chances in case of an eventual return. This is the case of the musician quoted below, who plans to return to Chile in the near future and is currently studying for a formal qualification in English-Spanish translation; a strategy to "fit into" the Chilean vocational system and ease his social reintegration. He recalls that:

> … I studied stage direction and film in Chile and, when I wanted to study again here, I found that there were only scholarships for people like myself - refugees, exiles or whatever, who wanted to study again - in what they considered useful careers: economics, sociology, all those "ologies". But neither music nor art was considered part of it. Or film or theatre or anything like that and it really frustrated me. (*musician, first generation*)

A second group of exile artists, the eldest, suffers the structural problematic differently, having already completed their studies and pursued artistic careers before leaving Chile. The Chilean cultural-artistic sphere has tended not to offer this group direct, concrete access to a network of reintegration which can guarantee the stability and creative freedom they have achieved in the UK. The "modernised" Chilean cultural scene is today dominated by a dynamic in which artists are expected to play the language games enabling them to construct spaces to compete with others and adapt to the dictates of the market (see *17.2* for details of present-day Chile). A market-driven culture in Chile responds to the global trends also prevalent in the UK, the difference being that UK-based exile artists have tended to construct their own microcosms through established, organised networks (Latin American communities, refugee organisations, human rights groups, academia, local government, etc) which has allowed them to sustain their artistic projects over time (as discussed in *12.6*). The lack of a platform in Chile which can sustain, rearticulate and give meaning to this network of interactions severely limits this group's chances of continuing the work they have developed and/or produced abroad.

[46] Another dimension of the discriminatory societal game is unveiled by Kay (1987), who provides evidence that Chilean exiles from middle-class backgrounds adapted more smoothly to Scottish life than did working-class Chilean exiles. The former handled codes of social interaction better and had the cultural capital to make their way to university, thus encouraging the reproduction of the class distinctions they brought with them from Chile, a reality depicted at the stark conclusion of Ruiz's masterly *Diálogos de exiliados* (1974), a film roundly rejected by the exile community in France on its release.

A third group cites serious health problems as the main reason for remaining in the UK, that Chile cannot guarantee them the quality of healthcare they receive in the UK. The structural support that artists require for successful reinsertion into Chilean society also extends to the needs and well-being of their families. This is a timely reminder that any efficient platform for reintegration must take into consideration the specificities of extended families, etc. The poet quoted below falls into this category and is convinced that Chile will not meet his family's medical requirements and regards the future return to Chile as a mere illusion. However, he openly engages with any possibility of sharing his work and experience:

> … if I went to Chile, I'd go with a very concrete plan: to participate in a ceremony, in a conference, in a series of conferences, for a short course. In terms of remaining, I think I wouldn't stay, simply for practical reasons. I don't have a way to make a living in Chile. How would I survive in Chile? On the other hand, here at least I can support myself. I have bills to pay but one struggles and one moves on. (*writer, first generation*)

Finally, a fourth group, the most successful in terms of income, includes artists from both first and second generations. This group has established an autonomous and well-connected network for itself in London through which it circulates artwork and reaches larger, more heterogeneous audiences. Some artists in this group have on their own initiative raised international funding and resources to develop cultural projects in Chile which have promoted an ongoing, empowering exchange between certain sectors of Chile and the UK. This group claims it has taken advantage of all the opportunities that the UK has offered and that they have explored possibilities beyond the spectrum generated by the Chilean exile community, and that by looking outwards they have engaged in wider multicultural experiences and learning. This group generally maintains a position independent of the cultural-artistic activities and projects organised by the exile community. The group would require more sustainable support in order to intervene in Chile's current cultural-artistic scene. The lack of a space in Chile which can satisfy this group's needs has obliged it to remain UK-based where its network is established.

Some see the lack of an official body charged with ordering and regulating the reintegration processes as a structural deficiency with important ethical implications. This problem has at least two general dimensions: one involving the spaces for development required to accommodate exiles and their families and the other has to do with how such

spaces are generated. One interviewee actor's personal experience gives an insight into the ethical dimension here:

> ... in terms of returning to Chile, of course it was always my intention. I tried several times, but in the area I work in it's difficult to reintegrate. I know of important actors who tried to return and found doors closed. I encountered a very subtle sort of resentment towards the people who left which doesn't show itself when you come on a visit but, when you come with the intention of staying and carrying out a project, there's immediately a reserve. One abandons a space, then one gets it back and the resentment comes. I even had a professional opportunity. In itself, it was a good opening but I found out that it meant someone I know would lose work. I wouldn't have been able to live with the guilt and I didn't accept it. It was the only time I had a concrete offer. So then I gave up the idea… (*writer, first generation*)

Those artists who have remained independent of the exile community tend to be successful at constructing their own spaces and networks to disseminate work and establish links of exchange with Chile. This minority is a valuable model to look at. However, most first-generation artists interviewed continue to rely to some extent on the interactive model the exile community recreated (see *12.4*). This latter group would need focused structural support to achieve successful reintegration, which most argue is the Chilean government's responsibility to provide.

Many exile artists perceive themselves to be a potential intellectual resource and are willing to feed back, in concrete ways, into what they still regard as their country. However, they are aware that it will be impossible for them to make a significant sustainable contribution to Chilean society's cultural formation unless *an official connective space* which cuts through society as a whole is facilitated, and that this connection can only take place through political action oriented to a recognition and understanding of Chilean exile and its learning potential. Exile artists have dedicated much of their lives to the formal and informal study of Chilean and Latin American cultures (learning which has been enhanced in interaction with people from different cultures), simply moved by their thirst to rediscover, re-dream, reinvent and reencounter themselves in an effort to give meaning and identity to life in exile. This helps explain why exile artists feel more integral to Chile and Latin America than a Chilean who has never left Chile might imagine.

Thus post-exile artists' cultural reconstructions have the potential to contribute to the understanding not only of Chile but of Latin America in general. Through their links of cooperation with exile artists from other Latin American communities, Chilean artists have positioned themselves within Latin American countries' commonalities; within that which has been their common cause. Simultaneously, positioned in an integrated Latin American whole, they have expanded their imagery of solidarity and scope for intervention, recognising other minority groups' struggles within their own struggle (an experience with a great deal to offer to the scene described in *17.2*). Considering the value and the efforts they have put into their cultural constructs, artists had expected a more sympathetic response from Chile. As a way of compensating this lack of exchange and in an attempt to bring Chile closer and experience it more concretely, the exile community has in fact brought Chilean artists from Chile to the UK. The desire to establish greater interaction and the apparent lack of an equivalent response is expressed by this writer in the following terms:

> Sure, we'd like to sustain far better relations with Chile, if Chile were to do that some time, and show the work we've done here. We've been in touch with the Cultural Attaché here but we haven't received a very clear answer. And everything's been very much up in the air. On the other hand, we've brought people here from Chile. We've brought poets, writers, many men of letters but for this to happen the other way round, I think it's far more difficult - it takes a lot to arrive in Chile because Chile still lives within itself, right? It's recently, sort of, waking up culturally following a long dictatorship... It takes a little to look towards the outside. And maybe there's also an element of diffidence, no, towards the people who left... (*writer, first generation*)

> ... we continue with an incredibly rich culture which has been lost or submerged in Chile and it's something which some day cultural workers in Chile will have to recognise, I think. But it's a phenomenon which happens generally in other Latin American countries - in the Third World, I'd say. It takes a lot to reconnect yourself and overcome that element of mistrust which has always existed: that if you leave the country it's because you're no longer Peruvian or Chilean, or you aren't as Chilean, as Peruvian, as those who've stayed. One day, the work and continuity we've developed here will be recognised. And we haven't lost our roots, we haven't lost anything. We've universalised ourselves and we've given testimony of our culture before other cultures and we've united ourselves to those cultures, but we haven't lost anything. We've gained. We've grown. (*writer, first generation*)

Some exile artists associate the lack of interest in the community's cultural production

with mistrust within Chilean society as regards activities that Chileans have undertaken outside the national borders. This phenomenon, some claim, is related to Chile's geographical remoteness but also to the fear of the Pinochet years, making it hard for Chileans to trust one another fully. This scepticism is said to have impaired the sense of projection which could *recycle* Chilean society's intellectual resources, regardless of where they reside. Reflecting on the implications of this waste, at both personal and national levels, this poet asserts:

> … all my enthusiasm for writing poetry, enthusiasm for my research in the field of culture in Chile, well, it's wasted. It has no repercussion in Chile. Especially the revision of historical sources. I don't want to defend anything - no, only to show these works which I think are important, you might say, for the history of Chilean literature. (*writer, first generation*)

The formative potential of the experience of exile is notable on at least two levels (see *12.3.1* and *12.3.2* below).

12.3.1 Identitarian model

The search for a "Chileanness" and even a "Latin Americanness", so vital to many artists' trajectories, crystallises an integral view which sees through the artists and displays their full personal and collective dimensions; and it is through this dimensionality that their creative work unveils its importance and relevance, a process which allows the artists to elevate themselves to the category of interconnectivity and cultural formation, which transcends the political label of "exile" - and its implied prejudices - and inserts their constructions in a dynamic of knowledge circulation and appropriation which is part of a broader collective process of identity construction.

These exile artists rediscovered their sense of "Chileanness" and "Latin Americanness" in opposition to other cultures and to members of the same community, becoming more aware of themselves and of their position within society. An "identitarian" model (or "multiple ways of constructing identities") is thus contained in the artists' full trajectories rather than merely in their finished works of art. Exile artists not only want to show their work as an output; they want to talk about it and discuss it with Chilean society. This attitude could be taken as an opportunity to facilitate new forms of interaction where

artists' work can gain new meanings which make sense to Chilean society's multiple subjectivities, thus opening new humanising possibilities. Conversations are about generosity, the Chilean philosopher Humberto Giannini argues.[47] Giannini goes on to assert that we enter into dialogue through free interaction and it is through conversation that we reconstitute experience, thus saving culture and generating the possibility to construct new culture. The following interviewee poet refers to interaction with the public as an ideal and expresses what this possibility would mean for him personally:

> People know me from what I've written, right? But it would be a better relationship if I participated with them and went to give a small conference, to give a reading of my poetry, etc. I've spent years working with this type of poetry, it's a type of poetry in which I try to take all this culture that I've learnt, learning which has aged me. I've wanted this culture to be somehow noticeable in my poetry, noticeable in what I write… (*writer, first generation*)

12.3.2 Concrete realisations

The profound experiences surrounding exile - the disappearance or death of family members and friends, torture, the removal from a meaningful network of social and familial ties, and the encounter with an alien social model with entirely new ways of doing and being - offered exiles new possibilities for personal and collective connectivity.

On a collective level, the humanising dimension of life became transparent for most exiles who could recognise other groups' suffering in their own, as well as find themselves in other groups' oppression. On a personal level, many gained awareness of an inner self, discovering in the exile experience a possibility for introspection, questioning and understanding. Some exiles and their families dealt with these challenging experiences successfully and have nurtured them over time, while several felt overwhelmed and unable to *recycle* them, finding an escape in alcohol and drugs; suicide is also mentioned.

The deepest sentiment of experience became the creative material and source of inspiration for many artists who, through their artwork, have captured the human pulse of exile. This form of documentation, which clutches the humanising dimension of life to its

[47] See video interview at http://es.arcoiris.tv/ and http://www.cinechileno.org/.

heart, has also become a means of constructing collective memory. Artistic production became for many artists a way to come to terms with exile and "keep their sanity". The literary production of the poet cited below offers an insight into a life of personal and collective experience in exile:

> I feel happy with my children because none of them is an alcoholic, a drug addict, none of them is in prison, none has committed suicide... Children of exiles have committed suicide here. As I wrote in one of my poems: "Juanito" - the idea is that we don't forget; we remember - "Juanito", it says, "the youth crushed by family fights, racism and bullying at school, hung from the door of his own bedroom". And it happened like that. Bang! He hanged himself one day. He lived over in Charlton... (*writer, first generation*)

Learning from experience has not meant the discarding of basic acts of routine which have a more immediate connection with the human dimension cutting through all societies. Everyday encounters have shown artists different possible forms of interaction, encouraging many of them to question what previously appeared to be "common sense": ways of doing within society and interrelating with community members when they lived in Chile. Their distancing from Chile permitted them to see their home country in a fresh light and identify issues concerning forms of socialisation which they feel need to be improved in Chilean society; aspects that they were only able to see when they left the country. The issue of gender, for example, became visible for many in a way that it had not been before.[48] Previous gender conceptions, when confronted with British realities, suddenly stopped making sense and providing order. Exile tore many Chilean couples apart; an internal fracture-within-a-fracture which affected family members' emotional health. Based on critical analysis of personal experience, some male artists today recognise a personal and collective need to overcome the male chauvinism traditional in Chilean society. By deconstructing their own reactionary attitudes to women, they have developed a predisposition to improving relations between the genders. Of the impact of individual action on collective perceptions, this poet asserts that:

> ... Chilean women *really* are decent people, people who've learnt through

[48] Kay (1987) argues that a gender distinction between public (i.e. social and political life that men operate within) and private (i.e. family relations that women operate within) was brought over from Chile and, when confronted with the British way of life, caused irreconcilable tensions for many Chilean couples. Kay differentiates exile experience by gender and social class and concentrates on overlooked discourses of the private domain (those of women most especially).

> suffering and have learnt from this experience of being with chauvinists who are unfair to women. Sure, they've changed in the same way we've changed... We've all changed. And we haven't changed in favour of a Western culture but to improve "our" culture. We've changed. And I think that if I arrived in Chile, I'd defend women's right to have, well, more freedom from their husbands. For example, my sister's 65 and her husband still says things when she leaves the house, follows her... (*writer, first generation*)

From an artistic perspective, London was considered a privileged melting pot which offered exile artists unique encounters with diverse cultural formations. Many artists' practices cannot stay the same after the appropriation and exchange of cultural constructs. The learning from this multicultural interaction has signified the expansion of aesthetic referents which have had important implications for art-making itself and for the understanding of the broader social context which situates it, as this musician argues:

> … you always come across other musicians, other types of music and you learn, interacting with them, becoming interested in the nature of music, culture, ways of being, ways of life, cuisine. What else? Everything. And that's very important, not music so much but for the human being in general, no? Sure, London's ideal for that. (*musician, first generation*)

Exile artists are still hopeful of getting some level of recognition and reintegration into the Chilean cultural scene so they can contribute with their vast experience. These artists have a truth they want to share; the truth of their collective and personal experiences which is contained in their cultural-artistic production, a potential contribution to Chilean society, integration, diversity and knowledge. Giannini argues that older generations cannot be left outside any society's national development because it is their experience which gives society the necessary cultural density and wisdom to construct new beginnings. Implicitly, by leaving exiles outside the reconstruction of Chilean society, the country loses potential cultural "glue" (in Garretón's terms) and intellectual resources necessary to sustain the dynamic of innovation.

12.4 Chile Anchored in Memory

Memory can be understood as a space both open and selective, where collective and personal experiences which no longer belong to the present are kept coded in unique ways after passing through a subjective filter which, in social mediation, selects and

stores meaningful fragments of reality and then in confrontation with daily experiences re-collects, decodes, re-accommodates and reinterprets them, using principles which are always reformulated in response to the present's specific needs and intentions to make meaning of its everyday encounters and give them a sense of projection.

Chile is anchored in exile artists' memories, a ubiquitous framework of reference which provides artists with symbolic material to decode, interpret and give order and meaning to everyday life. The symbolic referents acquired in Chile allow artists to appropriate and understand new realities by familiarising them. Remembrances of Chile alive in artists' minds are inevitably released in each action they perform, materialising a lifelong hybrid accumulation of physical, intellectual and spiritual referents and constructions, and therefore knowledge. Artists have discovered the Chile contained in their memory through their unique personal explorative inner journeys. When artists have reencountered their inner selves, they have also reencountered their Chilean roots, and thus recognise themselves *in* these roots, realising that Chile is within them and the emotional and physical spaces they intervene in and inhabit. For many, the reappropriation and extension of their roots inform their intentions. The realisation of the sense of Chileanness has signified for many an awakening of a physical and mental territory.

Exile artists live in an *in-between space* constituted by the material and imaginary of the immediate reality they inhabit and the symbolic and material elements of their "home space": constructs resulting from the private and public interactions they experienced in their formative years and providing them with the "anchors" of their memory. These anchors have been vital for artists' development of a sense of belonging and of a stance whence to make their interventions. The interaction of Chilean referents and those offered by the exile experience appears in the following writer's work *subconsciously*, he asserts, when reflecting on how exile has helped him see Chile in a new light:

> … the first part of the work [*of writing fiction*] is a nostalgic evocation of Chile, specifically of Concepción. I wrote it. I don't know why. I needed to write it; it was subconscious. The second part is totally different, fragmented and violent, connected to my experience outside. A lot of time has passed. And, well, being abroad has really helped me to reconsider aspects of Chile... (*writer, first generation*)

The process of evoking Chile obeys a mechanism of selection which responds to subjective as well as collective referents. Artists tend to recall what was personally meaningful for them and helped them articulate and make sense of their lives in exile, thus focusing on fragments of reality which are sometimes also shared by other members of the community. The subjectivity of the process of reconstruction of memory operates in a broader form of social selection, to paraphrase Anzaldúa (Anzaldúa 1990, p.xxi). She asserts that we are immersed in a social context which has already selected the sections of reality we are to see and operate upon collectively (i.e. the dominant fragments of reality). The classical musician below reflects on how her attachment to Chile is sustained on that which offers her distinctive roots. She uses this selection of reality to give meaning to every dimension of her life, including the artistic:

> … I've always tried to include Latin American music in my repertoire. Now, my relationship with Chilean music: I have far more links with popular music, not classical music. It's simply an emotional question. I don't feel any link with contemporary Chilean classical music simply because there's nothing distinctive about it. There aren't any roots. I don't feel it's substantially different from contemporary music which can be produced in Hungary, Finland, Argentina or wherever. (*musician, second generation*)

12.4.1 Memory versus old patterns of thought

From the outset, London's Chilean exile community has acted as a shared space where its members have found a sense of belonging through the reconstruction of a collective imaginary. Shared representational and interpretative symbols have allowed them to recreate and reinvent their country in a foreign land, turning the community into a microcosm of pre-coup Chile, where language games have helped create a mechanism reproducing the old range of thinking and doing politics, generating an encapsulation of the past (see *16.2* for further analysis of these games and Chapter Six for political analysis).

The community's limited communication and interaction with Chile during the military regime made it difficult for its members to confront the old symbolic references that bound them together with the collective imaginaries Chile developed after they left. This poor communication is also applicable to the postdictatorial context. The community's mechanism for action, then, has usually hindered the generation of the conditions which

can allow its members to experience other forms of sociability whence to acquire alternative tricks of resistance.

In an attempt to keep up to date with the transformations underway in Chile, artists follow the news from a distance, but this limited contextualisation has not facilitated a true re-accommodation of their former patterns of thought and interpretation. Some artists, conscious of the implications of identifying with a reality which no longer exists, are fearful that representational dislocation may make their future reintegration into a changed Chile thorny and perhaps even impossible. The dilemma of return is expressed by one writer thus:

> It's a serious problem to identify with a Chile which no longer exists, a Chile of the memory. It's certain that the majority of people who've lived abroad as exiles, long-term immigrants, make the same mistake: to remain with the country they left. (*writer, first generation*)

The community's reconstruction of the socio-political game of pre-coup Chile installed a polity of memory which kept alive referents from the Chile of the past. Chilean social life during Allende's Popular Unity government (see *6.2*) gravitated around politics, creating an atmosphere of over-politicisation which was reconstructed in exile through the reconstitution of the Left and all of its constitutive parties: "[t]he Popular Unity movement was made up of five different left-wing parties and movements. Furthermore, one left-wing movement (the movement of the revolutionary left) remained outside the coalition, disassociating itself from a peaceful road to socialism. Political differences both between and within the different parties increased during the Popular Unity period and were carried into exile" (Kay 1987, p35).

Some artists claim that the community's recreation of the Popular Unity atmosphere, when confronted with the British socio-political context, seemed somehow out of place. The socio-political reconstruction stopped making full sense for those artists who express their frustration about a group of exiles who took politics to such an extreme that it ended dominating and controlling every sphere of their lives. They assert that the whole point of enrolling in a political party to help construct a stance to develop an autonomous praxis was defeated when people compartmentalised themselves and subordinated themselves to fixed political frameworks, thus making politics a barrier

which prevented them from seeing beyond. This phenomenon was described by the musician below as a loss of horizons and was perceived as having had important repercussions for the way the community is orienting and projecting its praxis:

> ... it makes no sense to do charity work as part of a political organisation… Do it as individuals. But as a political organisation, you have other tasks to do... if you want to support a school, do it as individuals but not as a political party. The political party is a banner, it's an organisation which struggles to change the system. They can't do it here because they can't participate in the political system. But they can do other things, right? The horizons are all confused. And it's a serious problem. If you lose your horizons, what can you do? (*musician, first generation*)

The socio-political dimension of the reconstruction of pre-coup Chile maintained the dichotomous language games characteristic of the time which, some artists assert, have been reinforced by a romanticised view of the Allende period maintained in international academic circuits. These language games unveil processes of resistance which sometimes seem anachronistic and not fully integrated into today's historical-cultural scenario and its own subversive tools of possibilities, making the political dimension of the community seem dislocated from the current direction of Chile and the type of civil atmosphere it has helped to create (see *17.2* for information about current cultural directions in Chile). Language in this particular case has preconditioned the way exiles think and "do" politics; its limited symbols fall short when trying to refer to and make meaning of today's globalised political scene. Language can either expand or narrow our cognitive fields, thus delimiting people's capacity for (transformative) action. A resignification of language is therefore necessary in order to broaden the community's ability to intervene.

Through the recreation of the Chile of the past, the community was not only giving continuity and legitimising the fractured Popular Unity project they had belonged to but also reconstructing the anchors of memory: the symbolic referents they needed to cope with the exile experience. The overall dimensions constituting the recreation of pre-coup Chile (polity of memory, language games and socio-political processes) helped generate a context which, in one way or another, permeated all the community's cultural constructs. The following poet's voice crystallises the thinking and tactics behind the community's constructs, providing evidence of the language, tone and atmosphere which

helped reconstitute the Chile of the community's memory:

> ... the only reason I'm here in exile is to give testimony of my own, give testimony of the people I've known, of the people who still struggle in Chile and in Latin America for social justice and to overcome the huge divide between rich and poor. That's been my mission: to give testimony of all this process of struggle we're pushing for and which we want. This is the only reason I survived not only the tragedy of the coup but also here in exile. It isn't so easy, though there are many more advantages here than in Chile. And that obliges us to be responsible because we've received help and support and understanding from not only the Latino community but also the British. (*writer, first generation*)

Some of the exile artists interviewed perform the old political rituals which continue to orient the community's construction of meaning, while other artist interviewees fulfil their political needs differently. The latter group still promotes and tries to "live in" the social values acquired in Chile before the coup (which they assert are usually automatically categorised as "left-wing"), but have developed a degree of independence from the formal political dynamics which the community has maintained since its formation. They continue to participate in the solidarity campaigns organised by the community, for example, but feel that their state of "labelessness", a result of disenchantment with politics after years of activism, has given them greater freedom to think and articulate new interpretations. This group adopted an *integrative* stance which responds critically to the divisions within the community, generated by the irreconcilable ideological differences of the groups and parties of the Left which exiles brought with them from Chile.

A Socialist Party-affiliated poet summarises the party-political fragmentation in the community thus:

> To this day there are still two irreconcilable groups: those Chileans who support the Concertación governments, which of course we know aren't perfect. There are many problems to solve, but it's the best solution found to date, considering all the defects and all the difficulties left by the dictatorship. The second group are Chileans who work in what in Chile they call "the extra-parliamentary opposition", where you find the Communist Party, small groups of more extremist origins like the MIR (although it doesn't exist any more as a party in Chile, there are still MIRistas who are allied with the Communist Party), people of the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front and smalls groups of the Mapu, small groups of

> the Christian Left and loads of small Chilean far-left splinter groups. And of course they're a minority. They don't represent any sort of important mass outlet in Chile. They're groups which are destined to act on the periphery. (*writer, first generation*)

The artists who had distanced themselves from the community's old political rituals can be broadly classified into two sub-groupings: one which uses party terminology but has an integrative attitude and an open mind about other political parties, and a second sub-group which, in a declaration of openness, simply refuses to label itself. A musician and a painter, each pertaining to one of these sub-groups, reflect on their political position:

> I respect this woman on the Right a lot, very Right-Right, because we've never had problems working together. She knows I'm a Communist; I know she's a right-winger. And we really like each other, which proves that sometimes I can't work with people of my own ideology but, however, I can work even with people from the Right. (*musician, first generation*)

> ... we all think differently and we all have the right to think differently too. That's why I'm not active in political parties anymore, you understand? Though many people have criticised me. The problem is that you start to have a different vision and you free yourself. (*visual artist, first generation*)

Lechner argues that symbolic representations of life give order to any society and that politics must play an active role within the construction of such representations. Democracy today does not match society's existing symbolic representations, making it hard for social actors to recognise themselves within democracy. It is this lack of congruency which, according to Lechner, is causing political disaffection:

> […] the current malaise with politics and the lack of civic identification with the parties would not reflect an opposition to democracy or a rejection of the parties, but simply *a distressing orphaning of interpretative codes*.
> (Lechner 2002a, p29, my translation)

12.5 Reconstruction of memory

Chilean exiles have reconstructed memory and symbolically reconnected with Chile by building multiple interconnected *historical*, *pedagogical* and *connective* spaces. These spaces at times overlap, their boundaries blurring, and are dimensions of the same whole: a reconstitution of the anchors of memory required for the community to sustain

visibility, voice, sense of belonging, projection and intention.

Historical space: exile artists' aesthetic narratives have given their (hi)story the continuity that military intervention ruptured. Thus they have consciously positioned themselves upon an ongoing timeline in an attempt to become part of Chile's official history (see *12.5.1*).

Pedagogical space: the reinvention of a sense of community became a ludic experience for exiles, presenting various possibilities for learning. Cultural-artistic constructs gave a sense of direction and cohesion to the processes of communal reconstruction, facilitating self-awareness, recognition and understanding of the Other, and exchange. The pedagogical potential of the making of culture constitutes a thread cutting through the personal and collective dimensions of the exile experience (see *12.5.2*).

Connective space: this inclusive, "bridging" space is created by the engagement that cultural constructs may facilitate. The members of the exile community inhabit this space when they participate in the formation of cultural constructs which propose new perspectives on everyday life, impacting on the ways people perceive themselves and their surroundings and, consequently, on their behaviour. Thus connective space may constitute a microcosm of social transformation (see *12.5.3*).

12.5.1 Historical space

The exile community's cultural life is characterised by a shared desire to give continuity to the projects that the military fractured in the Seventies. Through its praxis, the community has reconstructed a (hi)story in an attempt to give meaning to life in exile. This may seem alienating in today's socio-historical context, for Chile has developed official *language games* to "come to terms" with its past: Chile is currently playing an *institutional game* of "national reconciliation", whilst *exilic games* rely on the "campaign for justice".[49] This difference makes it even more of a challenge for the exile community

[49] The Concertación's two key efforts here have been the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation's 1991 "Rettig Report" (available online at http://www.usip.org/library/tc/doc/reports/chile/chile_1993_toc.html [in English] and http://freespace.virgin.net/nicole.drouilly/rettig.htm [in Spanish]) and the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture's 2004 "Valech Report" (available online at

to establish and maintain an exchange with their homeland.

The official history of Chile, its neutralising *grand narrative*, has traditionally served to secure the dominant class' power and maintain order. This historical trend has overlooked, or "blanked out" (Anzaldúa 1990, p.xxi), the narratives of less enfranchised sectors, as in the case of the collective and subjective narratives of the members of the exile community. By means of the *autohistorias* (Anzaldúa's term to refer to the creation of a new narrative which articulates personal and collective reality) in their artistic production, exile artists, who no longer share physical territoriality with their compatriots in Chile, have attempted to give an account of their lead role in a peripheral fragment of the country's history. These artists' work, often consisting of a historical representation of Chile, provides a reminder - for themselves and for the world - of the "links of belonging" that they maintain with Chile and the constant need to revisit, reread and re-evaluate the official history to make it more pluralistic and transcend one-sided perspectives which hinder society's capacity to understand and project itself towards a more democratic horizon.[50] Artworks produced in exile contain historical traces and the trajectory of multiple *autohistorias* that the painter cited below feels have been erased from Chile's official history:

> … what one paints or does is somehow related to history - that rather erased history of Chile - and I think it's important that people somehow get to know that history, certain experiences one's had that people don't know about, simply because a stage of our history has been erased. (*visual artist, first generation*)

The community's everyday social interactions, the role that cultural-artistic constructs have played within these interactions and the knowledge and reflection that this

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http://www.comisiontortura.cl/ [in Spanish]). While the former named around 3,000 of the "disappeared" and the latter set out the terms of compensation for about 28,000 torture victims (raised in 2005 to 29,000), complaints about arbitrary exclusions and lack of legal transparency are ongoing. Moreover, since October 1999 the organised civilian group known as the FUNA has responded to seeming impunity by publicly exposing torturers in their homes and workplaces in symbolic, non-violent acts of communal judgment (see http://www.funachile.cl/). The families of the disappeared began to receive State "mercy pensions" in 1992 and victims of torture State pensions in 2004 (in addition to payouts from Pinochet's secret bank accounts from 2006 onwards).

[50] Salazar's pioneering social history projects revisit Chile's official history and approach it *from below* in order to give a voice to the blanked-out sectors of the Chilean population (*el bajo pueblo*).

participatory process generates have facilitated conditions for the community to give itself visibility, a "protagonistic" voice and thus a sense of reincorporation into history. It has not been enough for members of the community to declare, "We're Chilean", or, "We haven't stopped being Chilean"; these declarations need to be accompanied by collective acceptance via Chilean society's recognition of the exile experience and the narratives that exiles have produced in order to articulate it. Many exile artists wish that the levels of participation and recognition they have accomplished in the UK could be extended to the cultural space in Chile which constitutes for them "the real space" where all their constructions and learning experiences can make the sense that they have been recreating for so long. In one painter's words, this reintegration is part of a broader democratic process:

> … if there's democracy today, we should also have a space inside that democracy. If we're really talking about a democracy, that is. Because we're Chilean and we haven't stopped being Chilean. And we continue to feel Chilean and we're part of Chilean history. And they can't erase us, although it seems they'd like to. Because that's the reality: they all want to forget we exist. The disappeared don't exist… These people don't exist. Nothing exists... Well, when are they really going to integrate us? (*visual artist, first generation*)[51]

History, understood as intended action towards local realities and the world at large, takes place on a platform of visibility and voice (and therefore power) at a specific place and time. Equitable exchange between social groups can only occur when they all share access to a common-ground scenario which guarantees the equal distribution of power that people require - from their position of specificity - to take autonomous action, document it, systematise it, reflect on it and insert it into the bigger picture. The UNDP's 2004 *Human Development Report for Chile. Power: for what and for who?* argues that Chileans today want to be active constructors of their society both on individual and collective levels, and that they require more power to accomplish this. The report

[51] Remarkably little coordinated work has been done along these lines and, over the course of this project, I have noted the commonly held assumption that there is a commensurate lack of understanding in Chile of the importance of the efforts and sacrifices of exiles. It will be interesting to see what reverberations (if any) Joanne Pottlitzer's forthcoming *Symbols of Resistance: A Chilean Legacy* may have in Chile; Pottlitzer's webpage (http://www.joannepottlitzer.com/works-in-progress.htm) presents this as an ambitious book "about artists in Chile and in exile during the Pinochet years recalling their experiences during that time and their influence on the political process that eventually led Chile back to a democratic system in 1990" which looks at "art as an integral part of the social structure with the potential of exercising power over public opinion".

distinguishes between two principal forms of power, the social and the personal, claiming that, "[h]uman development requires more power for every individual and for society as a whole" (Anon 2004, p1). Consequently, the constitution of powerful societies introduces notions of equality and inequality, which the report defines thus:

> Inequality is much more than differences in access to health care, housing, money or education. Inequality is the limitation of powers of action because of their distribution in society, so that people are restricted in their sovereignty and in their ability to construct their own lives for themselves.
> (Id. at 22)

One of the report's main findings is that, "[s]trong democracy can only exist in a society where there is an egalitarian distribution of power" (Ibid.). Discussing popular education, Salazar says that *we* construct power through "associativity" (Salazar 2006). As the making of history has to do with people's capacity for action, a context of more egalitarian power distribution should, then, also entail more egalitarian forms of making history. The possibility for people to engage with national history through the construction of their local history is essential to the open spaces for fairer ways of history-making. In a 2003 interview, Salazar argues that History must make sense to people, so they can identify with it, analyse it and intervene in it, constructing a project of transformative action which can solve their own problems (Gutiérrez et al 2003). Salazar goes on to say that, after an understanding of local history takes place, it is necessary to articulate it with the regional and the national. When people have the power to start experiencing and perceiving their immediate realities and the world at large in a different way, they also start perceiving themselves differently and therefore start to act differently.

The Lagos administration set the grounds for a new *institucionalidad* to allow Chilean communities residing abroad to establish a more sustainable bridge of exchange and interaction with Chile. Lagos introduced the symbolic concept of "Region 14" (Región XIV*) - Región del Reencuentro* or "region of Chilean communities residing abroad".[52] To the consternation of some, its status was thrown into confusion in 2007 as two new "real" Regions, numbered 14 and 15, came into being. The concept had helped exile

[52] Chile has been subdivided into Regions since 1966 (from Region 1 in the north to Region 12 in the south, in addition to the central Región Metropolitana), though Frei Montalva and Allende's decentralisation was geared towards integration and local empowerment whereas Pinochet's intended to break up social movements.

communities attain a somewhat greater level of public awareness in Chile, creating the possibility for the expansion of Chilean society's collective imaginaries. "Region 14", as an official symbolic referent, briefly gave an extra dimension to exiles' notion of belonging, which historically legitimises their Chilean status (see *10.1.3*). It raised hope among exile artists that they will exhibit their cultural-artistic production in Chile and take part in an exchange which breaks down geographical barriers. While awaiting more concrete action, many of them capitalised on the energies that this new possibility generated. Concepts such as "Region 14" have the potential to become collective spaces where exilic communities place their (hi)stories in interaction with Chilean official (hi)stories. "Region 14" thus offered possibilities for reincorporating exiles and making them part of the national wholeness. Participatory processes like this could invigorate Chilean sovereignty and democracy, developing a "national narrative" and sense of cohesion. One exiled poet's comment on how London's Chilean exile community perceived the "Region 14" initiative (in 2004):

> … what most unites us with Chile at the moment is a very interesting claim that Lagos made... the idea that, if there are thirteen regions in Chile, right, there's a fourteenth which is all those outside Chile, all of us in exile. And that concept of belonging to a Fourteenth Region which is the great worldwide region of exile, no, like a policy of exile, which has really helped us to stay mentally in contact and as a constant reference... (*writer, first generation*)

"Region 14" was an opportunity to rescue the symbolic, connective referents and spaces that exile communities have developed and feed them into the country in order to introduce fresher perspectives which could facilitate understanding of historical trauma.

Beneath exile's struggle for survival, there are multiple openings for cultural integration - "mechanisms" for identitarian formation which could contribute to collective healing. Exile artists have contributed to the re-enactment of rituals that the community has needed to reunite the living and the dead. In one writer's terms:

> I think we'll never be able to join with the tribe we were originally. Many people remain disappeared and we don't know where they are. I don't know what can unite us. In the end, I write a play, I write poetry, I write in order to join together again with my tribe, huge groups of friends, huge groups of poet friends, dramatist friends... (*writer, first generation*)

12.5.2 Pedagogical space (and three artist case studies)

Chilean culture became a unifying element for many exiles, a means of contextualisation which provided referents to constitute microcosms of Chile in the UK. This "Little Chile" involved meaningful learning experiences which strengthened exiles' autonomy, giving the community the agency required to project its cultural-artistic activities. These activities functioned as a liberating force nurtured by exiles' testimonies which, articulated through intersubjectivity, allowed them to legitimise their experiences, give them visibility and share them in British society.

> ... culture has been a very important element for the Chileans who are scattered around Great Britain. It's culture which has joined us together. Through poetry, theatre, music - very important, music - we've enriched our roots; our union with those cultural roots in Chile, in Latin America. We've strengthened ourselves in exile, which allowed us to live in another culture. Those of us who arrived when we were older have had the great conflict of having to assimilate into a new culture to be able, not to ally ourselves, but be able to communicate our own culture to people we live with in this country. That's why we've translated our works into English… (*writer, first generation*)

During the early years of exile, cultural-artistic expression was characterised by an intention to forge links with Chilean and other Latin American exiles in the UK, the socio-political context influencing content, form, engagement and circulation of artistic production. It was during this time that Chilean exiles came to realise that their struggle found equivalence in other communities, encouraging them to universalise their claims and establish solidarity with other groups, to understand and experience *belonging* in wider terms:

> ... I see Chile as a province of the great Latin American country and this great country which is part of the larger country which is the Third World, right? For me, being Chilean is being provincial in this world. From a marvellous province, but it's a province in all senses... (*writer, first generation*)

Solidarity and struggle did not prevent artists from developing projects which pursued their own interests. As individuals, they learn, reflect and strive to communicate, offering us the pedagogical possibilities they have forged not only through their artworks but also through their artistic trajectories. Cultural-artistic expression as means and end stands

for a plurality of learning possibilities for artists and audiences. Most artist interviewees, for example, had made some attempt to recreate and/or continue with the cultural-artistic projects of resistance fractured after September 1973 which aimed to enhance Chilean folkloric (and sometimes indigenous) traditions. Other artists developed a more experimental artistic approach but still shared the dynamic of solidarity (somewhat dispelling Nelly Richard's generalisation about exile artists cited in *15.2.2*). These artists, though their work was not classified as typically "Chilean" or "Latin American", felt they had to take part in community gatherings in order to help generate play and diversity, making it clear that "Chileanness" went beyond the usual archetypes. This subgroup tended to gain access to a greater range of artistic experiences which enriched its aesthetic perception in a very personal manner. One musician reflects on artists' ethical responsibility and what it meant to have a more experimental artistic project at a moment characterised by intense political struggle:

> … at the time, the solidarity movement with Chile and other Latin American countries was very strong. You had to show solidarity, you had to denounce what was happening and most of the political acts were very boring because they just consisted of speeches. In the end, they needed some music and there were groups which played traditional Chilean music, but that didn't interest me so much. My music was something else; it came from elsewhere, but it was an opportunity to play. Secondly, it was like a duty. I was getting to know other musicians, types of music. (*musician, first generation*)

Once a sense of exchange had been established in British society, many possibilities opened for exile artists, particularly for those exploring aesthetic experiences apparently unrelated to the Latin American struggle. A key experience was, and has remained, work with deprived and marginalised sectors, usually entailing some form of interdisciplinary collaboration: within the art world (i.e. art as that which makes our senses work in an articulated way, a whole which does not set boundaries between artistic disciplines); and between spheres of knowledge not normally associated with the arts (i.e. art regarded as that which "cuts through" the human spheres and is involved in all acts of creativity). The learning process here gave many artists a multidimensional perspective with which to approach and intervene in their immediate realities. When the artist shows us the interconnectivity of knowledge, he or she is also learning, as is the audience. The experience of interdisciplinarity - its personal meaning and value - is expressed by one musician in the following terms:

> … I've played in all types of places, in all disciplines. And they're very beautiful experiences because they start to accumulate and always open new roads, other ways of seeing, other ways of making music, because each is totally different; different approaches, answers, interactions...
>
> … experimenting, improvising music with disabled people with autism, with Downes Syndrome, is something almost magical because they give you ways of thinking, feeling, perceiving things from a really different, unexpected angle, which I like and which interests me, so I have very good experiences with that. (*musician, first generation*)

Poetry, however, became the prevalent means of expression and a healing mechanism for the community, an activity that many exiles engaged with so as to make everyday life more meaningful.[53] Through creative writing, many have given testimony of their experiences in Chile and documented the experiences of exile.[54] These poetic projects have in some cases resonated in British academia, expanding the possibilities for interaction and mutual understanding. This additional level of interaction posed Chilean poets challenging questions which demanded new articulations, revealing local interest not only in the poet, and in what he or she has to say, but also in Chile and its history.

Interviewee poets recognise the value of the *universal* language of poetry, in terms of its ability to sensitise and invoke understanding of the world, and the role poetry has played in their *personal* lives. Reflecting on how poetry became a pedagogical tool for mediating a reflective space, one poet claims that:

> … poetry, that old staple, was the decisive writing exercise for me in resolving my personal situation in exile. I've sometimes even said that poetry saved me, because there came a time when I had to face this situation openly and try to resolve it positively, and I did so through writing. So, I wrote myself a long poem in which I told the story of my confusion, and that story was engraved, it commented on successive pieces of writing and it helped me to resolve a huge number of questions I'd asked myself; many of which were never answered, of course. But that wasn't the point, I think. I think that sometimes a good question helps a lot more than a good answer… what my poetry searched for isn't answers but questions; I already have many answers. (*writer, first generation*)

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[53] The proliferation of literary magazines in exile like *Araucaria* is testament to this (see http://www.abacq.net/imagineria/revistas.htm).

[54] Examples of these poetic projects can be found in Latin American Writers Group (1988), Rivera-Reyes (1989), Opazo Fischer (1994) and Salgado-Rocha (2004).

From the earliest stages of this research, artists revealed a tendency to articulate personal and collective emotions related to exile with greater confidence than non-artists. It appears that, for them, the arts became a tool for reflection, enabling them to understand better their own thought processes and the collective realities of exile in relation to their memories of Chile. Cultural-artistic expression became a way of dealing with the dialectic of exile. In this regard, it is interesting to note that a number of Chilean exiles only became artists *after* fleeing Chile.

Below I discuss three case studies of artists' formative journeys in an attempt to decipher the nature and meaning of individual artworks - a materialisation of accumulated experiences and personal creations. These examples represent diverse learning possibilities rooted in the same socio-historical context. The three artists were formed in the Chile of the Sixties and Seventies, a period in which many felt united by a desire for change - a time when unique possibilities were generated not only to express oneself and experiment but also to question and attempt to transform one's reality, an *awakening* of the senses that these artists claim never to have experienced since. These experiences (described in *6.2*) have become a key referent for these artists, providing them with perspectives and approximations to give direction to the artistic careers they have developed in exile. Berenice Dockendorff found a means to (re)construct and (re)signify Chile's past through muralism, specifically the work of the Ramona Parra Brigade. Lukax Santana discovered ways of exploring mysticism through sound in experimental Chilean rock music of the Seventies, specifically the group Los Jaivas. Mauricio Venegas-Astorga found a possibility for developing people's sense of community and political agency in the *Nueva Canción Chilena* movement, specifically the figure of Victor Jara.

Berenice Dockendorff's *Homage to Lautaro* (2004, Arcola Theatre exhibition)

An autodidact who claims that self-sacrifice is at the root of her painting, Dockendorff believes that we all have the potential to become artists. For her, effort and dedication are essential components in the ongoing process of *becoming*, and art involves the constant renewal of resources in order to develop and maintain communication with audiences. Her research consists of the compilation and study of materials in order to

understand and sequence the reality she intends to communicate. Hers is a quest for reassurance but also compensation for the critical indifference her work has tended to attract.

Dockendorff's painting cycles often pay homage to the lives of writers (Wilde, Mistral, García Lorca) with whom she feels a personal identification and from whom she believes we have much to learn. These "characters", whose work she knew before being compelled to flee Chile, faced persecution and discrimination with dignity and integrity, as she and her family have done. She attempts to "revitalise" and "humanise" these personages, re-viewing history through their eyes, and hopes that personal identification with them can allow audiences to engage with history. Thus Dockendorff encourages us to keep alive our collective memory and discover new insights on past and present.

In June 2004 (to coincide with Mapuche New Year), Dockendorff exhibited *Homage to Lautaro*, a cycle of thirteen paintings representing episodes in the life of the Mapuche martyr of liberation struggle who, during captivity by the Spanish, learnt military skills and tactics that he later taught to a revolutionary native army which he united and led against the Spanish. Her subject is humanised and racial stereotypes are challenged; most notable in the series are the spiritual relationship with nature and the faux-naïve depiction of human and animal bodies. Dockendorff travelled to Chilean and Argentinean Patagonia to gather information, later finding in Neruda's poetry inspiration to structure her research into paintings. Dockendorff's *Homage* took just over a year to complete but had been conceived much earlier.

The project was inspired by personal experience paralleling the exile community's collective identification with the indigenous struggle (see *12.6.4*). Dockendorff was born in rural southern Chile, its untamed landscapes providing the palette and textures that characterise her work to this day. Moving to the city at an early age, she experienced separation from the land as a form of displacement. While her parents spent much time away from home, Dockendorff received the care of a Mapuche nanny and, with the arrival of Popular Unity, she felt part of the wider struggle for social justice as she began her artistic endeavour.

Dockendorff exhibited her Lautaro paintings in chronological order following a narrative

which, together with the scale and texture of the paintings, conveys the feeling of a mural. The composition and vivid colours, as is the case with all Dockendorff's work, possess a strong Latin American influence rooted in the Chilean collective muralism of the Seventies, one of the many socio-politically committed Latin American offshoots of twentieth-century Mexican muralism. Indeed, Dockendorff learnt to paint by collaborating on anti-Pinochet murals and traces of that formative clandestine activity are present in her recent work.

Lukax Santana's *These Dark Materials: Five parallel improvisations* (2006, Quilombero Records CD)

Santana, an improvisational percussionist, works with electronics, traditional Latin American instruments and assorted non-musical ephemera (http://www.myspace.com/lukaxsantana). By "playing" everyday objects, Santana attempts to enhance our awareness of our environment by resignifying the sounds which surround us but we take for granted and pay little attention to. Working as a soloist and also with Quilombo Expontáneo, a group he co-founded in London in 1986, Santana's music is not self-consciously "Chilean". Rather, he claims to "play" his personal accumulated multisensory experience, framed by his formative years in Chile.

Santana became interested in musical composition when, as a teenager in Valparaíso in 1970, he saw local rock group Los Jaivas performing improvisations at avant-garde happenings, bringing together indigenous instruments such as the *trutruca* and the *quena* and generating new layers of sound by dialling transistor radios on stage. This event transformed Santana's preconceptions about music; he came to feel that there should be no limits to human creation. Realising that the possibilities for sonic combination are endless and can be rendered freely by each of us, he became conscious of his own musicality and initiated his journey into the reappropriation of sound.

Santana defines his works as "instant compositions" uniting his own connection with sound (Pink Floyd, Sun Ra and Mauricio Kagel are cited as influences), literature (Borges, Cortázar and so on) and painting (Matta, Miró; colours, size and textures are especially important here). He believes that the classical understanding of music tends to

accommodate compositions which are already “done and dusted”; they have already “happened” and no longer exist in real time, prompting a form of production which is *mechanical* rather than *instant*. In order to maintain this artistic freedom, Santana does not attempt to make a living from his music, instead performing at small venues, public places and informal studios to jam with friends and colleagues.

Santana’s wish to transcend everyday experience and convey the mysticism of the universe informs *These Dark Materials*, a 2006 recording funded by Chile’s National Council for Culture and the Arts (CNCA) and directly inspired by contemplation of stars and moon on nocturnal walks through his local park, an unassuming public space in north London. The album, nominally an exploration of the hypothesis of dark matter, consists of five electronically modified improvisations and may best be described as an aural voyage into outer space. Without denying the subjective dimension of the artistic experience, Santana’s musical output represents his attempt to encourage the listener to stay open to alternative ways of being.

These Dark Materials: Five parallel improvisations track listing
1. Cosmic Rain of Anti-Matter (L. Santana)
2. Ripples in the Cosmic Microwave (L. Santana)
3. Scattered Exploding Stars (L. Santana)
4. Nobody is Above the Law of Gravity (L. Santana)
5. A Passing Gravity Wave on the Way to Nothingness (L. Santana)

Mauricio Venegas-Astorga and Quimantu’s *Pilgrimage to the Andes* (1999, Tumi Music CD)

Venegas-Astorga is a self-taught folk composer, singer, multi-instrumentalist and educator who learnt his trade through observation, practice and interaction with musicians from around the world. His projects hinge on the conviction that we are all able to make music: though he himself cannot write music, he has devised a method of composition which has enabled him to build and sustain an internationally successful career. Rejecting strict adherence to “valid” Western musical paradigms, Venegas-Astorga calls for the development of music rooted in peoples’ cultures so they can appropriate their capacity for musical expression and recognise and transform their reality. He believes that the raw materials for a “new song” which contests dominant aesthetic models reside in each social group’s folkloric roots. The landmark album *La*

población (1972), a musical project through which Victor Jara attempted to integrate the creativity of the voiceless and create a sense of community in a poor neighbourhood, informs the participatory model for change which guides Venegas-Astorga's work.

The physical and emotional landscape of the coalmining communities of Lota and Coronel, where he grew up, is a recurrent theme in Venegas-Astorga's projects. The 1999 album *Pilgrimage to the Andes*, by his group Quimantu (http://www.quimantu.net/), is a "folk mass" inspired by the harsh reality of the lives of coalminers. The songs, nearly all original Venegas-Astorga compositions, are organised in two parts: "Miners' Mass, a People's Prayer" (tracks 1-7) and "Andean Christmas" (tracks 8-12). "Folk masses" are traditionally important in liberation theology, service music composed using deprived social groups' folk instruments and language in order to engage Catholicism with their political struggles. In the album sleeve notes, Robinson Rojas Sandford writes: "people work in the bowels of the earth producing wealth for others. Solidarity, Christian solidarity, human solidarity and revolutionary solidarity grow easily in such conditions".

Music, for Venegas-Astorga, is deeply rooted in creating and developing the spirit and enterprise that communities need to survive and education plays a key role in this. The *pedagogical* provides Venegas-Astorga with the possibility for intended action needed to unite the *cultural* and the *musical*. This interdisciplinary approach to culture-making derives from the commitment to "transformative action for freedom" that characterised *community education*, *the theatre of the oppressed* and *liberation theology* in the Latin America of his youth. Venegas-Astorga has found in these disciplines a foundation for many cultural-artistic projects, such as the musical-educational project Musiko Musika (http://www.musikomusika.org/) and Amauta, a drama group in the town of his birth which writes and performs the community's local history.

Pilgrimage to the Andes track listing
Part 1: Miners' Mass - A People's Prayer
1. Surtierra Canto de bienvenida (M. Venegas-Astorga)
2. Kyrie (M. Venegas-Astorga)
3. Gloria (M. Venegas-Astorga)
4. Credo (M. Venegas-Astorga)
5. Sanctus (M. Venegas-Astorga)
6. Agnus dei (M. Venegas-Astorga)
7. Pueblo del Alma (M. Venegas-Astorga)
Part 2: Andean Christmas

8. Ay para Navidad (Traditional)
9. Pastorcito de Belén (Traditional)
10. La Navideña (M. Venegas-Astorga)
11. San Juanito para el niño (M. Venegas-Astorga)
12. La yapa (M. Venegas-Astorga)

12.5.3 Connective space

Fondo Canto Mestizo (see *12.6* for details and Appendix 4 for visuals) and Pinochet's detention in London as a social sculpture (see *12.7*) are two examples of connective space; two microcosms of social transformation which operate through distinct models of interaction but which share a transformative dimension.

12.6 Example One: Fondo Canto Mestizo

Fondo Canto Mestizo, organised by Chilean exiles in the UK in the 1986-1990 period, supported a wide range of concerts, theatrical performances, workshops, debates and cultural exchanges for the benefit of Latin American communities in London, Chile and Uruguay, often with a strong indigenous emphasis. It constituted an example of new possibilities for human development that culture-making can generate (for an account of this argument, see *5.2*). Though no longer in existence, the project left a significant referent in interviewees' living memory. The early Nineties, when redemocratisation began in Chile, saw the return of many exiles, among them most of the organisers of the Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee (FCMC). The Chileans who remained in the UK had to invent ways of dealing with the sense of scatteredness they were left with during this period; their constructions have been based on the collective sense that they have developed together since.

Upon their arrival, many families were sent to the most deprived areas of London and, during their struggle to survive, they often had neither the requisite time nor energies to dedicate to their children. This situation inspired a group of (also relatively young) Chilean exiled professionals to construct a space of hope for the younger generations with referents to Latin American culture in order to recreate for them conditions for their development of a sense of belonging and of a unified collective. They wanted not only Chileans but all young Latin Americans to identify with a formative project which could

help them to make sense of and meaning to their fractured lives in exile. One of these organisers reflects on and evaluates the intentions of the project thus:

> We were a group which tried, through culture, to be able to preserve a hope because, in the end, our work consisted of trying to shake the defeatist spirit of the Chileans in exile and the immigrants who migrated for economic reasons, because they realised that it wasn't so easy there. The project sought to offer hope of being able to advance in that environment. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

> ... if I do an evaluation of all the people who worked with us, we achieved our objective. Nobody was lost. They're all working, probably not necessarily in jobs as cool as what we did in London, but certainly in their professions, and there's no one we can say was consumed by drugs. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

The organisers also believed in an integral form of human development and regarded cultural dimensions as essentially formative within this process. This was sufficient encouragement for them to do what they felt needed to be done: to formulate a pluralistic and participatory cultural project which had a management of its own, could raise its own funding and also have some sort of projection into the future. Moreover, one of the organisers here refers to the need to transcend difference and unify participants within the project as an act which put forward their liberating message:

> ... we were in a non-sectarian movement. Different sectors also invited us to participate and, in fact, we did it to show the uniting gesture that we were trying to develop with culture. Many of us... at the time were activists in different parties but that didn't prevent us from being able, through cultural work, to unite and work with shared ideas. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

For the project, the resituating of artists' importance and value within society was a pivotal responsibility. Thus the project itself constituted an articulated working place where Latin American artists and anyone involved in the cultural scene united and operated as key agents of change. The project attracted the interest of Lambeth Council which eventually acted as sponsor. The seriousness of the project reinforced its efficiency and accuracy, its success also reflected in the increased interest of the media and the general public.

Valuing and caring meant understanding each other's needs and negotiating the best ways to meet these needs. The importance of the infrastructure and material resources that artists needed to operate effectively is reflected here:

> And for the first time, the artists could have a hall like Surrey Hall. The musicians could have access to sound equipment, perform with adequate lighting; the theatrical groups had their space. To have rooms where they could present not only London artists but also artists who were in Chile or in Europe. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

12.6.1 Social and pedagogical implications

The release of the project to the general public and local media had several effects, opening the project's cultural events to critique which also involved the circulation of ideas, debate and feedback. The exchange between Latin American and other sectors of the local community meant transformative learning for each: they could play an active role in the process of making the Other visible; that, in fact, this is also the responsibility of everyone; that this does not need to be threatening if they operate in a context of collaboration and understanding. At the same time, another group learnt that the *ways of knowing* embedded in their cultural life can be significant if they fill them with meaning and can be enhanced through interaction with other epistemological possibilities. In other words, one's cultural legacy is part of one's intellectual value and can be a potentially transformative power if activated in a collective, a power which catalyses the impulse to jump towards one's constructions of self. As a result, when the organisers were encouraging other Latin Americans to appraise their culture, they were also gaining personal autonomy to liberate themselves.

> … we did it because of a need to develop ourselves through culture as a creative impulse… in a form horizontal with all the other activities we carried out in English society. We don't turn into bad professionals because we're dedicated to doing this work. It's the other way around… because in reality our life had other things to work on, that made us take this more for others, more for the rest, not so much for ourselves. So we took the egocentrism out of the artist. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

12.6.2 Historical and aesthetic implications

Participants in Fondo Canto Mestizo were conscious of the meaning of their prolific visual production. Images were designed to evoke the intentions of the project and were also part of the exploration of a visuality which could forge connections between the exiles' imaginaries and those of local communities. Imagery with an indigenous theme, for instance, was used on occasion as the symbolic unifying space common to wider Latin American realities and visual representations of Latin American history functioned as an immediate imaginary to be shared with British audiences. An organiser describes *showing* and *telling* as two ways of *knowing* in the meaning-making process:

> ... we wanted to show that things had to be done well and had to be done artistically in a different way... When we designed a poster or a flyer, we took care with the image, the typeface and that it was something which had something extra, which said something, which told you something: what we were, what our hope was, why we were working with this group. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

12.6.3 New possibilities for human interaction

The new forms of solidarity explored by the project's cultural space constitute a possibility for meaningful learning. The project constructed a network of collaboration and trust; each participant was aware that he or she was vital to the project. The project also had to invent ways of dealing with Latin American groups and the relationship with the British. It demonstrated that there are key notions - trust, participation, collaboration, exchange - that, when experienced in an articulated fashion, help people see and understand that which is apparently invisible. Advance to more democratic interaction would appear to be impossible without this fundamental change of outlook.

In cognitive terms, the development of critical, reflective ways of *knowing* may well lead to the appropriation of profound (as opposed to pragmatic) ways of *thinking*. Here, the spectrum of possibilities for conscious intervention expands and a "supracognitive" approach (one in which, driven by a common project, pluralities of peoples interact in a horizontal system and conditions are set to articulate and make the most of individuals' potential) becomes the desirable way of operating.

An organiser explains how each project participant's competence or expertise was integrated into the overall functioning of the project:

> ... we were economically viable, and that's something which didn't happen to artists in their own right. When artists went as individuals to try to obtain money from these same *councils* or *bureaux*, they were normally reticent about giving it to them... a result of the fact that they normally didn't have management skills, they didn't have the ability to manage money adequately. I think it was fundamental to our success that also in the group, as well as artists, we had history teachers, we had photographers, we had different professions, the most varied, helping us. And for cultural work to be serious, it has to be self-sustainable. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

Marginalised groups develop their own forms of coexistence, alternative transformative possibilities which should be looked at so as to broaden the contemporary world's space of resistance. Only when we start understanding the commonalities that the different forms of resistance have will it become possible to transcend the conflicting forces between them and articulate them in an attempt to move, through cooperation, to more meaningful levels of democracy.

12.6.4 The indigenous cause - a possibility for resistance and transformative learning

> … each of us as human beings, independently of diversity, is a universe full of beautiful things which are similar but see the world from different angles... We Mapuches constitute - even today this is very valid - a danger for the State… We Mapuches are those who are on the margins of the city. We're the drunks, the thieves and a load of negative stereotypes… In all the aspects, all the possibilities that we have: well, we share the same territory as nations, the Chilean nation and the Mapuche nation… I think that the fact we're discussing literature today; I think that art is one of the great possibilities for us to begin a real dialogue beyond all the usual discourses.
> Elicura Chihuailaf (*Off the Record* TV interview accessed at http://es.arcoiris.tv/, my translation)

According to a recent census (2002),[55] just 4.6% of the Chilean populace (less than 700,000 people in a country of over 15 million) regard themselves as belonging to one of Chile's eight officially recognised indigenous minorities (the largest being Mapuches to the south [accounting for 87% of the above percentage figure] and Aymarás to the north

[55] Available at http://www.ine.cl/cd2002/sintesiscensal.pdf (Spanish-language).

[7%]). In fact, however, with the exception of a very small number of more recent immigrants, practically all Chileans are *mestizos* whose ethnic makeup has been produced by the *mestizaje* of indigenous groups and the colonial Spanish over the last four centuries. Despite this and the Chilean government's Indigenous Law 19.253 (1993), which created the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI, http://www.conadi.cl/), the integration of mainstream culture and indigenous culture has never taken place: there remains a yawning gap between highly distinct ways of living and being as the indigenous continue to be considered inferior/exotic Other and continue to have to struggle tooth-and-nail with the Chilean government for legal and cultural representation and recognition.[56]

During the early stages of exiles' lives in the UK and, most specifically, when they began to organise themselves as a small community in their own right, they felt there was an urgent need to identify distinctive roots which would differentiate them from the dominant culture. It is perhaps ironic that in the indigenous they found the symbol of Chileanness and Latin Americanness that they were looking for and also discovered a powerful referent of resistance. The indigenous in fact became "visible" for many for the first time, who now identified with their struggle. This explains why Fondo Canto Mestizo used the imagery surrounding the indigenous as a unique and unifying Latin American sign.

The indigenous cause, which to many had seemed of marginal importance in Chile, perceived and experienced as a foreign reality unrelated to everyday life, came to make sense and become part of their own "living memory". They themselves were now a minority group in a strange land, experiencing a need for what they had taken for granted in the past: being seen, heard and understood by mainstream society. Thus, when the exiles organised themselves as a peripheral ethnic community and thus raised their own voices, they also raised the voices of the indigenous because they had, in a sense, "become one". The interest in the cause of the indigenous transcended the notion of solidarity; it had to do with the recognition of oneself within the Other, as if the mirror they always saw themselves in could suddenly reflect previously "invisible" *mestizo* origins. This perceived importance of roots served to give the exiles' lives new significations, a

[56] Historian José Bengoa held various debates on Chilean ethnic identity and diversity in 2004 which can be viewed at http://www.identidades.cl/. Also see http://www.serindigena.cl/, http://www.mapuche-nation.org/, http://www.mapuche.cl/ and Zavala 2002.

common background which allowed them to recognise one another and to re-establish a space for new forms of solidarity in a foreign land.

The appropriation of indigenous roots encouraged the development of new affects and sensibilities which expanded the scope of the exiles' vision and more connections became visible. They understood that their processes of realisation were shared by other London-based Latin American groups and thus a sense of unity and links of solidarity developed between them. These groups had several elements in common; to name a few: language, the political upheavals of the Sixties and Seventies, frequently brutal military intervention in the political sphere and a *mestizo* ancestry deriving from the historical and contemporary oppression of their indigenous peoples (*grupos originarios*). Interestingly, the latter commonality was often used as a space to contain the others: the Chilean community, from its specificity, could make more universal connections which gave it a louder and more meaningful voice to legitimise and validate new processes of realisation.

Being part of a "Latino" community for the first time, it became vital to open spaces for learning and exchange with(in) British society. The indigenous groups were presented to audiences as anchors of memory in order to allow them to trace back the history of Latin America and sustain critical understandings of its current condition. The unifying learning process that Latin American exile groups constructed after their arrival in London became a socialising model which has been seen to be sustainable over time and is still imprinted on their forms of coexistence.

12.7 Example Two: Pinochet's detention in London as a social sculpture

> The term *social sculpture* coined by Joseph Beuys points to the creative acts from which social relations and formations emerge. Beuys understood the formation of society as a never-ending process in which every single individual takes part by acting like an artist.
> (Schmidt 2000, my italics)

At its inception, the interview structure did not in fact stipulate a discussion of Pinochet's

detention in Britain (October 1998-March 2000).[57] Nevertheless, conversations with members of the exile community spontaneously raised the issue of significant cultural-artistic activities which took place around the time of this detention, evidencing once more how the community uses culture as a way to "resolve symbolically" the exile experience (Eastmond 1997, p11).[58] Thus my interviews can be said to have been adapted to create an explicit space for the discussion of these activities.

While Pinochet apologists (Margaret Thatcher among them) argued that his detention in Britain was pulling Chile apart again by opening old wounds, it can more fruitfully be seen to have brought the former exiles together. Exiles scattered all over Europe united with a common goal: to protest outside the Chilean Embassy, the Houses of Parliament and the High Court as well as the "detention spaces" of the London Clinic (Devonshire Place), Grovelands Priory Hospital (Southgate) and the Wentworth Estate (Virginia Water, Surrey). Spanglishisation of the word "picket" immortalised the demonstrations of *el piquete de Londres*.[59] The activities of the *piquete* transcended social differences and

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[57] The implications of this case are related by Alegría (2001) and Beckett (2002) as well as Patricio Guzmán's documentary *Le cas Pinochet* (2001) and the BBC docudrama *Pinochet in Suburbia* (2006). The aging Pinochet, who had arrived in London on 22nd September 1998 on one of his regular visits, was admitted to the London Clinic on 8th October for an operation on a herniated disc in his spinal column. By 13th October, in collaboration with lawyer Juan Garcés and Amnesty International, Baltasar Garzón - the Spanish magistrate who had initiated proceedings against Pinochet in mid-1996 - issued orders for Pinochet's extradition to Spain for trial on torture and genocide charges. The Concertación, powerless to prevent the recuperating General's arrest by British police on 16th October, was severely embarrassed, as a case which should have been tried at home dragged through the UK courts and the world's media and briefly appeared capable of destabilising the country's "fragile" consensus democracy. On 3rd March 2000, the case having cost the UK government £75m, Home Secretary Jack Straw finally granted the seemingly ailing Pinochet's return to Chile on humanitarian grounds. Although Pinochet's credibility was damaged by these events, his death in 2006 while still untried was a judicial nadir for post-dictatorial Chile.

[58] Marita Eastmond (1997) analyses the exile experience of Chileans in the US and (in an interesting companion to Elizabeth Lira's work on the psychology of torture within Chile) focuses on how the physical and psychological aspects of this experience are interpreted, resisted and represented. Eastmond concentrates on the socio-cultural dimension of exile, arguing that research on diasporas have neglected to explore this dimension fully.

[59] Other Chilean refugee organisations which have created networks around the UK included the Chile Solidarity Campaign CSR (1973-1991), the Chile Committee for Human Rights (1974-1991) and Chile Democrático (1985-present time), as well as numerous local groups and committees. Pinochet's 1998 arrest saw the immediate formation of the London-based organisations Chile Committee Against Impunity CCAI (*El Piquete de Londres*), Chile Committee for Justice and the Pinochet Foundation-funded Chilean Reconciliation Movement CRM and Chilean Supporters Abroad (1998-2000). The CCAI, coordinated by Vicente Alegría and Nicole Drouilly, was seen to unite anti-Pinochet Chileans around the world but some pro-Concertación Socialists to this day feel that the CCAI excluded them in what they perceive to be the overrepresentation of the radical interests of Chile's extra-parliamentary, minority-party opposition. The Pinochet lobby employed PR guru Tim Bell to "rebrand" Pinochet, much as he had attempted to do in Chile in the late Eighties.

an awakened sense of solidarity led many of those residing in London to open their homes to those coming from abroad. Once it had become evident that shouting was depleting their energies over a prolonged period of time and that the world's media would soon lose interest, the *piquete* protestors started to use musical and visual creative expressions: some brought guitars and drums, sang protest songs and designed masks in an attempt to express the inexpressible.[60] Pinochet's detention in London thus opened a transformative space that many exiles shared, unveiling an aesthetic dimension within the detention that many exiles were too close to see, wrapped up in political, legal and humanitarian issues. Thus their use of artistic resources as a means of construction and denunciation soon became a given.

> ... it was an important milestone in the history of the Chilean community; when it finished, the Chilean community scattered. At that moment, we all pulled together for the last time; it was taken as a responsibility as a Chilean; responsible for the millions of people in Chile who could never say anything against Pinochet during the dictatorship and we had the chance to shout at him, sing to him, tell the dictator to go to hell, knowing that he couldn't do anything to us. We were conscious and we felt responsible at being able to do that which in Chile couldn't be done and never could be - it can't be done even now. I don't know, but it couldn't be done. And, in that, cultural activities also emerged; we played drums for 501 days and we sang. Percussion workshops were formed; I taught people to play the drums. We went where he went, here in the Clinic, the other one there, Virginia Waters, the different judges or prisons and, between them, we gave concerts in the streets. There was a poetry day, a classical music day, a day for other types of music. Things were always happening, we celebrated the 18th of September, the 11th of September, the 4th of September and they were very important cultural activities. People came not just from London but from the whole country and the rest of Europe. (*musician, first generation*)

> … the other thing I was really interested in was the personal expression, or group expression; the art, if you like, of the picket… These ghosts, these figures, blacked out images of people, the guy with the blindfold who turned up with the charango and the poncho and, you know, the dressing up, the kind of theatre of it became really interesting to me and how, as much as, you know, the media coverage. All the imagery basically about it, all the writing, the way that the images of the story were constructed was really interesting to me… (*visual artist, second generation*)

[60] Sadly, little analysis is available of the makeshift aesthetic of the *piquete*, though a small selection of imagery can be viewed at http://www.ua.es/up/pinochet/imagenes/index-2.html and http://www.photoinsight.org.uk/visual/horacio/pages/hr-swf.htm.

Pinochet's arrest in London signified that the bodiless dictator - whom the exile community had fought against from outside for years without receiving recognition - suddenly materialised. Pinochet became a corporeal presence that members of the community could see and shout at publicly, and the intersubjective gazes that these encounters generated legitimised the community's struggle. The *piquete*'s demonstrations raised the issue of Chilean exiles on a worldwide scale, helping to expand the social imaginary of the British community and of all those groups which followed the case. The members of the community again transcended the anonymity to which they had been constricted for a lengthy period and, through the public eye and through mirror images, they reassured themselves that they were not a part of a dream; that they were real. Moreover, Pinochet's status as detained (*detenido*) placed him in a position of vulnerability symbolic of that which he had inflicted on others, breaking for ever his spell of omnipotence. Pinochet's stay in London gave him a taste of (albeit comparatively luxurious) exile and loss of liberty.

This public unveiling helped many Chileans to overcome the fear which had haunted them since experiencing Pinochet's terror tactics. Many dared to join the activities organised by the community and felt safe in protesting publicly for the first time: "people appeared whom you'd never seen participating in anything before" (*visual artist, first generation*). Pinochet's sudden materialisation made him visible for the exile community, a visibility which extended to the exile group itself. The community's visibility meant official recognition which enabled exiles to regain some of the Chilean territory they had lost. Moreover, exiles' intervention and appropriation of public space allowed them to exercise their own physicality and generate their own power through their bodies and voices. To adopt for a moment Garoian's terms, they "reclaim[*ed*] the self and the body as a political and creative site"; their cultural-artistic activities facilitated political and creative agency and made transparent the pedagogical side of the body (Garoian 1999a) (see Chapter Six for more on Garoian and corporeality).[61]

[61] An interesting parallel can be drawn with ex-C.A.D.A.-member Diamela Eltit's literary project, which explores how neoliberal systems today appropriate the body in order to "make it a productive instrument" and how the disarticulation of old forms of work organisations "create a new language and also promote a new worker who gives his or her body to the laws, the free market" (Eltit quoted in Posadas 2003, my translation). The dispossession of the body impedes asociativity, precluding the formation of alternative forms of power.

12.7.1 Reconstructing the social fabric

The creative and collective formations within and around the *piquete* can be said to have constituted a "social sculpture", inhabited not only by Chilean demonstrators but by anyone who happened to encounter and connect with the Chilean exiles' lively demonstrations. Many anecdotes give an account of the spontaneous human interaction that the *piquete*'s demonstrations generated: locals joining the *piquete* to protest Victor Jara's murder, sympathetic London cabdrivers sharing their coffee and sandwiches with protestors, and older Chilean ladies, whilst calling for the return of their disappeared loved ones, establishing maternal relationships with young policemen monitoring the demonstrations. This social sculpture permitted many to see through one another and recognise in the other a friend or family member. They were united through the repossession of their bodies and the enactment of the social traces, memories and experiences their bodies contained. Being members of this huge "family" of sorts, many felt irresistibly bound to look after one another. The *piquete* inadvertently developed a reciprocal fraternity: "By redeeming your most painful experiences you transform them into something valuable, algo para compartir or share with others so they too may be empowered" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002, p540). From people's wounds and pain, love emerged and cancelled out the inevitable thought of taking revenge. When people activated what was culturally accepted as passive, their wounds turned into "political strength" which connected everyone (Eltit in Posadas 2003, my translation). As Anzaldúa and Keating assert, wounds "either open you to the greater reality normally blocked by your habitual point of view or else shut you down, pushing you out of your body and into desconocimiento" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002, pp571-572).

> … it's not about revenge. It's about justice and that's a different thing. A peaceful protest is the only way to go about this, so at first I struggled, in fact, with those ideas because, you know, he was so close physically. It was a possibility that you could, if you went down that line, to get to him. If you got into that building, you could get to his room. What would you do? You know, these are questions I would ask myself. What would I do if I met him face to face? What would I say to him? What would I do? Would I harm him? What good would that do? Do you know what I mean? They're, kind of, very raw questions to ask and really valid… that's one of the main things that struck me: the physicality, that he was here. He wasn't a myth anymore. He wasn't a dream, like a bad dream. He was there. He was real. But also mediated. He was on TV. It was through the papers. (*visual artist, second generation*)

The *piquete* thus permitted many demonstrators to claim the bodies of their disappeared loved ones openly, perform for them the pending collective mortuary rituals, exorcise the wounds imprinted in their physicality and call for Justice to leave a symbolic social sign on Pinochet's own body.

> Personal crisis may be shared and culturally constituted through a variety of expressions in social and ritual interaction. […] Ritual and ceremony are collective means to focus on a problematic reality, to hold it up for special symbolic commentary.
>
> (Eastmond 1997, pp10-11)

12.7.2 Memories-territories-identities

Anthropologist José Manuel Zavala (2002) articulates the plurality of "memories-territories-identities" as an investigative, teaching and action axis for the Mapuche struggle in Chile. This may also serve to relate the "multilayeredness" of Pinochet's detention in London, which constituted for many Chileans an exercise in reconstructing *memory*, a process Zavala regards as necessary and healthy for a country where collective amnesia has had a profound effect on the way its peoples interact. During Pinochet's enforced stay in the UK, many groups were offered the chance to raise their individual "micro-experience and micro-time" and thence revisit and reread the "macro-time" of the official history (Zavala 2002).

In an effort to reconstruct collective memory during his detention in London, Pinochet wrote an open letter addressed to all Chilean citizens in December 1998 in which he argued for his legitimate position in history, giving - together with this self-assurance - a formal voice of leadership to his supporters (Pinochet 1998).[62] In Chile, the mainstream media and Pinochet apologists gave the letter great national coverage, a situation which a group of historians - among them Salazar and Leonardo León, who had both been exiled to the UK - saw as a manipulation of the historical truth that was to have a profound effect on the historical memory of Chile and thus on the development of its civil sovereignty. The group answered Pinochet's letter with a Manifesto in January 1999

[62] History raises the notion of power. Salazar has contrasted the ease with which Pinochet's interpretation of history was published to the difficulties faced by marginalised sectors which try to circulate their histories (in *Off the Record* TV interview accessed at http://es.arcoiris.tv/).

(Garcés Duran et al 1999) which questioned the “sovereignty” that Pinochet claimed framed his actions and that of his adherents. The historians made the case that this sovereignty stemmed solely from the 1980 Constitution, still in force, that Pinochet had established in order to legitimise his unconstitutional actions in the Seventies.

This process of memory reconstitution and the revisiting of the official history from inside *and* outside were unique in Chilean history. Salazar claimed that this unprecedented encounter with the past had little impact on Chilean society at large, however, when compared with its resonance among historians, who were briefly united in a “public positioning” with which to respond to the Chilean historical conjunction (*coyuntura histórica*) (Gutiérrez et al 2003). As various groups reconstructed their memories, they were also re-vindicating a historiographical space. Thus there is an immediate bond between memory and territory.

With Pinochet’s detention, Chilean exilic communities abroad went public. This sudden media exposure placed pressure on the Chilean government to design an *institucionalidad* (see information on DICOEX in *10.1.3*) to facilitate interaction between exile communities and Chile as well as heightened, though as yet fruitless, calls for Chileans abroad to be given the vote.

Zavala argues that identity is the result of memory reconstruction and the recognition of the different ways of physically and symbolically occupying space. During Pinochet’s arrest in London, the community’s participation collectively reconstructed the meaning of the exile experience, thus (re)shaping their own identities. Garoian addresses the physical and symbolic components of identity as follows:

> By using the body as material, process, and site, students learn to rewrite and re-present the cultural codes inscribed on their bodies and, in doing so, to construct their own identities and create new cultural myths with which to challenge the body politic.
>
> (Garoian 1999a)

> I value a lot of self-expression and self-expression kind of shows identity, if you like. So the way that people dress is really important even if they don’t always know it. The way that they decorate their homes or the way they cut their hair. All those things are very important and I think people in an exiled community are very aware of this. And you saw a lot of the younger people

> wearing Chilean football tops and things like that. They obviously had flags ready and they bought Union Jacks as well because they felt, you know, that the British were finally kind of in solidarity... (*visual artist, second generation*)

12.7.3 Materiality of a dream of justice: an aesthetic of social justice

Espinoza and Buchanan-Arvay (2004) analyse how Chilean exiles' personal re-experiencing of harrowing memories, upon hearing the news of Pinochet's arrest and subsequent release, are bound to a collective experience. The authors summarise the meaning of Pinochet's arrest for exiles in the following terms: the unexpected possibility of justice; the confirmation and validation of the atrocities and the suffering of the Pinochet regime; the impact of this period on people's lives; and the vindication of the political experience of the Allende government. They also discuss the need for justice as a means of encouraging healing and the profound emotional effect that impunity has had on Chilean exiles' lives. They conclude their article with a discussion of how Pinochet's arrest in London, political analysis and participation became a potential healing mechanism for some people and how Pinochet's release re-traumatised people.

Pinochet's detention generated a participatory space which to some extent returned to the exile community a collectivity which had been dislocated by redemocratisation and waves of return in the early Nineties. This space brought together members of first and second generations, gathered Pinochet's followers, and activated the creation of new spaces (some existing to this day: http://www.memoriaviva.com/ and http://www.ecomemoria.com/).

> ... the detention of Pinochet and the group. Sure, that was spontaneous. There was a Chilean community until, I reckon, '84, '85. Their opinion was very strong in British society, I'd say, and between the rest of the Latin American communities… In the end… people returned, [*adopting a mocking tone*] "democracy" arrived. Groups stayed, isolated, which weren't more than five to seven people… When all this about Pinochet's detention happened, that was a detonation… (*non-artist, first generation*)

> ... a process was produced when the Pinochet thing happened, which appeared after all the solidarity had died because, with democracy, everything disappeared and all the groups fought and nothing remained. The only ones left were our group for the disappeared. We still get together... (*visual artist, first generation*)

The demonstrations of the *piquete* united the exiles physically and symbolically, generating a collective referent which was not only identified within the community, but also by much of the rest of the world. This referent brought together the victims of the regime in Chile with other victims of oppression and transformed the world's perception of justice. It also raised awareness levels among the people who were not victims but sympathetic to the collective referent. It became an illuminated space which aroused hope. Some described this period as if a weight had been removed from their shoulders.

> So it was really lovely to see other countries' flags at the protest. It's not just Chile's story. It was an example. It's an international example, which led to attitudes in international law and human rights and things like that. It was a case study, if you like, and, you know, like a touchstone. So, yeah, I was fairly sort of proud about the conduct of the people. It was fairly jubilant. It didn't feel like there was a lot of anger there, although, you know, some people. There's different levels of anger… (*visual artist, second generation*)

Pinochet, allegedly having suffered a further decline in health, was permitted to return to Chile on humanitarian grounds in early 2000. As well as having left an indelible mark on international justice with regard to immunity for former heads of State, an unforgettable "social sculpture" was created - some Chileans in London continue to celebrate the anniversary of Pinochet's arrest.

13.0 Chile seen and perceived from outside

Leading full lives in the UK has not prevented exile artists from following events in Chile or holding opinions about the Concertación government's performance since 1990. Their strong feelings of belonging to Chile crystallise in their patriotic and emotional discourses and in their evident need to theorise and exchange views about the way Chilean history has progressed since they left. Despite the fact that, much of the time, they can only observe its processes from outside rather than participating directly, they still consider themselves critical observers.[63] The themes, definitions and interpretations that artists' discourses unveil about a Chile seen from abroad are presented below and they

[63] Lagos and Bachelet have both argued that Chileans residing abroad should be given the vote, a step towards direct participation. In addition, a 2005 constitutional reform awarded the right to apply for Chilean citizenship to the offspring of Chileans born abroad.

constitute an initial step towards bridging the Chiles of inside and outside.

13.1 Historical Account

> Only **culture** provides adequate grounds on the horizon towards which the future of Chilean society can orient itself with its identity and its history. In other words, each day the question for Chileans seems to centre itself more on "for what" and "towards where" and not only on "how". Only those who must discern in the past, with its highs and lows, the signals of the future have this answer. History is not useless. It values and teaches us. It also reprimands us. It is not about repeating the past in any way. But as human beings, history is present and follows us[…] That is the task of **culture** and, more specifically, of a civic **culture** which can get to the bottom of the orientations or directions for how we want the future to be in our imaginary and everyday lifestyles.
> (Ortega Riquelme 2002, pp12-13, my translation)

13.1.1 Memory of the past and identity formations

There is a general concern about how Chile deals with its memory of the past and the implications of this notion for the development of a sense of national identity. Artists claim that Chile has a tradition of neglecting to keep its collective memory alive and that, through forgetting, it avoids consciousness and responsibility for its past. The referents that the country needs in order to imagine a future of its own are contained within its history, meaning that, when its population disregards its past, potential learning content for shared knowledge and transformation is wasted.

Andrei Tarkovsky wrote that, "mutual understanding is a force to unite people" (Tarkovsky 1998, p39); indeed, mutual understanding facilitates the construction of the sense of a "We" which is necessary for giving directionality to history. The multiplicity of conflictive ethnic, religious and ideological realities in Chile will be unable to exchange until their actions are charged with an integrative intention towards mutual understandings. When traces of the past are "blanked out" of official history, the social sectors involved and their realities are also erased, leaving them without collective power for exchange and understanding, thus exacerbating social fragmentation.

Lechner offered an interesting interpretation which connects peoples' mutual recognition with history and memory, asserting that Chilean democracy has failed to facilitate the

codes of “interpretation and signification” which citizens require in order to share their experience with others and generate shared meaning: “The transition has not known how to narrate a ‘tale of Chile’ - a narration to help people visualise their personal biography as part of a historical trajectory” (Lechner 2002b, my translation). One of Lechner’s former UNDP colleagues adds that:

> A **culture** of diversity in all the spheres, including the productive, seems to be a pending task to achieve social integration and sustain our identity.
>
> (Ortega Riquelme 2002, pp13-14, my translation)

To jump for a moment from Sociology into History, Salazar has argued that Chilean history has conventionally been written by the “victors”, the dominant groups, which have exercised sufficient economic power to give direction to the country and preserve its values. In response to this, Salazar bases his recent historical projects on revisiting the Chilean past and writing the histories of the “losers” in order to return to the country its plurality of social relations and constructions to set grounds for empowerment and social integration. A sense of conscious historicity, then, understood in a pluralistic sense, helps a society to recognise its peoples, value their multiple constructions and relational possibilities and thus generate more strategic interventions either to improve existing realities or to construct alternative ones. In this critical context, the search for the development of a conscious historicity which can keep memory alive and pave the way for the building of more meaningful identities has become one of many artists’ priorities.

“Bad memory” has had a socially segregating effect on Chilean society. One writer asserts that:

> … they don’t conserve the memory of anything here. Absolutely nothing. It’s a very strange feeling... particularly in Concepción, there’s no awareness of a past or of sustaining an identity. The extraordinary epoch of the Theatre of Concepción, for example, was easily forgotten. Many historically important people have been left out of today’s cultural events because of ignorance. It isn’t that there are bad intentions to exclude but simply that they don’t know what these people did. Nor should one fall into thinking that everything was better in the past... writing is also a way of rescuing that past. Well, I was watching two restorations of films made in Concepción almost a century ago... I didn’t have the foggiest idea that there’d been filmmaking in Concepción in the age of silent cinema... (*writer, first generation*)

The desire to overcome a hurtful or shameful past has encouraged bad memory (a problematic also rooted in fear; see *13.2.2*). Self-censorship, normalised through a mainstream consensus discourse which places people in that comfort zone of silence, has also played an important role here. However, this forgetfulness is not only maintained in relation to events of collective trauma but also manifests in a generalised predisposition towards the past (to avoid any undesirable connections). Illustrating the implications that silence has had on the construction of understandings and new knowledge, a musician declares that:

> ... the lack of knowledge in Chile about the themes I've investigated really surprises me. For example, I didn't find any sort of publication about the music of the Chilean concentration camps. I was in touch with musicologists from all the Chilean universities and absolutely nothing exists. It's still taboo. Maybe other conditioning factors exist. I don't know. You'd need to study them. The thing is that nobody's interested. I don't know if the type of music produced in the Chilean concentration camps isn't interesting for some musicological reason. It's clear that the majority of musicians in Chile weren't professionals, unlike the musicians of the Third Reich where there were many first-rate composers. (*musician, second generation*)

One way of connecting past and present should be the generation of mechanisms of participation which promote engagement with and appropriation of history - to make it live within one's day-to-day existence - and thus take on huge challenges: to invite young people to get to know and understand their past, so that they do not remain alienated from history but adopt a course of action which, based on historical memory, can construct more meaningful identities and forms of cohesion.

> ... it's important that young people like you, having been absent, OK, become conscious of their history and, having become conscious, don't stay out of history and its processes. The ideal is that the individual not be passive, that the individual always participate and be committed... (*writer, first generation*)

The artist cited below proposes a resignification of national territory in order to make people aware of the possibilities of the space that they inhabit (i.e. how it has constituted history and simultaneously how history has constituted it). Thus Chile, with its distinctive geographical and natural features, can become the territory whence its peoples can

dream and give shape to critical thoughts about their country's history and their positioning within it.

> ... for Chile to be able to regain its dignity a little, its dream and the things which were taken away with that coup d'état, young people must understand that what there is in Chile should be for their benefit... the copper, I think, would be a good place to start promoting the concept that, "This is mine, this is my country, this is my culture, this is me." And get back to taking up the dreams, the notion that we can build our own destiny. I think there are certain banners we can raise and which can help the individual reintegrate and reconstruct his history. (*musician, first generation*)

The weakening of national identity is rooted in the weakening of collective memory and also in the absence of what Lechner refers to as "anchors" of Chileanness found in everyday life (Lechner 2002b). Lechner adds that the Concertación governments have successfully established and maintained relative *consensus democracy* (see *6.5.1*) but not an imaginary of *a sense of a We*; moved by a concern for "governability" (which, Salazar notes, is the opposite of "governance", wherein civil society exercises popular sovereignty [Somarriva 2006]), the Concertación avoided going deep enough into the disturbing past, thus reinforcing the dynamic of forgetting whose consequences have been discussed and analysed most publicly in the UNDP's 2002 report. For many artists, the social, historical and political dimensions of national identity (in Chile but also internationally) remain a real concern in their public and private lives even after decades in exile.

13.2 Governmental Action

13.2.1 Towards a more democratic country

Artists claim that it is their conviction that the directionality and intentionality of a government's courses of action must be based on a strategic plan which should both reflect and operationalise its society's visions. They are therefore frustrated when governmental initiatives seem to follow criteria which do not conform to a long-term pluralistic ideal, thus problematising social relations and the sense of trust and cohesion. Most artists emphasise the need to strengthen Chilean democracy and political credibility, a construction Salazar argues begins from the local (Gutiérrez et al 2003 and

Chávez 2006). Interestingly, their perceptions coincide with Lechner's four suggestions for the qualitative enhancement of democracy (Lechner 2002b):

(a) *Fight the naturalisation of the social.* Insufficient mechanisms of social participation make reality seem an inescapable fate. When a society does not play an active role in the construction of its historical, social and spatial processes, no sense of interconnectedness is created between its members and the various (economic, political, etc) "systems" which constitute society, whose self-regulated nature seemingly reinforce this inescapable destiny. Lechner argues here that the sustainability of development involves the complementation of "systemic integration" and "social integration", and it is through the latter that the limits and significance of systemic action are regulated.

(b) *Fight social fragmentation.* Cultural diversity can only become a potential intellectual resource in a context of interculturality (i.e. the interaction and understanding between cultures); in any other circumstances, cultural diversity simply turns into social fragmentation. The market has been the leading agent in promoting the integration of Chile's cultural diversity; but this type of integration, Lechner claims, has not been constructed *through* social interaction and therefore has neither generated shared meaning nor the conditions to fight the naturalisation of the social. Conversely, not everyone has access to the "interpretative codes" necessary to an understanding of the diverse systems which constitute today's societies, thus *hindering* social integration.

(c) *Fight "a-social" retraction.* For many, the social world has little meaning nowadays, becoming instead a place of mistrust. In this context, people turn towards the private world of the family in order to give sense to life. Social interaction, Lechner asserts, is now emptied; it has no meaningful contents for people to relate to. In addition, the public space has changed, positioning television as the main means of communication dominating the public scene, whose quality of interactions cannot resignify the social world.

(d) *Fight "presentism".* There is an urgent need to put the present into perspective, grounding it in our memory, and thus transcend the immediateness we live in. To this end, it will be necessary to "objectivise ourselves", "assume a stance" and finally "develop an intentionality towards the future" (Lechner 2002b, my translation).

Chomsky and Salazar share a concern for the need for effective mechanisms for the practical realisation of more democratic formations in globalised societies. They identify in communities' "local sovereignty" or *autogobierno* an interesting democratising possibility which could offer a viable means for the realisation of Lechner's four suggestions. Through participation, these authors claim, communities can gain the local power they require to control the processes of production in their region, taking charge of their own local government. Thus, from their local position, communities can impact processes at a national level, generating "integral development" and shaping the democratisation of a country. This dynamic starts from below - unlike in traditional formations - as exemplified by the cases of the Landless Rural Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil and the Inuit in Canada, two social movements constructing alternative forms of popular power. Salazar identifies "civil disobedience", "subversion" and "decentralisation of politics" as the main components responsible for these formations and stresses the importance of "educational action" and "self-education" in the process of democratic construction. He believes that, in the Chilean case, the pressure generated by those social movements which have adopted this "alternative political practice" should eventually naturally pave a way towards changing Pinochet's 1980 Constitution (Gutiérrez et al 2003, Enríquez Carrera 2006, Sandercock 2006, Salazar 2006).

13.2.2 Neoliberal economic model and its consequences

> It is an economy which dilutes rather than integrates the cultural cement.
> (Ortega Riquelme 2002, p14, my translation)

The Pinochet regime enforced the implementation of a neoliberal free-market economic model which has remained highly influential in the Concertación governments' economic policy ever since, attracting acclaim from many international commentators. Exile artists' reflections on and interpretations of this economic model are presented below.

Comparing post-Pinochet democracy with democracy immediately pre-Pinochet, artists refer to the substantial difference in participatory models. The levels and types of participation promoted in each of these historical contexts differ significantly, they argue. The democratic experience of the late Sixties and early Seventies is described as a

widespread opening of spaces for communities to organise and generate transformative creative conditions and thus active insertion into society's wider functioning. However, from outside, they currently perceive Chile as lacking meaningful spaces for participation and regard the neoliberal model as one of the main factors responsible for this.

When reflecting on the socio-political conditions and mindset that the neoliberal model encourages, exile artists tend to make a spontaneous analogy with the situation in the UK. They argue that the quality of socio-political relations in Chile does not differ significantly from those in Britain: two societies, then, whose social order and political direction are strongly delimited by the values and drive of market forces.[64]

> ... the mistake which is now occurring in Chile is that the neoliberal system was imposed on us, which is a system which functions from above. No? It's like what Blair's doing here... the diverse communities in Chile should be capable of self-regenerating, self-organising and generating their own conditions... Chile now wants to dictate through decrees and economic policies and that doesn't work and in Chile we knew it in the late Sixties. That's where all those slogans for creating popular power came from: organisation from the people themselves, the people, the community. Not the State. Lagos can have lots of nice things and can do lots of things, but they'll never work well because government can't dictate that. The people themselves must generate the conditions for their own spiritual, cultural and economic development. (*musician, first generation*)

Referring to the connection between the neoliberal model and forms of civic participation developed both in the UK and Chile, the artist quoted above continues that:

> In a neoliberal democracy, I'm free to think what I want to think, I can say what I want to whom I want at any time and so on and so on... But I can't get involved in this country's decisions. Now they say to you, "Well, which party are you going to vote for?" No? But Labour, Conservatives and Liberals are exactly the same... they're the administrators of a system. There's not really any possibility of change with any of them. It's always the same system. It's whether we charge you less tax or more tax. In Chile, it's exactly the same. So, what participation is there? What popular participation in economic decisions is there, for example? None! (*musician, first generation*)

[64] Several exile artists' denunciations of New Labour's impact on the arts in Britain are addressed in detail by Cultural Policy Collective's 2004 pamphlet, which questions Blair's social inclusion policy in the arts (indeed, see *6.5.2* for a parallel with the Chilean case) and proposes "cultural democracy" as the way to profound social change free of market constriction.

According to Eugenio Ortega Riquelme, one of the movers and shakers in the UNDP between 1994 and 2005, the neoliberal model has particular characteristics which remain within the model, independently of the societal context in which it is installed:

> [...] neoliberal policies which had consequences for the everyday lives of people and societies without preserving either social integration or cultural identities. As recent United Nations and World Bank reports point out, this situation has not only affected developing countries but also the developed countries of the West. It could be a sign that the hegemony and autonomy of the globalised economy are not responding to the needs for social integration and participation or the legitimacy of democracy.
>
> (Ortega Riquelme 2002, p11, my translation)

Artists characterise human relations in modern-day Chile as highly individualistic and attitudes to the country as a whole as apathetic. Indeed, what Lechner calls "a-social" individualisation weakens the "density of the social network", thus blurring the image people create of their society (see *13.2.1*). One key difference distinguishing the processes of individualisation in Latin America to those in Europe is the length of time that these processes have taken to develop: while the processes of individualisation have taken place at dramatic speed in Latin America, leaving little time for societies to reflect on how they have changed, changes in European societies have followed a more stable pace, sustained on long traditions of communal networks (Lechner 2002b).

In a context of "a-social" individualism, it becomes vital to endow all sectors of the population with possibilities for meaningful participation. Exile artists make the case that it is the government's responsibility to give order to citizens' contribution to society and, to this end, must organically facilitate the development of participatory spaces for everyone to become an essential part of a collaborative whole.

From this perspective, artists cannot be simplistically seen as Romantics somehow positioned "outside" society and "free" of its processes. On the contrary, many artists emphasise that they see themselves performing as important and as useful a role in society as any other professional. Indeed, for more pluralistic and ethical democratic development to take place, every member of society has a role and a responsibility and this indispensable diversity enhances, rather than diminishes, the aesthetic dimensionality of every human being.

> When I spoke of the surplus of artists or poets, it's that lots of people think that being an artist is enough for their life. They go onto the streets to read poetry... that seems too romantic, no? I think that at the same time you have to have a very concrete vision of where the country wants to go. (*writer, first generation*)

> There's a part of this cultural development which seems "natural", but another which has to be planned, has to be planned by the government. To plan how many doctors we need, how many dentists, so you don't get what happens in a developed country like England, which has a deficit of doctors, dentists and there's no way to find doctors to work for the State. And, sure, those who have money and have their clinics are making a fortune. And how the system is made for that - everyone pays - and it seems to be working fine... if we're in a capitalist society, fine, you have to plan through that system... (*writer, first generation*)

The processes of individualisation, which keep people out of social interaction, are directly related to the notable levels of political disaffection permeating Chilean society, a lack of engagement reflected in low voter turnout. Political disaffection, according to Lechner (2002b), has involved the weakening of democracy's collective imagery: Chileans cannot find in democracy the shared meaning necessary to identify themselves with social changes (i.e. find their significance) and to exchange experiences with others. Moreover, elsewhere this phenomenon has been situated historically and culturally:

> The phenomenon of growing de-politicisation among the Chileans seems also to be related to the memories of the breakdown of the old Chilean democracy in the early 1970s, and the legacy of seventeen years of anti-politics discourse by the former military regime. Together with this, the profound social and cultural changes produced by market-centred politics have also contributed to shape the new ways Chilean citizens look at politics.
>
> (Silva 2004, p68)

Some artists see Pinochet's implementation of fear, repression and depoliticisation, reinforced by neoliberal policy, as having engendered a longer-term mindset, describing *fear* as a paralysing force on contemporary Chilean society. The artist quoted below argues that this fear is expressed through self-repression and self-censorship which have precluded people's enactment of their full capacities:

> ... there aren't individuals who are rebels and are capable of organising

> certain things in the community. In the case of Chile, apart from anything else, there's still a lot of fear... what's happening in Chile, what I see is that, with the exception of a very small sector of society, all the rest repress themselves. The terror was so great that now they don't need Pinochet to repress them. The poor fools repress themselves... (*musician, first generation*)

Self-repression entails the personal and collective silencing of the traumatic past. Hiding wounds does not facilitate rehabilitation - dialogue and deliberation remain necessary to the restoration of lost trust and the growth of a healthy community which can provide sectors of the population with a shared means of healing. Chile seen and reflected on from outside appears for the exile artists a society which forgets to heal and which has found a propitious context for this in a globalised culture sustained on the disposable commodity. One artist identifies this mental-block model of social relations as one of the conditioning agents which prevents the Chilean population from engaging with the reality of exile:

> ... people in Chile don't want to listen to you and don't want to know anything; they don't know anything... If I sing them something in a song, they don't want to know anything because it's very painful. They aren't capable of reacting positively faced with things which are difficult. (*musician, first generation*)

In a context where, very generally speaking, the public sphere and its social interactions turn their backs on traumatic memory, younger generations inevitably find it difficult to engage, converse and reappropriate a historical episode they did not experience. When discussing this phenomenon, artists describe young people as left outside history and assert that, in order to reintegrate them into history, they must be given the conditions to see and understand their country critically, as they cannot be expected to value and care for something that they do not know or understand. The development of a sense of belonging is essential to paving the way for social integration and the reappropriation of history.

As well as individualisation and political disaffection, human interaction in Chilean society is characterised by the impact of economic policy on the cultural-artistic scene specifically. Most artists agree that Chilean society has turned its gaze away from its roots and local cultural-artistic production and tends to concentrate on mainstream

products. They believe that folklore and popular movements responding to local cultural-historical scenarios have been marginalised and limited in circulation and visibility, creating a situation which leaves potential cultural capital at the disposal of a small group with a minority interest who can afford access to its specialised circuit. The corollary here is that the vast majority of Chileans are seen to be swallowing the immediately available, commodified products which commonly have little or no cultural relevance or significance for critical understanding of or intervention into reality.

At the same time, many artists state that the cultural-artistic scene in Chile remains dominated by a "high art" elitist model, celebrated during the military regime, which tends to position Chile's own cultural-artistic production as "popular" and therefore "low". This undervaluing of Chilean production and the institutionalisation of, say, the European paradigm to the detriment of the Latin American certainly makes "common sense" in an ex-colonial context where the local is regarded with an inferiority complex. It is hardly surprising that globalisation is inevitably for many an opportunity to look and feel closer to the developed world and contribute to the promotion of elitist and/or mainstream forms. This opening of access to foreign constructions therefore has the potential to create the conditions for new knowledge formations and growth when entire cultures exchange and enrich themselves on equal terms *as well as* the potential to set the grounds for cultural hegemony as dominant cultures impose themselves and minority cultures turn to (usually pale) imitation.

> I found out that there have recently been some programmes of Latin American music but... resources and efforts always move towards what attracts more punters. And Chilean music doesn't attract the public. Classical music, anyway. Put simply, it's anti-commercial... (*musician, second generation*)

13.3 General Cultural-Artistic Profile

There is a widespread perception in the exile community that Chile *is* trying to advance culturally and that resources *are* being invested in an infrastructure for the development of culture and the arts. However, there is also the presentiment that the true spirit and understanding of change have yet to flourish individually and institutionally. Exiles tend to concur that more knowledge and support needs to be put into considered, participatory

policy initiatives in order to narrow the gap between the official and the real.

13.3.1 Projection of an image

> ... art plays a fundamental role, fundamental, and I hope that the symptoms that I see most recently develop effectively. There's a far greater concern in this regard... In Santiago, for example, there are many young actors doing very interesting theatre. There are many young people making films too... that's very, very positive. (*writer, first generation*)

The image that Chile projects to the outside world of its cultural-artistic development and accomplishments has been generally well-received by the exile artists, though there are some reservations. While some artists from the older generation are not computer-literate and receive information by word-of-mouth or newspapers, many others' impressions are founded mainly on information they access on the internet, a vital means of contact with life in Chile. They recognise that the internet provides them with a limited source of information but that it still gives them a general picture which reassures their sense of symbolic connection. The web is a means for many artists to stay informed, follow the latest events and contrast them with the Chile they knew.

However, although Chile is one of the best-represented Latin American countries online and many newer or larger websites offer an unexpectedly high level of interactivity, the internet as it stands cannot meet all the needs of artists residing abroad. More focused mechanisms which can guarantee real engagement and communication with the exile world are still needed. These spaces should aim to make cultural-artistic life in Chile more open and accessible, providing more information on how projects are installed, their impact and evaluation, so that exile artists can identify potential interstices that they can intervene in and thus feed back into what they still regard as their home country.

> My impressions come specifically from the internet, the easiest and most direct link that I have with Chile... As I don't live in Chile, I've no idea how much of that is true... The news never continue. They say, "This happens", they give you the headline and two months letter it's forgotten. So my experience through the internet is very limited. Potentially, yes, I see many things by people I know, people who come, who visit. Sure. And it gives me a general picture. And they make me want to return much more. But now if those initiatives reach their conclusion, if they're realisable, I don't know... I couldn't express an opinion about the cultural reality in Chile. Now

> I see there are many initiatives. There's always lots of interest. There are other fields which are opening. I'd be interested. It seems good to me. It seems excellent if it turned out… if there is support, that it's not just at the level of a region, that it was nationally - it would be wonderful. (*musician, first generation*)

13.3.2 Concerning artists

In addition to the stigma of artist as prophet, a rather stuffy scepticism exists in the different social spheres of Chilean society as regards the good-for-nothing "starving artist". Exile artists describe this as adverse and unproductive, affecting the quality of the conditions that artists need in order to carry out their work and engage better with their communities (see *6.5.2* for details of current art scene).

The Chilean educational system (about which, see *18.0*) has a responsibility to take on this problematic because it plays an important role in moulding the values which condition and predispose behaviour and has an impact on the ways people perceive and understand their immediate realities and the globalised world. The challenge for schools today is therefore to create experiences which can trigger the cultivation and development of a new sensibility towards the arts and thus help paving the way for a new perspective based on exchange and understanding. Chilean economic policy, by encouraging materialism, has also contributed to the reproduction of the existing profile. There are strong ethical implications within this problematic:

> ... in Chile there are very talented people, but the appropriate conditions and the will don't exist, so it turns into a vicious circle. It isn't just about blaming the politicians but that I'd say that the average Chilean simply isn't interested. So, the typical question they ask you in Chile at a party which isn't just for musicians is, "Fine, you're a musician but, let's say, it's a hobby, right?" Wanting to say, "What's your real profession?" In other words, artist isn't a profession in Chile and that's a common perception. (*musician, second generation*)

This predisposition has created difficult working conditions for artists who have sometimes been forced to emigrate in order to feel valued and be taken seriously. Exile artists argue that Chile still needs to invest much more and focus its investment on the integrated effort to renew the existing cultural-artistic scene in terms of infrastructure and mentality (i.e. the spaces for intervention and the population's understanding of the value

of these spaces), and thus begin creating the conditions to capture the scattered intellectual resource which has been left to waste away.

> ... the problem is that the people who are critical of that mentality emigrate. Before, I was very critical of people who didn't return because if the people with more talent, more ideas, don't return, there's no way for the system to renew itself. But, on the other hand, Chile doesn't have much to offer. So, let's say, there has to be some sort of investment which makes you feel valued. Now, I've never tried to return to Chile. Nor can I complain about that, but I've heard many people complain about it... (*musician, second generation*)

13.3.3 Concerning art teachers

Some artists assert that there are too few trained art teachers and insufficient infrastructure to meet demand for arts and art education on a national scale and that inevitably the regions will be the last to experience the benefits of the redistribution of resources. As key agents in the formation of social subjects and what a society wants for itself, teachers constitute the main pillars of society. The improvement of the national landscape for culture and the arts relies heavily on the quality of art teachers' performance and their spaces for intervention (see *18.3* and *18.4*).

It has therefore become crucial to redirect teacher training and focus it specifically on the quality of the actions that future teachers will need to take to encourage the development of reflective attitudes to the arts among their students and thus help pave the way for a fundamental change in thinking. This should involve a revaluation of institutionalised value systems and preconceptions, and also ways of seeing and understanding the arts (a joint de-learning process to be undertaken by teachers and their students). The teacher's role relies not only on the transference of performative skills and abilities but on the construction of the learning conditions to explore and appropriate new perspectives on the world where the arts and their humanising component must find a defined space. Moreover, a future resignification and re-dignifying of the teacher's role will make education in general a more appealing field of studies for generations to come; a possible strategy to face the shortage of teachers provoked by the devaluing of the profession (see *18.2*).

The sustainable development of the arts in deprived and isolated schools requires more focused, long-term strategic action - difficult to organise and administer when schools are based in a social context where the arts are associated solely with the passive intake of entertainment. The artist cited here asserts that political leaders have a moral responsibility to take this on, particularly as it is common practice in Chile to use the arts for campaigning purposes:

> ... it's dramatic in the regions above all because there aren't any trained teachers. So, well, what do I know, they put a violin teacher as trumpeter when he has no idea! And, sure, the Mayors are fascinated by the idea because they go and create an orchestra when they have to... a school or a hospital or whatever and the orchestra stays until the last journalist leaves [*laughs*]. (*musician, second generation*)

13.4 Final Thoughts

The questioning, through the arts, of an imposed reality such as exile opens a space for philosophy *in* art rather than philosophy *of* art. The critical reflection of exiles' cultural formations could play a part in setting the grounds for a more contextualised philosophy helping us understand better their realities and commonalities.

In this regard, the Peruvian cultural critic Edgar Montiel (2002) argues that, just as Latin American literature has developed an international profile, an "American philosophy" based on the values of South American civilisations should develop. Rather than talk *about* America, he claims, it should take the sources of its reflection *from* the cultural, political, economic and social dimensions of American history, finding in these dimensions the subjects and objects of its philosophemes. According to Montiel, however, an American philosophy to "sharpen the weapons of reason" can only develop when Latin American philosophers win the battles of Imitation/Creation, Reception/Criticism, Acculturation/Identity and Conformism/Creative subversion.

If, as Gramsci argues, however, we are all philosophers, then Chilean exile artists through their praxis are already fighting the four battles that Montiel describes. Firstly, they have questioned their reality and taken activist roles in order to transform it (*the critical battle*). Secondly, they have proposed alternative models of coexistence (*the creation battle*). Thirdly, they have constructed and helped others construct their

identities (*the identity battle*). Fourthly, they have learnt from everyday experience, sharpened their intellectual processes, made their games more complex and exercised their subversive creativity, smuggling new possibilities for participatory coexistence (*the subversive creativity battle*). It seems to me that an "American philosophy" already exists and is waiting to circulate as freely and publicly as Western philosophy.

14.0 A snapshot of *Identities in Exile*

In this chapter, first-generation Chilean artists speak about their artistic trajectory and how it is shaped by their experience of exile and their memory of the Chile that formed them and then for political reasons left them behind, while second-generation artists formed in the UK speak about their symbolic attachment to the country.

The chapter begins with what it meant for the first-generation artists to leave a physical and emotional territory which gave their private lives meaning, and to have to assume the breakdown of a political project through which they constituted themselves as socio-historical actors, highlighting the main repercussions of this fracture upon these artists' families. The analysis moves on to unveil how the encounter with the unknown reshaped these artists' cultural project, also a "project of survival", which involved the collective reconstruction of memory and identity, as well as the exchange with the host culture. This discussion also lays out their main reasons for remaining in the UK and presents their reflections about Chile seen from outside, raising a series of issues which are to resurface in the next chapter (a commonality of vision) in the narratives of the artists residing in Chile. Among these issues are: recognition of the past, social repercussions of the neoliberal economic model, and culture as the cement for the constitution of social and human development.

The different moments making up the multiple (hi)stories and artistic trajectories presented in this chapter give us insights into the nature of political exile. The exiles' profound desire to reconstitute the Chile they left behind during the military regime tended to delay integration into British society and also led to an unavoidable distancing from the transformations that Chile underwent during their absence. Collective reconstruction of the political past brought with it the reconstitution of thought patterns which continue to direct the lives of many who have preserved "ways of doing" through

the collective rituals of the exile community, prompting some to be predisposed to self-pity and sanctimony. This, in turn, may help explain why some artists who have taken their careers outside the exile community have been more successful in reaching wider audiences.

These exile artists share a *postexilic* condition. The Nineties saw the beginning of redemocratisation in Chile and, to the outside world at least, the end of the exiles' political struggle. Moreover, this was also a period when many returned to Chile and which saw the breakdown of much of the international chain of solidarity that had offered support to the exile community in the Seventies and Eighties.

This chapter, however, presents evidence of how exiles' political struggle did not end with the coming of democracy. Many assert that, through their cultural constructs, they are still fighting for recognition and justice. There are two cultures at odds here: that of the exiles trying to integrate into Chilean society, having as a referent the Chile that formed them, and that of Chilean society itself which, through compulsive modernisation, has transformed the country's physical and emotional landscape, installing a polity of forgetfulness that has facilitated democratic transition but made it harder for its peoples to understand and relate to the exiles' struggle. The chapter also presents evidence of how exile artists' (trans)formative experiences allowed them to cultivate certain approximations to society, and life in general, which are inevitably imprinted in their artworks - unique historical, pedagogical and connective journeys which have something to teach us all.

One could argue then that people's understandings of reality speak about collective predispositions and intentions towards society and that the unveiling of these understandings could facilitate mutual recognition and coexistence among the plurality of social groups. In this sense, Chilean society needs to come to terms with the social fragmentation of the Seventies and Eighties. A first step towards this goal, José Bengoa argues, would be the acknowledgement of the past, which in turn would pave the way to "respect and valoration" and thus "the possibility for the construction of a community" (Bengoa 2006, p55, my translation). The recognition of the fracture should take into consideration the exile groups' struggles and encourage collective forms of constituting the political which can bring the reconciliation process of Chile's consensus democracy

closer to the democratic project that Laclau and Mouffe have articulated for the Left in response to the new demands raised by postmodern society.

CHAPTER FIVE: BELONGINGS IN CHILE

15.0 Historical fracture

Many Chileans recall their experience of Popular Unity (see *6.2*) as a possibility for utopias, a collective socialism which transcended national boundaries. Indeed, it is remarkable that several young professionals who went on to become highly respected public intellectuals in later life - Nelly Richard and Armand Mattelart from France, Norbert Lechner from Germany and Ariel Dorfman from Argentina and the US being prominent examples - relocated to Chile in the run-up to or during Allende's period in office and engaged in the innovative socio-political processes taking place there at the time. Moreover, one Chile-based artist interviewee describes her experience as a recent arrival at that time in these very terms:

> ... I'd lived in England for many years and arrived in Chile in the late Sixties. So I also arrived very enthusiastic about Popular Unity - which was the attraction for me, you could say. So all this was a very political, very social approach but also, somehow, like something unknown at that age - you understand, the lack of experience, living six years abroad. So you arrive with a rather generalised idealism, so to say, or far too utopian... So I had to make myself, you see; I had to re-educate myself. The whole return to Chile was a great re-education. And then the military coup came, which was draining for everyone... (*visual artist, first generation*)

One of the first acts of the Pinochet regime (see *6.3*), keen to put down dissident mobilisation, was to fragment and block the spheres of social coexistence. Writing in Chile during the Pinochet years, Richard analyses the development of alternative artist groups in direct historical relation to the social fracture in which these groups were destined to operate, describing the implications of this fragmentation:

> The social and historical "subject" referred to by the avanzada was no longer a complete or unitary one; they no longer had any confidence in the models of self-representation or any belief in collective truths or community ideals. After the coup in Chile, these truths or ideals collapsed: the national body's link to the past and any possible engagement of community aspirations were completely destroyed. The historical breakdown of the system of social signification resulted in a loss of faith in reality.
> (Richard 1986, p110)

The verticality of the system imposed during Pinochet's rule severely restricted the spaces for human interactions and exchanges, a fact which had a direct impact on Chilean society's collective imaginaries and which inevitably continues to have repercussions in the Chile of 2007. The artists interviewed in Chile for the purposes of this thesis who are currently in the 50-60 age range (or "first-generation") experienced Chile's socialist experiment and the later military repression as young adults, and their artistic trajectories have been to varying extents permeated and shaped by the accumulated experience of this historical context. The group of first-generation artists can be divided into the two categories outlined below depending on the overall dynamic they developed in order to construct and carry out artistic projects during the military regime:

Regaining lost spaces: trespassing boundaries (see *15.1*). Living in a historical context of censorship and repression became an encouragement for this group to explore ways of regaining the spaces lost, guided principally by their frustrated desire for political mobilisation (outer spaces) and their need to recycle personal experience and give meaning to life (inner spaces). Eventually, as a mechanism of liberation, the group started to experiment artistically for the first time and its members have made and taught art since.

Surviving within two worlds (see *15.2*). This group had already commenced its artistic development when the military takeover occurred and, because its social commitment and artistic production had been regarded as a threat to the imposed order, its members went into exile and continued to produce art. They later returned to Chile, still producing art and remaining active in Chilean cultural life.

15.1 Regaining Lost Spaces: Trespassing boundaries

Artists from this group experienced the coup as a violent force crushing the formative processes that pre-Pinochet governments had set in motion in civil society. The open spaces for participation wherein social actors had developed collaborative and interactive learning were abruptly closed. The sudden denial of the basic constituents of individual and national identities or sense of belonging - the capacity to occupy or intervene in the public space - ironically functioned as an incentive for this group of

artists to attempt to regain what they felt had been arbitrarily taken from them. The artist's voice cited below refers to the experience of lacking space for "protagonistic" participation and that this involved learning to reinvent oneself:

> ... the luck, the luxury of having a large house, right? But all this about being forced to live in a closed space... then came this need for the street. You get me? For the outside space. To dare to engage as a kind of witness, like so with the camera, of what happens in the street. And it's at those moments when I create myself, when I become a photographer... And then came all this period of occupying the street in the only way one could occupy it: through resistance… (*visual artist, first generation*)

Most of these artists hold a highly critical view of modern history. They often recognise that their youth during the Popular Unity period have led them to idealise Allende's leadership. However, they go on regarding their experience of collectivity, which makes sense of social construction, as a valuable legacy of this time. This experience, they tend to claim, is historically unique and the learning which came with it will remain with them for ever. Popular Unity was therefore highly significant for these artists and its long-term impact is reflected in the attitudes they have developed to their work and how they position themselves in society through this work. Three key experiential subcategories can be said to arise from this:

15.1.1 Developing social consciousness

When asked to explain how human beings develop social consciousness, the biologist Humberto Maturana briefly described the socio-cultural context in which he grew up: his humble background and everyday life; a Chile of free healthcare and higher education, where education in the home was essential; a region which had developed strong solidarity partly because of the shared ordeals of unemployment and the earthquake of January 1939 (Maturana, *Sentidos de la Educación y la Cultura* conference, Santiago, 2005). Through this biographical narrative of sorts, Maturana attempted to situate his former self in a series of processes and transformations in a specific historical period: citizens were *social actors* who developed ethical consciousness and social sensibility through everyday life. These social actors cannot be understood as the outcome of a historical condition in a past whose constructs are disconnected from the here and now. Furthermore, societies cannot assume that human development will constitute itself as a

natural trickledown effect of scientific and technological progress; it is necessary for governments to generate proactively the conditions for integration and pluralism in order to humanise their peoples. Humanisation is thus a social construct. One of the roles of an educational system, Maturana concluded, is to create spaces for students to experience "humanness" so that they live *within* values (for example, *within* respect and *within* ecology).

Maturana's journey back in time helps contextualise the artists discussed in this section and explain those of them who claim that their work has developed a social dimension - a seemingly ingrained constituent of their approach to intervention in society. Some of these artists explore the challenge of human development: through their artwork, they attempt to open spaces for people to view and experience the world's plurality. They have become *informal educators* - and, in several cases, formal educators. One interviewed artist makes explicit reference to the social:

> But it does interest me to see people's reactions, at least, to my photography or what I've had to witness in other cases. And which has a great capacity to include... that the Other feels recognised or interpreted... So I hold photography workshops in impoverished schools... and it's been an extraordinary experience because it isn't only what happens with the children but what happens with the family, what happens with teachers, what happens with the community in general, when they begin to realise what this treasure is... it has this capacity for transformation which moves them. It's moved me to work with children who have many problems: dysfunctional families, a lot of violence. So what happens to them with art... My photography is like "documentary", so all this about obliging them to work with what they have there, you know, with other people, so as to bring them to see other people, it's been an extraordinary experience for them. You realise that they don't even know the people who're a metre away from them. So there's an entire human factor which really attracts me, which moves me a lot... (*visual artist, first generation*)

15.1.2 The arts united: a stronger human force

Exchange between artistic disciplines has become a natural form of working in more vulnerable contexts (see *6.4* and *12.6*). Difficult circumstances have encouraged some artists to collaborate and interact within their own human differences and aesthetic disciplinary approaches. The experiential side to developing a social consciousness, or any other set of values, is also applicable to the appropriation of an interdisciplinary

approach to the arts. Interdisciplinarity here implies the development of an open attitude to and awareness of knowledge, meaning that artists understand the scope of their interventions when the possibilities for their actions broaden.

One of the most important implications of this interdisciplinarity has been the questioning of the accepted logic of the fragmentation of epistemological manifestations. The artist's voice below describes how living *in* disciplinary integration has been a formative experience:

> ... it's been incredibly rewarding for me and also for others to have helped to confuse this thing a bit which is so inflexible: the genres. That book I did with [*name of writer*], for example, is, among other things, a really inconvenient book, not because of its theme but because it can't be catalogued. Where does it fit? You know what I mean? Does it qualify as literature? As photography? Bookshops don't know where to put it. Nor do libraries. So that gesture of somehow putting forward confusion interests me, right? Not to confuse... but to ask questions... (*visual artist, first generation*)

The interdisciplinarity under discussion here is also addressed in Richard's Pinochet-era work on the Avanzada. She refers specifically to the interdisciplinary as a means of survival in isolated conditions:

> Perhaps this dynamic fusion of different languages or systems of production was only an effect of the avanzada's isolation from the rest of society, thus strengthening the bond between the various forms of creativity for "a whole generation that is much more interdisciplinary than the previous ones, perhaps because it understood that given the circumstances under which the scene emerged, it needed in order to *survive* a greater intellectual effort, an audacity, an active and unrelenting introspection" (Zurita, 1985).
>
> (Richard 1986, p81)

15.1.3 Femininity: the subaltern and the dissident

One issue raised spontaneously in interview, not in fact stipulated in the research design of this investigation as part of a comparable distinction, is that of *gender*. This category provides insight into what it meant for many women to undergo compounded repression *within* another form of repression.

Lechner and Susana Levy contentiously argue that Chile's patriarchal order before 1973 was based on the exclusion of women from the political and public spheres and that, during the military regime, it was based on the subjugation of women to the private and apolitical spheres (i.e. the familial and the patriotic), making reference to the *Paterfamilias* model that the regime supported and attempted to validate (Lechner and Levy 1984). Their approach - which has been called into question by those who point out that Chilean women from all social classes played an important role in anti-Allende protests - highlights the difficulties many women faced when they tried to make their voices heard and make a professional space for themselves within a traditionally male-dominated society. It is interesting to note that Richard, in her post-Pinochet writing, adds another dimension, which relates to the impact that political repression had on the ways in which gender distinctions operated within the family itself: "There were dramatic changes in gender roles within the family unit: exile or unemployment, for example, led to many women taking control of the family away from the man, forcing sociologists to broaden their terms of analysis to account for this new leading role" (Richard in Mosquera 1995, pp141-142).

The notion of gender spontaneously permeates women artist respondents' discourses about their experiences during the military regime. They simultaneously experienced the repression installed in its broadest terms but also the patriarchal model it attempted to validate. As Kincheloe and McLaren assert, "patriarchy is not simply one isolated force among many with which women must contend; patriarchy informs all aspects of the social and effectively shapes women's lives" (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994, p145). It was within a context of multilayered repression, then, that women artists recall the experiences of discrimination which they contested, developing links of solidarity with each other. Of the repercussions of the military regime for the professional development of a generation of women and how women artists lived through the repressive system, this photographer states that:

> ... I have more than twenty years' experience as a photographer and, sure, it's cost me a lot. Firstly because, look, I belong to a generation where, you could say, women have always had many professional problems. As photographers, we're an absolutely grotesque minority. (*visual artist, first generation*)

Repression also encouraged women to establish links of solidarity with one other:

> ... they're things which happen spontaneously. I don't know if all this about my working with women is coincidence, you know, or if there's a rational intentionality behind it all [*laughs*]. (*visual artist, first generation*)

It is interesting to note that during the Pinochet years some artists did use their work to explore femininity in order to create a space for analysis of the "repressed" which went beyond the realms of femininity and strove to develop new discourses which could offer resistance to the dominant (see *6.4*). Feminism is not a category raised as such by the interviewees, however, and is mentioned here as an expression of resilient possibility: the creative power and resources which arise within peripheral groups in their struggle to survive.

15.2 Surviving Within Two Worlds

This group of artists is still coming to terms with the transformation that Chilean society experienced while living in exile; a transient space where evocations and memories of Chile were charged with meanings created through first-hand experience of a past that Pinochet attempted to erase. The ongoing process of reencountering a different country is presented in the following three steps:

15.2.1 Conceiving the idea of Return[65]

An initial step was to conceive the idea of returning and to project it into a social, personal and familial "project". This involved the construction of a "meta-discourse" on the concept of return which could provide artists with a symbolic, ethical framework of reference through which they could sustain their dream. One of the first ethical dilemmas encountered during this process arose from reflection on the new bonds developed abroad - where innumerable learning and transformative experiences had taken place - and the implications of taking leave of that space in order to reoccupy another they had

[65] Wright and Oñate on the issue of return: "the circumstances leading to their expatriation, the challenges they faced in adapting to life in countries around the world, and the difficulties of returning to a Chile that had changed profoundly during their absence" (Wright and Oñate 1998, p.ix). Elsewhere, López Zarzosa (1996) has studied the impact of return on the second generation and gender and class distinctions.

physically left behind.

The “project of Return”, sustained through recreated memories of Chile and shared by a familial nucleus, did not meet with a profound understanding in the immediate UK circle, which tended to lack referents to imagine the implications of having an affective imaginary constructed elsewhere and the resulting force of attraction. The moments and conflicts contained in the initial step of the process of return are crystallised in the richness of the following experience:

> I think that when you opted to return, you did so with a certain illusion... We had a future project... We, like all English people on our level, had the commitment of the mortgage. We had a house. We drove a car. When I said to my English friends, “Know what? I’m leaving”, they thought I was crazy... In fact, our illusion was probably very marked by the idealisation of the country which developed in exile... one’s past is obviously very important. The weight of friends and family is very heavy in the years of exile. And the idealisation I just mentioned generated a pressure to be able to say, “OK. The door’s opening and our responsibility is to support our own in our society. We were struggling all those years so that what happened would happen and now it’s right for us as professionals trained abroad to give back what we know to our society.” And all that united with several things, all that united made one choose to return and take it seriously... we *convinced* ourselves of the illusion that here in Chile we’re going to be as professionally successful as or more successful than we were there. And that’s how it was and we undid everything, sold everything and came, something that the English couldn’t understand because they wouldn’t be able do it because they were in the race: that this year we’ll change house, car or carpet. But they’re never going to change country because that’s a very drastic thing to do. Where to? There’s no chance.[66] (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

Without the capacity to dream or imagine spaces which went beyond the possibilities of a “here and now”, there would be no initial impulse for human beings to explore the world; and it is within a “here and now” that this explorative attitude is learnt. These artists’ collective imaginaries, constructed in the Chile that they themselves were building before exile, gave them the referent to imagine a new future and thus survive often distressing exilic experiences. Their past was a formative experience illustrative of the collective dream; that politicised utopia which gave them the imagery to reinvent their

[66] Needless to say, British society’s migratory patterns have shifted significantly since this interviewee returned to Chile in the early Nineties, as the early Twenty-first Century sees hundreds of thousands of cash-rich-property-poor Britons relocating to France, Spain and Eastern Europe.

country. The fact that, on their return, many encountered little or no collective infrastructure through which to articulate a new utopian project has made many think it was a mistake to have expected to reencounter the Chile of the past. Despite a common frustration with the new system and the sensation of disarticulation and alienation from the mainstream, their act of return remains significant because it carries within it multiple human encounters in Chile and in exile. It also has political implications in its denotation of freedom, as this poet asserts:

> ... the only thing I wanted to do after leaving Chile in '74 was return. And above all else because I wanted to make them see that I live where I want to live. It isn't that I didn't want to live abroad, but if I do live abroad it's because *I* want to live abroad, not because *they* sent me there... (*writer, first generation*)

Artists elected to return because of the conviction that their experience and knowledge could make an important qualitative difference to national development and understanding (i.e. they sensed and wished to respond to the country's social demands) and they at the very least express an interest in trying to convince or teach Chilean society that this is the case. It could be argued that the uphill struggle to convince others in a foreign society of their own righteousness, at times in spite of the perceived dilettantism of certain compatriots, is enough of an encouragement not to give up on one's roots.

15.2.2 Encountering a transformed country

A second step involved the nature of the artists' first encounter with a Chile which had gone through intense social, cultural, economic and political change. They experienced the initial shock of being unable to recognise themselves within what had once been their long-term immediate context. Artists encountered an atmosphere which felt cold, distant and unwelcoming because it had made little meaningful effort to create conditions to facilitate their social reintegration. Frustration, desolation and neglect inevitably result from the inability to find a space for oneself or understanding from one's surroundings.

> ... I think one of the great difficulties lay in social reintegration... the chain of links that you need in order to unwind yourself in a society. So, from the outset, one realises that family has limitations, that family has more

> dramas than things to support you... In the end, the group of friends you had in the old days isn't there any longer; each has his personal set of problems... You don't have people to turn to, to call. And you have to begin again from scratch. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

Some artists interviewed describe how they came to realise that they too had changed: they had gained experience of the wider world and rediscovered themselves, and the way they looked at life could not again be the same. It therefore became essential for them to reflect on the experiential side of social constructions: they understood that they lacked the experience of life in Chile under the military regime to comprehend fully its effects on society and that only former exiles could understand profoundly what exile meant. Some overcame this shock by repeating the process of self-reinvention they had undergone in exile and searching for ways of making meaning of new contexts in order to make more significant personal and social constructions.

> ... if we had survived in an unknown environment before, all the more reason then that we should do so here. And gradually one starts building a new chain of support… (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

Comparing pre- and post-Pinochet fiscal approaches, Garretón rejects a self-congratulatory, purely quantitative approach and instead critically concentrates on human relations and, more specifically, *cultural integration*:

> The industrial model we knew before that time, in any of its incarnations - whether more social democratic, more socialist, more populist or more liberal - was by its very definition integrative, because it had to gather people in factories, in universities, in schools, in cities or in the State as the middle class. The new economic model of the market is by definition disintegrative on a national level and integrative - of course, with asymmetries - on supranational levels. International, and Latin American, economic integrations had never advanced more than during this period. However, as a result of this very model, national disintegrations had never advanced more. In other words, it is curious to note that the model being offered as the "cement" of society is, by definition, a model which disintegrates, disarticulates societies.
>
> (Garretón 2001, p23, my translation)

Thus we may more easily make sense of artists' comments about their first encounter with a society whose developmental foundations had transformed essentially:

> And so I arrived in Chile after those years - twelve, thirteen years - and, sure, I found a country which wasn't the country I knew... (*writer, first generation*)
>
> I think that the hardest exile... I lived it in Chile in the first years of my return… (*writer, first generation*)
>
> ... the illusion of arriving to live in Valparaíso, opening the windows and seeing the port, all that started to die with reality. The reality was something else... (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

The initial shock revealed other layers of change. The artists, while searching for space on the cultural scene, discovered first-hand the impact of the military regime on Chilean artistic production. Individualist, consumerist values had served to diminish young artists' assumption of responsibility for or interest in critically historicising their work. Only a small minority, mainly those who had lived through the historical fracture, had adopted a position of criticality from which to sustain their artwork.

> The new painting widely copied by young Chilean artists after 1982 has changed the scene and the terms of debate considerably. Questions concerning Latin America or marginality, which were so important during the avanzada period, are now put aside. The problem of cultural domination does not interest the new school, which is content to be part of the great urban centres and to exploit their markets. The fact that the subjective or symbolic categories of this new painting seem "universal", only further absolves the artists from making any analysis of the social and historical circumstances surrounding the production of their work.
>
> (Richard 1986, p101)[67]

Drawing a general parallel between this more socially committed subgroup of artists who remained in Chile and those who went into exile, it is possible to distinguish between the working procedures they employed. The group in Chile explored different mechanisms in order to overcome censorship; the development of a metaphorical language thus kept the group alive. Conversely, many artists in exile adopted an explicitly political, denunciatory stance in order to raise local awareness about the Chilean experience; their production derived in many cases from an inner journey which provided them with elements to construct a Latin American identity which gave them the *cultural density*

[67] It is little surprise that Lara, Machuca and Rojas (2005) note Richard's refusal to collaborate with them, claiming that the generation of artists which emerged in the Nineties had too little to offer in terms of critical historicity.

required in order to survive in a foreign country.

Richard classifies the forms of resistance that artists developed in Chile under Pinochet into two categories: that of the Avanzada group, which used the coup and its aftermath as a possibility for infiltration, and thus experimented with new narratives to resist all forms of dominance, and other artistic manifestations which searched, instead, for the reestablishment of the old order that Pinochet had ruptured. Richard also compares the Avanzada's artwork with that produced in exile: "[e]xile art did not feel the same urgency to question the systems which produce meaning as did the avanzada" (Id. at 112). Richard continues in her analysis of artists in exile thus:

> They appeared to respond to the trauma of separation, to the lost ties with history and biography by becoming fixated on repetition - as though the stability of forms would guarantee a continuity with the past, as though the reaffirmation of the duration of that past and its traditions would compensate for, or repair, their *loss of identity*.
>
> (Ibid.)

The working procedures of both the group in Chile and the group in exile indeed responded to the specific circumstances in which they were immersed, hence there is no "level playing field" upon which to make fair comparative value-judgements about them.

There remain unexplored specificities contained in the artistic production pertaining to the dictatorial period. On the one hand, to say that the experimental side of art developed in Chile (1973-1990) was only explored by the Avanzada would omit experimentalists who were not associated with the group. On the other hand, generalising the artwork produced in exile as a continuation of the artistic project fragmented by the military regime discourages exploration of the full possibilities developed in exile (see *12.5.2* for the full spectrum presented in this research). The key question to be addressed then becomes not how to argue the case for a superior category, but rather: how can both groups meet on equitable terms and exchange their pluralistic human constructions in order to help paint a more comprehensible picture of the past, Chileanness and the humanity contained within it?

Each group, situated on a shared platform of referential isolation, experienced the process of the reconstitution of the social: those in exile, through their cultural constructs,

kept their collective memory alive in an *alien society*; those in Chile, in an *oppressive* context where there was little if any open exchange or access to external mechanisms of analysis and critique with the wider world, invented their own parameters to produce art and resist repression. Both groups can be said to be committed to what the UNDP has referred to as Chile's *historical memory*: "historical memory alludes to an often undervalued aspect of State: its symbolic dimension. It symbolises the unity of the social. Further, it embodies the imaginary of the We through which every Chilean can recognise him or herself as a member of a community and thus identify with something called Chile" (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo PNUD 2004a, p11, my translation). Both groups contain a plurality which in one way or another managed to articulate itself, constituting "a trajectory of becoming together"; a microcosm of the development of the sense of the We that, the UNDP argues, offers new possibilities of coexisting. It is this "niche" for multilateral learning that I wish to emphasise in this thesis.

It is noteworthy that artists from the group under analysis returned to Chile at two key moments. Some returned from 1983 onwards, when Pinochet's government published the names of those who were de-blacklisted. Others returned soon after the reinstatement of democracy in 1990. Both groups describe similar experiences and processes, but one of the main differences is that the group that arrived before redemocratisation faced the issue of censorship.

> … I arrived in late '84, still with all the political restrictions on provisions and censorship, etc, etc. Despite that, I successfully published several books but they also led to punishments, tough punishments. I published, for example, Joan Jara's book about Victor Jara: *Victor Jara: un canto truncado*… But that audacious bit of negotiation also meant very painful and cruel punishments for me, professionally speaking. They stole thousands and thousands of books from me… (*writer, first generation*)

15.2.3 Re-establishing communication

A third step came when artists settled down and, from their constructed spaces, advanced with projects in a continuous effort to establish links of exchange and understanding with a society which still needed to strengthen its democracy. Several voices reflecting on what it means to experience this last step claim that:

> ... I'd say it still feels a little strange to see the country... little by little, I'm finding myself... (*writer, first generation*)

> So in my case, I'd say reintegration wasn't traumatic. In my daughter's case, the first few months were. In my wife's case, yes, it was... because Chilean society, for women, is far more chauvinistic and there are fewer opportunities. So in the end again we have to see the whole picture. United as a family, we succeeded in reintegrating ourselves and obtaining what we had there [*in the UK*] and we're happy with that... (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

The artists invented a learning space for themselves within a globalised society. They now generously contribute possibilities of pasts, presents and futures to this society, attempting to reinstate the capacity to make connections, imagine and recreate new horizons. The group belongs to a small sector of the population that makes valuable contributions to the country on a daily basis without seeking or receiving any great recognition, driven by an intrinsic motivation that is imbuing others with humanness. While in most cases their contribution is on a small, intimate scale, it signifies a starting point in the struggle for developing democratic approaches through which, according to Basque philosopher Fernando Savater, we can all educate one another (Savater, *Sentidos de la Educación y la Cultura* conference, Santiago, 2005). The pedagogical condition of the project of return can be understood in more profound terms following Savater's discussion of the meaning of education; he introduces two notions: "capacity to persuade" and "capacity to be persuaded", defining the former as *making oneself understood or making one's desires understood* (i.e. to convince) and the latter as *understanding and listening to the social demands of the Other* (i.e. to allow oneself to be convinced). The voice cited below reflects on the need for something to say and the need to *persuade* as key components in the survival of projects of return:

> … the families which were really able to reintegrate themselves in Chile were the same families which had really reintegrated themselves in London. They're those with a story, with a history, with something to say, with some reason to survive in this country. And the rest left, went back [*to the UK*]… (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

It is perhaps also relevant to note that several returnee artists who are still re-establishing links of exchange with a transformed Chile openly refer to their evocations of Chile while in exile as "idealisations" or "illusions". Despite the fact that these

evocations carry a strong subjective element, they still derive from long-term and inexorably shifting constructions mediated within given social groups. Furthermore, these evocations are part of the *collective imaginary* that the group shared with other members of their exile community.

These artists' resignification of past evocations can be regarded as part of a "language game" that they have adopted in order to try to come to terms with a society which still clearly has a conflictive position with regard to its recent traumatic past. This particular language game would also appear to be an effort to objectify, analyse and evaluate an experience as part of an attitude which, while aware of the subjectivity of experience, poses a perspective on the past rather than simply adopting an absolutist stance which denies access to alternative interpretations. The poet below evokes the Chile of the past using a conscious "filtration mechanism" which encourages listeners to take an intersubjective, critical approach to the interpretations of past experience:

> ... I don't know if I'm going to mix idealisation in here but idealisation is also a reality and I objectively think that what I remember of that Chile is, well, very close to reality, although we already know that memory is very selective: one remembers what one wants to remember and often privileges, deforms or transforms the facts. But my recollection of that pre-dictatorship Chile is a Chile of greater solidarity, far more open, far more naïve perhaps, with fewer technological possibilities, of course, etc, etc, etc. But it was a more inhabitable Chile, without the terrible vices created I don't know if by the dictatorship or by the times which came later all around the world... it was possible to discuss things better, plus so-called "utopias" were possible, which were perhaps a slightly deformed dream of what could be done but which existed naturally for many of the young people of the time. They believed in the possibility of a perfectible world... Less people believe in that today, I think. (*writer, first generation*)

16.0 Subjective journeys: Spaces, contents and responsibilities

Socially engaged artists express their position in society in a variety of ways, but the impulse behind their artistic endeavour is driven by a shared initiative: their responses to immediate realities, the need to make their voices heard and, at the same time, impart the message that audiences can speak for themselves; that there are different creative means for this; that voices can exchange and dialogue in order to build better understandings both of themselves and the world around them. The discourses of artists

interviewed in Chile reveal an intention in constant flux and development. Their artwork is inseparable from their self-constructions as subjective beings: life offers them (trans)formative experiences which continue to bring greater maturity and consciousness to their understanding of their work.

Below I have categorised artists' subjective journeys in two distinct periods. Both constitute multiple dimensions operating simultaneously and generating new spaces, contents and responsibilities - the raw material for (trans)formative possibilities.

16.1 Initiation: De-learning versus learning

The artists interviewed entered the arts world for different reasons and, at a certain moment, each has needed to ask themselves what they as individuals expected from life and what role art played within personal and professional fulfilment. The questions *What is art?*, *How am I related to art?*, *What do I want from art?* and *How do I position myself within society through art?*, tended to be addressed by second-generation artists (35-45 age range) and by first-generation artists (50-60 age range) in different ways and at different periods of their professional formation.

Some second-generation artists were studying art during the military regime, a period when all social sectors and professions were affected by socio-political upheaval. The artist Victor Hugo Codocedo writes of "the present regressive state of the university schools of art (which perhaps extends to the whole area of knowledge) where the teachers gradually destroy any critical or analytical faculties in the student" (cited in Richard 1986, 103). At the time of the coup, the requisite conditions for reflection and the formulation of critical questions were not assumed by educational institutions to be part of their function, resulting in the removal of that which gives deep meaning to experiences and actions, decontextualisating them and leaving them without shared referents to reflect on and imagine. This helps to explain why, generally speaking, artists from the second generation came to understand more profound meanings and the implications of art *after* they had completed their studies. When they started practicing and exploring independently, many made interdisciplinary connections denied during their training courses; some began to understand that the arts were not separated from experience and that the making of cultural objects and moments could not sustain itself

as critical praxis without having access to everyday referents in a reflective form (see *18.2* and *18.3*).

For many, this realisation was the beginning of the development of an intention towards the world and an awareness of the environment. Turning to the world in a critical way and finding oneself within it is a profound experience which may transcend the objectives of a university curriculum.

> ... I trained as an artist here at the University and, at the time, I knew absolutely nothing about what it meant to be an artist. When I arrived, I had a different idea about what it meant to be an artist. For me, being an artist meant painting nicely and painting nicely meant painting landscapes well... My concept of the plastic arts only went that far. So everything to do with modern art was a brutal speculation with little relevance at that time. So, I closed myself off from this idea of open art... In reality, I'd no idea what art was. I started hating Picasso. Dalí seemed like just another madman to me. In reality, I liked his painting but I didn't feel there was anything there of fine intellectual interest. Nevertheless, I had the idea of becoming a visual artist. In the end, when I left the art school, I realised that an artist's workshop could mean a lot... the most rewarding part of it was that it was involved with philosophy and with history and with many things which in reality I'd never thought that art could be. (*visual artist, second generation*)

Alternatively, academic life offered very different scenario to artists from the first generation who undertook university training; they tended to experience a rich intellectual life impregnated by Chile's socio-political atmosphere, if we regard what happens inside academic institutions as a general reflection and extension of civil society's unravelling processes. Intellectual life was seen as a united force which operated organically in civil life, permitting different levels of exchange and deliberation with the spheres of societal life (see *6.1* for the role played by universities in cultural life at the time). This rich participatory context often provided artists with meaningful experiences which gave them a distinctive stance which framed their work. One artist recalls his early encounters with poetry at university:

> [...] I studied for two years at a branch of the University of Chile. Some writers' organisations existed[…] which programmed talks and poetry readings. They had a magazine and some of its members published their books[...] where I lived until I was 18 or 19, I was witness to sporadic activities led by the Juvencio Valle Movement. I never participated in any of

> those groups, but they motivated in me a restlessness for teamwork[...] (*writer, first generation*; fieldwork material, my translation)

Women artists who undertook a self-taught artistic career later in life are also notable in the first-generation group, several asserting that they were in effect marginalised and encouraged to choose marriage and family over study.[68] These women recall reaching a critical point in their personal lives when they convinced themselves to accomplish their dream to become artists. Before this inflection took place, they had ideas about what art meant and what they wanted to accomplish through it, but admitted having contributed for a time to their own subjugation in what was, and to some extent continues to be, a society marked by chauvinism. Their transformation into artists has been a liberating process which has given them the means to intervene in the public life that in the past they were confined to passively observing. Moreover, their artwork often responds to their immediate context and reflects a strong pedagogical intention (see *21.0* for a biographical example of this).

16.2 Adopting and Adapting New Forms of Smuggling

The artists of the first generation, which operated actively during the military regime, today see themselves as playing a different game as a result of changes in socio-political context. As subjective beings, they too have changed. Working within democracy has tended to expand their possibilities and their commitment to resisting oppressive powers has taken on a more universal dimension. They often feel liberated from the constrictions of the Chilean particularism because they can now engage with other worlds' problematics and use them as a means of connecting back to Chile and seeing it with fresher eyes. They appear to have turned towards the subtlety and ambiguity of their message as a means of intervention. These artist researchers are aware of the multiple variables interacting simultaneously in their external context, intervening in society just as a researcher may test independent variables against dependent variables.

Many of these artists feel they need to adjust the ways of working that they developed during the years of military rule as a form of personal and professional "recycling":

[68] Moreover, Kay (1987 and 1989) argues that socio-political processes constructed by men were transferred into exile, leaving women at home and decelerating the pace of their integration into British society and exacerbating the unfairness of the playing field for the genders.

> ... my work with photography, you see, really delves into the social and it's always had and continues to have a very strong accent. It still does but more camouflaged, you see? Today I'm trying to free myself somehow precisely from my dependency on that model... (*visual artist, first generation*)

It is also interesting to note that, for some of these artists, processes of personal and professional "recycling" also acquired a public dynamic which has taken the shape of the coordination of independent cultural-artistic spaces within which they operate and establish collaborative links with other artists and with the wider community. The key reasons stated for assuming this extra role are the need to make a point about minority groups' expressions (i.e. providing them with a circuit for exchange and critique that the mainstream does not offer) and to integrate younger generations into a participatory constructive process (i.e. providing them with meaningful, integrative learning spaces). These artists' creation and coordination of new "spatial initiatives" respond to what they regard as their responsibility to contemporary Chile: to help give cultural-artistic processes a new horizon, hopefully encouraging greater equity in a discriminatory, market-led context. It would therefore seem that many of these artists are not sitting back and waiting for the State to change cultural-artistic life in Chile. As many of them put it, they have no time to waste and are determined to continue their artistic projects, even if this means building their own spaces.

These cultural-artistic spaces broaden the scope of perception for the people who gravitate around them and thereby disseminate seeds of possibility. In effect, they become "learning centres" which circulate new forms of understanding that society requires to make sense of its past and present and project itself into the future. The artist, like the teacher, here creates the conditions for learning, providing meaningful experiences in interaction with others. When an alternative space - an independent cultural centre, say - opens to the public, social actors with similar concerns and interests tend to come together to interact and exchange ideas.

> ... many people have coincided in the idea of a cultural centre... there are several people who are integrating themselves and others who are asking what helping out would involve. There is a space, of course... people who when they hear of this initiative say, "Good, what can I do to help?" That's marvellous! Now, sure, our power is small and our possibilities precarious

> but they're signs... it's a scratch on society's hopelessness that we're making a reality in order to install a small banner of resistance there. (*writer, first generation*)

In response to people's desire for expression, independent cultural centres may resist homogenisation and constitute mechanisms for the socialisation of knowledge and, therefore, empowerment. Initiatives of this type evidence the constant need to reinvent the means for people to *resignify* everyday experience and propose new perspectives on life. The experiential component of art, in its subjective and collective dimensions, has the potential to facilitate more integral forms of learning through which everyday actions can be charged with new meanings and intentions. It is through the creation of alternative cultural centres that some first-generation artists have offered sites for this form of interaction. The will to share experiences with young people and to develop their collective memory and identity has prompted the artist cited below to found one such independent cultural space:

> ... young people who're starting out in music. And I'm always concerned to pay attention to them, advise them, help them, share those experiences that I don't think belong only to me because, I'm a product of an epoch, right? Of a historical situation, and I feel obligated to return that knowledge or at least those experiences; share them so that it's useful for people who didn't live through them and who are there beginning in music... at weekends, I organise music events and I'm always keen to bring along something different... and they're generally young people who come to participate, to sing, and I'm in constant contact with them, making my life a permanent cultural activity; on the second floor [*of his restaurant*], we even have an art gallery... (*musician, first generation*)

The artists of the second generation have only worked professionally in postdictatorial Chile and tend to refer to the period of turmoil in different terms. They do not usually discuss the past with any strong sense of nostalgia. Their discourses reveal pragmatic, rational understandings of Chile and the world they maintain is closer to the needs of the globalised, consumerist society they have always known. They often claim to possess a critical view of the past and oppose Romantic approaches which may obscure the best actions to be taken in the Twenty-first Century. Their language reflects many key notions that they argue Chile needs to develop in order to survive and prosper within the globalised world: multiculturalism, networking, and so on.

The artist's voice cited below illustrates the language which characterises the second generation and contrasts it with what artists refer to as a more traditional approach to the arts, thus giving an insight into these artists' reflections and intentions.

> … the theme of fetishism, the fetish for wanting to position a poet or artist as the only one who's generating an artistic discourse, whether it's plastic, cinematographic, poetic, seems very damaging to national coexistence... it's necessary to enhance diversity. There are lots of voices, there's a lot of us writing, each with his or her own different particularity, each with his or her project, and this obviously enriches, let's say, national culture. And I for one don't want to situate myself as a poet who tries to capture, by himself, all the pulse of the world because that seems to me a very coarse thing nowadays. In that sense, you could say, I try to extend possibilities for connection to all other artists... (*writer, second generation*)

Many are clearly conscious of as well as willing and able to discuss the multicultural society they live in and its multiplicity of coexisting structures and meanings, some of which are official and therefore visible while others circulate invisibly. To take another example, one artist's work - filled with hidden as well as visible and ambiguous messages - reminds his audiences of the need for an attitude to the unveiling of silent realities:

> ... my position (from the plastic arts)... there's a number of elements which are transcultural... there are writings which seem not to be Spanish. In reality, they aren't anything. It seems Arabic or Chinese or it seems... I put things which *are* understood in the texts because I want them to be read. And at other times I cover them on purpose. This is also because there's a connection with the social: to uncover messages, to uncover realities... (*visual artist, second generation*)

17.0 The subjective and collective constructions of the arts

When artists are asked for their personal formulations and understandings of art, they make reference to two key categories: *a universalising notion of the arts* and *the arts in the Chilean specificity*. Although first- and second-generation artists have followed their own artistic trajectory (a subjective journey shaped by socio-historical context), their reflections and conclusions about artistic phenomena reveal an underlying line of thought. They coincide on a series of properties which relate to how art is positioned in society, and many share the belief that it is artists' responsibility to possess a clear

notion of what these properties mean, how they can develop them to their fullest capacity and the implications of this.

17.1 A Universalising Notion of the Arts

17.1.1 The arts and their formative possibilities

The process of artistic creation involves the interaction of multiple human sources of what we can call “human energy” which, in one way or another, give direction to society. Artists’ inner energies enter into interaction with other subjective energies in a socio-historical context which already possesses gravitating energies of its own, some coming from nature and others which have accumulated through institutionalised action, for example. Human energies constantly enter into multiple combinations when the ongoing circulation of social actors develops different forms of interaction, stirring accumulated energies in unique ways and subsequently generating new ones. Subjective energies, then, take as referents the existent official socio-historical referents but operate with a countless number of filters which propose new perspectives on a wide range of everyday encounters, not only those that the system has legitimised as “truthful”. When the arts (their outputs and processes) draw upon interconnectivity, they create new possibilities for human engagement and participation, generating experiences and contents that people need to become conscious that everyone participates in the imagining and making of society; a first step towards overcoming what Lechner calls “naturalisation of the social”, how people believe that society obeys certain “natural laws” which they can know but never modify (Lechner 2002a, my translation).

Artists are potential agents of change who, from a position of criticality, can catalyse the circulating energies with their own energies, throw them back to people in order to facilitate engagement with the artistic experience and negotiate new perspectives on the surrounding realities, thus questioning the established order and generating a more participatory platform for human interaction. A participatory model of interaction has important implications for the development of political agency - a sense of sovereignty and critical citizenship - placing the arts in an ethical-formation category. During the interviews, many artists assert that the arts have the potential to set the grounds for ethical formation. Indeed, artistic processes and phenomena involve the interaction of at

least two constituents which are associated to the formation of values: the emotional and the experiential. The former component deals with human interaction - with how human beings position themselves in relation to others - searching to establish relationships of trust and compassion; however, the latter refers to the learning of values in a context where people can experience these values simply because their acquisition can only take place when they are put into practice. These two elements, constituting the formation of values, should work as a radar which does not allow human beings to "lose themselves" in the doing, an outcome which is automatically exacerbated in all "performative" societies.

> But when [*this more humanising or revolutionary model*] has only recently been applied, the system returns to how it was before: a distant or close form of capitalism or monarchy or dictatorship or etc, etc. It isn't that it begins cynically, but that man loses himself. The people directing the process start to lose themselves again and not know what to do.
>
> (Matta interviewed in Carrasco 1987, p18, my translation)

In today's globalised world, people tend to operate within "performative" rather than "formative" situations (see *5.2* for more on the performative). In a context where "performation" has overtaken "formation", we will function within a competitive logic which makes it even harder to generate spaces that, on the one hand, can facilitate human proximity and, on the other, from that proximity encourage people *to learn to become with the Other*. It is not possible to demand that people develop a form of reasoning the Other - one which goes beyond the realm of their experience and understanding of life - considering that it is in everyday experience that the imaginary tools necessary to invent a possible Other are contained. Societies, in other words, cannot hope for or expect people to develop humanistic values without facilitating the conditions they require to experience these values in the first place and in such scenarios, an interstice opens which awaits formative intervention and resistance. It should come as no surprise that I believe that the arts, seen as an inexhaustible mechanism of formative possibility, have much to contribute to this process.

17.1.2 Making the invisible visible

Broadening of the scope of visibility has implications for the way people perceive their

surroundings and intervene in them. The unveiling of unseen life dimensions and perspectives can allow people to make connections they may not have otherwise thought of, thus facilitating their arrival at higher levels of consciousness and autonomy in the ways they understand and act in the world. Our scope of visibility (what we can and cannot see) is determined by the power relations that society constructs and, by unveiling hidden realities, we can also unveil the power relations that entangle them. It is only when power relations become visible that we can resignify democratising notions like equity and equality, charge them with new meanings and thus set grounds for the formation of new collective imaginaries. The road to social transformation can therefore only be paved when people are able to see that their reality can be changed and that *they* are the foremost transformative social agents, but this seeing must be developed in its fullest dimensionality, which involves the ability to "'see' and 'make see', and understand **what** it's about" (Id. at 25).

> ... that's why artists are needed... (that is, if they're real artists and real poets...) who can see, because an artist who doesn't see anything and repeats what others have said is no good for anything. When one says "artist", one means a real artist, just as a surgeon has to be a real surgeon and has to know how to distinguish between the soft and the hard, that is, between the bones and the flesh.
>
> (Id. at 241-242)

Artists' scope of visibility is reflected in the distinct stance they take to intervene in society. By generating experiences for people to change the way they perceive everyday life, they are encouraging the development of a sensibility towards the world - its humanisation. Certain, though by no means all, artists interviewed claim or imply that they wish to use their creativity to invent alternative ways of recycling the channels at their disposal to convey a humanising message.

> ... the future will be safeguarded if we're more sensitive... My purpose as artist and teacher... I always teach each time I put on an exhibition; something is always given there, something remains. It's precisely this pointing towards awaking the sensibility of the human being... that's also why I chose to write the text myself [*referring to the catalogue produced for an exhibition*]... in order to go into precisely the things which are important to me... (*visual artist, second generation*)

The perceived transcendence of artists' responsibility demands that their stances provide

them with the critical, ethical elements they need to sustain their work coherently and organically in their constructions of themselves and their society. The social role and responsibility as an inevitable, integral stance whence critical artists see and help others to see is described by another artist thus:

> ... journalists don't only ask you about your poetry; why you write, what sense this has, the aesthetic content; but you somehow start to operate as a sort of commentator on many other issues and so you're given greater responsibility: to speak about the society you live in. In that sense, let's say, not even I escape that reality. It isn't that I believe that's the only possibility for the poet to situate himself in social terms but it's the exigency of the media as well. Many times the artist even operates as an oracle. So they ask you, from your dreams, "Who's going to win the next election?" (*writer, second generation*)

Spanish curator and theorist José Luis Brea has commented at length on the position of the artist in a globalised world, claiming that the repercussions of visibility place visual artists in an even more sensitive position: "[t]hose working in the field of the technical image have an extreme social responsibility, given the tremendous potential that visuality has in our lifestyles" and so therefore "[t]he artist is a cultural critic or he is nothing" (Brea in García González 2004, my translation).

17.1.3 The cognitive value of the arts

The arts have the epistemological potential to be both a form of knowledge and a form of knowing. One of the main questions that artists have to deal with today is how to best release this epistemological potential. When artists propose an approach to reality, it not only contains knowledge about a particular reality but also a dynamic through which to understand that reality. Artists' approximations, then, should be made visible because they are also part of the process of enriching the scope of audiences' visibility and understandings of their immediate realities. This can have significant effects on the way knowledge is circulated and applied and, hence, structured and perceived.

Brea's is an interesting perspective on art's epistemological possibilities: he suggests that artists in contemporary societies operate as immaterial makers of meaning; that they make and also circulate intellectual products which consist of critical messages directed at consumer societies. Intellectual products can infiltrate the mainstream world as forms

of resistance “from within”:

> ... to create concrete objects of value and establish literary objects of universal character in order to negotiate with the dominant culture. (*writer, second generation*; fieldwork notes)

The arts’ multisensoriality makes their epistemological contents interdisciplinary. However, in a context where artificial boundaries fragment knowledge, artists may find it hard to develop an integrative approach to the arts. Those who have developed an integrative approach to the understanding of realities find it easier to identify the knowledge circulating around them and use it to recycle everyday experience and plan creative intervention. As for the particularities under study, the specific materiality of Chilean art could function as a possibility for greater interdisciplinary interaction and exchange, offering schools, for example, a concrete and meaningful opportunity to adopt more integrative approaches to their curricula.

> ... art in Chile has such a material platform. For example, the poetry is generally poetry which speaks of the material, of the landscape, of human relationships. In general, poetry in Chile isn’t very abstract; it doesn’t deal with metaphysical themes but with more immediate things. So why not suddenly read a few Neruda poems in a metallurgy class, for example, no? (*writer, second generation*)

17.1.4 Broadening the scope for inter-human relations

Museums and art galleries offer radiuses for artistic circulation and human interaction which often do not correspond to postmodern, globalised audience expectations. Thus, in a context in which many people experience these traditional cultural centres as alienating, hard-to-relate-to places, artists are called upon to facilitate alternative, meaningful spaces which can bring audiences together and interact with and around the artworks in more significant ways.

The construction of contextualised spaces for audiences to connect with one another through interaction with artworks becomes an important possibility for making audiences see themselves, see others, understand their immediate surroundings and develop a sensibility and intention towards others. For this reason, some artists feel that new contexts must guarantee greater proximity between audience and artwork:

> ... I have a fixed idea that impact has rather to do with awakening people's sensibility. That's fundamental. More artworks must be circulating and a sensitive approach to the artwork is needed. That doesn't mean, say, that we'll like everything that's put in front of us but it does mean we'll see and we'll try to establish that path of sensibility in relation to the art object over and over again. Call it design, whatever, call it graphics, sculpture, painting, dance, music. (*visual artist, second generation*)

The construction of participatory spaces capable of engaging audiences in humanising interactions will of course partly rely on artists' abilities to generate conditions for such spaces. The skills involved in the construction of new contexts will have to be learnt and it will also be the responsibility of academic institutions to provide their students with learning conditions to acquire them (see *18.3* and *18.4*). Brea, for instance, referring to future artists' training, asserts that: "before preparing [*the artist*] to be a good constructor of images, it is necessary to prepare him to be a good constructor of contexts" (Brea in García González 2004, my translation). Artists' training, in this sense, will have to establish an ongoing interaction with the community, responding critically to its needs and interests. The community's everyday interrelations will thus provide artists with the contents which will inform not only their engagement with the public (understood in the traditional sense) but also their formation of "counter-publics" which generate their own anti-hegemonic discourses and practices (Sheikh 2004b).[69]

Working within a community in interaction with other community members implies, in this case, a horizontal type of relationship which allows audiences to relate to the artist and identify their own humanness within him or her. The unveiling of the human dimensions of the making of culture has many repercussions for the ways audiences approach, understand and appropriate artistic encounters. This humanising interaction implies the returning to people of a creative, participatory way of doing in society which pertains to everyone rather than a "gifted" group of people who can make and appreciate art. These participatory contexts, where everyone is a protagonist, involve the communal realisation that art has to do with everyday life, communication, meaning-making and understanding of collective and subjective experiences.

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[69] Sheikh questions the role of art institutions and contextualises them in relation to public spheres. His analyses and critique interconnect the categories presented in *17.1*, providing an understanding of the ethical, political and epistemological dimensions of cultural formations and the role artists may play in this multidimensional interaction (Sheikh 2004a, 2004b and 2005).

> If, say, the State doesn't generate conditions, artists have to try to generate them themselves. I'm talking about artists who have this vocation to link themselves with the world, with the community. Also, it's respectable for those who don't want to do this to do whatever they do the best they can... we as a group of Mapuche poets are creating the conditions for communication with urban as well as rural Mapuche communities, generating the conditions that never existed before: for example, so that a painter of Mapuche origin exhibit his paintings in the neighbouring forest where the community lives or we do a poetry recital right on the *pampa*, that people come and listen, understand and share with the poets in person. Thus trying to create a much closer link, much more human too, knocking down the myth of the inaccessible artist a little... (*writer, second generation*)

Many artists interviewed explicitly state their awareness of the "macro-referents" which frame society's scope for interaction, unveiling its underlying power relations. This group of artists understands that, in general, macrostructures respond to the interests of certain groups which hold the power to act and control. According to this more general understanding of society, many artists position the State as a mediating agent in charge of both guaranteeing and guarding some form of plural space for all artists and projects. In a democratic society, macro-referents need to be constantly re-established and resignified in order to adjust to social constructions which should be a materialisation of all its members' "becoming together". The State operates through a series of cultural policies which in a truly democratic context, most artist respondents agree, must offer visibility to a society's many voices.

> I think it's fine that there are more general policies which give support not only to outstanding artists but also to be able to have a process where the most dispossessed with merits can have space and a capacity for management and self-generation, both of which have to come from State policies, unfortunately. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

Cultural policies, understood as a vehicle for mapping a society's cultural terrain and responding to its needs and collective vision, should enhance existing human interactions and also encourage new formations. Decontextualised policies, conversely, can do immense harm by imposing ways of working which inadvertently undo human networks, thus wasting society's existing and potential intellectual resource.

> I know various groups. Or Pehuenches [*indigenous group*] who organise to

> disseminate their products and their handicrafts and all that directly, but they're, like, small cells, right, which are working. An organisation on a national level does exist in theory, but they don't give credibility to this type of thing. Why? Because, on many occasions, the modes of direction aren't the most suitable because they haven't been consulted, because they want to impose them from above, and that's a paternalism which also exists in the government. In other words, public policies, if there's no consultation at the grassroots level, are impositions... (*musician, first generation*)

Thus, to facilitate the construction of more democratic spaces for human interaction, policies must be embedded in a profound understanding of the plurality of cultural formations coexisting in society. Some artists interviewed interpret decontextualised cultural policies, referring to The System's overarching mistrust of artists and their work. Mistrust simply paralyses processes of exchange and processes of knowledge socialisation, thus preventing systems from developing human potential to their fullest capacity.

Artists' reflections about the structures which organise society go even further, making reference to interdisciplinary collaboration with different social spheres. They assert that interdisciplinary interaction would require a more flexible system, however. Many, for example, see the educational system as a potential space whence they could establish more meaningful links of exchange with future generations. They feel a sense of responsibility towards younger people, recognising that most have not been offered the best chances and that it has become easier for society simply to sit in judgement over their "antisocial" behaviour rather than taking a transformative pedagogical course of action. The artists claim that young people's attitudes to the world result from society's constructions and can envision new possibilities for intervention within the formal educational system.

> … create real spaces where artists can give their work, their claims, their ideals to the community. Today the spaces are closed. The only thing they give you is a quantity of money if you win a competition but, for example, formal education, say, is still a very limited theme for artists, which is where artists should be. In other words, it's fine to have a Spanish-language teacher who can do a poetry workshop, but it'd be much better if a poet or writer did it, which has nothing to do with the teacher losing out on work... (*writer, second generation*)

17.2 The Arts in the Chilean Specificity

17.2.1 The cultural cement

Garretón distinguishes “two levels of culture” which are also the foundations of two types of cultural policy: culture as *a way of being* and culture as *a way of doing*:

> The first refers to culture as a society’s ways of being; its visions of the past, present and future; the elaboration of diverse shared meanings about time, nature, transcendence and forms of coexisting; ethical models of knowledge, languages, communication and transmission of cultural heritage; the issue of national identity and of cultural or identity diversity. It is here where we talk about “the” Cultural Policy in the way we talk about “the” economic policy, “the” international policy or “the” defence policy. And in the societies of today and those of the future, this is the dimension which constitutes the axis or the base for material development. The second dimension, on the other hand, refers to manifestations, apparatuses and cultural expressions, like heritage, the different fields of creation and artistic diffusion, communications, forms of popular culture, the culture industries.
>
> (Garretón 2001, pp30-31, my translation)

Moreover, the first dimension constitutes the foundation of the second and recognises that each cultural expression or manifestation has its own logic and autonomy (Id. at 32). Garretón also points out that both the State and the government have responsibility for these two dimensions, defining *state policy* as “the objectives and principles which will endure in the time beyond the policies of a determined government” and *government policy* as “the objectives and mechanisms defined by a determined government” (Id. at 31). Interviewees on occasion make reference to both the dimensions outlined by Garretón, revealing through their discourses an intuitive understanding of the interrelation of two moments of cultural construction:

> ... I don’t know if a cultural policy exists somewhere as an exercise in programming and designing this thing called cultural policy. I think cultural policies are rather the result of a very long management, which breaks down into infinite modes of operating. I think that it’s very difficult to design a cultural policy theoretically... the FONDART, to which we can add the Book Fund, I think that, though they’re important initiatives, I consider it disturbing that a country bases its cultural policy on competitions. That creates frustrations, ill feelings, mistrust, hopelessness. Imagine: in a

> competition, 2,000 people submit projects and thirty or forty are approved. What happens to the rest? (*writer, first generation*)

The first dimension that Garretón describes (i.e. culture as a way of being) points to a more egalitarian type of cultural development. Nevertheless, several artists interviewed feel that the Chilean government still has a mountain to scale to begin building a national cultural platform of equality and equity. These artists talk about incongruence between the conditions that cultural institutions are presently offering society for the development of the arts and the conditions artists actually require to construct meaningful transformative experiences which could reduce inequality and inequity in their surroundings. There is thus a need to invest more into cultural development if "the cultural" is to become the new "cement" of the country; a strategic measure which must also come with a revaluation of what Chile defines as a "way of being" through its own culture. This once again pushes the notion of civil participation to the forefront: it is vital that spaces are created for civil society to participate and make decisions about the type of Chile they would like to live in, rather than passive acceptance of the "naturalisation of the social" (see *13.2.1*).

> […] culture is the base material of development and that which orders the economy - and not the reverse - as well as politics and the organisation of society. [...] The societies with the greatest cultural density will be those which successfully insert themselves into the transnationalised world; the others will remain given to the power of those societies, of markets and of the de facto powers which operate in this world density. The "cement" of societies in the future will be cultural.
>
> (Garretón 2001, p30, my translation)

Nelly Richard, striving for a more meaningful definition of culture in order to challenge traditional definitions of "specialised activity and field", introduces an alternative "way of doing" which responds to a more profoundly critical understanding of the arts rather than to a utilitarian understanding. She claims that:

> [...] on the one hand, culture taken as a *product to administer* and *distribute* (or in other words: culture as an object of *cultural policies* and *market* which coordinate its activities and make its products circulate) and, on the other, culture understood as *aesthetic production* and *critical reflection*; that is, as a piece of work about language and signification which - through its metaphorical elaborations and artifices of representation - question the dominant formulations of the social order (its common senses, its practical

> reasoning, its codifications of power). We could say that culture as aesthetic production and critical reflection works with the *proliferations* and *deluges* of meaning, with its *ambiguities* and *contradictions*, which is to say, precisely with everything which bureaucratic-institutional management or the commercial interests of culture repress.
>
> (Richard in Garretón 2001, pp108-109, my translation)

It is precisely the utilitarian understanding of the *way of doing* culture that most interviewee artists perceive as a burden for their critical stance. They feel they are expending much of their energy competing with one another, filling in forms and playing bureaucratic, mercantilist language games which distract them from the process of critical art-making. This sense and value of art are not facilitating the development of criticality either among emerging artists or among established artists who perceive that spaces for reflective action have been largely closed off.

> … this competitiveness… has generated, I'd say, a softening of the country's critical system, because all artists are worried about scholarship. We're worried about the project; we aren't worried about what we're known for… a really mediocre competitiveness which happens at the level of artists, at the level of cultural managers; I think it's really impoverishing the country's cultural expressions. There's no discussion, there's no criticism, there's no reflection and what there is, let's say, is very marginal, on the edges. In practical terms, this has also generated a terrible coexistence among artists and not for fundamental questions but for minimal questions, say, for survival through the resources that the State provides. (*writer, second generation*)

> … there are other artists… who are carrying out an artistic project, let's say, which has to do with criticism of the system, which has to do with the criticism of the country's cultural atavisms, and that type of expression doesn't have a very significant echo within Chilean cultural policies. (*writer, second generation*)

> … it's interesting to know what happened with [*a given*] project in qualitative terms. So I think that aspect of project competitions has, in some sense, raised not the quality but the quantity of initiatives… but there's no continuity… art doesn't have an easy time of it. Elements like those which to me seem to restrict greater access to cultural enjoyment and initiation into reflection about culture… (*writer, second generation*)

Artists generally tend to recognise that the postdictatorial governments' cultural policies - which tentatively took shape during the first two Concertación administrations before

Lagos' cultural *institucionalidad* - are a positive contribution to the ongoing reconstruction of a more participatory society (see *6.5.2*). They perceive Lagos' efforts and intentions towards cultural development as a benign, valuable starting point in the recognition of the importance and value of culture, seeing an intrinsic goodness within the political process at hand. Generally speaking, the government's cultural policy appears to be creating a positive atmosphere which is clearly potentially conducive to the opening of new spaces for engagement:

> ... it's good that, during the last period, something cultural has taken shape at the level of a Ministry. In other words, we're already giving - at the level of government, at the level of the State - a Ministerial position to the person in charge of culture. I think that, in its own right, it gives a value to something which is generally valued very little in Chile, which is cultural work... in countries like Chile which, at a given moment, left the cultural aspect to be regulated by the market... We can have many visions, in reality, of the effectiveness of certain policies that are being adopted but I think it's an incipient sign that in the future we can have even more solid things. (*former cultural administrator, first generation*)

Most artists interviewed feel that cultural policy *can* help to restore and conserve the national heritage that Chileans need as a referent if they are to develop a solid cultural identity in a society characterised by performativity (see *5.2*). Rapid economic growth has placed Chile in a privileged position in Latin America and increased the middle classes' mobility and access to consumer goods and services, yet it has also appropriated hegemonic habits and values. The artists interviewed are critical of and articulate about the effect that the assumption of consumer identities has upon the ways many Chileans perceive themselves and interact. Indeed, there is a shared negative perception of exacerbated competitiveness and superciliousness.

> … this country is incredible, it's one of the few countries in the world, I think, where people have such a poor quality of life and yet believe they live so well. You know that here in Santiago - this is why I don't live in Santiago - people work twelve hours a day on average and you have to add to that an hour-and-a-half for every trip home. That's fifteen hours! And they say they're really happy… The Chilean's debts, the average, the other day I was reading a statistic: if you divide the debt, each Chilean family on average owes 840,000 pesos to shops… in other words, they live a lifetime of stress… (*writer, first generation*)

> ... I'd love to be mistaken but I don't see this country breathing healthily. I

> see an incredibly morally deteriorated country where chilling, appalling things happen and all this is erased because afterwards the celebrity and entertainment news comes on... Or rather, I don't see a country established in moral terms. (*writer, first generation*)

> ... this country has become very pompous, right? Tremendously Americanised and snobbish. It has all the great American defects, you see. And the poverty goes on the same but nobody sees it... (*visual artist, first generation*)

It is the creativity of all sectors of the population which can generate the means to set up a fairer game in the ever more complex processes of global interaction. Garretón's assertion that "the cultural" is the key issue to be considered by today's societies in order to "survive" new transformations parallels Lechner's reflections on culture. Lechner (2002b) writes of each society as a particularism which enters the globalised world in its own specific way, though having common general consequences. Each society must identify the cultural content that it needs to reinforce in its peoples so as to provide them with a threshold: some visibility to qualify for at least some "game", he asserts. This panorama reaffirms the recent efforts to institutionalise a mechanism through which to channel and deal with cultural matters.

Interestingly, the younger artists interviewed, as well as being critical of the cultural system, argue that today, as the market-driven logic has inexorably won over each Chilean sphere, they are compelled to learn to play its games in order to create possibilities for intervention from within.

> … there are elements of independent management in Chile which work with private enterprise and which have learnt how to sell their product to the private company successfully, you see? For them, it's not a problem what the Right thinks because it's fighting it with its own weapons. (*writer, first generation*)

> And suddenly, in two years, one sees what one had never seen on Chilean TV: an overabundance of television series' made in Chile: *El día menos pensado*, *Las vueltas de la vida*… they develop a good perspective which gives work to scriptwriters, to artists… (*writer, first generation*)

These artists work in a "modernising" socio-cultural scenario, making their acquisition of the language game of modern Chile part of an organic process. They do not have the

referents of the Chile of the past and have therefore undergone smoother appropriation of the possibilities of intervention in twenty-first century Chile. Previous generations, conversely, have lived through (at least) two different Chiles, an experience which has sometimes been dislocating, as in the case of those artists who apply language games that pertain to the Chile of the past in an uncomprehending modern-day Chile (an interesting parallel can be made here with first-generation exile artists, see *12.4.1*). The following artist speaks of "cultural referents" and compares the language games developed by his generation to those being developed today:

> The entire discourse about social classes and all that is all Greek to the young artists of the generation which came after me, now aged between 25 and 40. Or rather, on the one hand, they don't take it into consideration. They simply don't think about it. They have completely different referents. The have other referents and other struggles... But with the media-driven optic of the Twenty-first Century. Or rather, their relationships are through webpages, their relationships are through email, their attacks come through email... That's the sort of countercultural struggle among 25-year-olds nowadays, along with going out onto the streets and causing mayhem… (*writer, first generation*)

Some of the first-generation artists interviewed, when trying to articulate their personal narratives, use the dualistic category which formerly framed Chilean society's understanding of reality: the value-driven logic of good/bad, exploited/exploiter, and so on. On the other hand, many artists of the second generation define this dichotomous perspective as totalising and believe that it responds to philosophical approaches which framed Chilean society at a specific moment in history. They often assert that this logic should not be used to look at Chile from inside *or* outside, because it cannot capture the complex multidimensionality of modern Chile and gives a limited account of its realities. They emphasise that the Chilean cultural-artistic scene, trying to insert itself critically in the globalised world, currently demands a means of conceptualisation which can play a game different from that of the dualistic reasoning. Thus artists are having to renew conceptual tools in order to intervene in the country's cultural landscape and propose alternative forms of signification.

17.2.2 Social margins

When social groups are formally provided with time and spaces to participate, their

constructions consequently become visible, attaining a certain level of legitimisation and validation. Some of the artists interviewed, mainly those of the second generation, denounce the absence of marginal groups and their cultural-artistic expressions in the government's cultural agenda. The concepts of "selective reality" and "blank spots" that Anzaldúa introduces when analysing how marginalisation processes develop within social formations, and how they affect people's visibility, help explain the reasoning behind the distribution of spaces:

> Failure to empathize with (empathy may open the door to understanding) another's experience is due, in part, to what I call "selective reality," the narrow spectrum of reality that human beings select or choose to perceive and/or what their culture "selects" for them to "see."[...] That which is outside of the range of consensus perception is "blanked out."
> (Anzaldúa 1990, p.xxi)

Some artists perceive that marginal creative forms of expression are growing in importance in Chile (graffiti being a case in point) but are met by repression and censorship rather than curiosity or acceptance. There is a commonly held view that youngsters who make marginal art are treated like vandals and this has consequently restricted possibilities for signification and closed alternative channels of exchange and understanding. Thus the ways in which territories have been mapped out, privileging certain groups by providing them with legitimised spaces in which they can be seen and heard while others remain on the periphery, find direct correlation with society's understandings and perceptions about such groups.

> … they tell you, "Those kids are vandals. All graffitists are vandals." And then you start to interview them and the things they say! In other words, they're deep... (*visual artist, second generation*)

The government, in an effort to democratise access to cultural production, has been channelling state funding for the arts through "projects", a modality which has now invaded the country's cultural-artistic scene. However, social codes tend to restrict access to those able to work with technocratic language, excluding marginal sectors and their cultural-artistic constructions.[70] Thus certain privileged groups continue to dominate

[70] According to Ivey and Tepper (2006), as societies should find in the cultural the cement or glue to bind them together, the main challenge is to "thicken" cultural life for everyone. These authors suggest that a "new cultural elite" and a "new cultural underclass" are emerging, divided by

the Chilean cultural scene and peripheral groups find it relatively hard to circulate their cultural constructs and interact or compete with the mainstream.

> ... FONDART has done very positive, very good things, like the boom in filmmaking... but it remains extremely academic. The projects continue to be for people who are able to fill in that form... these graffitists, all popular culture or marginal art doesn't fit there. There's no space for it. And there's nobody gathering it and nobody interested in gathering it either. (*visual artist, second generation*)

Chile's social margins possess unique accumulated experience - cultural formations generated by unprecedented globalisation - which has not been theorised, argues Salazar, and it is from the margins that socio-cultural creativity emerges as an expression of oppression, unemployment and social exclusion. Salazar goes on to assert with great conviction that these margins generate their own cultures and identitarian processes and that the constitution of a more egalitarian society will depend on the recognition of these alternative processes of coexistence, which in themselves are potential democratising models (Fasola 2006) (see *13.2.1*).

Moreover, Chilean urban marginalisation brings to mind Renzo Piano's reflections on cities and communities in the aftermath of the riots in the Parisian suburbs in October-November 2005. Piano argues that the city is by definition a "place of tolerance" and that the ghetto goes against the very idea of community because, for a community to constitute itself, people somehow need to "merge" (Brockes 2005). David Chipperfield has also stated that it is his vocation to "give real meaning to the experience of the city" and to "help raise the experience of everyday living" (Glancey 2005). The postmodern ethical dilemma of city-building for tolerance may also remind us of the Open City Amereida at Ritoque in northern Chile, a little-known avant-garde pedagogical project conceived in 1950 and founded in 1970 and one of the few notable instances in the

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access to the knowledge, time and money needed to "navigate the cultural system". Whilst the former can curate its own cultural-artistic experiences, construct an identity of its own and share it with others, the latter has little choice but to "swallow" the limited cultural selection put at its disposal by mainstream consumerism, hindering its chances for genuine participation. Elsewhere (García González 2004), Brea has taken this participatory idea further, asserting that today, when it is impossible to deny cultural consumerism, people need to be able to become creative consumers; to become artistic in the unique way that they consume. This understanding of consumption also corresponds with Bourriaud's notion of the "subversive consumer" who operates in a context wherein "the gap that separates production and consumption narrows each day" (Bourriaud 2002, p33).

country of dialogue between architecture and poetry, space and word, science and art, design and destiny (Pendleton-Jullian 2000).

Globalised neoliberal societies are prone to the "ghettoisation" of those sectors of the population unable to comply with the laws of the market successfully. It is vital to unveil this broader context, de-framing governmental action in order to see how economic policies affect territorialisation and what it implies to delineate spaces which only benefit certain groups. Territorialisation can be understood as the first step towards the constitution of "places" which for Piano are "the portrait of communities". If a place is "impossible", he adds, "the community becomes impossible". Commenting on marginalisation in Santiago, this visual artist says:

> "What we have to do is put them all in prison and continue segregating them and chucking them to La Pintana [*impoverished community on outskirts of Santiago*]".You get me? If you look at the structure of Santiago, it's very unequal. It happens less in the provinces, but in Santiago it's huge. In Santiago, even if you do a study of how space is occupied, look at how Santiago is distributed... And when they're trying to find a location for marginal settlements, they send them to the poor sectors. (*visual artist, second generation*)

17.2.3 The role of mass media

In thrall to performativity, Chilean society generates too little space to reflect, recognise itself or find the referents to develop a sense of cohesion - a symbolic understanding of who Chileans are. Some artists confer on the mass media an important role in reinforcing Chile's weakening of a sense of a We, and refer to soap operas (*telenovelas*), some of the most widely-viewed and pervasive television programming, which create a supposed meeting place which is shared by the sectors of the population, as the most prominent example. Indeed, the definition of mass media as *symbolic horizons and rules of behaviour* (Mar de Fontcuberta, *Diversidad Cultural* conference, Santiago, 2005) offers an explanation of the impact they have on the ways that societies interact.

> … the Chilean soap opera is making more superficial dialogues, putting into play more direct superficial emotions... the Venezuelan soap opera is more or less all configured into a, "I hate you, Luis, I hate you. I love you, Luis, I love you. I hate you, Luis, I hate you." And that's your lot. And in Chile they're really starting to resemble that. We're working with those

> codes. So it's simplification. Or rather, the symbolic keys that they're putting into play in soap operas are simplifying. (*writer, first generation*)

It is worth making reference here to Salazar's recent critical reflections about television in Chile,[71] which are not that far removed from his wider project of connecting history with "live subjects" and the present. In interview, Salazar asserts that television (like other symbols of modernity in Chile) says little about the country's "misery of human relations"; that television does not draw upon Chileans' everyday interaction and instead limits itself to entertainment and making people forget their realities (Fasola 2006) (also see Chapter Six).

Media in their fullest sense could become a potential space for dialogue. To paraphrase de Fontcuberta again, we are "media beings" (*seres mediáticos*) because we need the communications media to understand the world and transmit values. In order to understand culture profoundly, consequently, we must also understand how the means of communication work. In a truly participatory society, the media should not only "mediate" but also be spaces for civil participation. Understood integrally, the media play an important role in paving the way to "interculturality", which de Fontcuberta defines as a way in which cultural diversity promotes real exchange, aiming at understanding cultures rather than segregating them. Cultural diversity, she adds, does not in itself guarantee integration; for the accomplishment of a dialogical cultural diversity, the members of society need to be able to know each other and appropriate and use the media as a space for exchange and humanisation (Mar de Fontcuberta, *Diversidad Cultural* conference, Santiago, 2005).

17.2.4 A sense of place

I have already alluded to Chile's geographical and cultural diversity and its "Santiago-centricity" (see *6.5.2*). It is unfortunate though predictable that most leading Chilean cultural critics (Mellado being the most prominent exception to this rule) concentrate their gaze on artistic production in Santiago. The paradox of the centre/periphery interrelation resides in the fact that regionally-based artists' relationships with Santiago may involve a

[71] The CNCA's first cultural consumption survey (2004, available at http://www.consejodelacultura.cl/index.php?op=articulo&artid=243) found that television and radio are most Chileans' main form of cultural consumption.

homogenising, uncritical adoption of foreign models without a full understanding of what lies behind them and the implications that their application may have, thus blocking meaningful possibilities of exchange which could reshape and signify the interactions between centre and periphery.

> In the provinces, I think there's also this insularism, which isn't very good for the development of art. Or rather, it's fine that we live in the provinces, but we can't shut ourselves up in a provincial ghetto, so we can't lock ourselves up in the ghetto of the Mapuche or the ghetto of more limited identities, no? So, on the one hand, there's this tension. There's this constant tension between the artists of the provinces and the artists of Santiago, which I think you could also say is a tension provoked by the socio-cultural and political context, no? In Chile, the dictatorship left as its legacy a supposed geopolitical decentralisation, something of a regionalisation. (*writer, second generation*)

The dislocation between Santiago and the other (incredibly diverse) Regions is exacerbated when Santiago loses itself in the emulation of voguish artistic norms:

> … there's an unending copying of what's supposedly happening in New York, in London, no? [*he laughs*] You could say there's a desire for the novelty of the First World in artistic terms... This is especially noticeable in the plastic arts. In Santiago, it's very common to find very shocking, very subversive, very rebellious exhibitions. In reality, they're instances of provocation rather than art. In those cases, we from the provinces look at this as a situation of great confusion. (*writer, second generation*)

The big challenge for the Regions is, through their particularisms, to establish links of exchange with the outside world. Laclau and Mouffe suggest a chain of equivalences for this: the commonalities which could bind together apparently dissimilar groups (see *5.3*). Many regional artists are aware of this challenge and are willing to assume responsibility in giving their particularisms visibility and voice.

The evocations of Home by artists of both first and second generations are charged with episodes from a past which made them relate meaningfully to the places where they spent their formative years. Many of the artists interviewed in Chile are from the southern city of Concepción in the country's Eighth Region, a province notable for its forestry, fishing and mining industries and high concentration of indigenous Mapuches in the rural areas of Araucanía. The way these interviewees relate to the City tends to depend on

individual experiences in the specific historical, socio-spatial contexts that it offered them during their formation.

Evocations of home inevitably contain evocations of *school*, the physical and symbolic, official/unofficial learning space where they first began cultivating an artistic spirit. These learning spaces gave many of the artists a distinctive seal and helped them construct their own understandings of the meanings of art, thus shaping their trajectories. Different generations of *penquista* (Concepción-born) artists, recalling their early careers, picture the moments and learning scenarios of Concepción. The paragraphs which follow contain illustrative examples of how the City's past has been imprinted in artists' memories and how it is recalled when they articulate a notion of home in the interrelations of today's urban spaces.

The artists of the first generation share key referents from the Fifties and Sixties of Concepción as a hotbed of leftwing radicalism as well as a centre for theatre, music, literature, muralism and local handicraft. Indeed, in a foreshadowing of Pinochet's cultural and political "blackout" which saw the closure of the University of Concepción Theatre (TUC), the earthquake and tsunami of May 1960 had recently left in ruins the coliseum of the Teatro Concepción and the only art school then in existence in the City. First-generation artists refer to this school as the City's principal artistic space, where low-cost evening courses offered learning possibilities to a diversity of people, the intellectual resource of the entire City: university students, bohemians, labourers, housewives and so on. The school functioned as a melting pot which brought together people who were later to become important nationally (including Albino Echeverría, Iván Contreras, Jaime Cruz and Santos Chávez). In 1965, the Mexican government inaugurated the University of Concepción's Pinacoteca, or gallery, which opened to the public in 1967. Moreover, the University of Concepción founded its Symphonic Orchestra in 1952 and Plastic Arts Department in 1972. However, comparing Concepción's artistic formation then and now, this artist recounts that:

> Those were the days when Concepción only had one art gallery and when today's most popular commercial craft market used to be a place of meeting and exchange for artists coming from all over the region, from the most varied disciplines (e.g. painting, printmaking, sculpture, writing and so on). (*visual artist, first generation*)

> So everybody went from work to make art... people's availability to work, to make art, you understand. To make art in order to make art. Not like today, for example, where I think many people who make art are thinking about selling. "How do I sell?" (*visual artist, first generation*)

The artists of the first generation, many of whom are affiliated to the Association of Painters and Sculptors of Concepción (created in 1967), make reference to a Concepción of the past whose distinctive visuality and symbols gave it an identity of its own. A recent project, "*Desplazamiento visual de la ciudad de Concepción*",[72] looks at the current visuality of Concepción and how changes determine a new perception of the City and condition citizens' gaze polity (presentation by Eileen Kelly, *Debates Estéticos*, Concepción, 2004); the basis of this project makes explicit the need to make a cartography of the "lost community" (using multiple resources like drawings, images, language, etc), so as to reconstruct the City's identity and offer symbolic resistance to the official visuality that older generations cannot relate to. Evocations of the Concepción of old are spontaneously smuggled into the interviews, making clear the symbolic dimension of cultural formations and people's need to preserve the imaginaries which give meaning to their local identity. Cultural referents which have apparently disappeared are still alive in the memory of older generations, and it is within these referents that the contents which give societies the cultural density needed for identitarian (re)construction reside.

Evocations of Concepción among second-generation artists, whose formative referent is the Eighties, tend to contain a greater preponderance of experiences derived from activities of resistance organised during the military regime. The Concepción of the Eighties saw the formation of a subversive unofficial group called Asociación Democrática de Artistas (ADA)[73] which welcomed artists working in all disciplines to

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[72] See http://cumincades.scix.net/data/works/att/5962.content.pdf and http://www.bicentenario.gov.cl/inicio/revisitando/Ensayo_Eileen_Kelly.doc for more information.

[73] Descriptions and analyses of the cultural-artistic scene in the Pinochet years tend to refer to Santiago's dissident cultural-artistic formations and exclude regional histories and realities. Santiago's culture of resistance has become the country's official story (see *6.4*). However, official initiatives have of late documented, theorised, publicised and circulated some local histories. One such is the *Enciclopedia Regional del Bío Bío* (2006), the first in a series which proposes to devise one encyclopaedia per Region by the time of the Bicentenary of Chilean Independence in 2011. This would be the first time that the Regions have contextualised mechanisms for knowledge circulation with which to look at themselves and fortify local identity. In the case of

construct the group's own politico-cultural agenda. Street activist happenings developed by ADA became a key learning scenario - both in terms of providing better understanding of the immediate reality *and* the production of interdisciplinary projects - for a generation of artists which was exploring alternative ways of re-presenting, denouncing, engaging, collectivising and developing agency through art. The cultural-artistic activities developed by ADA were sponsored by the Chilean Communist Party until the late Eighties; the withdrawal of funding prompted several engaged artists to look for new outlets, mainly in Santiago but also abroad. The group which remained is characterised by some artist interviewees as having become a harmless organisation which fit into the official scene.

Evaluating the dissident cultural-artistic work of the Eighties and how they experienced the transition to democracy, artists assert that the adaptation to the Nineties and beyond was relatively smooth. Nevertheless, artists are critical of the position that cultural bodies have adopted in the last decade in terms of promotion and circulation of the City's cultural-artistic production. They often feel that local groups and media privilege imported cultural-artistic production, decontextualised from the processes currently taking place in the City, thus reducing their own potential exposure. The commonly held view is that Concepción, rather than presenting itself as a particularism with its own unique cultural-artistic potential, wastes this intellectual resource in favour of *decontextualised art*. Some, for example, refer to the recent rise of youth culture as a valuable possibility unfortunately neglected by local officials.[74]

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visual arts, the recent official turning towards regional specificities materialised in the CNCA's interdisciplinary seminar, *Arte, Postmodernidad y Región*, held over four Saturdays in July 2006; the objective being to provoke reflection on theoretical discourses on art in the regions and compare them to those developed in Santiago so as to identify possible links of exchange and collaboration. Such initiatives, bringing together emerging and established artists and researchers from around Chile, place peripheries in a position beyond subjugation, allowing them to enter into interaction with the centre on more equitable terms. They entail the essential recognition of difference and its potential. As always, however, the risk lies in creating spaces which merely pay lip service to a façade of inclusionism.

[74] The CNCA's local website is http://www.culturabiobio.cl/. Moreover, the *Arte Bío Bío* project (aka *Polo de Desarrollo de Arte Contemporáneo*) was initiated in 2003 in response to this overall problematic - an attempt to counter years of neglect of local contemporary arts. Its main objective has been to stimulate artistic development in the Eighth Region, generating space for projecting artists and encouraging audiences to engage with the art scene. The project opened to the community in March 2006 with the exhibition, *Entrecruces: Bío-Bío-Paraná*, a title referencing Concepción and the Argentinean city of Rosario and their commonalities. The exhibition involved fourteen young visual artists from the Eighth Region whose work, based on an investigation into local communities' collective imaginaries, was simultaneously exhibited in five galleries, revealing the profound distinctions between regional and Santiago art-making (Farías 2006).

They recall that the situation was different in the Eighties and early Nineties, when a good deal of cultural production in Concepción did manage to find a place in the official means of circulation. During these years, the City's two most important state universities, Concepción and Bío-Bío, played a vital role in supporting and facilitating the critical processes of collection and projection of culture, also promoted by the most prominent local newspaper, *El Sur*. Until the mid-Nineties, there was exchange between cultural producers, official intermediaries and the media in circulating cultural-artistic production in the community. A writer's voice explains further:

> The newspaper *El Sur* changed direction about eight or more years ago, after the arrival of "democracy" [*interviewee's inverted commas*]. *El Sur*'s cultural department was dismantled... it stopped having critics and replaced them. And I'd say the Universities did the same. They replaced regional cultural development. They replaced it with a museum criterion. Meaning what? That the University of Concepción functions with a cultural programme based on bringing in cultural shows from outside, big cultural shows from outside, and putting them on in museum terms. We put it up here; you see it; it goes away; another exhibition arrives. Another activity arrives. With big names. With interesting names, but the thing is that they don't have a relationship with local cultural managers. (*writer, first generation*)

An interesting interpretation of the overstated importance of imported cultural-artistic events argues that this is how official institutions attempt to avoid being superseded. There is a conviction in the official institutions that the promotion of cultural events which have succeeded with large audiences in standardised contexts will contribute to smoother cultural administration. The fear of youthful competition is identified by the artist cited below as one of the barriers to the City's intellectual resource developing to its fullest potential:

> ... I'd say it's to do with fear... And it's a really stupid fear but not an ingenuous one; they aren't interested in younger people arriving... So they're simply scared of renovation, exploration and diverse cultural sources which bring diversity, because they're frightened of losing their jobs... They bring things which have been tried and tested. They bring things which don't cause problems. But what happens to a city's cultural richness? (*writer, first generation*)

18.0 Pedagogy and the arts

¿Y quién puede creerse eso de que la escuela estatal es de una neutralidad consentidora, y que ella no busque hacer conciencias como la Ford sus autos en serie controlada, en hilera que ya va para fila…? Todo Estado busca clavarse en la mentalidad de su pueblo, adoctrinar a los futuros votantes de modo que lo perpetúen en el poder y entonces, arraigado como un manglar, despachando su dizque neutralidad, se ha de sacar la máscara de doncella y mostrará al ogro.
Gabriela Mistral

18.1 A Field of Possibilities

The artists interviewed tend to link art to pedagogy in one way or another: on shared philosophical grounds and/or within the processes involved in the teaching and learning of art. The art critic and curator Simon Sheikh's definitions of art and pedagogy are of interest here; they propose the notions of *communication* and *action* as underlying philosophical foundations for both fields. On the one hand, Sheikh asserts, art "is as often purely a place or even pretext for communication and action, as it is an end in itself" (Sheikh 2005), and this definition has ramifications for the *ethical* and the *political*. On the other, he describes pedagogy "as a highly political endeavor, as always already posited within political and ethical questions" (Ibid.).

The connections that artists draw between art and pedagogy may be usefully classified into the following three dimensions:

- *the positioning of the artist or pedagogue*
- *the potential of the artistic or learning space*
- *the positioning of the audience or learners.*

In reality, these dimensions function in interrelated form, blurring the discriminatory, exclusionary distinctions of either pertaining to the artistic domain or pertaining to the pedagogical domain. The sense of wholeness that the three dimensions maintain mean that there is always an artist facilitating an artistic experience or space to be inhabited by an audience; a basic articulation which is paralleled by the general dynamic that education's main actors (teachers and students) adopt in the teaching-learning process (see *3.2* for a detailed parallel).

The discourses of the artists interviewed, some inevitably more articulate than others, reveal an understanding of the interrelation of the dimensions stated above, a construction that artists themselves have made and which has not found correspondence with the officialised constructs that they have encountered in professional life. They claim that art in Chile is not usually seen or understood holistically and that formal education still encourages decontextualised operations, as opposed to understandings, which neither anchor art in a global socio-cultural scenario nor stir up reflection about its implications, relegating art to "add-on" status and losing its potential mobilising force.

Kincheloe and McLaren describe schools for critical educators as "venues of hope [*which*] could become sites of resistance and democratic possibility through concerted efforts among teachers and students to work within a liberatory pedagogical framework" (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994, p139). If *schools* are sites for action (which would appear to be the implication of Kincheloe and McLaren's definition) or for "liberating action for freedom" (looking back to Freire's terminology), and if *art* is also a place for action (Sheikh 2005), then an overlap between art and pedagogy should come as no surprise, an overlap which awaits conscientised artists to inhabit it and take on the role of critical pedagogues. In order for these possibilities to come to fruition *beyond* as well as through formal education, it would be necessary to expand our understanding of the pedagogical *and* aesthetic components of the making of culture (see *5.2*).

Many artists interviewed can see the possibilities of transformative action within educational institutions. For these possibilities to take place, however, a "flexibilisation" of the educational system is necessary so as to allow formation of the cooperative forms of interaction and exchange that artists require to develop more meaningful networks. They describe how, for instance, the spaces in the educational system for the study of and reflection on art could be enhanced and turned into a new possibility for artists to participate actively, raise their voices as human beings and thus feed into the educational system more contextualised and meaningful forms of interaction with and understanding of art production and producers. Some artists also assert that these participatory possibilities could be constructed at all levels of education (i.e. primary and secondary as well as further). Sheikh asserts that art is not merely the preserve of the

“art world” but part of the world itself, adding that:

> The field of art has become a field of possibilities, of exchange and comparative analysis. It has become a field for thinking, alternativity, and can, crucially, act as a cross field, an intermediary between different fields, modes of perception and thinking, as well as between very different positions and subjectivities. It thus has a very privileged, if tenable and slippery, and crucial position and potential in contemporary society.
> (Sheikh 2004a)

The “field of possibilities” of most artists’ understandings suggests, borrowing Sheikh’s useful terminology, art as “knowledge production” (a position which recontextualises art practices), instead of art as “formal production” (a position held by traditional institutions). While artists’ subjective notions of art can be placed in the first category (knowledge production), their perceptions about how the formal educational system operates can be placed in the latter: a “rigid” system which tends not to facilitate the conditions they require to position themselves as “cultural producers” capable of making meaningful, transformative interventions in the system. Instead, the system’s traditional curricular conceptions and formations have mechanised teacher performance, hindering the exploration of the arts’ humanising possibilities and preventing students from having a more integral education. An artist discusses his experience teaching in a State school thus:

> You can teach music, dance, song, theatre, everything. The child improves himself... sometimes it’s difficult with my colleagues. No? So, when I proposed this idea to them, they said to me, “Sure, you’re looking for more work”. So I said, “No. I don’t want them to hire me. I’m not looking for more work. I’m happy with the hours I already have, but I think it’s necessary to do this for the pupil’s integral thing...” … we know that a person who has knowledge of the arts is going to be better: a better housewife, a better construction worker, a better doctor, a better engineer. (*visual artist, first generation*)

A new understanding of the arts and their possibilities also implies a new understanding of artists’ roles. The traditional paradigm embedded in Chilean society’s conceptions of art has usually promoted a reductive vision of artists’ potential. The ways that artists have been configured or presented by official systems have an impact on how society at large engages with and makes meaning of the figure of the artist. There is a long official tradition that provides Chileans with the conditions to construct and socially mediate

symbolic representations and stereotypes about the art world which corresponded to the values and understandings underpinning the traditional paradigm. However, the new officialism stipulated in the recent cultural *institucionalidad* is based on a philosophical conceptualisation which responds to more contextualised needs (see *6.5.2*); a qualitative jump which requires time and effort before society can actually appropriate it. A change in society's perceptions takes its time and processes, so it is no real surprise that in the context of new cultural *institucionalidad* many artists interviewed make reference to a cultural-artistic scene which does not yet seem greatly transformed. For instance, of the formation of what the figure of the artist represents for Chilean society today, some artists interviewed make reference to two levels of social constructs; one which is built around the understanding (or, better still, misunderstanding) of artists' way of life, specifically the way that they relate to everyday life; the second construct is built around the way that society connects to the memory and legacy of deceased artists. These two constructs share a certain disconnection between artists and the real world, a dislocation which is present throughout the artist's trajectory and continues posthumously (whether into canonisation or oblivion). The way that Chilean society traditionally sees artists is associated with preconceptions which have clearly had a bearing on the spaces artists are usually afforded. New symbolic referents are therefore necessary for the transformation of the way Chilean society *sees* its artists, which can only come from new types of interaction between society and the artists themselves aimed at resignifying artists' relationships with the real world and the everyday, and reappropriating the pedagogical space. To take an example, an interviewee poet characterises the current state of poetry in Chile:

> … the status of the poet in Chile is very strange. On the one hand, they're seen as a sort of oracle, representatives of the culture, part of that tribe of subjects who've given the country prestige but, on the other hand, they're considered subjects totally detached from reality: lunatics, madmen, the illuminated with hysterical raptures and with behaviour which has nothing to do with normality. That generates distrust. People have that preconceived idea, that prejudice. (*writer, second generation*)

For artists of the past, it will be necessary to connect to their memory, recharging their work with new meanings which can reconnect meaningfully with the present and offer fresh perspectives on our realities. This is the way schools, for example, could reappropriate the pedagogical potential of artists' legacies, which have sadly lost real

significance. To illustrate this, the following voice refers to the dynamic, diverse cultural activities during the 2004 celebrations of the centenary of Neruda's birth:

> ... in Chile, artists in precise terms constitute a cultural product which turns into a fetish in the sense of - how can I put it? - of a thing to which content is attributed which it doesn't have, to which powers are attributed which it doesn't have. For example: Pablo Neruda. Now, when the question of Neruda came up, there were many very punctual events which lasted a week and finished. It finished here. It finished there, the Neruda question... What's the true relationship in Chilean education, for example, with these cultural icons which we sell once a year...? What happens in schools? (*writer, first generation*)

It is interesting to note that the majority of the artists interviewed have a "day job" which gives them a stable income that contributes to the funding of their relatively "unstable" artistic career. And here there is a clear generational divide: first-generation artists tend to work in schools as art teachers while second-generation artists tend to explore other employment alternatives which give them the flexibility to take advantage of the new possibilities generated by the market.

First-generation artists' descriptions of their work in schools offer valuable insights into contemporary State education and place in perspective the future design of innovative courses of action. These artists have developed an intuitive understanding of *situated learning and knowledge* through their wide experience of working with students (and particularly students from deprived backgrounds). They have developed their own critical understanding of art and how it interconnects with a broader context. It is through this understanding that they sustain their pedagogical praxis. They tend to be emphatic about making art and culture explicit in the curriculum in the form of cross-curricular values so as to permeate the whole curriculum because art and culture are both means and end, and they are vital for the contextualisation of the knowledge to be taught and learnt.

Moreover, the voice below refers to the motivations of first-generation artists for remaining in the state educational system for many years. This group's pedagogical work is still driven by the generous spirit of the "old Chile" which formed them. They share a conviction about their responsibility for developing human agency in their students, especially those from deprived sectors, and also show deep understanding of the role

that the arts play within this process: a “dry run” for social, civil construction and participation.

> ... I try to develop art and a taste for art in kids who have absolutely no knowledge about anything. They don’t even know their own city. So, it takes a lot suddenly to arrive with words you learnt at university and you have to teach this... and speak about international artists, speak about Miró and the kids have no idea... I tell you I’ve worked with them really well despite the fact that some of the kids are delinquents... when you return to school to be with them, they hug you and are affectionate with you. Receiving that affection is much more important for me than the money at the end of the month. And you managed to implant a seed of culture in the heads of some kids who didn’t possess *knowledge* of that intellectual thing... to develop the intellect of children without means is inspiring; the achievement that they understand art as one of the things that’s going to motivate them and help them improve themselves much more... (*visual artist, first generation*)

Indeed, the community artist Suzanne Lacy has discussed the notion of *service* as vital to engaged artistic production, referring to this type of formation as that which “alleviate[s] the concrete conditions of human affliction”. Despite the differences in contexts between the arts formations that Lacy refers to and that of the first-generation artists, there remains a common approach underlying artistic intentions. Making reference to Boal’s Legislative Theatre, Lacy goes on to argue that life can be made better for the oppressed and the underprivileged of the world through the arts (Lacy 2006).

18.2 The Legacy of the Military Regime in Chilean Education

> Prior to the military regime, Chilean teachers had traditionally been social agents in the community where they lived, with roles and responsibilities that went beyond the school’s walls.
> (Simon and Picazo Verdejo 2005, p23)

Artists’ perceptions about the state of Chilean education can be better understood through analysis of the transformations made to the Chilean educational system during military rule. Even in 2007, the importance of the Pinochet legacy cannot be underestimated. Moreover, in this regard, it is vital to comprehend certain achievements of the educational system prior to the anti-humanistic regressions of the Seventies and Eighties as well as the significance of national reconstruction in post-dictatorship.

An analysis of Chilean education before the coup leads us to Allende's predecessor, Eduardo Frei Montalva[75] (Christian Democrat President of Chile, 1964-1970). The Frei Montalva administration's "Revolution in Liberty" structural and social reform programme passed the Educational Reform of 1965, the first major shake-up in Chilean education since 1928, involving the implementation of progressive curricula and the "massification" of teacher training, giving teachers common pedagogical language and understanding to meet the demands of new curricula. The expansion of the educational system was another important achievement of Frei Montalva's administration, an expansion intended to open access to education for a greater number of primary and secondary-school students.[76] It was in this context of educational innovation that the Allende administration proposed the creation of the Escuela Nacional Unificada, which would function as:

> [...] a regular unified system tightly bound to the economic, social and cultural development of the country[...] in December 1971, the Popular Unity government proposed the creation of the National System of Education with three basic principles: permanent education, social education and planned education.
>
> (Soto Roa 2000, pp56-57, my translation)

The military intervention, however, prevented the implementation of the controversial Escuela Nacional Unificada project and instead transformed the educational system in its entirety. It modified the curricula, as part of a process that has been referred to as a "cleansing"; this consisted of removing from the curricula all contents that the military regime considered threatening to the principles and values it wished to install (Id. at 57, 89 and 180-183). The 1981 reforms supported educational expansion, decentralisation, privatisation and diversification, introducing university tuition fees and a university loan system to increase competition between universities and privilege careers such as

[75] Disturbingly, though Frei Montalva was a centrist and opposed to the extreme Left, controversy still rages as to whether the Pinochet regime had a hand in his death in 1982.

[76] However, the educational historian Samuel Vial (quoted in Vidal *year unknown*) has asserted that this quantitative leap had important implications for the quality of education. At the time, Chile did not have the requisite human resources to "massify" its education, as there were too few qualified teachers. Vial also refutes the widespread belief that Chile offered higher-quality state education in the past - according to Vial, it simply *had* to be of better quality, considering its exclusivity (as only a small sector of the population had practical access to education, it was easier to administer) and that, in the context of mass coverage, the parameters of comparison change beyond recognition, thus making direct comparison pointless.

medicine, law and engineering. Predictably, the regime's supporters point to the fact that Chile is today more competitive, that more people get more education, that there is less illiteracy and that participation in higher education has increased dramatically since the early Eighties (7% in 1981 to 30% in 1998); its opponents insist that the system remains exclusionary and that its profit-driven aspects lead to social discontent, technocracy and dearth of critical thinking. The regime passed decrees for a new curriculum: Decree 4002 for primary education (1980) and Decree 300 for secondary education (1981).

The Pinochet regime also implemented a series of measures which modified the administration of the Ministry of Education. The State's subsidiary role (based on a Friedmanesque system of school subsidy) implied that it drove "the initiative of private organisations so that they would intervene directly and progressively in educational management, beneath the orientation and with the support of the Ministry's technical subdivisions" (Soto Roa 2000, p181, my translation). Furthermore, they used "legal instruments and market incentives to stimulate the creation and the growth of private schools with state funding" (Cox 2003, p19, my translation). The Pinochet regime's decentralisation of the Ministry of Education also impacted on the "important increase in the (paid and subsidised) private sector of national education and consequent decline in enrolment in State/municipal schools" (Soto Roa 2000, p182, my translation).

According to Cox, the undervaluing of teachers' work to which artists refer in interview finds its roots in the 1980-1981 legislation which severely reduced educational depth at university: "[t]he legislation, together with the symbolic effect of undervaluing of teachers' role on the part of the State, and the loss of university *status* of their initial training, had an immediate impact on the number of enrolments in teaching courses. Between 1983 and 1990, enrolment fell by 45% in the traditional universities" (Cox 2003, p28, my translation). He goes on to assert that, "[t]he university *status* of the teaching degree was re-established later by the Organic Constitutional Education Law [*LOCE*] of March 1990" (Id. at 28-29)[77] and that, "[d]egrees in education, however, did not succeed in filling their

[77] "On 10th March 1990, the military government's last day in office, legislation (Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación, LOCE) was passed, which made any future amendments to the education reforms of 1980 and 1981 subject to an unattainable quorum in the parliament. Since then, education policy demonstrates more evidence of continuity than change as policy-makers are largely constrained by the legislative framework inherited from the previous regime and the market-oriented policies supported by international lenders. [...] The neoliberal reforms of 1980 and 1981 introduced the New Public Management model into the education system and this

vacancies until the mid-Nineties; and the scores that the last accepted students obtained in university admission tests began to rise in a meaningful way recently in 1997" (Id. at 29).[78] One recent examination of Chilean higher education policy since 1990 concludes that "[t]he lengthy reforms implemented by the Chilean government and financially supported by the Bank have failed to significantly alter the gap between public and private provision in terms of resources and quality" and that "[a]t the heart of this is the ambivalence of the state as it veers between policy interventions to promote social justice and the perpetuation of a market-oriented system that fosters competition and militates against a more equitable distribution of education opportunity for all" (Matear 2006).

This brief historical account helps make sense of artists' articulations and perceptions of how the Chilean educational system as a whole is working at present and the vicious circle inherent within it. (Here I am referring to deficiencies which affect interconnected variables in multiple ways at several levels within the system and thus reproduce these deficiencies.) In the first instance, artists assert that university faculties of education have generally welcomed students who obtain low marks in their admissions tests. They recognise that this is a sad but unavoidable consequence of the low reputation that educational institutions have gained in the last 25 years and that they have simply had to manage with the quality of student population they have attracted - a situation which, ironically enough, appears to be changing with the student uprisings of 2006 (Fernández et al 2007). Educational institutions have thus become an easy point of access to the world of professionalism for many poorly qualified students who have been driven by new competitive social pressures to obtain professional qualifications.

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became institutionalized through the legal framework for education policy[...] in 1990" (Matear 2006).

[78] The student protests of April-June 2006 - the so-called *Revolución de los Pingüinos* - have demonstrated renewed popular mobilisation and political participation in the face of the perceived arrogance and complacency of Chilean politicians (also seen at the anti-APEC, anti-Bush and anti-neoliberalism, "alter-globalisation" Chilean Social Forum meetings and marches of November 2004 and November 2006). In addition to LOCE, the key bones of contention have been how to improve the quality of Chilean education and how to reform the role of the State and local government in education. The makeup of Bachelet's Presidential Advisory Council for Quality of Education (http://www.consejoeducacion.cl/), created in 2006, has also reflected the deep splits between the Social Bloc for Education (http://www.bloquesocial.cl/), technocrats with a mercantilist view of education and maverick figures such as José Joaquín Brunner (Brunner 2006).

In the second instance, artists discuss the quality of the training that universities offer to future teachers, saying they have not responded adequately to the country's real needs. The artists recognise teachers' responsibility for the level of education that students receive, but at the same time comprehend that the deficiencies produced at this level are also the natural consequence of serious flaws inherent in the system itself (see Matear 2006).

> ... what's happening with our teacher training schools? They're training many of them because they don't get points to enter other careers. They're paying teachers very low salaries. What happens with the kids? Why in Chile is everyone destined to be a university student?... And what do we do with so many university-trained people? As university training isn't useful for a whole heap of things. (*writer, first generation*)

Some artists, reflecting on Chilean education, express a concern with young people's attitudes to learning about their country and its history. There is a broad perception that most young people at the outset of the Twenty-first Century appear not to have developed an interest in investigating their historical roots and immediate contexts; that the artists' students lack the minimum knowledge required in order to evaluate and relate meaningfully to their surrounding context. The artist quoted below reflects on students' apparent indifference to their realities and on the general need for the construction of a sense of responsibility to permeate the educational system:

> ... students whose ignorance is frightening. I work with university people and it really catches my attention how ignorant they are, how little they read, how little they ask, above all their indifference... what I can't forgive is that students at private universities, for example, don't know Santiago, don't know the city centre... I don't know how far back to go and blame the training of their teachers. In the end, I believe there's still a lot to be done with the students. I think a lot of *responsibility* is missing. (*visual artist, first generation*)

Many first-generation artists, spontaneously speaking about problems with Chilean students' outlooks, tend to connect and make explicit a link between the "indifference" of young people and the atmosphere the military regime imposed in schools. These artists recognise that the social control achieved through the imposition of fear, naturally enough, affected the ways in which inter-human relations developed. The regime installed a "modernising" approach and, along with it, a new set of values which have

given Chilean schools a profile not far from that of schools in other globalised societies (as North American critics such as John Taylor Gatto, Michael Apple and Henry Giroux attest).

Artist interviewees identify a correlation between the learning environments that children were immersed in at school during the military regime and the ways in which those same students today operate as young adults: fear helped to erase the symbolic connectors or keys of the past, so to speak, so many young people today inevitably lack the referents to reconnect to the historicity of society and are therefore unable to view and interpret everyday life the way older people expect or want.[79]

> ... I work at an English school - I see a lot of competition there, or rather competition is rewarded there, something which was never noticeable in the past... It's like everything the military coup produced. That's what made people become like this. Because you didn't know if you could speak to the person standing next to you because he could be from the other faction! A distrust, a fear. So I think that must also have been transmitted to the children, but what was also inculcated during the dictatorship was this competitiveness: sports before art; art went to hell; a sinister cultural blackout. And it's very difficult to escape, to overcome that. I think it takes many years. Well, a long time, anyway. More than years, probably. Because, besides, there are many people who feel very comfortable because they don't know what came before. In other words, those very same young people. (*visual artist, first generation*)

Returning to the notion of *responsibility* that many artists raise, one can argue that, in a truly participatory system, each member of society is a protagonist and therefore everyone inevitably assumes some degree of responsibility for him/herself and for others - the personal and the collective being contained within one another. When people care

[79] Considering that school curricula under the military regime were de-historicised and deprived of civil formation content, at least two generations were compelled to conform to a "pre-edited" reality which generated significant referential gaps that many Chileans, myself included, are still trying to reconcile. Interestingly, several Chilean documentary filmmakers have made efforts to reencounter Chile's recent past. Patricio Guzmán's *Chile, la memoria obstinada* (1997) addresses how secondary school and university students respond to a showing of his celebrated *La batalla de Chile* (1975-1979) and also features an enlightening interview with painter José Balmes; Guzmán's film projects are one example of a possibility for revisiting the past dialogically, a healthy and vital exercise for the understanding that societies should strive for. In their video *El astuto mono Pinochet contra la Moneda de los cerdos* (2004), Iván Osnovikoff and Bettina Perut perform a similar task, encouraging schoolchildren to express their understanding of the military coup through ludic recreation, interpretation and evaluation of history. In terms of postdictatorial narrative cinema, *Machuca* (2004) and its superior Argentinean predecessor *La historia oficial* (1985) both feature schoolchildren trying to engage actively with living history.

about themselves and assume the consequences of their actions, they are consequently caring for others because responsible decisions are always made in conjunction with others' wellbeing. In these terms, the notion of responsibility involves the underlying issues of *consciousness* (an awareness of the world) and *intention* (a predisposition to act in a conscious way). This ethical understanding of responsibility, both its subjective and collective dimensions, may thus be a possibility for developing this intention towards immediate realities and the world that artists feel is needed today in a context they claim is characterised by apathy and disingenuousness.

It is difficult for Chilean society to disassemble old beliefs and ways of seeing in a context which is to a significant extent still sustained on the Pinochet legacy (the recently partially reformed 1980 Constitution being the most emblematic example of this). Seventeen years have passed since redemocratisation began in Chile. Bachelet stated in April 2006 that the period of transition is at an end (though she admitted that reform of the electoral process, recognition of indigenous identities, greater decentralisation and educational reform of LOCE are still pending tasks), thus pointing to common horizons and reconciled pasts. However, Garretón criticises the Concertación governments for not having a proposal for the move from a post-Pinochet epoch to a democratic epoch (Meneses 2006) and exiled novelist Luis Sepúlveda has argued that Chile's transition will only really begin when its interests cease to be determined by market forces (Sepúlveda 2005). Raúl Ruiz has ironically compared recent Chilean history to Proust's writings, adding that Chile will *always* be in a state of transition because of the pace at which the Concertación "does" democratic reconstruction (Cerpa Orellana 2005). There is a gulf between officialism and civil society's self-perceptions; the time and space occupied by the former has not necessarily coincided with the latter; only when the two meet will we be able to talk about common horizons which will emerge from within the sovereignty of Chilean society itself. The past is living within the present, its unresolved issues living within us, reminding us of this ongoing process.

18.3 Chilean Art-School Tradition and General Modern-day Repercussions

The first Chilean art school, the University of Chile's Academia de Pintura, was founded by the State in 1849. The intention here was to establish a Santiago-based aesthetic model which corresponded to traditional, Eurocentric values which the country's

oligarchy identified with and wished to foster and preserve.[80] Everyday referents which could have fed into a construction of a contextualised aesthetic model instead were clearly excluded from this official agenda and the model planted its roots deep in Chile's arts institutions which remain in some measure to this day.

One of the artists interviewed, who is also an academic and researcher, when asked for her view of art education in modern-day Chile, answers with a reflection about the intentions behind the original Academia de Pintura's epistemological and philosophical foundations, using historical review as a frame of reference with which to situate and contextualise her analysis. This historical account is another reminder, as in previous sections of this thesis, that people's perceptions of reality come from personal experience, constructed in interaction with others and based on society's accumulated past experiences; that decisions made in the past have set the grounds for certain courses of action whose consequences constitute what a society and its peoples make of themselves; and that in order to understand and make profound meaning of the present with a more reflective projection into the future, past events must be traced and mapped out.

> The Chilean oligarchy decided to establish the art school in the University of Chile. It wasn't like a group of artists said, "Let's put an art school together". It was established by the State, which was definitely endorsing the oligarchy... the first three directors were shipped in and imposed by the government. The government brought them in because there was an oligarchy which wanted to define Chile's aesthetic model and that model still persists in official culture and in everything which is, in the end, the institutionalised teaching of art... first they brought in as director a guy who implemented a teaching system from the School of David in France and that's a really academicist model because the School of David is a school with Napoleon as its aesthetic referent... what Napoleon also did was impose an aesthetic system which was itself a copy of the Neoclassical model - "French classicism". And that was imposed in Chile at a time when Impressionism was starting to emerge in Europe. So when you look at

[80] Indeed, following on from the Italians Alejandro Cicarelli and Juan Mochi and the Bavarian Ernesto Kirchbach, the school's first Chilean-born directors were Cosme San Martín from 1886 and, from 1892, Pedro Lira, the painter who had founded the arts guild Unión Artística in 1885. This preponderance of academic, neoclassical landscapes and historical and religious themes and portraits was preceded by large-scale exhibitions in the 1870s organised by Santiago's mayor, Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, and the founding of the Museo Nacional de Pintura in 1880, an "alliance" between an elite of artists, collectors and critics and a government keen for Chile to emerge as a racially superior nation on the international stage but with little interest in increasing access to the arts for the poor (Schell 2000).

> what the artists did at the art school - the first two or three generations - you see really closed, really academic drawing... their themes came from Greek mythology. Or rather, they didn't work on anything which had to do with national themes... these were themes which didn't address anything everyday, they were tremendously abstract and referred to another world... the Generación del 13[81] totally overturned this and was the first generation to represent itself... they started a revolution in the art school. (*visual artist, second generation*)

The elitist, Eurocentric tradition which has characterised the training given by art schools in Chile, a reflection of Chile's postcolonial condition and its current relation to dominant cultures, becomes a general referent for understanding the overall development of these schools' histories and the impact they have had on generations of artists and art teachers, inevitably contributing to the displacement of people's capacity to give meaning to, rethink and re-imagine their everyday lives. Indeed, Richard argues that the model imposed in art schools obeys the dominant class' need to reproduce its culture and therefore maintain the process of cultural dependency:

> From the beginning, Chilean art was governed by the international standards of the Academy, which not only taught the various styles of painting but also pervaded the *ideals of social representation* in European art. Since that time the history of Chilean art has been constructed as a European double or copy, through a series of expropriations of the national or popular ideals by the upper classes in order to reflect their own identity, in order to enhance their image by appealing to international tastes.
> (Richard 1986, p85)

Some interviewees point out the direct relationship between art schools and primary and secondary schools, referring to the training that many art schools have provided their art teacher students with as highly traditional. This suggests a general impression that art schools tend not to generate conditions for future art teachers to develop abilities and knowledge to meet the new challenges that the Twenty-first Century is posing for primary and secondary education. This leads us to a dystopian vision of cultural reproduction and stasis where art teachers pass on to their students the traditionalist outlook on art that they themselves appropriated during their time at art school:

> ... that has permeated because the art school currently continues training pupils the same way. Nothing's changed. And in the educational system

[81] The name given to an artists' collective which became well-known in Chile between 1910 and 1915.

> and in the schools, art is also still being taught like this... when I meet my art students, the first thing I ask them is, "How was your art teacher at school?" So they say, "Look, he was good because he taught me to draw". "No, in reality he was bad because he never taught me to draw". So you ask them what it means to draw well and to draw well for them is that an apple looks like an apple. Those are the representations they have about what a good art teacher is. (*visual artist, second generation*)

A conservative approach to teaching art may omit more abstract aspects related to the understanding of profounder dimensions of human experience, thus neglecting a chance to expand students' cognitive fields through their exposure to new experiences and opportunities for intervention. This prevalence of "conservatism and repetition" (Richard 1986, p101) in turn may well have had implications for students' cognitive development, materialising itself in how the Chilean population as a whole has understood and related to the arts. Milan Ivelic, director of the National Museum of Fine Arts (MNBA) since 1993, has recently reflected on the educational system's responsibility for the levels of abstract thinking in artistic appreciation cultivated in Chilean society:

> […] I still feel that the Chilean public is extremely conservative and continues to believe that art is a duplication of the real, or the representation of the real. So, when you show an artwork where what's there is completely recognisable, it accepts and applauds it, but if you show it an artwork where what's there isn't recognisable, it immediately rejects it. It's a very curious phenomenon because, after all, exactly what Twentieth Century art has done is struggle against the idea that art is just the representation of the real. It isn't about that, but about showing that there are other options for the gaze which can be just as if not more interesting, just as if not more important than this. But, in our country, when people see artwork where the reality has disappeared, they ignore it and that's an issue which is also related to educative processes.
>
> (Ivelic in Farías 2005, my translation)

Another dimension of art schools' legacy concerns the contextualisation of art practices and their relationships with everyday life. The decontextualised curricular model which gave shape to art teachers' training is now being put into practice at schools by art teachers themselves. Many forms of art production circulate in student environments, offering valuable creative potential and pluralistic contents which have not fed back into schools to enhance existing curricular contents. It is difficult for art teachers to overcome preconceptions about what "qualifies" as art in the school context, where insufficient space has been facilitated for them to reflect on aesthetic understandings. Marginal

cultural formations may be seen as intellectual resources which offer valuable critical perspectives on society, constructed by social protagonists and unveiling alternative coexisting possibilities (see *6.5.1* and *17.2.2*).

> There are many graffitists and people like that, which is a new phenomenon, and a lot of art action. That doesn't arrive at the school. It isn't *discussed* by teachers, by art teachers. What they teach students is an aesthetic standard. It's a way of learning art which... doesn't have anything to do with what's really happening. (*visual artist, second generation*)

In a democratic context, the plurality of realities which constitutes the country's wholeness must have equal access to visibility and participation. Schools, as democratic sites, must guarantee each student access to a plurality of meaningful experiences which can enable him or her to connect both to the sensible and to the pragmatic world in such ways that he or she can use their contents creatively in order to propose new humanising possibilities. It is in schools then, that a cultural diversity should be mirrored by the exchange of understandings and exploration of fairer, more egalitarian forms of connectivity. The responsibility of art schools for the development of critical citizenship seems even greater for Sheikh who, recognising "the democratic potentials of the art space", refers to "the art institution as the place for democracy" (Sheikh 2004a).

> ... what you should learn at school isn't to draw academically. That was what I went through at art school. I had to spend five hours a day drawing, academic drawing... For some people, it can be very important but for others no, but you lose all the richness of that which has to do with freshness... (*visual artist, second generation*)

Thus it would seem that there is a need to situate the training provided at art schools *within society* in order to enable students to engage organically and critically with the processes of making meanings and facilitating understandings of everyday human interrelations. Several artists claim that, without this critical, ethical repositioning or anchoring, art schools in Chile cannot build their own long-term foundations for transformative action and will become yet more vulnerable to market forces.

> ... the curricula aren't innocent. So, art schools are leaving out everything which has to do with reflection, art history, how you situate yourself, how to make contexts. They leave it out, so the students start to paint any old

> thing that looks pretty, so that it's saleable. (*visual artist, second generation*)

18.4 Art Teachers and the Challenges of the Educational Reform [82]

Curricular reform since the Nineties has entailed a gradual process of installation, initiating the implementation of the new curricula for the arts in 1999 and finishing in 2002 with the curricula for the last forms of primary and secondary schools.[83]

The new arts curricula signify a general qualitative advance in the traditions of Chilean art education. It is by far the most ambitious and complete curriculum implemented by the Ministry of Education and embraces key notions such as: *aesthetic education*, which situates primary and secondary school students as subjective actors who connect to their surrounding environment through multisensory perceptions which provide them with requisite contents for identity construction; *cognitive dimensions* relating to the development of critical thinking and reflection through the arts; *aesthetic experience* set in cultural formations which recognises the multiple dimensions (i.e. social, political, anthropological and so on) which give them a sense of wholeness; *artistic appreciation*, which has to do with the understanding, valuing and enjoyment of the arts; and *aesthetic alphabetisation* which implies entry to the world of sensibility and the ability to connect with and "read" artistic expression.

The multidimensional, interdisciplinary nature of the notions contained in the new curricula for the arts positions them far from the long-term tradition of training centred on doing and moves to a more reflective, critical ground which intends to respond to the needs of Chile in the age of globalisation.

> In Decree 300 [*for secondary education*], which Pinochet imposed, what had been called "Drawing" came to be called "Fine Arts"... But again the orientation is aimed at making a link with what the manual arts are. *Always*

[82] This section will centre on State institutions, where the profoundest problems of cultural deprivation reside.

[83] The first step taken to guide curricular elaboration was the formulation of a series of contents and objectives for each subject, outlined in Decree 220 (1998). Providing all schools (i.e. private, private/subsidised and state) with this shared official foundation (a more egalitarian principle guaranteeing all schools' aims), they were offered the alternative either to construct their own curricula upon it or to implement the Ministry of Education's curricula, most schools opting for the latter (Errázuriz 2006).

> *this thing about handicraft. Never reflection.* Always handicraft. (*visual artist, second generation*)

Luis Hernán Errázuriz, who coordinated the design of the compulsory Visual Arts programmes for primary and secondary education implemented piecemeal in the years 1996-2002, has recently pointed out that, "[t]he beginning of this educational reform, its influence on teachers' practice, on the processes of teaching and learning and, in the last instance, on the very conceptions of art in school culture, have still not been evaluated sufficiently" (Errázuriz 2006, my translation). However, Errázuriz goes on to add that the figures collected by the Ministry of Education thus far show that art teachers are "gradually adapting to the new programmes" (Ibid.). As well as the expansion of fine or plastic arts to embrace all the visual arts, the new programmes have for the first time introduced aesthetic education with a socio-cultural component into Chilean primary and secondary education.[84]

It is noteworthy that several artists distinguish two underlying categories as regards the appropriation of the new curricula: one that pertains to teachers' competence, a notion which makes explicit the distance between the skills and knowledge art teachers developed during teacher training and the skills and knowledge that the Reform demands they possess; and a second dimension to do with the conditions that schools need to generate in order to facilitate the implementation of the Reform.

> … the current Reform managed a leap forward and installed "Visual Arts"... there are some advances. For example, in the Plans and Programmes, it asks for something about aesthetic reflection, it makes it explicit that it looks at art history. But it's the way in which this is made explicit. Or rather, first off, the teachers haven't been trained to teach art history. They haven't been trained in semiotics... their training has been tremendously technical. Also, the art school continues to be tremendously technical. How can you ask them to teach that? (*visual artist, second generation*)

Most artists recognise, in theory at least, the general advances that the new curricula entail but express concern about these curricula's practicability in schools. They identify

[84] Errázuriz (1995 and 1998) has previously provided critical historical summaries of art education in Chile, detailing several watersheds: the first Chilean art school (1849), line drawing in schools (1860), art history in secondary schools (1912), modelling in primary schools (1928), a mid-century broadening of art activities in schools accompanied by a nominal switch from Drawing to Fine Arts (1949) and finally a regression from compulsory status to optional for the last two years of secondary education (1967) and the last two years of primary education (1980).

common needs and challenges that schools have to address before successful curricular implementation can take place. For example, schools must create institutional spaces for reflection and debate about the exigencies of the Reform, upon which to sustain the changes that teachers need to envision and execute more meaningful and contextualised courses of action. Several interviewee artists agree that the support offered by the Ministry of Education (teaching materials and training, for example) is useful but that this support needs to be contextualised in a "culture of change" generated by the schools themselves. Spaces for discussion, then, should operate as reflective bases whence art teachers (and all other members of the educational community willing to collaborate) can articulate and communicate their critical constructions, situated in the needs of their schools' particularities, and thus accomplish the goals they have set.

Despite each school's uniqueness, there are more encompassing categories which provide insights into the overall scenario that the implementation of the Reform is functioning in today. State schools, with the highest student population in Chile, are disadvantaged at present, a situation which has tended to slow their processes of renovation; in particular, State schools have been hit hard by the administrative, managerial and financial measures stipulated in LOCE (see *18.2*), both qualitatively and quantitatively. It is perhaps no surprise that, in a competition-driven model, private and semi-private schools will attract greater private sector investment and leave State schools as the least attractive type of educational institution, making it difficult for them to renovate human resources and infrastructure.

> ... I'm working with twenty art teachers and they're teachers who are in the system, people 55 years old and who have to start re-establishing themselves. All this has been very hard on them because, from saying to the kid what he's doing is worthless when he does graffiti, that he's a delinquent because he comes to deface the street, to starting to make a *reflection* that art can be a *shared space* for everyone and that they're *culturally shared languages*... We say terrible things to ourselves but we've achieved, in the last few years, something with them. At least there's a *discussion*. (*visual artist, second generation*)

This experience exemplifies the transformative potential of spaces for discussion and reflection when occupied by seemingly conflicting subjectivities which share a will for mutual understanding. The problematic above transcends the issue of age, however, and is positioned instead around the creation of the conditions that people need to

develop a reflective, critical predisposition which can give them autonomy to identify and solve problems more effectively. It would seem a significant possibility for the improvement of State school performance; an efficient way to make the best of schools' existing resources.

Another important structural deficiency raised in the interviews, which comes into conflict with the objectives set by the Reform for the arts, has to do with the shortage of art teachers in primary education. Teacher specialisation (for Maths, English, Arts and so on) is only required for secondary education in Chile; in primary schools, the same teacher is usually in charge of teaching all subjects (though private schools tend to hire specialised secondary schoolteachers to assist the lead teacher). The lack of specialisation in primary education has come in for criticism and is an important issue of debate among Chilean researchers (Ávalos and Castro 2003, pp80-83).[85] The artist and teacher cited below describes a familiar situation which provides insight into the status of art education in many Chilean State primary schools:

> ... suddenly a colleague from Art - or a branch of *Artística*, it's called - is absent, and they sometimes even just send a janitor. Or they send another teacher, from Maths, for example... besides, we're always requesting that in primary schools there normally be a specialist; or rather an artist... and it's easier to teach pedagogy to an artist than art to a pedagogue. (*visual artist, first generation*)

One national newspaper published teachers' claims that art education is playing a decorative, optional and unevaluated role in schools - an entertaining craft taught by untrained teachers which still required a sea change in attitude and greater investment by the government (Castro 2007). Conversely, artists' personal understandings of art unveil the problem of knowledge fragmentation within the arts, a problem which is clearly identified by the self-taught artists interviewed. Their learning derives from spontaneous encounters with everyday life; their experience of its processes and consequently their grasp of the natural logics behind them provide these artists with a more integrative disposition to the arts. This "integrative disposition" seems to be a key issue in the main objectives of the Reform for the arts, especially those objectives referring to *aesthetic sensibility* and *aesthetic experience* which centre on multisensory perception rather than

[85] In 2007, as part of its drive towards quality in education, the Ministry of Education initiated a programme to offer these teachers specialisation.

on the one-dimensional experience encouraged by more discipline-driven approaches. In this sense, one might argue that the nature of fragmentation in the arts is an issue which the Reform needs to look at in greater depth.

Fragmentation could find its origins in the *philosophical conception of knowledge* crystallised through *language*, containing specific *values and intentions*. Language provides concepts and taxonomies that allow us to convey meanings which correspond to the values and intentions which frame philosophical conceptions, consequently shaping the understandings we develop about our realities and our predisposition to intervening in them. Thus, compartmentalised understanding can be said to encourage compartmentalised actions.

With these levels of fragmentation as reference, the lack of an explicit foundation for the integration of the arts or for interdisciplinarity in educational establishments is less surprising. Artists whose personal trajectories have given them holistic experience of the arts have had to invent their own means to construct an integrative space upon which to facilitate more contextualised learning processes. Interdisciplinarity is related to multisensoriality and to the development of a sensibility towards the world. The more that people's senses are sharpened in an integrative way, the more understanding they will gain of the world's multidimensionality, thus enabling them to intervene within it in fairer ways.

> ... I'm for *interchange*, but I haven't really found it... little work's been done with painting and poetry, for example... in the circles of painters I move in, there isn't much interest in the other arts. They're very much into their own world, into their little space. But I haven't moved in younger circles. I don't know how it is there. There's probably more interchange... there could be communication between the group of painters and the group of writers but there isn't... the arts should all be one but they're not. Or rather, art is art, right? You go, I don't know, to whatever it is because it moves you but I don't know if the other painters don't go because they don't like it or because they're very into their own thing... (*visual artist, first generation*)

The interviews strongly suggest that there is an urgent need to renew how the arts are taught and learnt and that transcending the traditional paradigm and opening spaces for an integrative disposition to the arts are key challenges for modern-day arts institutions. This is, of course, clearly not merely a challenge for Chile or Latin America:

> […] we should also discuss new models of art educational facilities, both in terms of architecture, structure and curriculae. It is clear that the interdisciplinary must necessarily stand in opposition to a traditional division of art practices into particular genres or indeed disciplines, such as "painting" or the no longer so new "new medias", to name but a few. In order to address the situation that contemporary young artists, or cultural producers, face, we cannot rest on the pillars of tradition, neither within institutions, art production or methods of teaching.
>
> (Sheikh 2005)

19.0 A snapshot of *Belongings in Chile*

The group of artists resident in Chile reflects on the current Chilean cultural-artistic scene through a discourse which involves a subjective and collective trajectory of reinvention with its roots in the specific socio-historical context which formed them. The first-generation artists grew up in predictatorial Chile and experienced the military regime as a traumatic historical rupture, while the second generation lived its formative years under the military regime, adopting its referential dynamic. Some artists of the first generation remained in the country during the Pinochet years, having to redefine themselves and their work and develop mechanisms to survive the repressive regime. Others went into exile, experiencing re-adaptation and resistance abroad. This latter group eventually reencountered a different Chile which lacked the spaces needed for the fluent communication and exchange they had experienced in exile, a situation which has had major implications for the way they live in their own country today.

The discourses of the first and second generations differ in terms of the specific historical moment which framed them - generating specific models of coexistence, sometimes opening space for irreconcilable language games. However, both generations reflect that artists' positioning as "cultural producers" has unavoidable implications for arts and education as the potential source of a more democratic society where it is possible to increase the proximity between "two Chiles": one which tries to reconstitute the fractured Popular Unity project in the present and another which, driven by the impulse to modernise, chooses to forget or negate past traumas. Educational institutions are regarded as sites for plurality where social actors can see and understand one another better and also learn from one another in a communal effort to push the whole of society towards thought and human development. The art/pedagogy interrelation becomes a

potent location for hope and resistance where future generations can experience the construction of intercultural societies *in* a context of interculturality.

Part III

FINAL REFLECTIONS

CHAPTER SIX: (DIS)ARTICULATIONS OF MEMORY AND THE AUDIOVISUAL

When analysing the cultural formations (understood as the praxis which gives shape to a society), an internal dynamic reveals its inherently political nature. Lechner asserts that the political dimension of the social does not pertain to the political system in the traditional sense either as *cultura política* (opinions, attitudes and preferences relating to politics) or as *política cultural* (public policies on "high art" and the culture industry). Rather, Lechner defines the political dimension of the social as the subjective experience of We and our ability to organise the ways in which we wish to coexist:

> […] it is not possible to sustain a unique principle which encompasses social life in its totality. People today are obliged to reformulate what it means to live together under the new conditions. And it becomes part of the political to define the "common sense" which integrates the plurality of interests and opinions.
>
> (Lechner 2002b, my translation)

This understanding of the social requires each of us to have the power to act on subjective as well as collective grounds; if our cultural formations materialise the subjective experience of We and our capacities for organising the ways in which we want to coexist, cultural formations constitute a field for democratic possibilities.[86] Jacques Rancière also identifies a political dimension in the constitution of the social which he associates with aesthetics - "a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience" (Rancière 2004, p13). For Rancière, aesthetics involve what he calls "the distribution of the sensible", which links modes of perception to the ability to participate in what is common to the community, making "sense perception" the potential site for both domination and emancipation:[87]

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[86] Moreover, Richard distinguishes between *arte ideológico* and *arte politico*, arguing that the former is "that which establishes an illustrative relationship with some dogma" while the latter "proposes a reflection upon the very language of art"; she recognises that "one cannot fall into the revolutionary romanticism of the vanguards - which dreamt of transforming society by means of art" but that art can be an agent of subjective transformation "to the extent that it is able to crack, at the level of the visible, the hegemony of the shared space and of common sense" (Cáceres 2004, my translation).

[87] Rancière articulates and frames social, political and aesthetical as: "police" (maintaining social order), "politics" (that which is not tied to a determined historical project and whose essence is acts of subjectivisation) and "political" (a space in between in which equality undoes "the supposedly natural order of the sensible" and the arts become "the implementation of a certain

> The arts only ever lend to projects of domination or emancipation what they are able to lend to them, that is to say, quite simply, what they have in common with them: bodily positions and movements, functions of speech, the parcelling out of the visible and the invisible. Furthermore, the autonomy they can enjoy or the subversion they can claim credit for rest on the same foundation.
>
> (Id. at 19)

In an effort to reposition the arts as cultural formations and make transparent their political, aesthetic and historical articulations, Said unveils the imperialist dimensions underlying artworks produced in imperialist cultures which, through "overseas rule" (Said 1994, p.xxv), have installed a continuing and projected type of imperialism which is still ingrained and reproduced in many postcolonial societies. He asserts that an oppressive society's aesthetic and philosophical constructs are inevitably impregnated by its values and that artists play an important role in this colonial expansion, transmitting oppressive narratives (like that of the inferior race, for example) which academia reinforces when it dissects its analysis and critique of artworks from culture. Garoian asserts that "art preserves as much as it disturbs" (Garoian 1999b, p139). Sheikh claims that "the cultural field has traditionally been seen as ideally autonomous from the political sphere" and that this has "led to a de-politicization of cultural production and the configuration of the art world as an elitist, exclusive club" (Sheikh 2004b). At the same time, Slavoj Žižek claims that depoliticisation is the "aim of antidemocratic politics" and that "politics and democracy are synonymous" (Rancière 2004, p70). Framed within the neoliberal economic model, which has become a "cultural project" in the sense that "it proposes an intentional change in how people practice and represent their coexistence" (Lechner 2002b, my translation), the fragmentation between culture and politics continues to be exacerbated, narrowing the fields for democratic possibilities.

Also striving to understand cultural formations and make their democratising possibilities visible, "Birmingham School"-founders Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams introduce critical pedagogy as a possibility for radical cultural theory formation. According to McLaren's collaborator Henry Giroux, critical pedagogy:

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equality") (Rancière 2004, pp52-53 and 86).

> […] is not reduced to the mastering of skills or techniques, but is defined as a cultural practice that must be accountable ethically and politically for the stories it produces, the claims it makes on social memories, and the images of the future it deems legitimate. As both an object of critique and a method of cultural production, it refuses to hide behind claims of objectivity, and works effortlessly to link theory and practice to enabling the possibilities for human agency in a world of diminishing returns.
> (Giroux 1994)

Pedagogy is directly involved in the production and circulation of knowledge and the power relations it generates. One of critical pedagogy's main concerns is to facilitate fairer power distribution which can enable everyone to *act* and thus pave the way towards social change. However, access to knowledge for each member of society does not guarantee social transformation on its own. Today more than ever, we must challenge traditional forms of knowing and knowledge in order to widen horizons and offer space to those alternative epistemological formations and *aproximaciones* which dominant sectors, as a means to protect their own interests, will naturally seek to silence and marginalise. The constitution of an empowering and more equitable platform of social interactions demands, as Anzaldúa argues in the context of segregated social groups, transforming and occupying theorising spaces by "bringing in our own approaches and methodologies" (Anzaldúa 1990, p.xxv) because there is no "'correct' way to write theory" (Id. at xxvi). Thus, an active construction of alternative theoretical and methodological models can find in interdisciplinarity and interculturality an integrative approach able to make connections both inside and outside existing disciplines and cultures, suggesting alternative epistemological articulations. Moreover, critical pedagogy's "theoretical center of gravity begins not with a particular claim to new knowledge, but with real people articulating and rewriting their lived experiences within rather than outside of history" (Giroux 1994). "By using information derived from multiple channels and different systems of knowing you collectively create new societies" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002, p562).

As regards this turning towards other forms of understanding and connecting realities, which can resist traditionally positivist categories of knowledge formation, Anzaldúa proposes the notion of *conocimiento*, which she defines as "that aspect of consciousness urging you to act on the knowledge gained" (Id. at 577). She asserts that, as a "form of spiritual inquiry, conocimiento is reached via creative acts" (Id. at 542), and, like

consciousness, “conocimiento is about relatedness-to self, others, world” (Id. at 570) and that “[w]hen one person steps into conocimiento, the whole of humanity witness that step and eventually steps into consciousness” (Id. at 573). Maxine Greene too writes that:

> If we are seriously interested in education for freedom as well as for the opening of cognitive perspectives, it is also important to find a way of developing a praxis of educational consequence that opens the spaces necessary for the remaking of a democratic community. For this to happen there must of course be a new commitment to intelligence, a new fidelity in communication, a new regard for imagination.
>
> (Greene 1988, p126)

Situated within a context of criticality, education must assume an active role in the organisation of learning experiences which can allow students to become aware of how the social is constructed and about its prevalent inequalities. One key postmodern learning experience will have to be that of “interculturality” - an explicit and concrete effort globalised societies will need to make to see through their many ways of relating to the world and, through this diversity, resist the naturalisation of the social. In this sense, educators become active “cultural workers” (Giroux 1994) whose main responsibility is to facilitate the encounter and integration of the plurality of cultural formations produced by social, racial and gender groups - that is, curriculum understood “as a collective discourse” (Garoian 1999b, p141) - in order to generate the conditions people require to operate in a context of hope and possibility but also resistance and struggle.

Part of the arts’ great potential resides in their ability to re-present and enact the naturalisation of the social, thus mirroring society’s interrelations and offering its people the possibility to recognise and encounter themselves and each other. Thus, one of the arts’ main challenges is to make visible “what is often left out of the dominant politics of representations” (Giroux 1994). The importance of representations resides in the fact that they may reveal “the structures of power relations at work in the public, schools, society, and the larger global order”; what is “out there” is, in part, constituted by how it is represented (Ibid.).

On the other hand, the performative dimension of the arts provides societies with a first-hand experience of constructing their own sovereignty; Salazar has argued on occasion that to make culture is to make sovereignty, while Allan Kaprow refers to this dimension

as “the performance of living” (Kaprow 1993, p196). At the same time, Garoian argues that the participatory dimension of the arts can help people develop the sense of critical citizenship and social agency needed to carry out their struggle for liberation. Thus the performative dimension of the arts means *learning how to constitute the social*. This transformative learning dynamic (according to Williams, learning being “part of the process of social change itself” [in Giroux 1994]) gives the arts a pedagogical dimension which, for Garoian, means stimulating the audience’s dialogical engagement with artworks so they can participate critically in the construction of meaning. For Garoian, education and curriculum have both a performative and aesthetic dimension and, from this premise, he proposes “performance art pedagogy” as a postmodern praxis, which makes explicit “the pedagogical site of the body” (Garoian 1999b, p142), relating it directly to identity formation.

Garoian’s reference to the notion of body (see *12.7*) makes explicit the physicality involved in the social relations we establish to construct the society we live in. We inhabit the spatialities we construct with our bodies, rendering distinct power-knowledge relationships. The occupation of space is both symbolic and material; it is filled with contents of life which shape our bodies and the way we relate and respond to them and other corporealities. There is a pressing need for “encourag[*ing*] others to ground themselves to their own bodies and connect to their own internal resources, thus empowering themselves. Empowerment is the bodily feeling of being able to connect with inner voices/resources (images, symbols, beliefs, memories)” (Anzaldúa 2002, p571) necessary for the development of sense of self. Garoian’s postmodern praxis then demands the reappropriation of the body, a basic constituent needed for “accepting your own authority to direct rather than letting others run you” (Ibid.).

Placing the arts at the heart of cultural formations and binding together the political, aesthetic and pedagogical inherent in the making of culture, which is delimited by distinctive historical conditions, I have come to regard the arts as a means of constructing meaning dialogically, attitudes and intentions towards others which involve the use of our senses to think and see through one another in a communal effort to humanise ourselves. The arts are about communicating, understanding and establishing relationships of compassion and collaboration. When they are segregated from these connective human contents, they are emptied of much of their force, and therefore lose

transformative possibility, becoming increasingly vulnerable to manipulation and commodification. Our accumulated lifelong learning constitutes the aesthetic dimension of life, and these contents should be informing artists' work.

Articulating an interdisciplinary philosophical argument and sustaining it on direct human interaction and hands-on artistic experimentation signified a continuous reencounter with myself, travelling in time in search of a position to enable myself to articulate the Chilean specificity in a more universal context and identify the referents I need to understand better where I am coming from. This (trans)formative learning experience involved a journey to my inner self to appropriate *conocimiento*, reappropriate my senses and sharpen my predisposition to the world - an ongoing state of becoming.

> We are collectively conditioned not to know that every comfort of our lives is acquired with the blood of conquered, subjugated, enslaved, or exterminated people, an exploitation that continues today.
>
> (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002, p541)

Looking back, I see that my encounter with the history "blanked out" from my schooldays was one of the most significant aspects of this experience; a trip towards the foundations of my understanding of the world. This reconstruction became essential as it anchored my understanding of my interviewees' inner worlds, making visible our "interrelatedness" (Id. at 574). When our voices came together, we reconstituted historical experiences and thereby made meaning of unique "aesthetic experiences", those connective, empathetic experiences our senses provide us when we reappropriate them. The following historical experiences are examples of issues raised in interview which stirred my own memories of the landscape of my country, allowing me to reconnect and make sense of forgotten and disarticulated images and sensations, discovering explanations for events scattered by the passing of time.

> … I left the poverty of Chile, or rather, the poverty of resources, of gazes, of few texts, of really worn-out texts. I left in the Eighties, so there was no internet, you understand. Or rather, all you could see was what you saw in books, books which had been looked at by 400 generations which didn't get to modern art *at all*. (*visual artist, second generation "in Chile"*)

> … you can't forget those things but you have to by a kind of ritualising or using ceremony or monuments; that kind of thing helps you deal with it. It's

> part of the emotional landscape of a country, I think. You go through this kind of awfulness and then you come out of it. But it's still there. How do you teach your children if there is nothing really tangible? (*visual artist, second generation "in exile", discussing the abuses committed during the military regime*)

We used the interviews to turn towards Chile but also towards the world. These dialogues helped me understand better who I am and in turn understand my interviewees better. We dug into our memories, (hi)stories and *autohistorias*,[88] knowing that possibilities reside in them which may give society the cultural density to project itself towards a fairer future.

> I do not believe that authors are mechanically determined by ideology, class, or economic history, but authors are, I also believe, very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience in different measure. Culture and the aesthetic forms it contains derive from historical experience[...]
>
> (Said 1994, p.xxiv)

Only after my subjectivity encountered that of my interviewees was I able to identify their commonalities - our commonalities. Their perceptions and emotions gravitate around the common bond of *memory* (see *12.5* and *17.2.4*). By means of their creative actions, they strive to communicate their memory in order to save it symbolically and thus give meaning to their lives. Memory, understood as *fragments of life*, provides them with the meaningful contents to articulate their own histories and *autohistorias*, mediated narratives which pull together and give sense to these fragments. Memory consists of a plurality of contents captured by our senses, giving it an aesthetic dimension which is charged with symbolic meanings and possibilities - the *poetry of life*, where the resources to understand life itself reside. We always bring the life contained in our memory to present situations in order to grasp them and we face a significant challenge each time new sensory experiences find no direct correspondence with those already accumulated. This is the moment when an open invitation is extended to each of us to broaden our cognitive fields and develop a predisposition towards more "expansive knowledge" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002, p560) which draws upon the multidimensional nature of life. This alternative approach to the world needs "lifelike art and artists" rather

[88] Anzaldúa's term to describe "the genre of writing about one's personal and collective history using fictive elements, a sort of fictionalized autobiography or memoir" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002, p578). To wit: "[t]he real must be fictionalized in order to be thought" (Rancière 2004, p38).

than “artlike artists”, a distinction Kaprow draws to make explicit the need for artists who can be “conscious inventors of the life that also invents them” (Kaprow 1993, p239).

The exploration of the memory of the two groups of Chilean artists has also entailed the awakening of my own memories. This intersubjective realisation has made it clear to me that, in order to understand culture, it is necessary to understand how memory and its constitutive collective imaginaries are operating. In order to reconstitute human experience, both in its social and subjective dimensions, we must reconstitute where our meaningful life fragments are imprinted in space and time. Memory sustains conscious human life, to which our cultural formations give a sense of direction, permitting us to situate ourselves within a past, present and future and grasp our reality.

> Bereft of memory, a person becomes a prisoner of an illusory existence; falling out of time he is unable to seize his own link with the outside world - in other words he is doomed to madness.
>
> (Tarkovsky 1998, pp57-58)

Tarkovsky takes the understanding of memory further, identifying the moral qualities within it: “[t]he time in which a person lives gives him the opportunity of knowing himself as a moral being” (Id. at 58). However, in a globalised, neoliberal, homogenising world, societies lose symbolic referents which anchor distinctive memories. The loss of unique referential coordinates has generated among many societies an *exilic condition* of disillusion that Chile has not escaped, another common bond between the two groups of artists. Ruiz claims that this has “become a central issue for all people in the world. We are all exiles. One of the major effects of globalisation has been to turn everyone into exiles, because of the breakdown of the social ecosystems” (in 2006, *Les trois couronnes du matelot* Blaq Out DVD interview).

Many Chileans experience a sense of misplacement in their own country. In recent decades, Chilean society has changed rapidly without facilitating conditions to allow citizens to feel protagonists in this change, generating a sense of alienation and depoliticisation. Driven by the old desire for modernisation, “collective amnesia” (Zavala 2002) is having detrimental effects on the social fabric. Zavala also cites the State’s repression of the indigenes and the human rights abuses of the Pinochet regime as key traumas that Chile is yet to come to terms with. Bengoa (2006) refers to these

unresolved historical moments, arguing that Chile has only accepted one way of being, behaving and thinking itself, making it a society with low levels of tolerance, sceptical of criticism and unable to objectivise and transcend historical fears. For Bengoa, Chilean indigenous groups in particular constitute a category of misplacement within misplacement, in the sense that many live like exiles within their own territory.[89]

> The socio-political context determines the ways in which collective memories re-examine the past[...] Every society possesses a more or less explicit *policy of memory*; this is the framework of power within which (or against which) society elaborates what it remembers and forgets.
>
> (Lechner 2002a, p66, my translation)

The Chilean exiles residing in London understand what exile is about in its fullest sense. As a result of their distinctive physical and cultural alienation, many identify with the indigenous struggle and have made it their own. Exiles' cultural constructions contain a trajectory of identity realisation and formation which should make sense in Chilean society more than ever before. Both groups of artists have made the reconstitution of memory a dynamic underlying their work. However, the exile group's inevitable encounter with new cultures and the clash of world visions that this implied gave its artists' work a particular insight - a journey towards their inner selves searching for potential bridges of exchange with the host culture - which has signified an additional layer of learning. As exile is linked to a traumatic historical period that much of Chilean society tries to forget rather than encounter, its intellectual resource has unfortunately often gone to waste.

It is interesting to note that Chilean cultural *institucionalidad* under Lagos and Bachelet, which I certainly did not foresee when I formulated this research project and much of which I have observed from afar, presents unique possibilities for rescuing and reconstituting past forgotten socio-cultural projects and memories. Nevertheless, this unprecedented governmental initiative to broaden society's self-understanding will inevitably clash with those means of communication which stagnate rather than facilitate

[89] Simpson writes of "internal exile" which, unlike political and religious exile, does not involve physical movement. He distinguishes between two forms: one which involves sending dissidents to remote areas in order to silence them and another which refers to "*the retreat into a world of one's own*", and asserts that, within this second category, there can also be a worse form of internal exile: "*the transformation of people into aliens in their own countries*" (Simpson 1995, p171, original text's italics).

these transformative processes: “I feel that whatever one does in culture television dismantles” (Ivelic in Farías 2005, my translation) (also see *17.2.3*).

Society’s cultural diversity project must create strategic spaces for the development of critical citizenship. In this regard, Armand Mattelart has called for the facilitation of conditions to enable the mass media to transcend mercantile, utilitarian criteria and position themselves as a possibility for creative experimentation capable of developing audiences’ sense of political agency (Mattelart, *Diversidad Cultural* conference, Santiago, 2005). Cultural diversity is about social actors’ ability to act; they can only become protagonists of social construction when they appropriate the media, a process Mattelart denominates “citizenisation” (*ciudadanización*).[90] A Colombian filmmaker makes explicit his commitment towards facilitating the cultural resources - specifically “narrativisation” - that the excluded need in order to explain their lives (Víctor Gaviria, *Conundra of Vision* symposium, Cambridge, 2005). For Gaviria, media contributes to society when it facilitates the tools for people to articulate a *narrative of themselves* which gives their lives order and projection, setting grounds for greater consciousness, understanding and freedom. Again in the context of postcolonial theory, Said writes:

> The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them.
>
> (Said 1994, p.xiii)

Martín-Barbero asserts that narratives concern the ability to *name* things, thereby familiarising them and developing the belonging which provides “anchors” for memory (Martín-Barbero, *Conundra of Vision* symposium, Cambridge, 2005). Language allows us to transmit and keep memory alive by providing a platform for symbolic meaning.

> Lacking words and symbols with which to refer to the past, [*people*] opt for silence. [...] When people do not discuss their experiences, do not share their fears and dreams, they cannot build collective memories either. Furthermore, they cannot process the displacements and resignifications which individual memories continually operate.
>
> (Lechner 2002a, p70 and p80, my translation)

[90] Garretón (2005) makes the point that the Chilean media is in the hands of the Right but that the Right must still become a more democratic opposition.

Chile's long-repressed indigenous languages (see *12.6.4*), for example, possess "ancestral memory" (Chihuailaf, *Diversidad Cultural* conference, Santiago, 2005) where there is significant transformative learning potential for a society open to its cultural diversity.

Our commonalities are in a constant state of becoming. Therefore, the identification of commonalities or possible bridges of exchange between the two groups of artists studied in this thesis in Chile and the UK should ideally be framed by a wider national project which could allow the groups to encounter, recognise and (re)discover one another through dialogue. These groups' creativities would hopefully merge during this interaction, generating unique, concrete possibilities for cultural integration.

I feel today that Chile is contained in British society, Concepción in Aberdeen and Aberdeen in Concepción. I am and belong here and there. The strong sense of multispatiality I experienced most strongly during my fieldwork, and especially through interaction with interviewees, encouraged me to search for a means to convey this multispatiality along with its multiple human gestures and perceptions - that state of dreaminess, ambiguity, contradiction and fragmentation - which coexist simultaneously following "the logic of a person's thought" (Tarkovsky 1998, p20). The video projects presented as part of this thesis (see Appendix 4) constitute small creative, intentional risks which gave me the chance to try to capture, articulate and to present human contents and their energies in such a way that they did not have to be compressed into more traditional models of inquiry, whose guiding principles, like those of rational control, objectivity and a predictable cause-effect lineality, would have killed off the possibilities contained in a human logic of (re)constituting experiences.

My audiovisual experimentation became a way of materialising the reappropriation of my senses, an alternative connective means which was articulated through a poetics formed organically during the reconstitution of subjective and collective memories. Poetics, in Tarkovsky's terms, is simply "an awareness of the world" and a particular way of relating to reality which "is closer to the laws by which thought develops, and thus to life itself" (Tarkovsky 1998, p20). He goes on to assert that "[t]here are some aspects of human life that can only be faithfully represented through poetry" (Id. at 30). A poetic project has unique epistemological and cognitive value - as Greene argues, poetry "does not offer us

empirical or documentary truth, but it enables us to 'know' in unique ways" (Greene 1988, p131). If every art has "its own poetic meaning" (Tarkovsky 1998, p82), every art offers us the possibility to "'know' in unique ways". The dynamic of these alternative ways of knowing seems to be related to the fact that "[t]hrough poetic connections feeling is heightened and the spectator is made more active" (Id. at 20). Interestingly, George Steiner admitted that one of his greatest regrets was "[n]ot to have understood that the great poetic of the second half of the Twentieth Century would be that of cinema" (in L'Yvonnet 2006, my translation).

Meaningful experiences are imprinted in our memory in unique ways and audiovisual making may well be the most complete means to convey the uniqueness of such experiences:

> Isolated impressions of the day have set off impulses within us, evoked associations; objects and circumstances have stayed in our memory, but with no sharply defined contours, incomplete, apparently fortuitous. Can these impressions of life be conveyed through film? They undoubtedly can; indeed it is the especial virtue of cinema, as the most realistic of the arts, to be the means of such communication. Of course such reproduction of real-life sensations is not an end in itself: but it can be given meaning aesthetically, and so become a medium for deep and serious thought.
> (Tarkovsky 1998, p23)

Tarkovsky, who shared Ruiz's fascination for the work of Marcel Proust, wrote that the French author "spoke of raising 'a vast edifice of memories', and that seems to me to be what cinema is called to do" (Id. at 59). If the reconstitution of memory has to do with returning societies to their anchors for new beginnings, the audiovisual arts evidently possess a substantial humanising possibility. Giroux, for instance, in the context of fictional films for American youth, argues that films are "legitimate forms of social knowledge" (Giroux 1994); he reflects on the pedagogical potential of cinema, stating that pedagogies "silently structure representations" and that it is vital to study how these representations work to educate audiences. Elsewhere, the veteran Senegalese director Ousmane Sembène, who has striven to create the culture Africa needs for development, speaks of cinema as "movie school" reflecting the real struggles of Africans, a "mirror - so my people can take responsibility and solve their own problems" (Greer 2005). Although Ruiz has never explicitly spoken of critical pedagogy (as a filmmaker like Peter Watkins does), the audiovisual is a rich example of how culture and the arts have the

potential to expand our audiovisual fields and generate the possibility for imagining more humanising and therefore democratising horizons. Cinema, for Alain Badiou, offers "a real political possibility" for suggesting "a totally new image of the world", as it introduces ruptures rather than the conformity of repetition (Goldenberg 2003, my translation).

In this regard, and informed by Third Cinema theory, the concept of "accented" or "exilic" cinema (Naficy 2001) proves interesting as it identifies aesthetic similarities between the work of diverse exiled filmmakers living in the West. Following the profoundest logic of human experience and how it is imprinted in our memory, accented cinema deals with notions such as identity formation, history and alienation. In a context of exacerbation of the sense of misplacement due to mass migration, this humanising type of cinema makes greater sense to those groups who can no longer find themselves represented in the mainstream film industries. Ruiz's condition as a Chilean exile generates a "diasporic discourse" which cuts right through his work and has the potential to give Chilean society fresh insight into itself; a gaze from outside which could help lay the groundwork for a sensibility as regards other experiences of life and, most importantly, an understanding of the phenomenon of exile. Chilean society will be able to turn towards exiles and recognise them as an intellectual resource when it realises a profound understanding of and therefore a change of attitude towards exile. Only then will a predisposition to generate bridges of exchange be generated.

> I have a favourite quote from Borges; he says that any creative work "arroja una luz ulterior", which is to say, for Mozart, there's Stravinsky. In the Diabelli Variations, you can already hear atonality. But if Schoenberg had not existed we wouldn't recognise it as atonality. So there's a constant give and take. And these spiral effects are what create the unwritten works of the future and of the past. Nowadays, with advances in biology, we'd call it resonance. You don't need to know a work to be influenced by it. Cinema consists entirely of resonances. That's why it's impossible to create masterpieces in the classical sense, but also what makes it so rich. The creative possibilities are constantly multiplying like the branches of a tree.
>
> (Ruiz in 2006, *Les trois couronnes du matelot* Blaq Out DVD interview)

As early as 1971, Ruiz was arguing that his work was "investigative cinema" and that he saw himself as a member of a "culture of resistance": experimental filmmakers exploring ways of *creating* Chile through contents and forms which contested dominant Western film practices (Chanan 1976). Ruiz's films acquire specific value, most especially those

documentary projects which search for the reconstruction of Chile's collective memory. Ruiz (1995) introduces the notion of "shamanic cinema" which involves the juxtaposition of our so-called "real" memories with internalised sequences we have not personally experienced. These mental juxtapositions, or resonances, are film-like fragments of forgotten memories dormant within us triggered into life when a film takes us beyond a given "hypnotic point", beyond the reception of spectacle produced by the culture industry. Ruiz subverts genre, thus positioning his work in a third space, or perhaps in an "in-between" space which is neither here nor there. Each film contains a "secret film", and each shot constitutes *un plan secret*, which can be viewed "obliquely" with the gift of "double vision" (which we all innately possess) that, rather than favouring the sequences of the apparent narrative, reveals the symbolic, narrative potential of image and sound isolated from that apparent narrative. Ruiz strives to utilise what he calls "poetic force" to convey the ambiguities of the real world; a force, he claims, which derives from uncertainty and mystery (Ruiz 1995, pp107-121). Elsewhere he has described cinema as "the totality of all the arts connected by poetry" (in interview in James 2006) or, better still, connected by an artisan bricolage. Ruiz's notion of cinema-as-bricolage finds a parallel with Denzin and Lincoln's concept of the researcher-as-*bricoleur*-theorist, a perspective which helped to frame the research design of this investigation (see Chapter Three): "[t]he product of the bricoleur's labor is a bricolage, a complex, dense, reflexive, collagelike creation that represents the researcher's images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis" (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, p3).[91] Ruiz combines different forms of seeing and understanding society he borrows from the most varied areas of knowledge, thus responding to what is necessary to give sense to the reality he sees around him. The image comes first for Ruiz; a premise which always allows him to structure his films around an image he has witnessed in real life.

Beginning from the premise that in order to understand others we must first understand ourselves, I began an inner journey which encouraged a search for new resources to communicate my encounters, without having to resign the resources I had appropriated as an educational researcher. On the contrary, my background was invaluable raw material. When it is required, we must make intentional cognitive "jumps" and pull

[91] Claude Lévi-Strauss' metaphorical use of the term *bricolage* in the Sixties has also influenced recent theories of teaching and learning, most famously being appropriated by Seymour Papert to refer to pupils' playful, unstructured learning styles.

together the many scattered humanising efforts being made, and through this collaborative work reappropriate the dynamic of dialogue and understanding we will need to put into constant practice in order to reformulate our “micro-utopias” (Bourriaud 2004, p70). The road constructed along the way led me to the poetics of filmmaking. There is no fixed path to understanding, however. New possibilities emerge when there is true commitment to engaging with others, the initial impulse for the development of meaningful exchange. Filmmakers such as Ruiz, Tarkovsky and Watkins have theorised their practice not simply to reflect on it, make it transparent and evaluate it critically but also to extend their bridges of exchange and thus expand possibilities for dialogue and struggle.

Pain and trauma can become positive content and energy, a transformation which generates a unique site for communicating and sharing life’s learning. Within this potential transformative space, the arts become catalysts for new thinking, capable of bridging what previously seemed irreconcilable. This would explain, for instance, why the artists interviewed who had been imprisoned during the aftermath of the coup refer to poetry, music, drawing and theatre as the main mechanisms that political prisoners used to humanise the experience of torture, both in its physical and emotional dimensions. Having referred to his three-year incarceration at a notorious concentration camp as a “rebirth” (Fasola 2006, my translation), Salazar states that:

> Villa Grimaldi, the limit was there. There I discovered the fundamental dimension of life and politics. I could understand Marx: the class struggle and the conflictive relationship with the enemy. It was negation of negation. While Pinochet tried to destroy the militants, in the cell the militant reconstructed him or herself as a human being, people arrived to visit from outside, showed solidarity. Associativity is rediscovered as a fundamental element of history.
>
> (Salazar in Gutiérrez et al 2003, my translation)

Exploring the inner self and encountering its profoundest emotions generate knowledge that we require in order to transform ourselves. During this journey, we develop new sensibilities, the raw material for reconstituting the world’s experiences. When we see the world from different perspectives, we rediscover it and appropriate it, and therefore gain new understandings of life and reconnect with others. When we are able to link our inner selves to the external world, life changes; some join us and engage in our

struggles, helping us to make meaning of everyday experience and push the meaning further. This recognition is the fuel which keeps us going (see *12.6* for an example). Human exchange teaches us to communicate our experiences and articulate our knowledge until we are able to interconnect in hitherto unimagined ways. We smuggle our knowledge in, play the world's official games and learn to use every means at our disposal to move to a position whence we can intervene, generating new spaces for ourselves and others.

However, finding a way into the external world in order to negotiate with it and acquire its reasoning is not always the simplest of matters. Frustration, which paralyses and blocks creative potential, crops up when the world cannot see our inner selves. When we give up suggesting and trying alternative mechanisms which challenge prefabricated models, we prevent many from engaging with life in more meaningful ways and experiencing the humanising compassion which binds us together.

We must learn to "recycle" experience and make use of its creative, (trans)formative potential. This subjective dynamic involves the creation of our own rules, especially when the external world is seen as menacing and untrustworthy. This attitude to rescuing everyday life's learning potential constitutes the first step towards taking the subjective to levels of abstraction which can allow us to see *through* ourselves and others. In this transparent, interconnecting space, recyclers recognise one another and unite their multicultural energies in order to become unique sites of resistance. Recyclers' reflexive vision can see usefulness in experience because, situated in a present, they always turn to a past in search of new connections which may previously have been difficult, or impossible, to detect.

In order to make visible and defamiliarise the multilayered interactions in which artists operate, this research positioned these social actors at its centre. This permitted, during the analysis of information gathered, the construction of integrative, epistemological categories which looked at aesthetic, political, historical and pedagogical as a whole. Traversing several fields, the research refers to an intentional, distinctive gaze close to what Ruiz calls "oblique" (Ruiz 1995, p110), opening overlapping spaces where the plurality of the social actors' narratives studied can be seen and heard as well as read.

Interdisciplinary approaches may suggest an integrative approach to study of the many dimensions of society. In this sense, interdisciplinarity has momentous implications for the ways in which we see, approximate and understand the making of society. Interdisciplinarity could be defined as an invitation that we extend to others to share our gaze at a problem, engaging in a learning dynamic where the challenge is to unite efforts in the name of understanding. Participation should ideally help particularisms ground their claims universally, widening the playing field for democracy, as Laclau claims (see *3.1*).

In this thesis, I have endeavoured to explore cultural integration through an interdisciplinary, multi-method approach to society. I first defined the arts as multisensory formative experiences pertaining to the making of culture, then recognised the existence of a plurality of cultures within society, and finally argued how their formative potential comes to waste in a homogenising, hegemonic performative context (see *5.0*). The understanding that the existence of a plurality of cultures does not guarantee mutual intercultural understanding and collaboration *per se* made it clearer that intentional transformative action must be pursued for the realisation of cultural integration. Cultural integration thus became a sign of "missing fullness" which needs "political struggle" for its fulfilment (see *3.1*), finding in critical educational theories a possible field for praxis. Education understood as humanising formative experience places civil participation at the forefront, generating conditions for people to empower themselves and become protagonists in the construction of civil society, which becomes the realisation of the political struggle that cultures go through in order to form themselves. In this sense, the arts in themselves may constitute an interdisciplinary, intercultural project when the intention of the artist is to offer a (trans)formative multisensory experience directed at helping us understand and (re)connect with our surrounding realities.

The contribution of this research is two-fold. Firstly: *the development of an interdisciplinary, multi-method perspective which may be adaptable to other situations at the conjunction of artistic activity, critical cultural theory and pedagogy*. Also, the universality-specificity interaction borrowed from Laclau may be particularly useful for comparative analyses looking at ways of fulfilling minority groups' demands in an effort to democratise their access to society. Secondly: *the presentation of interdisciplinary epistemological categories which may provide relevant contents for a wide range of*

fields. Thanks to the specificity of these contents (i.e. their insight into particular social actors' needs), they may directly inform social policy - the design of more contextualised policies which, sustained on the principle that people are intellectual resources, should promise material as well as human development.

As regards the specificity of the exilic categories, this research on occasion may be said to have approached exile from a (more usual) politico-historical perspective which overlooked those subjective, internal processes related to specific representational practices, symbols and values; that space commonly occupied by the world of the arts. With the exploration of that very space, however, this research hopes to broaden the possibilities for approximating the phenomena of exile. Chile's experience of political diaspora becomes relevant to the study of other societies sharing postcoloniality, traumatic recent history and ongoing processes of redemocratisation.

This uncharted journey has meant finding myself through the discovery of others and also exploring a way of doing research which is more meaningful to the new understanding of myself as artist-researcher. My future work, drawing on these findings, will take further the idea of audiovisual theory and practice as a niche of possibilities for the development of alternative dialogic, open-ended spaces which can embrace the voices of the other.

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Cofralandes, rapsodia chilena (parts I-IV) (Raúl Ruiz, Chile-France-Portugal, 2002)

La cueca sola (Marilú Mallet, Canada, 2003)

Diálogos de exiliados (Raúl Ruiz, France, 1974)

État de siège (Costa-Gavras, France-West Germany-Italy, 1972)

La historia oficial (Luis Puenzo, Argentina, 1985)

Machuca (Andrés Wood, Chile-Spain-UK-France, 2004)

La memoria herida (Francisco Casas and Yura Labarca, Chile, 2004)

Missing (Costa-Gavras, USA, 1982)

Morte a Venezia (Luchino Visconti, Italy-France, 1971)

Nostalghia (Andrei Tarkovsky, Italy-USSR, 1983)

Palomita blanca (Raúl Ruiz, Chile, 1973)

Pinochet in Suburbia (Richard Curson Smith, UK-USA, 2006)

Postmemory: Los rubios (Albertina Carri, Argentina, 2003)

Russian Ark (Aleksandr Sokurov, Russia-Germany, 2002)

Sans soleil (Chris Marker, France, 1982)

La société du spectacle (Guy Debord, France, 1973)

Tempo di viaggio (Tonino Guerra and Andrei Tarkovsky, Italy, 1983)

La tribu de las palabras (Rodrigo Iván Sepúlveda, Chile, 2003)

Les trois couronnes du matelot (Raoul Ruiz, France-Portugal, 1983)

La última huella (Paola Castillo, Chile, 2001)

Volver a vernos (*Pinochet's Children*) (Paula Rodríguez, Germany-Chile, 2002)

CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

Unesco Conference on Intercultural Education (Jyväskylä, 15th-18th June 2003)

Chile: The other September 11th - A day of videos, discussion and music to mark 30 years since the military coup in Chile (London, 13th September 2003)

Society for Latin American Studies 50th Annual Conference (Leiden, 2nd-4th April 2004)

Coloquio Internacional Sartre: una filosofía del compromiso: fenomenología, crítica y dialéctica (Universidad ARCIS, Santiago de Chile, 9th-10th August 2004)

Primer Encuentro de Académicos, Científicos e Investigadores Residentes en el Exterior y en el País (DICOEX, Santiago de Chile, 17th-18th August 2004)

Debates Estéticos - Proyecto Sismo: Chile se mueve con arte (Concepción, 7th-8th September 2004)

LASA2004 Latin American Studies Association XXV International Congress (Las Vegas, Nevada, 7th-9th October 2004)

The Conundra of Vision: Reflexivity in Latin American Visual Culture (University of Cambridge CRASSH symposium, 18th-19th February 2005)

Sentidos de la Educación y la Cultura. Cultivar la humanidad (Unesco-CNCA-Mineduc conference webcast, Santiago de Chile, 10th March 2005)

Four Lines: Creation, Collection, Education, Exhibition - Art from Latin America in Contemporary Practice (University of Essex UECLAA online launch and symposium, 22nd-24th April 2005)

Diversidad Cultural: El valor de la diferencia (CNCA international symposium webcast, Santiago de Chile, 28th-29th June 2005)

Visual Synergies: Fiction and Documentary Film in Latin America (University of Cambridge/Royal Holloway conference, 23rd-26th June 2006)

WEBSITES

Alfredo Jaar (USA) http://www.alfredojaar.net/
Amigos del Arte (Chile) http://www.amigosdelarte.cl/
Arcoiris TV (Spain) http://es.arcoiris.tv/
Arqchile.cl (Chile) http://www.arqchile.cl/
Art & Research (UK) http://artandresearch.org.uk/
Arte y Crítica (Chile) http://www.arteycritica.cl/
ArteContexto (Spain) http://www.artecontexto.com/
ArteHistoria (Spain) http://www.artehistoria.com/
Arts Council England (UK) http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/
Asociación Internacional de Comunicadores y Periodistas chilenos en el exterior (AICPCH, Chile) http://regionxiv.net/
Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland (AHGBI, UK) http://www.hispanists.org.uk/
ATTAC (Chile) http://www.attac.cl/
Bazar Americano (Argentina) http://www.bazaramericano.com/
Benjamín Galemiri (Chile) http://www.galemiri.cl/
Benjamín Lira (Chile) http://www.blira.com/
Bloque Social (Chile) http://www.bloquesocial.cl/
Canning House (UK) http://www.canninghouse.com/
Centro Cultural Estación Mapocho (Chile) http://www.estacionmapocho.cl/
Centro Cultural Matucana 100 (Chile) http://www.m100.cl/
Centros Chilenos en el Exterior (Argentina) http://centroschilenos.blogia.com/
Chilean Embassy (UK) http://www.echileuk.demon.co.uk/
Chilean Embassy (USA) http://www.chile-usa.org/
Chilean Heritage (Chile) http://www.chileanheritage.com/ and http://www.nuestro.cl/
Chile Audiovisual (Chile) http://www.chileaudiovisual.cl/
Chile: Breve Imaginería política 1970-1973 (France) http://www.abacq.net/imagineria/
Chile Sports, Culture and Development Association (UK) http://www.chilescda.org/
ChileArte (Chile) http://www.chilearte.com/
Chilenos.co.uk (UK) http://www.chilenoseninglaterra.co.uk/
Chilenos en el mundo (Chile) http://www.chilenosenelmundo.com/
ChilePoesía (Chile) http://www.chile-poesia.cl/
Cinemateca Virtual de Chile (Chile) http://www.cinechileno.org/
Clase contra clase (Chile) http://www.clasecontraclase.cl/
Columbia University, Teachers College (USA) http://www.tc.columbia.edu/
Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (CONICYT, Chile) http://www.conicyt.cl/
Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación (Chile) http://www.consejoeducacion.cl/
Corporación Crearte (Chile) http://www.crearte.cl/
Corporación Cultural Amereida (Ciudad Abierta, Ritoque, Chile) http://www.corporacionamereida.cl/
Corporación Cultural ChileTodos (Chile) http://www.chiletodos.cl/
Corredor de las Ideas de CONOSUR (Paraguay) http://www.corredordelasideas.org/
Crítica: Revista Digital de Ensayos Críticos e Historia del Arte (Chile) http://www.critica.cl/
Cultura del Bío Bío en movimiento (Chile) http://www.culturabiobio.cl/
Cultural Democracy (UK) http://www.culturaldemocracy.net/

Curatoria Forense (Chile) http://www.curatoriaforense.net/
Daros (Switzerland) http://www.daros-latinamerica.net/
Demos (UK) http://www.demos.co.uk/
Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, UK) http://www.culture.gov.uk/
Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos (Chile) http://www.dibam.cl/
Directorate for Chilean Communities Abroad (DICOEX, Chile) http://www.dicoex.net/ and http://www.dicoex.cl/
EcoMemoria (UK) http://www.ecomemoria.com/
EducarChile (Chile) http://www.educarchile.cl/
EDUCARTE CHILE, Sociedad Chilena de Educación por el Arte (Chile) http://www.educartechile.cl/
El Mercurio newspaper (Chile) http://www.elmercurio.com/ and http://www.emol.com/
El Sur newspaper (Chile) http://www.elsur.cl/
Escritores y poetas en español (Chile) http://www.letras.s5.com/
Eugenio Tironi (Chile) http://www.eugeniotironi.cl/
Foro Social Chile (Chile) http://www.fschile.org/
Francisca Sutil (Chile) http://www.franciscasutil.cl/
FrancoChilenos (France) http://www.francochilenos.com/
FunaChile (Chile) http://www.funachile.cl/
Fundación Jaime Guzmán E. (Chile) http://www.fjguzman.cl/
Fundación Pinochet (Chile) http://www.fundacionpinochet.cl/
Galería Animal (Chile) http://www.galeriaanimal.cl/
Galería de Arte Gabriela Mistral (Chile) http://www.cnca.cl/galeriagm/
Galería Metropolitana (Chile) http://www.galmet.org/
Identidades, La Construcción de la Diversidad en Chile (José Bengoa, Chile) http://www.identidades.cl/
INCUBO (Cecilia Brunson, Chile) http://www.incubo.cl/
Institute for the Study of the Americas (UK) http://americas.sas.ac.uk/
Instituto Cervantes Londres (UK) http://londres.cervantes.es/
Instituto Hemisférico (USA) http://hemi.nyu.edu/
Instituto Paulo Freire (Brazil) http://www.paulofreire.org/
International Society for Education Through Art (USA) http://www.insea.org/
Joanne Pottlitzer (USA) http://www.joannepottlitzer.com/
José Luis Brea (Spain) http://www.joseluisbrea.net/
José Piñera (Chile) http://www.josepinera.com/ and http://www.pensionreform.org/
John Taylor Gatto (USA) http://www.johntaylorgatto.com/
Justo Pastor Mellado (Chile) http://www.justopastormellado.cl/
La Nación newspaper (Chile) http://www.lanacion.cl/
Latin America Bureau (LAB, UK) http://www.lab.org.uk/
Latin American Association (UK) http://www.casa-latina.org.uk/
Latin American Studies Association (LASA, USA) http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/
Libertad y Desarrollo (Chile) http://www.lyd.com/
Mabuse Revista de Cine (Chile) http://www.mabuse.cl/
Manuel Antonio Garretón (Chile) http://www.manuelantoniogarreton.cl/
Marta Zabaleta (UK) http://www.martazabaleta.com/
Memoria Chilena (Chile) http://www.memoriachilena.cl/
Memoria Viva (UK) http://www.memoriaviva.com/
Ministry of Education (Chile) http://www.mineduc.cl/
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Chile) http://www.minrel.cl/
Miradas: Revista del Audiovisual (Cuba) http://www.eictv.co.cu/miradas/

mmmmm (UK) http://www.mmmmm.org.uk/
Movimiento Generación 80 (Chile) http://www.generacion80.cl/
Muralla (Chile) http://www.lamuralla.cl/
Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino (Chile) http://www.precolombino.cl/
Museo de Arte Contemporáneo (MAC, Chile) http://www.mac.uchile.cl/
Museo de Artes Visuales (Chile) http://www.mavi.cl/
Museo de la Educación Gabriela Mistral (Chile) http://www.museodelaeducacion.cl/
Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (MNBA, Chile) http://www.mnba.cl/
National Council for Culture and the Arts (CNCA, Chile) http://www.cnca.cl/ and http://www.fondosdecultura.cl/
Neuroesthetics (Semir Zeki, UK) http://www.neuroesthetics.org/
Observaciones filosóficas (Spain) http://www.observacionesfilosoficas.net/
OnOff (Chile) http://www.onoff.cl/
Pablo Huneeus (Chile) http://www.pablo.cl/
PerfoPuerto (Chile) http://perfopuerto.net/
Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations (Chile) http://www.un.int/chile/
Poéticas de Chile (Gonzalo Contreras, Chile) http://poeticasdechile.blogspot.com/
Portal de Arte (Chile) http://www.portaldearte.cl/
Portal de Música Latinoamericana (Chile) http://www.latinoamericano.cl/
Premio Altazor (Chile) http://www.premioaltazor.cl/
Proyecto Umatic (Chile) http://www.umatic.cl/
Policy Exchange (UK) http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/
Radical Pedagogy (USA) http://radicalpedagogy.icaap.org/
Radio Cooperativa (Chile) http://www.cooperativa.cl/
Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC, Chile) http://www.unesco.cl/
Regiones Sin Frontera Boletín (Australia) http://boletinrsf.blogcindario.com/
Remember-Chile (UK) http://www.remember-chile.org.uk/
Revista de Crítica Cultural (Chile) http://www.criticacultural.org/
Robinson Rojas Sandford (UK) http://www.rrojasdatabank.org/
Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO, Chile) http://www.scielo.cl/
Scottish Arts Council (UK) http://www.scottisharts.org.uk/
Sepiensa.cl (Chile) http://www.sepiensa.cl/
SiempreChilenos (USA) http://www.siemprechilenos.com/
Sociedad de Escritores de Chile (Chile) http://www.sech.cl/
Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS, UK) http://www.slas.org.uk/
Suzanne Lacy (USA) http://www.suzannelacy.com/
Textos de Arte en Chile 1973-2000 (Chile) http://www.textosdearte.cl/
The Guardian newspaper (UK) http://www.guardian.co.uk/
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP/PNUD, Chile) http://www.pnud.cl/ or http://www.desarrollohumano.cl/
Universidad ARCIS, Escuela de Filosofía (Chile) http://www.philosophia.cl/
Universidad de Concepción, Facultad de Educación (Chile) http://www2.udec.cl/educacion/
University of Aberdeen, Centre for Modern Thought (UK) http://www.abdn.ac.uk/modern/
University of Essex Collection of Latin American Art (UK) http://www.ueclaa.org/

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: FIELDWORK PICTURE

UK (all addresses in London)				
Contact type	**No.**	**Short description**	**Place**	**Date**
Exhibitions attended/ visited	2	*Homage to Lautaro*, Berenice Dockendorff (painter)	Arcola Theatre	21/06/04
		Santiago / London, Carolina Ruff, Jorge Cabieses, etc	Transition Gallery	18/05/05
Informal conversations with artists in situ	9	Magali Vera (writer)	Praxis	12/06/04
		Abraham Muñoz (writer)	Canning House	18/06/04
		Jorge Salgado-Rocha (poet)	Canning House	18/06/04
		Luis Blanco (theatre director)	Praxis	19/06/04
		Luis	King's Cross	22/06/04
		Luis	Charing Cross	02/07/04
		Carlos Fuentes (musician)	National Theatre	09/07/04
		Luis, Magali, Abraham, etc	La Piragua	12/07/04
		Pedro del Canto (musician)	His home	01/01/05
Informal conversations with cultural managers	3	Carmen Gloria Dunnage (Chilean cultural attaché, 2000-2004)	Instituto Cervantes	08/06/04
		Carmen Gloria	Canning House	18/06/04
		Reynaldo Mariqueo (UK Mapuche representative)	Arcola Theatre	27/06/04
Performances attended	4	Quimantú concert	Queen Elizabeth Hall	28/05/04
		Roberto Rivera-Reyes' poetry recital	Poetry Café	19/06/04
		Alfredo Cordal's play *A Night of a Thousand Years*	Arcola Theatre	26/06/04
		Mapuche New Year Celebration (play, paintings, music, poetry and dances related to the life of Lautaro)	Arcola Theatre	27/06/04
Public interviews/ presentations attended	2	Jaime Huenún (poet)	Instituto Cervantes	08/06/04
		Santiago Elordi (poet/journalist)	Instituto Cervantes	29/06/04
Conferences and miscellaneous events attended	6	Screening of documentary *Volver a vernos* (2002)	Latin America Bureau	12/06/04
		Prayers to the Sun (Latin Poets UK event)	Praxis	12/06/04
		Latin American Literary Anthology book launch	Canning House	18/06/04
		Mauricio's Musiko Musika lesson	Colvestone Primary School	22/06/04
		Berenice's drawing workshop for children	Arcola Theatre	23/06/04
		Luis' theatrical rehearsal	Praxis	26/06/04

CHILE				
Contact type	**No.**	**Short description**	**Place**	**Date**
Exhibitions attended/ visited	14	*Selección de pinturas relacionadas con paisajes sureños* (exhibition opening), Germana Molina	North American Institute of Culture, Concepción	26/07/04
		Visiones de la infancia y adolescencia del poeta Neruda (exhibition opening), Julio Escámez	Cultural Centre of the Alianza Francesa, Concepción	27/07/04
		Muestra de Arte Contemporáneo (Gabriela Mistral Gallery collection), Voluspa Jarpa, etc	Pinacoteca, Concepción	28/07/04
		Trans-figuraciones, Jaime Fica	Pinacoteca	06/08/04
		Destierros (exhibition opening), Emma Malig	Pinacoteca	06/08/04
		Signos en la materia, Verónica Astaburuaga	Galería Sala Universitaria, Concepción	21/08/04
		Pablo Neruda, cien años, cien pintores y grabadores, Roser Bru, Virginia Errázuriz, Ricardo Yrarrázaval, etc	Caballo Verde art gallery, Concepción	21/08/04
		Cartografías de viaje a oriente (exhibition opening), Francisco Salas	Galería Pencopolitana de Arte, Almacenes Paris, Concepción	27/08/04
		Desde la pintura (exhibition opening), Ruperto Cádiz, Hugo Jorquera, René Pobrete	Pinacoteca	02/09/04
		Selección de fotografías, Paz Errázuriz	CTC gallery, Santiago de Chile	03/09/04
		Isla Robinson Crusoe: Un Viaje al Interior, Mario Toral, Bororo, Sammy Benmayor, etc	CTC gallery	03/09/04
		Salvador Allende Solidarity Museum (included Dawson Island recreation)	Santiago	05/09/04
		Incas of emergency 1979-2004	Matucana 100, Santiago	05/09/04
		Tres Pintores 3 Historias, Albino Echeverría, Jaime Fica, Bernabé Carrasco	Sala Dr Virginio Gómez González, Concepción	08/09/04
Informal conversations	7	Emma at the opening of *Destierros*	Pinacoteca	06/08/04

with artists in situ		Julio Escámez at the launch of *Visiones de la infancia y adolescencia del poeta Neruda*	Pinacoteca	04/08/04
		Alexis Figueroa at the opening of *Chile escritura en el aire Exposición (1973-1990) Revistas Literarias Editadas en Dictadura*	Chilean German Institute of Culture, Concepción	13/08/04
		Pedro Lemebel	Bookshop, Calle José Miguel de la Barra, Santiago	19/08/04
		Alejandro Anabalón	Rock Sinodio concert, Concepción	21/08/04
		Paola Castillo	Concepción	31/08/04
		Eduardo Carrasco (philosopher, musician and lecturer)	National Council for Culture and the Arts, Santiago	06/09/04
Informal conversations with cultural managers	3	Pacián Martínez at the opening of *Visiones de la infancia y adolescencia del poeta Neruda*	Sala de Exposiciones de la Universidad del Bío-Bío, Concepción	27/07/05
		Carmen Azócar (gallery owner) at *Pablo Neruda, cien anos, cien pintores y grabadores*	Caballo Verde gallery, Concepción	21/08/04
		Brenda Quiñe	National Council for Culture and the Arts, Santiago	06/09/04
Performances attended	10	Cristián Gálvez CD launch - *Dinámica solista* (2004; "Jazz Ahora" season)	Aula Magna, Concepción	30/07/04
		Screening of Francisco Casas and Yura Labarca's documentary *La memoria herida* (2004)	Alianza Francesa, Concepción	05/08/04
		Poética (underground rock group; singer Alejandro Anabalón publishes and sells his own poetry books)	Concepción	21/08/04
		Poetry book launch and reading - José Zuchel Matamala's *Poemas de Amor y Relatos Vivenciales* (2004)	Auditorio del Colegio Médico Virginio Gómez González, Concepción	27/08/04
		Screening of short Duoc-UC student films - "Muestra de cortos 2003"	Biblioteca Viva, Mall Plaza, Concepción	29/08/04

		Luis Orlandini and Sebastián Montes, classical guitarists (Sismo)	Galería Lido, Concepción	02/09/04
		Concert by trance group Subhira	Victor Jara Centre, Santiago	04/09/04
		Screening of documentary *El astuto mono Pinochet contra la Moneda de los cerdos* (2004)	Cine Arte Alameda, Santiago	05/09/04
		Rodrigo Iván Sepúlveda's documentary *La tribu de las palabras* (2003)	Cine Arte Alameda	06/09/04
		Congreso concert funded by Regional Government and Municipality of San Pedro de la Paz	Laguna Grande Amphitheatre in San Pedro de la Paz	10/09/04
Public interviews/ presentations attended	10	Emma Malig	Pinacoteca	06/08/04
		Pacián Martínez, Julio Escámez, Omar Lara and Darío Ulloa - *En torno a Neruda* (discussion of Neruda the man)	Sala de Exposiciones de la Universidad del Bío-Bío, Concepción	04/08/04
		Julio Escámez at book launch - *Visiones de la Infancia y Adolescencia del Poeta*	Pinacoteca	04/08/04
		Omar Lara at inauguration of cultural centre	Trilce Cultural Centre, Concepción	05/08/04
		Diálogo con Enrique Giordano organised by Pacián Martínez	Librería Estudio, Concepción	05/08/04
		Julio M. Llanes (Cuban writer) - *Literatura y Cultura Cubana*	French Alliance Cultural Centre, Concepción	12/08/04
		Paz Errázuriz interview	Tobacco and Friends, Tertulias, Santiago	19/08/04
		José Antonio Viera-Gallo (senator and writer) talk - *The crisis of postmodernity*	Trilce Cultural Centre, Concepción	27/08/04
		Paola Castillo - *Identity, Culture and Bicentenary* (filmmaking talk, Sismo)	Instituto Santo Tomás, Concepción	31/08/04
		Marcela Serrano interview	Tobacco and Friends, Tertulias	06/09/04

Conferences and miscellaneous events attended	7	Inauguration of *Muestra de Arte Contemporáneo* by Macarena Oñate, CNCA's visual arts coordinator, and María Nieves Alonso, University of Concepción's cultural director; Launch of *Sismo: Bío Bío se mueve con Arte* (programme of cultural events to foment artistic development) by Moira Délano, director of the Regional Council for Culture and the Arts	Pinacoteca	28/07/04
		Coloquio Internacional Sartre: una filosofía del compromiso: fenomenología, crítica y dialéctica (speakers: Guadalupe Santa Cruz, Federico Galende, etc)	ARCIS University, Santiago	09/08/04 - 10/08/04
		FONDART 2004 regional awards ceremony	French Alliance Cultural Centre	13/08/04
		Chile escritura en el aire Exposición (1973-1990) Revistas Literarias Editadas en Dictadura by Horacio Eloy and Alexis Figueroa. Included poetry recital and screening of video about poets of "*la nueva escena penquista*" (Damsi Figueroa, etc)	Chilean German Institute of Culture, Concepción	13/08/04
		Primer Encuentro de Académicos, Científicos e Investigadores Residentes en el Exterior y en el País, organised by DICOEX	ECLAC building, Santiago	17/08/04 - 18/08/04
		Discussion of Chilean cinema of the Sixties	Cinema, Santiago	17/08/04
		Aesthetic debates, Sismo (speakers: Justo Pastor Mellado, Pedro Celedón, Luis Cuello, Simonetta Rossi, etc)	Pinacoteca	07/09/04 - 08/09/04

APPENDIX 2: VOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPRESSION

The writing of this thesis has involved articulating and presenting multiple voices as authentically and comprehensibly as possible, striving to maintain their vitality and individuality. My own voice became a vital ingredient in this process: receptive yet pluralistic and able to facilitate dialogue between interviewees' voices. The construction of my own voice began at an early stage, capturing the rhythm of the fragments of life that I (re)collected during fieldwork, the pulses of experience. This process is reminiscent of school choir when we simply learnt to *feel* if a pianissimo or a forte carried the right subtlety, a mystery which brought the music to life, and that this could only be accomplished by each voice's singularity in unison.

The two artist biographies which follow crystallise the process of vocal (trans)formation and the awareness of its political and ethical implications. They present a possibility for looking through my interviewees' subjectivities. This articulation was accompanied by a historical realisation, stories connected to histories confined dormant within me, histories I had heard all my life, a film unfolding before me, revealing moments in space and time. They helped me understand, to take one example, the issues implicit in the notion of gender and how my own femininity inevitably gave an extra dimension to the interaction established with my interviewees.

These are the stories of two women of the same generation, one who has lived in Chile all her life and another who settled in England as an asylum-seeker in 1980. Both carved themselves into artists and thus reinvented themselves. I recognised my own people and even myself in their (hi)stories. My interviewees were mirroring one another and I was also part of this exchange. I realised that fragments of knowledge were already within me: secretly appropriated details. It was through my voice I was to convey the feel of my fieldwork encounters, when a simple gesture was sufficient to let people know I was with them, that their stories were giving me new possibilities for connections I was eager to use in order to understand their truths.

Both biographies present experiences shaping particular artistic trajectories. Their narratives offer journeys through the claims of the voices in this thesis. Their reinvention recycled life, capturing moments which are also the moments of a collective. Their narratives unveil commonalities, bringing us a step closer to understanding difference.

Becoming a painter in exile

> ... my experience in psychiatric hospital was valuable. It helped me understand that I was born to paint and that I simply have to do it. And that there's no other excuse. Before, I myself invented excuses... Everyone has done everything they could so I wouldn't be, I myself have done everything not to be. But inevitably you end up being. One has loads of rubbish in one's head, many external influences, a huge number of things which are good for nothing... It's taken me almost fifty years to understand what I was.

UK-based exile artists have been engulfed by a traumatic history and it is their belonging within this particular sequence that gives meaning to their lives and validates them in their recreated home. Artists articulated this commonality in different ways, according to subjective positionings formed by the specificity of personal experience.

> … obviously my artistic work can't be separated from my private life. And people think it's just going and separating things, but it isn't. One is a complete thing.

Close relationships with flora and fauna, conflictive family relations, feelings of misplacement and rejection were childhood experiences which gave her a frame of reference - a distinctive way of seeing reality. As a child, she perceived her surroundings as adverse and felt angry at herself and at the world, a *rebeldía* which took the form of an inner journey towards sensibility and awareness of life channelled through creative action.

> … and I went out there walking in the hills with my maid and collected wood and little sticks. I made small things out of wood which were my treasures. I didn't show them. I had them in my room and I was very ordered, always very ordered. And my world was my little room with my things, my order and my cats. I always had a lot of cats. My cats were my world. And some imaginary characters I invented from a very young age and which were there, always there, like my spirits.

She remembered that an atmosphere emerged which made many Chileans feel protagonists in their own society. Like so many other young people at the time, she found a space to express herself and felt she could turn outwards. The world was welcoming her.

> … the process of Popular Unity changed me. It gave me drive and for the first time I was motivated to do things. It made me go out...

After September 1973, she started resisting by painting subversive murals. She had seen what a freer Chile looked liked, so she had a reason to fight. Her politically active sister had "disappeared" and there was a need to channel all her anguish: she had a message to get across. By releasing her experience, she was empathising with other people's pain. All the sensibility she learnt during the inward process was used to capture this pain and therefore helped mirror the forbidden. She was representing the side of Chile that the official media suppressed. Her acts of resistance were a reminder both for the powerful and the suppressed. Creativity, as in her childhood, was present throughout the artistic process, from the planning of the act of resistance to its execution.

> We went to the villages and did clandestine music festivals with the locals. I helped with the staging. We also went out at night to paint. I don't know how we did it now! Sure, at the time my baby still wasn't born. But we went out to paint during the curfew.

The intention towards the world released through her artistic acts allowed her to mirror herself and she used the power that this praxis generated. She convinced herself that she was intelligent and that she could learn. She entered higher education to prove to herself and to the world that she could develop her own voice and construct her own space. Money was scarce, yet she finished her studies. She had wings but could not fly, for she bore the weight of her sister's absence.

> … I completed my studies but I could never find work. A friend brought me to his contact and he said to me, “Look, come to work on Monday, no problem”. And when Monday arrived, he said, “Look, I don’t know.” So I said to him, “Well, what’s happening?” So, “Look, the truth is,” he tells me. “The problem is that you’ve a disappeared sister and, so… Look, I’ve no reason not to trust you. You being a friend of Glorita, I trust you,” he said. “But it’s that all papers have to pass through the DINA. So I can’t employ you. I’m sorry.” He told me, “I can’t employ you.” But he told me. In other places, they never told me. I understood that the problem wasn’t me but my history. The fact that my sister was one of the disappeared has affected me all my life.

Family life was disarticulated and displaced. The situation fast became unbearable. She had a baby to care for and was pushed towards the inconceivable idea of exile. She experienced the dislocation of what she was forced to go through, what she had become and wanted for herself.

> Afterwards, my son was born autistic and deaf. My son’s father had also had his history: he was detained in the National Stadium. My mother also had many problems because she was active in the group... In the final year, my mother and I lived in 52 different places. It was really crazy and we couldn’t go on like that. My mother arranged all the papers and the only alternative I found was that we come to England. I didn’t want to come but my mother and my son’s father said, “No, with a child with all his problems, we can’t continue living like this in these conditions”. With neither of us able to work. Anyway, it was impossible... We left on 24th March 1980…

Arriving in the early Eighties, she encountered the hidden side of England, a country which felt less generous than she had imagined. She questioned the genuineness of British support and how much of it was political manipulation.

> There was much more support before, when the Chilean issue was in fashion. When I arrived in 1980, it was already almost *démodé*, so it never affected me much. World events make some more fashionable and others less so. That’s how it works...

She described the difficulty of being a Chilean woman of her generation in English society. She and her partner separated. She felt out of place in the UK: men and women played roles which had nothing to do with what she was used to. She identified this cultural difference as one of the main causes of rupture for Chilean couples in the UK. Chilean exiles brought had their own model of gender interactions.

> … the change of roles affects you as a woman and I think it’s also affected the men. I can’t speak for the men because I’m not a man. You come from a different epoch and, sure, maybe in Chile things have changed. I don’t know. But when I arrived here, it was a shock... A man being attentive to a woman is important for me. Maybe it’s stupid because for someone born and raised here this has no relevance. But here one starts to feel like a man. One is already like a man. One has to have the strength to take, has to learn to become a builder, a carpenter, an electrician. I even learnt to be

> a paediatrician! And I wasn't used to that in Chile. I'm tired of being Superwoman. Because of the stupidity of feminism, you end up doing everything and men doing nothing. They're transforming into zero. They can't find work and to have a man moping around the house is the worst thing you can imagine, because they aren't made to be at home... This crisis of roles generated by a totally different mentality has really messed up Chilean couples. For English women it's fantastic because they're English and in their own country... You transform into the man, but the man doesn't transform into a woman if he stays at home. He continues being a man, but a frustrated, embittered man, sometimes, who drinks and doesn't take care of the children and everything goes wrong.

She reflected on the sad reality: a bureaucratised, mercantile object. Latin American art did not sell. She did not relate to spaces profit-driven rather than socially engaged.

> I look at the things they have hanging and I already know. You realise. I started to talk with the owner of the gallery and she told me, "I never exhibit things by Latin Americans." "No?" I said to her. "Because I'm sure I'll sell well". And how can you be certain you won't sell if you never try? People buy and consume what they're given. But if you don't try with something else, how do you know if people will consume something else? I don't think people really like what they're given. People should at least have the possibility to choose - a democratic principle.

She denounced the lack of vision behind the underestimation of outsider art. She recognised the existence of an official platform in London "welcoming" this type of art but which does not constitute a genuine means of visibility. It does not generate a space for real inclusion and exchange, leaving it outside the network of criticality and circulation.

> … at another place I went, which worked through the council, you could get money for a refugee exhibition, for example, but they didn't give a damn about the artists. They didn't invite anyone from the arts, art critics or anything. They don't put themselves out because they're getting money from the council just the same. We have to hang the paintings and with that they're already getting the money. So they don't bother doing anything else. Not even with promoting the event. Nothing. The only people who go to the exhibition are two, three, four friends of the poor artist…

To survive, it became vital to develop collaborative and emotional links with other Chileans residing in London. They were in the same boat. Refugees came together to organise cultural activities. Keeping their history alive became more essential than ever. This gave them a referent to maintain their identity. She found a space in the group.

> I started to paint among the refugees. Among all the people, we started to do things. People tried to do cultural activities some way or other and, well, I began doing small things there, whatever there was. That's how I developed my work a bit and I realised that was what I really wanted to do.
>
> ... my form of expression is very much my own, although it has influences. My style is my own. And that's one of the things that probably gives me an

> advantage over artists who've studied art academically. On the other hand, I also have a sort of disadvantage as regards the academy which I'm conscious of and which has to do with the fact that I've spent years working to master many techniques, because I've learnt them by myself.

She remembered that in the Seventies and Eighties the refugees in London felt that the fight to restore democracy at home was essential, their moral duty. They knew they were in a position to do more than many Chileans who remained in the country. This common cause kept them united. From 1990 onwards, however, the solidarity groups disbanded. The thread which bound them together was cut.

Pinochet's sudden arrest in 1998 reunited many with a common goal: to protest outside the clinic. A degree of solidarity was re-established. The unobserved monster that refugees had fought against became a physical presence that they could see and shout at. Some awoke from a nightmare of neglect. It was real - there before them. This corporeality validated personal experiences, making hope possible and for a moment transforming our perception of Justice. She began working seriously and at last dared to declare herself an artist.

> … when the Pinochet thing began, they needed some canvases. So they called me and I started to work. I was still in psychiatric treatment at the time, so the Pinochet thing helped me to get better a bit. I went off the pills and I began to paint the canvases. After that, I began my project. I started to work on another level.

The Chilean national debt that exiles spoke of has a material dimension and a symbolic dimension, both contained within a spatial dimension. Space contextualises the symbolic and the material, allowing the whole of society to engage empathically with a certain human condition. When refugees talked about "recognition", they meant something beyond economic compensation which entails a moment in time rather than a continuum. It is within the continuity of a collective's everyday life that they can heal by sharing their experiences and recycling them in interaction and dialogue with others. Their wounds are not a contagion to be quarantined. Their recuperation has to do with gaining the position of social activists in Chile and becoming part of the country's wholeness. They must talk, participate, revisit the past and transcend annexation. In the context of this debt, she asked for recognition of her years of work and commitment and made it clear that, before any exchange can take place with people in Chile, they must understand what exile has really meant.

> I would like to have had a little recognition for everything we've done to make the situation change in Chile. If it hadn't been for the exiles, well, nobody knows what would be happening in Chile now. We've worked for years and years and years. Probably not all the Chileans here, but a group, yes. And a considerable group which, for example, played an important role in Pinochet's arrest in London. Exile hasn't been easy. The vast majority of people have had it very bad. And Pinochet thought his arrest in England was a drama! He lived in Surrey in complete luxury, with guards and everything. They even brought his cook from Chile! He didn't live in a council flat like most of us do, in those horrible towers where they mug you the second you go out onto the street. Sinister places. There are women

> who've committed suicide, who've thrown themselves off those buildings. There are so many stories. It hasn't been easy here. I say "here" because I live here in England but I think that for people who lived in France or other places it has also been difficult.

Some of the blameless were put in harm's way and suffered the consequences of exile. The social fracture was an endless chain. It is your responsibility, History, to recognise the multiplicity of stories.

> Chile owes me everything. It owes me my youth. It owes me for everything that happened to me. I feel that it owes me that. I'm probably mistaken. I don't know. I think I did a lot so that today we could have a pseudo-democracy, while others dedicated themselves to their careers and are already back in Chile. Several of us have had to stay on living in Housing Association houses and sometimes signing on... I didn't come to this country for economic reasons like others do. I came for political reasons. I came because my life and that of my son were in danger.

The potential of the Embassy in London as a space for exchange and integration with the exile community is sadly unrealised. Integration may only occur when there is intentionality behind the space for interaction. She stressed that the Embassy has assumed a "neutral" position over the years, receiving Chilean artists visiting the UK. She perceived it as entertainment - the culture industry. She had observed other Latin American embassies in the UK interested in local exile communities and their artists. Exile artists want to show their work in Chile but do not receive support. The conflicting agendas of the community and the Embassy need a common space which bridges the gap and converts conflict into creativity and (trans)formation.

> We all go where they ask us for nothing. For nothing. And we receive no sort of recognition or help even. That they publish our work, for example. Nothing. And not because they aren't aware. They are up for bringing people over here. I don't know much, but what I can say for sure is that those who are here have never received any help from the Embassy... We know this Cultural Attaché. Before, we neither knew the names of the Cultural Attachés or even if they existed. They always complain that they don't have money, but we don't see the same attitude in other Latin American embassies.

Her artwork was shaped by experiences emerging from a "borrowed" cultural context - always with Chile as symbolic referent. She was aware of the historical dimension of the community's artistic constructions. Her art stood then for a trajectory containing the experiential traces of a collective which helped to constitute the wholeness of Chile.

> … in some way, what one paints or does is somehow related to history - that rather erased history of Chile - and I think it's important that people somehow get to know that history, certain experiences one's had that people don't know about simply because a stage of our history has been erased. I'm certainly conscious of that.

The government's ongoing construction of an *institucionalidad* which can bring Chilean

communities abroad closer to Chile is starting to look at these communities' needs in order to design more meaningful policies. The process has been slow, however. She described what her specific needs were and how her dream to return to Chile would come true if she had the structural support.

> In my case - and every experience is individual - I can't go and say, "I'm off to Chile", because I have the problem of caring for my son. I wouldn't be able to support him in Chile in the same conditions he is here. He's fine and I can't uproot him. It isn't fair for him. If he weren't fine here, I'd probably dare to take the risk with him. He grew up here and is accustomed to it as if he were English. Nor does Chile give me any guarantee that my son will be OK there, that I'll get medication and care for him.

The imposition of exile encouraged longing for the space of belonging they were compelled to flee from: the space of the familiar and the space of an understood, shared order. For some, return acquired a philosophical dimension. She expressed her need to reconnect with the physicality of the Chilean territory whose landmarks she used to make sense of life.

> I would leave immediately, because I've never liked this country. Not because I think that Chile's a fantastic country. Many things aren't equal nor will they ever be equal... I don't idealise Chile, but it's my country and I have the right to be there. Here, wherever I go, including in this small area of Hackney, wherever, I'm a "fucking foreigner". I don't want to be a "fucking foreigner". I'm Chilean and I want to live in my country.

After a lifetime of experiences, her attitude towards political parties changed. She had identified a segregationist nature which no longer met her humanistic reflection. She believed in the coexistence of a plurality. Her past political affiliations did not fulfil her current interest in difference.

> ... we all think differently and we all have the right to think differently too. That's why I'm not active in political parties anymore, you understand? Though many people have criticised me. The problem is that you start to have a different vision and you free yourself.

She contrasted participatory social models with free-market neoliberalism.

> … people are separated and divided more all the time, including in the most intimate ways. First they start by dividing the communities. Now they're beginning to divide the family into man and woman. That's why I don't like this competitive capitalist system.

She recalled the England she encountered when she first arrived and described the social changes. She made reference to England's lost sense of community and how this absence has affected the ways people interact.

> A "charity" gallery and they charge £1,500 for a room! Not in the past. I remember that here in this country at the time of the GLC [*Greater London*

> *Council*], you found places which financed you. There were more chances. But all that finished ages ago.
>
> … I hear that this country had another dynamic, totally different, that they put an end to. They put an end to it because it wasn't convenient for this system. There were communities. People related to one another differently. Things happened in the boroughs. This country was different. Even when I arrived and Margaret Thatcher had been a year in government, this country was different to how it is today. That horrible old woman hadn't destroyed it yet...

Becoming a painter in Chile

> ... painting has been a passion for me since I was a girl. At school, I always chose the optional painting or sculpture workshops. My plan was to study fine art or architecture when I left school. But I fell in love. Silly little girl! I fell madly in love and left school. I got married, I got pregnant and I had my daughter. My life plan changed. Afterwards we had problems as a couple, we suffered. I had another child. Many things happened in my personal life. I fell into a deep depression also produced by the fact that I wasn't doing what interested me and I was growing. While I was married, I started to grow and want other things.

Her health declined and she had to permit herself a new beginning. It was time to recycle past experiences. She began to listen to her inner voice and those of the children who were victims of the regime. Starting to paint and engage actively with social problems were two aspects of becoming an artist. She wanted to be free in an oppressive cultural-historical context. Things were difficult in a male chauvinist society, yet this oppression made it easier to empathise with other oppressed sectors. When she was helping to liberate others, she was also liberating herself.

> In '74, after recovering from my depression, I started to study painting with a private teacher and it changed my life. I started to paint just for myself. My life fluctuated between my children and my painting, between my husband and my painting... we separated when I was 33... thousands of things happened to me on the personal level, with my kids, whatever, but I kept on painting. In that period, I took some courses in another thing which interested me a lot: painting and child psychology. And I dared to start running workshops in private schools and for deprived children.
>
> I was very socially committed during the dictatorship. I gave painting workshops in an organisation which cared for the children of the killed and the disappeared and later cared for the returning children - all the problems associated with children that the dictatorship generated... And, well, we did work on human rights, all the issues of the time.

Through children's voices, she found her own voice and started to develop her distinctive artistic seal which positioned her in society and the wider world. In a context where she could not turn outwards to develop her project of resistance, she had to go on an inner journey and carry out her own explorations. The time that she spent on her own became

a learning experience. She assumed a predisposition to ongoing self-construction.

> My thematic is very personal. Seen from outside, they're landscapes. But in reality I take the landscape as a pretext in order to express myself, because I'm very interested in colour, more so than in form. So my landscapes are simple but the colours give them the drama and feeling of what I want to say. My language is silent and solitary.

This became a way of life. Learning to paint meant learning to live, an intention towards her immediate surroundings. Painting could not be separated from everyday life and ethical questions. An awareness of others and a sense of justice became musts in a context of human rights abuse.

She called culture "a country's backbone" because it sustains that country through the creativity of all its inhabitants. She believed that Chile had not yet developed the cultural "solidity" needed to give a sense of cohesion to the country as a whole. Experience had taught her that leftwing governments are more sympathetic to cultural-artistic expressions and appear to understand their transformative potential better. She believed that governmental action needed to concentrate on encouraging a diversity of accessible cultural-artistic initiatives and also on transforming social attitudes to artists. A country trying to rejuvenate its cultural-artistic scene should not ignore the need to professionalise its artists' work and give them the status and recognition they merit.

> Another problem is the habit of expecting artists to work for free and, however, we're the poorest of all. It costs us a lot to do this labour because nobody gives us any remuneration. Or rather, pure love of art. Exactly. It's necessary to recognise the value of artists, respect them and pay them what they're owed.

She believed that culture was not an add-on but made up part of integral, organic national development; that a country was constituted through its cultural constructions and that the arts were spontaneous actions which belonged and pertained to everyone. Thus culture also became a way of life for her; a possibility for growing in equality. Her experience had shown that the poor want to learn and explore new spaces for learning and that the space of art, as a cultural construct, proffered this pedagogical possibility.

> ... when we give exhibitions in the public library, there's a very warm, very nice reception from the most humble people, those who don't have access to other galleries... the parents of the children who've been our pupils arrive with respect, with an admiration. They become regulars of the place... So I think that's the way culture and art make themselves part of the country: starting at the beginning and giving it its real importance. More has been done with Lagos than in other governments but it still isn't enough...

A pedagogue of the oppressed. Her need to learn became a need to teach - there was no barrier between the two processes. Learning from and with others inevitably became a way of teaching, because she experienced these processes as more than instruction. She was not a trained teacher but her dialogical approach to learning made her one and she took on an active social role. Her everyday praxis as a critical citizen cut through her

work as an artist and giving the poor a possibility for expression was a social act which had political and aesthetic implications. She returned to others their right and ability to perform. The gesture of her artistic work made it part of this citizenship performance.

> The difference between those who've had access to art and those who haven't is big. Children who've never had that access are like sponges and so avid. They enjoy and enjoy everything, so it's a marvellous pleasure for me to see them. Priceless. They're less developed, but when they do get the chance, they express things. Other things. Not the same things that other kids express.

She had grown through collaborative links of solidarity. The traces of this more participatory past are visible today in the way she and other artists of her generation operate. Certain forms of interaction had become ingrained and were released when they brought their paintings to peripheral audiences. Artists painted remote country towns, so that people could "see themselves". These initiatives targeted deprived sectors and transcended the institutionally mediated space of the gallery. These artists made the pedagogical dimension of life explicit. It was not that they had an innate personal pedagogical vocation; it was a way of be(com)ing appropriated from the social dynamic which permeated the social spheres during their formative years. She believed that these artists' efforts were insufficient and that it was the government's turn to take responsibility and plan more sustainable action.

Since the days of the military regime, life feels colder and more competitive. It was harder to meet up and share. She belonged to two associations which had a great start, but later the artists came to feel disillusioned and tired. It became more difficult for them to cope with everyday demands and survival became the main struggle. They could no longer commit to their associations fully and, without that commitment, collective projects went to the dogs. She wasted time and energy on abandoned projects and became sceptical about committing to a collective again.

> Nobody wants to. Nobody's interested. They go straight home from work and don't want to do anything else. I feel that there isn't a recuperation of Chile. There isn't a recuperation of the culture or of the human being. That's the most terrible thing. Everyone is more selfish.

It has been over fifteen years since the regime came to an end, but cynicism lingers on - another mode of interaction imprinted on people's minds and notable in younger people's attitudes. She saw the effects of being brought up in the socio-historical context of the regime. This was reason enough for her to use her pedagogical-aesthetic space to offer students new humanistic possibilities. She felt that life was getting shorter and she channelled her energy into what she valued most: her painting and her students.

> It's like everything the military coup produced. That's what made people become like this. Because you didn't know if you could speak to the person standing next to you because he could be from the other faction! A distrust, a fear. So I think that must also have been transmitted to the children, but what was also inculcated during the dictatorship was this competitiveness: sports before art; art went to hell; a sinister cultural blackout. And it's very difficult to escape, to overcome that.

The military regime disarticulated Chilean society and its legacy still remains. She sensed that an atmosphere of distrust prevails, hindering more collaborative cultural interaction. Many artists went into exile and became intellectual resources elsewhere. She believed that it was going to take some time for Chile to recover from the loss. She had experienced life before, during and after the military regime and evaluated these historical episodes.

> Around '73, the thing changed profoundly. Our society is still disarticulated. This trust thing hasn't been recomposed, of looking forward, of doing things that they did before with great force. Art is trying to raise its head in all its areas, but it still hasn't succeeded. I compare the cultural activity here in Concepción before the coup... with the dictatorship; thousands of artists left and those of us who remained tried to do what we could.

Some offered resistance during this period, people from different backgrounds directly affected by human rights abuses and others who sympathised with their plight. She believed that this activism had to do with the search for truth and justice, two inalienable rights. If people did not experience injustice directly, however, they tended not to understand this search.

> Young people from families which have been affected or have been very much into politics, into justice really, have something of a conscience. In their own way and they express it in other ways. But the majority aren't like that and I see it among my pupils.

She was conscious that art education goes beyond the transmission of information and ways of doing. She used painting as a vehicle for learning, so when she taught painting she also taught a way of constructing culture. She believed that culture was an atmosphere which surrounded learning and that it was also the learning itself. Without this dimension, it was impossible to talk about quality in education. Children are the future of Chile, she said, and as a primary school teacher she had to provide them with this vital formative dimension and integral platform which sustained the principles of equality and equity. She recognised that Chile has been affected by globalisation and that transformation could only be possible if teachers entered into children's worlds and created spaces for exchange. This was how she smuggled in new possibilities.

> That children are born into an atmosphere where culture and art are something natural. That they can experiment, paint, learn... that apart from making nursery school children paint, that they also see and appreciate what painting is. I feel we have to begin the future now. Now it is necessary to begin to construct the future of those who are going to be adults. Give them things of good quality. What happens when a child is just sat there in front of a television?

Her praxis was inscribed within history and therefore assumed a historical role as a teacher. She encouraged her students to engage with history - become active protagonists in cultural construction. She thought it impossible to live the present without knowing and understanding the past. She believed this process of conscientisation could only take place through shared values and thus the teaching of values became central to

her classes. Painting was a means of teaching values-within-values. She understood art as a multisensory experience and it became natural to complement her painting classes with other artistic forms. It was through this multisensory experience that she wanted her students to understand more about life and its aesthetic dimension. This enriched the teaching-learning process, made it more meaningful and contextualised.

> ... I unite literature and painting a lot for the children. I search for poems, make them illustrate a poem or a short story. If only I had an actor so as to tell the story too, because I tell it in another way. I can't do mime to interest them so much. I find that it's absolutely great, for example, to put on some music, so that the children paint.
>
> ... I have always believed one has to inculcate art and culture from the beginning. You have to begin with the children, but really not just do little workshops here and there. That culture and art be an important part of the curriculum, important in everything. That the children live art, go to concerts, see painting. The ideal would be to begin from the nursery onwards inculcating art as a way of life and a form of knowledge. The same in the towns with people who don't have access. I feel there's an attempt to do this. We do it ourselves, bringing exhibitions to neighbouring villages.
>
> ... the arts should all be one but they're not. Or rather, art is art, right. You go, I don't know, to whatever it is because it moves you…

She saw how artists' capacity for exchange and collaboration was limited. They did not see points of connection between their own work and that of others, a problem exacerbated when they allowed themselves to be absorbed into their discipline, leaving no time for interdisciplinary exploration. She recognised that the integration of the arts had taken place as a result of personal initiative because no common ground between the arts has been established. She belonged to an association of painters and writers and regretted that there was little or no communication or exchange between the two groups and that the potential for collaboration was lost.

> ... I like all the arts and I go to everything, but I don't bump into my colleagues at these things. I feel that there isn't in everyone this real interest in all the arts. It surprises me that there isn't exchange... We have suddenly put in themes like the works of Neruda, for example, or a poem someone's chosen. But this has been done every so often… They're very much into their own world, into their little space. But I haven't moved in younger circles. I don't know how it is there. There's probably more exchange.
>
> ... the vision I have of the government is that it has good ideas but they're sometimes wrongheaded and the people it names for positions, for example, for the Regions sometimes aren't the right people and that's why you don't always see the results...

She perceived a lack of human resources which could put strategic changes into action efficiently. During Lagos' administration, she participated in meetings that artists were

invited to in order to discuss their needs. She received no feedback and saw no concrete action taken. She felt let down and became sceptical about the type of participation that the government proposed. It did not coincide with her understanding of true democracy. She believed that genuine participation involved solving problems through collaboration and that her involvement in the meetings had the potential to develop a closer relationship between artists and government. She recognised that Chile has made improvements regarding culture and the arts, especially in the democratisation of access to public funds, but that the process has been too slow and partial. She has made the decision not to participate in activities like this any further, instead devoting herself fully to her own work as artist and teacher.

> ... I haven't participated for the last four years. I got bored because I participated a lot. It's time that you spend, money as well because I had to do things and so on. Above all, energy. And one has to keep one's energies for everything that one has to do in the little time remaining, so it's that now, no. I think the government's intentions are good and that it's improving to a certain degree. The truth is that I'm a bit tired, so now I don't attend these things. Before, I went to everything but there's a moment when one tires and says, well, let younger people do these things because I need my time and energy to paint and work. And if besides that I go to those meetings, there's no time left, my life goes. One learns to use time well, because before one had all the time in the world. One starts to ration oneself.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS - IN EXILE

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo cultural.

A
Claro, por supuesto la cultura ha sido un elemento de un millón, importantísimo para tantos chilenos en el exilio y chilenos que han estado dispersos en distintas partes de Inglaterra y Gran Bretaña en general. Y cuando hay eventos culturales organizados por Derechos Humanos o por Amnesty International o por diversas instituciones culturales que están relacionados con la cultura en exilio, nos hemos reunido, ha sido la cultura la que nos ha reunido, el arte que nos ha reunido. A través de poesía, a través del teatro, a través de la música - muy importante, la música - y hemos realimentado nuestras raíces, nuestra unión con nuestras raíces culturales que están en Chile, que están en *Latin America* y, al mismo tiempo, nos hemos fortalecido dentro del exilio porque, de otros modo, habría sido sumamente difícil, sumamente difícil porque vivir con otra cultura que es la cultura británica, la inglesa, la cultura europea, entonces muchos de nosotros no hemos sentido absorbido por un tiempo, sobre todo las nuevas generaciones de chilenos que o han nacido en exilio o llegaron de muy pequeños, no, y hablan solamente inglés, por ejemplo. Les cuesta mucho hablar en castellano. Escriben solamente inglés y escriben su poesía, por ejemplo, en inglés y escriben teatro en inglés. Entonces nosotros que llegamos más mayores, un poco más mayores que ellos, hemos tenido el gran conflicto de tener que asimilarnos a una nueva cultura para poder, no para alienarnos, pero poder comunicar nuestra propia cultura a la gente con la cual vivimos, no, con la cual convivimos en este país. Entonces el inglés siempre ha sido muy importante. Por eso, hemos traducido nuestras cosas al inglés. Damos recitales de poesía. Yo, en mi caso personal, doy recitales de poesía bilingües, hablando en inglés y en castellano. Y la música que no necesita mucha traducción. Es una gran ventaja. Pero el teatro. Por ejemplo, yo hice una obra sobre la conquista de México, por ejemplo, en que he usado el castellano como la lengua de los indígenas. Un poco al revés de la historia, no. Muy surrealista, usando el inglés como el idioma dominante, como la lengua de los españoles conquistadores y resultó muy bien porque teníamos uno de los personajes que era la traductora de Cortés. Entonces eso nos servía para hablar las dos lenguas, para traducir el castellano al inglés y continuar con la obra en inglés básicamente. Pero fue el experimento interesante y tuvo muy buena crítica acá, la recibieron muy bien los críticos británicos.

¿Qué más te puedo decir? Ahora, lo que más nos une a Chile en estos momentos es una afirmación de Lagos que es muy interesante. Es una cosa que se había empezado a descubrir o redescubrir prácticamente con la campaña y antes de la campaña: la idea de que, si hay trece Regiones en Chile, hay una decimacuarta que somos todos los otros afuera de Chile, que somos todos en el exilio. Y ese concepto de pertenecer a una "decimacuarta región" que es la gran región mundial del exilio, cosmopolita del exilio, nos ha servido mucho para mantenernos mentalmente en contacto y siempre como una referencia. Siempre Chile es una referencia. Esa referencia es también el gran continente latinoamericano y el tercer mundo porque hemos convivido con gente del tercer mundo, no, con somalíes, iraquíes, iraníes, qué sé yo, de culturas completamente distintas, no.

¿Qué más te puedo decir? Así que hemos crecido, hemos crecido y el elemento cultural, la cultura ha sido uno de los lazos más fuertes para mantener la unidad de la comunidad, no, la unidad de la comunidad, y no perder perspectiva de por qué estamos acá, no, y por qué es tan importante mantenernos unidos no solamente a nuestra patria sino a la gran patria latinoamericana.

Q
¿Qué tanto los artistas aquí en el exilio se han beneficiado con la actual política cultural en Chile?

A
¿Actual política cultural de Chile? Mm.

Q
¿Qué tipo de apoyo reciben?

A
Mm. No tanto. Un poco ahora a través de la Embajada porque ha cambiado la política cultural de la Embajada, sin duda, no cierto, con la Agregada Cultural que tenemos que es muy activa, no, Carmen Gloria Dunnage, que tengo la certeza de haber sido amigo desde Chile. Y del hecho de que haya estado ella en el exilio también. Entonces entiende mucho más la problemática del exilio. Muy bien. Pero sí, sí han habido iniciativas nuevas, iniciativas nuevas que se han desarrolladas muy bien y yo he trabajado en función de eso, para eso también, no. Por ejemplo, los relatos cortos para mujeres, concursos para mujeres, no, relatos cortos contando la problemática del exilio, los problemas en el exilio, que han resultado muy bien. Ha habido una respuesta maravillosa por parte de la comunidad y han culminado en la entrega de premios, han culminado con la lectura de las obras premiadas y eso ha estimulado muchísimo, sobre todo a las mujeres en la comunidad y uno de los elementos sociales más aislados con más problemas en la comunidad, muchos más problemas que los hombres. Entonces se han sentido mucho más incorporadas al proceso cultural. Eso ha sido bueno. Quisiéramos, claro, mantener muchas más relaciones con Chile. Poder ir a Chile, por ejemplo, alguna vez, y mostrar el trabajo que hemos hecho acá, no. Hemos mantenido contacto con la secretaria general de cultura, pero no hemos recibido una respuesta muy clara todavía. Y ha estado todo muy en el aire. Por otro lado hemos traído gente de Chile acá, por ejemplo, no. Hemos traído poetas, hemos traído escritores, hemos traído muchos literatos pero no ha podido ser el proceso al revés, es mucho más difícil. Y lo entendemos. Entendemos que, claro, es mucho más difícil llegar a Chile, que todavía. La gente que sale es gente muy excepcional, yo creo, pero cuesta mucho llegar a Chile porque Chile todavía vive como para sí mismo, no. Está recién como despertando culturalmente después de una larga dictadura. Y cuesta un poco mirar hacia afuera. Le cuesta un poco mirar hacia afuera. Y quizás hay un elemento de desconfianza también, no. Que creen que la gente que se fue no es la gente que ha luchado para que terminara la dictadura, comenzaran los procesos culturales en Chile. Recuperar lo que se había perdido. Pero nosotros en el exilio *continuamos* justamente lo que muchos compañeros y trabajadores de la cultura no pudieron hacer porque estaban perseguidos y tenían que hacerlo subterráneamente. Nosotros mantuvimos, pudimos seguir con esa continuidad cultural que se había perdido en Chile porque se había sumergido. Nosotros le dimos una dimensión inmensa, prácticamente universal, y llamó la atención a todo el

mundo, no, sobre los problemas políticos que sufría Chile. Sociopolíticos, económicos, culturales, no, que sufría el país bajo la dictadura y desde luego continuamos con toda una cultura tan rica que se había perdido o sumergido en Chile y es una cosa que algún día van a tener que reconocer, yo creo, los trabajadores de la cultura en Chile. Pero es un fenómeno que pasa en general en otros países latinoamericanos, pasa con, yo diría, el Tercer Mundo. Pasa con Perú, cuesta mucho reconectarse y superar ese elemento de desconfianza que siempre ha existido de que si te vas del país es porque ya no eres o peruano o chileno, o no eres tan chileno o tan peruano como los que se han quedado, no. Un día se reconocerá la labor y continuidad que hemos desarrollado acá, lo que es importante y no hemos perdido un ápice... nos hemos mantenido unidos a nuestras raíces, no hemos perdido nada. Nos hemos universalizado, la verdad. Nos hemos abierto mucho más a otras culturas y hemos dado testimonio de nuestra cultura ante otras culturas, no, y nos hemos unido a esas culturas. Pero no hemos perdido un ápice. Hemos ganado. Al contrario. Hemos ganado. Hemos crecido.

Q
¿Qué es para ti ser chileno?

A
Ser chileno es como vivir en la provincia, en la provincia de esta gran patria latinoamericana, no, y esta gran patria que es parte de la patria más grande que es el Tercer Mundo, no. Para mí, ser chileno es ser provinciano en este mundo, es ser parte de una provincia donde nací - una provincia maravillosa, pero una provincia en todo sentido.

Q
Cuéntame más de tus motivaciones, tus intenciones. ¿Qué hay detrás de tu trabajo?

A
Detrás de mi trabajo. Como te digo, el testimonio. Precisamente el testimonio. Y he tenido bastante suerte en el sentido de que he recibido apoyo, hablando justamente de apoyo allá o acá, por supuesto, porque estamos viviendo acá. Hemos recibido mucho más apoyo aquí de divisiones culturales, no. He recibido becas. He dado tres producciones de teatro exclusivamente con apoyo británico, con apoyo de instituciones británicas, de Greater London Council o con el Arts Council o todas esas instituciones británicas que me han permitido desarrollar mi trabajo dramático y me han invitado a instituciones como Amnesty International, como el Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture. Me han invitado para recitar mi poesía, no. Entonces en ese sentido me he mantenido muy bien y me he fortalecido. La única razón porque estoy aquí en el exilio es dar testimonio, dar testimonio de los míos, dar testimonio de la gente que yo he conocido, de otros mártires, de la gente que ha desaparecido. Dar testimonio de la gente que aún lucha en Chile y en *Latin America* para que se haga justicia, justicia social y realmente se supere la gran división entre ricos y pobres. Y eso ha sido mi misión: dar testimonio, testimonio de todo este proceso de lucha en el cual estamos, procesos de cambio, no, que estamos impulsando y que queremos. Testimonio. El testimonio. La única razón por la cual estoy acá, la única razón por la cual he sobrevivido, no solamente la tragedia chilena del golpe sino que también he sobrevivido aquí en el exilio, no. No es tan fácil tampoco aunque hay muchas más ventajas desde luego que en Chile y eso mismo nos hace sentir más responsables porque hemos

recibido ayuda y apoyo y comprensión de parte de la comunidad no solamente latina sino británica.

Q
¿Cómo ves la segunda generación?

A
Las nuevas generaciones. Muy bien. En general, muy bien. Cuando se dan cuenta que hay un deseo de comunicarte con la comunidad británica en la cual ellos están, no, porque hablan inglés como primera lengua o porque han sido educados en este país, han crecido en este país. Se están comunicando con esta comunidad a la cual ellos pertenecen para dar testimonio de una cultura que también a ellos les pertenece, no, que es la cultura de sus padres. Muy bien con los jóvenes, muy bien, *in fact* increíble. Y aquí tienes el caso. El caso de Juan que llegó hace 25 años a Inglaterra con su hijo que tenía cuatro años, quien creció acá, estudió drama. Él es un actor británico y por primera vez ahora se le presenta la ocasión para actuar en castellano. Es un fruto del exilio. Hay una interacción, no, integración de una persona que, un hijo del exilio y nosotros que hemos estado acá y que vinimos, claro, de una cultura distinta a la británica y ellos tienen esa dualidad. Y es bueno que de repente, claro, la lengua nuestra pasa a primer plano, en el caso nuestro, y él puede comunicarse y lo hace bastante bien. Yo pensé que tendría muchos más problemas. Ha sorprendido a su padre incluso muchas veces. Es primera vez que actúa en castellano y está muy bien, muy bien. Y aunque no sea una cosa profesional entrecomillas, tiene una frescura que es exactamente lo que quiero mostrar a la comunidad británica y a la comunidad de exiliados. Hay algo fresco con valores no solamente hispanoamericanos sino universales, como el caso de Lorca y Neruda.

Q
¿Viajas regularmente a Chile?

A
No, no, no regularmente. Viajé en 1998 después de 25 años que no había ido. Me pareció bien, sí. Me daba muchas ganas de quedarme. Hice unos contactos allí con algunas universidades pero tenía que volver por mi trabajo.

[…]

Fíjate que los teatros de barrio son muy buenos teatros de vanguardia. Tienen una reputación increíble en Londres y quieren renovar constantemente sus repertorios. Quieren obras latinoamericanas, quieren obras de chilenos, quieren obras de cubanos, de argentinos, quieren obras de gente distinta a la cultura británica, no. Por supuesto lo hacemos todo en inglés. Tenemos que hacerlo porque el teatro vive del público inglés que viene a verlo, no, que viene a ver las obras. Organizamos no solamente temporadas con obras extranjeras sino que también lunes culturales y tuvimos música con poesía, no, mimos o actividades artísticas, mimos como el drama ceremonial, la música, desde luego, y han resultado muy bien. Muy bien. Es un trabajo integrado con la comunidad británica pero que está en función de nuestra solidaridad con nuestra cultura. Es testimonio a través de los medios de comunicación británicos.

Q

Cuéntame un poco más sobre cómo te sentiste cuando volviste a Chile.

A
Lo encontré un poco disperso todo. Muy disperso, muy, muy. Estaba despertándose culturalmente, no. Estaba recién superando ese problema del miedo, por ejemplo, que lo vi en mi familia incluso. Una sobrina que es sicóloga y me dice, “Es primera vez, tío, que veo que no tengo miedo. Se me quitó el miedo.” No solamente porque Pinochet estaba preso acá de repente - ¡pah! - se le quitó el miedo. Eso, ocho años después del fin de la dictadura. Culturalmente vi mucha dispersión, claro. Es que estamos todos dispersos, estamos todos dispersos. Reunirnos nos va a costar muchísimo. Yo creo que este centenario de Neruda va a ayudar que los poetas se junten, los teatreros, los dramaturgos, los músicos. Nos vamos a juntar de alguna forma. Sería ideal haber hecho una cosa allá también integrada con nosotros acá, pero todo para en el problema económico. Es difícil si no puedes pagar un pasaje. Es muy difícil. Chile es un país con escasos recursos económicos para la cultura, no. Y esto se ve la Embajada. Ellos tienen muy poco dinero para hacer cosas. Pero apoyan. Todo lo que hacemos nosotros lo apoyan. Ahora este trabajo que ha hecho Juan con su hijo es todo gratuito, es todo solidaridad con Berenice, no, la pintora que ha preparado este proyecto por más de un año pensando en el centenario de Neruda y en el nuevo año mapuche que es justamente en estos días.

Q
¿Cómo vamos a enfrentar este problema de la dispersión?

A
Sí, bien difícil, bien difícil. Creo que nunca vamos a poder reunir a la tribu que éramos originalmente. Hay muchos compañeros muertos, mucha gente está todavía desaparecida y no sabemos dónde está. Y no sé qué nos puede unir. En el fondo escribo una obra de teatro, escribo poesía, escribo para reunir de nuevo mi tribu, a mi gran grupo de amigos, mi gran grupo de poetas amigos, dramaturgos amigos de antigua bohemia, que era una fuente de inspiración muy rica, no. No sé cómo lo vamos a hacer realmente. No tengo una respuesta clara a eso. ¿Cómo lo vamos a hacer? Yo creo que es cosa de tiempo, el tiempo. Pero sí hay iniciativas para hacerlo: yo creo que esta idea de Lagos, digamos, esta concepción de Lagos de que el exilio es una “decimacuarta región”, eso puede ayudar mucho. Mentalmente, ayuda muchísimo. Psicológicamente, ayuda mucho. Pero de aquí a que se haga realidad la “decimacuarta región” que somos todos, lo veo bien difícil. No sé. Creo que vamos a quedar como una generación de la diáspora y no sabemos cómo vamos a volver a reunirnos. Y no tengo nada claro. Tal vez escuchándonos a nosotros si hacemos todas estas cosas que estamos viendo acá y si sabemos algo que está haciendo Óscar Hahn en Estados Unidos, o un poeta chileno en Paris. Bueno, pero sí también hay casos aislados.

Group interview with poets, musicians and visual artists, first generation

Q
Cuéntenme sobre el apoyo que han recibido para llevar a cabo su trabajo cultural.

A1
Hay un ejemplo. DICOEX está realizando en estos momentos un encuentro en Pamplona. Esto lo está organizando el Gobierno prácticamente, el Gobierno está involucrado.

A2
Yo recibí esa información por un amigo que está en España. Él me cuenta de este evento que es un festival de cueca y aquí empecé yo a preguntar a gente, a los más cercanos, a mis amigos. Empecé a preguntar por una pareja de cueca y al final después de dos meses se llega a la conclusión de que no hay una pareja de cueca que represente a los chilenos residentes en el Reino Unido en Pamplona. Entonces, ¿qué puedo decir? Yo me siento sin identidad.

A3
No, no es ése el problema. Esto tiene que ver con lo que estábamos hablando recién, de la división política y toda la cosa que viene de montones de años. Si el Gobierno está preparando algo, entonces yo le pregunto a mis amigos quién baila cueca y lo que pasa es que la gente que no está interesada. Simplemente no quiere tener vínculos con la Embajada, entonces ahí hay.

A1
La Embajada o el Consulado de Chile tenía la información de este evento un mes antes. Antes de mayo ellos recibieron esta información y la tuvieron en el escritorio casi dos meses, no. Casi dos meses porque no hay ese contacto con la gente. Les llega una información y ellos no se preocupan de llamar a alguien, preguntar a la comunidad chilena para saber cómo está esto. No, no hay una comunicación.

A3
Yo personalmente nunca fui muy amigo de la Embajada, ni lo sigo siendo, por razones políticas básicamente. Pero hay otro aspecto: el Gobierno debiera entregar a la gente de la cultura algún apoyo, darles la oportunidad, no. Y no existe eso. Entonces, no existe - ¿cómo dijera yo? - la base. Yo hubiera ido si tuviera tiempo porque no tengo problema con esa cosa.

A1
¿Qué fecha es eso? 27 de junio. Todavía hay tiempo para ese evento porque ese evento empieza el 1 de julio y termina el 6 de julio.

A2
Entonces allá en Pamplona están las plazas para cuatro personas: dos bailarines - la pareja de bailarines - y los delegados que vayan...

A1
Y ellos pagan el alojamiento, la estadía por 6 días. Hay que costearse los pasajes ida y vuelta. Ahí estaba el apoyo.

A2
Entonces la respuesta a la pregunta es: faltan los vínculos. No hay una base o algo que sea vínculo entre la Embajada y la comunidad. Tienen muy buenas intenciones, pero no tienen buena comunicación.

A4
Hay buenos valores culturales pero no hay un directorio de artistas.

A5
¿Sabes qué pasa con las cosas que organiza la Embajada? Hay una comunicación excelente pero con cosas muy concretas y específicas de la Embajada y nada más. Pero cuando nosotros la comunidad chilena tenemos eventos o hay eventos más internacionales, la Embajada no se preocupa.

A1
¿Qué pasa? La Embajada, por ejemplo, manda a todo el mundo 700 invitaciones para el 18 de septiembre con un formulario. Uno tiene que hacer un *application* para ir a las fiestas. Por supuesto tú tienes que dar todos tus datos y pagar lo que ellos quieren para ir a la fiesta.

A5
¡Carísima! 15 libras.

A1
Entonces es muy oficial. Si tú le mandas este formulario a un chileno común como nosotros, en donde tenemos que dar todos nuestros datos personales y ellos van a decidir allá, no sé dónde, a quién le mandan los *tickets*, la gente se pone aprensiva.

A5
Aprensiva. Y con justa razón además.

A1
¿Te fijas? Ahora, sería importante, sería importante que, por ejemplo, la Embajada se preocupara de traer grupos, grupos de Chile. Traerlos para acá. Ellos tienen los...

A5
“No tienen plata.”

A1
“No tienen plata.” Lo de la plata siempre lo ponen como obstáculo. Tú cada vez que inviertes algo de dinero en la parte cultural de Chile, tú vas a recibir de vuelta mucho más. No lo vas a recibir en dólares a lo mejor, pero lo vas a recibir en otras cosas. Y ésa es una falta de política. O sea, de inteligencia, ¿no?

A5
Sí.

A3

A mí me gustaría decir que la Embajada no ha colaborado en nada con los artistas chilenos y latinoamericanos que viven aquí, sobre todo chilenos. Hay mucha gente que ha pedido ayuda a la Embajada y no ha obtenido nada de ayuda. Tengo un amigo - en concreto, el Germán Santana - él pidió colaboración a la Embajada para hacer unas cosas aquí de música y le dijeron que realmente no podían darle apoyo porque lo que él hacía no era algo rentable. Y lo que él hace es arte, es música experimental. Música experimental que él va haciendo con cositas. Toca con unos palitos. Pero es genial. Es genial. Es un percusionista en todo caso. Encontraron que eso no iba a vender. Germán se fue a Chile. En Chile se movió por las poblaciones allí en Viña y Valparaíso. Germán se contactó en Viña con una cosa de arte que hay ahí y ¿sabes qué? Le hicieron un *tour* por Viña, por Viña, Valparaíso. Era la estrella máxima porque llegó a la población con todas sus cosas, llevó marimbas, llevó una cantidad de instrumentos que él tiene y cosas de África, y la gente iba gratis porque los espectáculos eran todos gratis. En cambio, aquí no le dieron ningún apoyo cuando aquí yo sé que hay apoyo para la gente chilena. Ahora, ¿qué pasa? Había otro evento que iban a hacer que no les resultó con un tal señor viñamarino que también conozco. Él iba a estar en un evento para un 18 de septiembre pero ése era un estilo medio Derechista, te digo sinceramente. Y eso tenía un apoyo pero completo de la Embajada. Ya habían mandado a hacer hasta las entradas. ¿Sabes qué? La cosa era que había que pagar no sé cuánto, como £30, porque venía con una botella de no se qué incluida, venía con unas empanadas, venía con esto. Todos supieron que esta cuestión era, estaba organizada por toda la gente de la Embajada. Entonces, no les resultó. Por suerte, no les resultó. La Embajada está apoyando esas cosas. En cambio, cuando se le ha pedido ayuda para gente que ha vivido el exilio, que ha sufrido, no han prestado la ayuda. Entonces, bueno, la Embajada no ha jugado un buen papel aquí con la comunidad.

A4
Eso es muy parcial, muy parcial. Y siempre, claro, la única persona que realmente ha podido organizar actos más en relación a la cultura en el exilio ha sido la Carmen Gloria. [A3 *bawks at this.*] Pero ella misma, una compañera de la Izquierda, me lo dice. Me dice, “Mira, es una lucha constante en la Embajada contra toda la burocracia de la Embajada que se opone a todos los proyectos que tienen los exiliados”. Y ella, es muy poco lo que puede hacer. Tiene las manos amarradas.

A1
Más que el aspecto del apoyo a los exiliados, yo creo que hay un aspecto clasista más que nada. En el sentido de que el arte de la academia es mejor visto, quiénes suben, quién recibe la ayuda y quién no la recibe. Obviamente, si tú eres un pianista famoso, vas a tener.

A5
Claro. Ellos traen artistas famosos.

A1
Es un problema político, no es problema cultural. Es un problema político al final. Y tiene que ver con lo que estábamos hablando sobre la cosa ésta de la academia, no.

A2
Bueno, ahora esta tarde con A. ojala que podamos inspirar algo de ilusión en cuanto a hacer arte, teatro, poesía. Tener como allá en Chile tienen un local, un punto de

encuentro, no. La gente va a saber que va a ir a ese lugar y va a encontrar ese olor chileno ahí, esa parte chilena ahí, ese rincón de verdad.

[…]

A6
Puedes visitar la ex-cárcel de Valparaíso. Ahí se ha hecho un centro cultural.

A2
La cárcel de Valparaíso ya como cárcel no funciona. Cambiaron a todos los presos a la cárcel de alta seguridad y el primer día se escaparon no sé cuántos. [*laughter*] Y ahora esa antigua cárcel funciona como centro cultural. Y uno puede arrendar las celdas para hacer un taller. Pero es muy interesante. Han estado los Sol y Lluvia, Redolés.

A3
Pienso que las personas que hacen posible que muchas cosas se vean es por un esfuerzo personal, como esta noche lo ha hecho B., como otras veces lo han hecho otros artistas. Yo conozco a muchos artistas chilenos de muy buena calidad que deberían tener un espacio, no solamente porque son artistas sino porque tienen un pasado y el arte es la mejor cura y une todas las fronteras. Pero siempre lo hemos hecho como, siempre alguien ha sacado por ahí unas empanadas, alguien trajo la guitarra, invitó a sus amigos, gastó no sé de dónde y finalmente no importa si se recupera la inversión. Lo importante es hacer algo y, como que yo decía, es hacer visible lo que es invisible, no. Eso es lo que se falta, creo yo.

Q
¿Cómo ven el futuro de Chile?

A5
¿Tiene futuro Chile? [*laughter*]

A6
[*sings*] *"We are the champions."* [*laughter*]

A1
Increíble. Yo fui a Chile en septiembre. Estuve dos años antes también. Y había un salto cualitativo en progreso, no, en general. Mejores carreteras. Las cosas funcionan mejor. Hay pobreza pero no hay tanta pobreza como una vez. Es una cosa de medida: la pobreza sigue existiendo en Chile pero hay mayor desigualdad.

A2
Pero los pobres no son tan pobres, ése es un aspecto que observé. Entonces no creo que tenga un futuro negro y espero también que esto que pasamos nos sirva un poco de lección como para no volver al pasado. Ha cambiado. A partir de visitas es difícil tener una opinión bien certera sobre Chile. Para mí, yo tengo una opinión positiva de Chile en general.

A6
Por lo que me cuenta mi hija, en estos últimos años se han hecho bastantes cosas sobre arte y bastante bien. Se empezó con un carnaval en Valparaíso que se realiza

todos los fines de año y empezó con ayuda de España. Y, bueno, al año siguiente los chilenos ya no querían que fueran los extranjeros que estuvieran organizándolo, querían hacerlo ellos. Entonces es bastante bueno porque nosotros somos capaces de hacer cosas.

A7
Creo que es importante que exista participación popular a través del arte, del teatro. O sea, hay que darle, hay que darle, cambiar la mentalidad. Por ejemplo, que los jóvenes de 20 años que empiezan a tener hijos, que les pongan nombres nativos a sus hijos. Eso va a rescatar lo que poco tenemos, lo que poco nos queda, lo que antes teníamos de alguna manera. La influencia, no, la influencia norteamericana. Nos ponen nombres ingleses. Nos ponen nombres españoles, por supuesto. Entonces, ¿cómo lograr una red de educación y empezar a poner nombres nativos a nuestros hijos? De ahí empieza todo, conocer nuestra cultura, nuestro folclor, nuestras raíces, de verdad, porque las hemos ido perdiendo. El mismo sistema se ha encargado de...

Q
Enterrarlas.

A7
Enterrar, ¿no?

A5
Claro. Es una gran interrogante el tema de la cultura en Chile. Yo lo veo así con un gran signo de interrogación, porque es muy probable, dicen, es muy probable que el Gobierno que tenemos de Izquierda ahora, o de Centroizquierda, pierda las elecciones, la próxima elección presidencial. Vamos a tener un gobierno reaccionario que va a cambiar absolutamente todo.

A1
El arte debe ser un camino de lucha para mantener el trabajo humanitario, comunitario. El arte en general.

A5
Claro, claro. Eso tal vez nos estimulará mucho más que este Gobierno tibio en materia cultural...

A3
Queramos o no, la política influye en el arte. Nosotros nos hemos dado cuenta de que la Izquierda siempre está haciendo arte, no. Siempre son cosas nuevas, se están renovando. Yo pienso que sí que...

A1
Porque justamente la gente que tiene ideas progresistas es de Izquierda. Tienes el caso de la revolución africana. ¿Qué significó la revolución africana? Una explosión en el aspecto muralista, no, artístico, incorporando aspectos nativos en el arte, que ha sido muy importante para todos nosotros. En el tiempo de la revolución rusa vino el *avant-garde* que creó todo el teatro, la poesía. Entonces, siempre los procesos tienen un aspecto revolucionario en el arte y se apoyan mutuamente. O sea, el aspecto político se apoya del arte. El arte se apoya del aspecto político, obviamente.

Q
La última pregunta es para ustedes dos porque ustedes llevan menos tiempo en el Reino Unido. Cuando ustedes se fueron, ¿cómo fue ese contexto chileno en el momento de la partida y cómo lo ven ahora desde afuera?

A2
Un Chile con pocas oportunidades como quizás siempre lo ha sido. Que es algo muy contradictorio, hay pocas oportunidades pero sin embargo hay gente que está muy bien en Chile. Tú vas y yo veo a los míos, pero si tú vas al centro de Viña en mi caso, ves autos, ves una política neoliberal mejor que acá, en el sentido de que hay unos negocios inmensos que yo ni acá he visto, los famosos *malls*, ya. Y no hay uno. Ahora hay en Viña, Valparaíso hay una cantidad... Pero lo veo un poco triste en el sentido de que hay pocas oportunidades para la gente nuestra, dividido, sin interés político, la juventud muy centrada en quizás cosas de afuera, la juventud desinteresada en la política actual, en el diálogo de que: "¿Vai' a votar este año?" "¡Estai' loco!" "¿Te inscribiste?" "¡Estai' loco, para ser vocal de mesa!" O algo así. Nadie quiere integrarse. Ahora, ¿por qué? Claro, por lo que se ha vivido en el país, no, a los políticos ya nadie les cree nada, no, pero.

A1
Pero eso es de siempre, no.

A5
Más ahora.

A3
Más ahora. En el tiempo de la Unidad Popular, todos tenían sus principios políticos. Él que era fascista o él que era de Izquierda pero tenía su ideal. Ahora pregúntale a un muchacho ahí, "¿Qué pensai' tú de la política?" "No estoy ni ahí. No, no me interesa." Nadie. En cambio, en ese tiempo, a eso voy yo. O sea, en ese tiempo, fuera de Izquierda o fuera de Derecha pero tenía su opinión política, su interés. Participaba en algo. Habían talleres de guitarra. La misma educación chilena. Me acuerdo cuando yo estudiaba, cuando estudiaba mi hermano, le daba más atención al arte, las artes plásticas, técnico-manual. Ahora, ni tanto eso. O sea, si tú quieres dedicarte a eso, tienes que ir a meter al niño a la escuela de bellas artes o meterlo en un taller extra-programático, pagar para que alguien, pero en la escuela no va a recibir ninguna cosa así. Que te enseñen a tocar guitarra, por ejemplo, ya es difícil. Pienso eso.

A7
Sí, es casi lo mismo, no. La opinión es compartida. Están los que salieron por obligación del país hace 27, 30 años después del golpe de estado porque no tenían otra alternativa y los voluntarios que somos nosotros: la otra generación que hemos salido, no, a buscar un nuevo horizonte, a buscar a ese chileno sufrido, a ese chileno que fue abusado. Entonces ahí está la integración entre el pasado y el presente. Es una integración cultural. Porque somos chilenos. Tenemos que salvar nuestra tierra. Tenemos un país rico. Es un país hermoso. Tiene de todo. Tenemos hasta chilenos allá. Hay hasta chilenos, imagínate. Entonces yo creo los colegios y en todas partes debieran abastecerse con instrumentos musicales, con lápices, con pintura para pintar. Ése es el abastecimiento para la gente, para la juventud, que se enseñe, que se eduque para poder salvar nuestro país, nuestro continente latinoamericano. Es como algo

generalizado, no, optar por lo ecológico, por las áreas verdes, reciclar la basura. Todo es, todo es, todo es un, el arte es una conducta, una forma de vivir. Es toda una sola cosa, no.

A2
También me gustaría, dentro de toda la crítica, afirmar de que sí hay actividades de cultura en Chile. Por ejemplo, a mí a veces me dan muchas ganas de volver a Chile cuando veo las cosas que hay y que me estoy perdiendo. Pero ¿qué pasa? ¿Dónde tú ves esas cosas? Si tú no ves esas cosas en el diario *El Siglo*, que es un diario de Izquierda del Partido Comunista, o si no ves esas cosas en el diario *The Clinic* o la Radio Nuevo Mundo, o algo así, o en *Dimensión Latino Americana* de Telmo Aguilar en Viña, no te enteras. En las noticias, no te van a salir. En el diario *La Tercera* o en *El Mercurio* tampoco te van a salir, pero sí en nuestros medios canalizados de Izquierda y allí te sale toda una lista de artistas que están presentando, que Redolés va a estar el día sábado en tal parte, $1.000 la entrada. ¡$1.000 es una libra! ¿Ya? Y yo digo, "Me gustaría haber estado allá". O que el Inti va a estar en tal parte, que Sol y Lluvia, que el Ángel Parra, que viene gente de otros países. Todas esas cosas. O sea, hay muchas cosas que se están haciendo en Chile pero si tú no te comunicas con alguien del medio, no te enteras.

Interview with visual artist, first generation

Q
¿Cómo te convertiste en artista?

A
Bueno. Primeramente, yo, no sé, creo de chica siempre estuve vinculada mucho con la tierra y el campo porque a los seis meses, por una razón que nunca estaba clara, pero que yo sospecho pero aún no tengo tan clara, mis padres me mandaron a vivir con mis abuelos al campo. Y a los cinco, casi seis años, antes de entrar a la escuela, volví a vivir con mis padres a la ciudad de Temuco. Mis abuelos eran, mi abuela era socialista, era profesora primaria, venía de una familia más o menos de San Vicente de Tagua Tagua. Su padre era alemán y su madre española y mi abuela dejó toda la familia en esa época y, como a los veinticinco años, creo, ella decidió que estaba harta de toda esa vida ahí idiota, estúpida. Ella quería estudiar Medicina y no la dejaron porque las mujeres, o sea, la abuela no en esa época, no estudiaba no más, no iba a la universidad. Pero mi abuela tenía sexto años de Humanidades. Dio, creo, unos exámenes y la mandaron al sur al campo a trabajar y se fue y ahí conoció a mi abuelo que, creo que era algo como once años mayor que ella pero era también profesor primario, que es otra historia. Pero mi abuela siempre tuvo sus ideas y mi abuelo era anarquista. Entonces yo me crié de una manera muy diferente a la que se crió mi hermana que era casi cuatro años mayor que yo. Entonces el espacio que hay entre mi hermana y yo es muy grande porque casi cinco años más cuatro, o sea, hay un espacio bastante grande entre nosotras. Entonces yo llego y llega el demonio un poco menos a la casa. Tengo otra forma de ver. Mi padre un Democratacristiano pero onda muy fascistoide de ésa y muy pechoño y muy católico. Entonces tenía una verdadera dictadura militar en la casa sí y yo no me ajusté nunca a esa realidad. Entonces siempre lo desafié hasta que aprendí que ya no lo podía desafiar porque me daba duro, muy duro y siempre tuve ese vínculo con la tierra, el campo y después ya, bueno, cambiaron muchas las cosas entre nosotros, entre mis padres. Se separaron y, bueno, ahí con mi hermana recién empezamos a aprendernos a conocer y por todas esas cosas familiares empezamos, nos aprendimos a querer. Ella me aprendió a querer más que nada porque creo que ella estaba muy molesta con mi llegada, digamos. Y de ahí fuimos cambiando y fortaleciéndonos un poco y yo cuando iba al colegio, a mí no me gustaba ir a la escuela, siempre lo único que quería era volver con mis abuelos. No me gustaba nada. Era un niño, me encerraba, me dan mis pataletas, me mordía, me autoabusaba porque no era nada, nada me gustaba. Y, bueno, cuando mis padres se separaron, es como que yo sentí un alivio pero igual nunca estuve mucho con la mamá porque la mamá tenía que trabajar. Entonces tuvimos una nana mapuche y que nos dio mucho cariño. Mi mami es media, con su carácter medio inglés, un poco como *detached*, emoción totalmente opuesta a lo que yo soy. Yo soy una persona que toco, que abrazo, que beso y que todo yo lo siento con intensidad. Creo que con mi hermana en cierta forma éramos parecidas en ese solo aspecto: que éramos intensas. Las dos éramos muy intensas y ahí yo creo que fue nuestra conexión: que las dos éramos intensas. A pesar de que mi hermana, pienso que era más inocente. No sé por qué razón. Pero era como más *naïve*, aunque aparentemente es como que creía a lo mejor la pomá que le vendieron, que la religión, que toda, a pesar que se transformó en *anti* totalmente. Pasó cuando ya entró a la universidad, qué sé yo, pasó a ser militante del MIR, qué sé yo. Hay toda una historia de mi hermana pero yo siempre fui una persona muy reticente, que siempre todo lo analizaba y todo lo observaba, a pesar de ser a la vez demasiado apasionada cuando hago algo, pongo demasiada

pasión en lo que yo hago pero también muy analítica. Entonces había algo, mi hermana escribía muy lindo pero a mí jamás me gustaba mostrar lo que hacía y así empezó mi cosa artística.

Tal vez estoy dando este preámbulo pero tengo que explicarlo para poder entender. Mi hermana mostraba y estaba como siempre abierta a que les destrozaran, las envidias, las cosas, y yo como que lo veía, entonces yo no quería que nadie viera lo que yo hacía. Era mi mundo. Todo era mi mundo. Para mí, e incluso yo no compartía pieza con nadie. Mi hermana dormía con mi nana porque le daba miedo dormir sola. A mi mamá le daba lo mismo, que durmiera con quien fuera. A mí, no. Me gustaba mi mundo. Me gustaba mi soledad. Y que era triste. Mi infancia fue muy triste y a mi hermana siempre la criticaban. Escribía poemas muy lindos. Se los criticaban. Se los destrozaban y yo lo decía, "No, tú no lo tienes que cambiar". De muy chica. Yo tendría diez años y le decía, "No lo hagas, no lo cambies porque eso es tuyo, no dejes que nadie te lo toque", decía yo. Siempre le decía eso y yo salía a caminar por ahí, por los cerros con mi nana y recogía madera, palitos y yo siempre andaba con una cortaplumas y yo tallaba en madera. Hacía cositas en madera pero eran mis tesoros. No los mostraba. Entonces los tenía en mi pieza y era muy ordenada, siempre muy ordenada, y mi mundo era mi pequeña habitación con mis cosas, mis ordenes y mis gatos. Siempre tuve muchos gatos. Mis gatos eran mi mundo. Y unos personajes imaginarios que se llamaban Fayutos que los inventé tal vez de muy pequeña y que estaban ahí po'. Siempre estaban ahí y eran como mis duendes. Y, bueno, después ya, claro, yo tengo ahora 50 años. Imagínate p'al golpe recién tenía, claro, 19 años, te fija. Y, bueno, el proceso, digamos, de la Unidad Popular me hizo cambiar. Mi hermana siempre quería después como que yo me metiera. Pero ella siempre pensó que ella fue la que lo hizo, pero no. Fue otra cosa lo que a mí me impulsó, me motivó y fue por primera vez que yo me motivé a algo, en el proceso de la Unidad Popular y me hizo un poco a salir, un poco pero de todas maneras. Bueno, pasan cosas en la vida mía en que yo me doy cuenta que yo no voy a poder estudiar. Ya mi hermana estaba en la universidad. Mi madre no podía, digamos, costear dos universidades y mi padre por supuesto no lo iba a hacer. Mi padre quería que me casara con el hijo de un amigo que era dueño de fundo. Porque la otra cosa, como a mí no me gustaba el colegio, siempre me trataban como si yo era media tontita y hasta yo me lo creía. Realmente creo que me lo creí por muchos años de que yo no era suficientemente inteligente y que yo no iba a ser nunca capaz de ir a la universidad. Entonces opté, bueno, dije, mi padre me va a hacer casarme con este tipo que yo no lo podía tolerar, además que mi hermana se había ido a tomar el fundo del papá de él y la tenían amenazada de muerte y yo decía, "¿Cómo me voy a casar? Aparte que no me gusta, es un huevon de mierda," decía yo. "Aparte que no me guste ¿cómo me voy a casar con este tipo?" Al final me casé con otro tipo mucho mayor que yo. Yo tenía, a ver, 16 años cuando me casé con este tipo. No había terminado el colegio todavía y, claro, me prometió que me iba a dejar terminar el colegio por lo menos, que era lo que yo siempre quise. Yo quería estudiar, yo quería estudiar Medicina pero me daba cuenta por otro lado que yo no era muy inteligente. Yo pensé siempre que yo no era capaz, que era tonta. Realmente pensaba que era tonta y no lo iba poder hacer y, bueno, me casé. Por supuesto el matrimonio no duró mucho y, bueno, entre eso sucedieron todas las cosas que sucedieron y justamente en el momento del golpe yo no estuve. Yo estaba en Brasil pero después me volví porque me arranqué de este tipo y me encontré con mi madre enferma, mi hermana desaparecida y todas esas cosas y fue una cosa bastante dura y ahí viene la madre de mi cuñado, el marido de mi hermana. Ella era directora de un jardín infantil y ella me ayudó porque me ofreció

trabajo. Vio que primero no tenía donde vivir. Mi madre estaba en el hospital porque éramos nosotros de Temuco. Yo no podía ir a la casa de mi hermana, o sea, estaba la casa de mi hermana ahí, pero yo no podía porque ella me dijo, "No, mi hijita, tú no puedes llegar ahí porque él que llega está... es una ratonera. No puedes ir, te van a detener." Esta mujer se portó muy bien conmigo. Y me ayudó. Y mi cuñado estaba detenido porque mi cuñado era miembro del comité central del MIR. También estudiaba en Concepción, en la Universidad de Concepción. Y estaba detenido. Y mi hermana desaparecida. Y, bueno, ahí empieza mi nueva vida y entré a estudiar y un poco estudié con las patas y el buche, como todas las cosas que he hecho: pobre, miserable sin plata para la micro, pa' na'. Y afortunadamente yo tenía unas joyas que me había regalado mi marido. A mí nunca me gustaron las joyas. Consideraba que era, no sé. Nunca me gustó. Y oro. Nunca me gustó el oro, a pesar que uso mucho ese color en mis pinturas, pero tiene otro significado para mí, no eso de andar luciendo cosas. No me gusta. Así que afortunadamente todas esas joyas yo se las había dejado a mi hermana en un joyero que era de una porcelana negra pero, claro, los milicos que no sabían que eso tenía valor pensaron que era cualquier cosa y no lo abrieron afortunadamente y estaba lleno de mis joyas y no se las robaron porque en la casa de mi hermana se robaron todo lo que pudieron robarse porque así era: se robaban todo lo que pillaban. Y afortunadamente con eso después podíamos comprar las drogas para mi mamá. Mi mamá perdió su trabajo también, eso que mi mamá tenía bastante buen trabajo. Era gerente general de una organización que funcionaba en Valdivia que era una industria de Gobierno. Una compañía de Gobierno que distribuía todos los artículos de línea blanca directo a fábrica, sin pasar por los intermediarios porque en esa época especulaban, se desaparecían del mercado si pasaban por manos privadas. Entonces industrias como la Mademsa, todas esas eran estatales… entonces las pasaban directamente a esta organización y Mamá era gerente de esa organización en toda la zona del sur, cuya sede estaba en Valdivia. Por supuesto con el golpe se quedó sin trabajo, la trataron muy mal. Mi madre nunca fue militante de ningún partido, a pesar de que ella siempre fue Allendista. Y a todo esto mi papá nunca quiso hacer nada por mi hermana. Yo le fui a pedir ayuda y me respondió en una forma muy dolorosa para mí. Yo pensé, porque él siempre andaba haciendo bromas igual que yo - siempre he hecho bromas - que era una broma porque nunca me imaginé - yo en esa época era muy ingenua también - qué pudiese ser verdad porque yo sabía que para él mi hermana era sus ojos. De mí me lo esperaba - ¿entendí? - porque conmigo era otra historia. Yo sabía que él tenía muchos amigos, conocidos en Temuco, que estaban en posiciones de poder en ese momento a quienes podía pedirle. Entonces me dijo, "Mira, si la justicia habría venido por ella", me dijo, "la habría entregado". "Tú estarás bromeando", le digo yo así un poco. Entonces me dice, "No, estoy hablando en serio". Le dije yo, "Mi madre jamás haría una cosa así". "Ay", me dijo, como diciéndome, "Puta, las mujeres son hueonas" más o menos… "Las mujeres siempre hacen eso, no les importa que sus hijos sean delincuentes", me dijo. Entonces le dije, "Mire, señor, yo creo que usted y yo no tenemos nada que decirnos. O sea, realmente lo siento pero." Ya, pasó un tiempo. Después él me escribió y nos escribimos y nos vimos un par de veces pero ya no nos pudimos vernos más. Eran muchos los problemas los que él tenía cuando me veía y yo con toda mi ingenuidad pensando que a lo mejor un hijo podía importarle a un padre, que por último uno es un hijo, hueon. Le dije, "Mire, si tienes tantas dificultades, te provoca tantos problemas, no nos veamos más". Y fue mi error porque nunca más nos vimos. Después cuando nació mi hijo con problemas él se enteró porque todos mis tíos conocieron a mi hijo, sus hermanos, pero él nunca quiso conocer a mi hijo ni tampoco volver a verme. Yo nunca lo hice nada.

Pero, bueno, ésa fue parte, un poco de mi historia. Pero voy a volver a retomar, digamos, la cosa. Entonces mi vida ha estado bastante amarga, si tú quieres en cierta forma, pero siempre he tratado de salir adelante. Bueno, como te digo, llegué a Chile, no contaba con la ayuda de mi padre para nada. O sea, olvídate. No. Mi padre no quiso. No tenía dinero. No tenía nada. Y no es que a él le faltara. O sea, yo creo que hasta le sobraba, pero bueno. Uno aprende con todas esas cosas. Uno aprende de la vida. Se da cuenta de la calidad humana de la gente también y, bueno, mucha gente de mi familia son casi todos de la Derecha. No todos pero la mayoría sí.

Y, bueno, ahí estuve un tiempo en Chile, como te digo, entremedio conocí al padre de mi hijo, toda esta etapa. Yo terminé de estudiar y todo, pero nunca podía encontrar trabajo en Chile hasta que un día, después de tanto tiempo buscando trabajo en lo que fuera, una amiga de unos amigos míos me llevó a hablar con alguien de la oficina del gremio de comercio y este tipo me hizo el favor de decirme realmente. Porque el día viernes me dice, "Mira, ven el lunes a trabajar, no hay ningún problema", ya, y cuando llegó el día lunes, me empieza a decir, "Mira", que no sé qué, que aquí y allá. Entonces yo le digo, "Bueno, ¿qué es lo que pasa?" Entonces: "Mira, la verdad," me dice. "El problema es que tú tienes una hermana desaparecida y, por lo tanto, mira, yo no tengo por qué desconfiar de ti, tú siendo amiga de tal por cual, que no sé qué, yo confío en ti," me dijo. "Pero resulta que aquí todos los papeles tienen que pasar a la DINA." En ese tiempo estaba la DINA. "Y no te puedo emplear. Lo siento," me dijo. "No puedo emplearte." Pero me lo dijo. En otras partes, nunca me lo dijeron. Yo le agradezco a este tipo que haya tenido, que me haya dicho, porque entendí que no era yo el problema, que era mi historia. O sea, hubiera estado envuelta demasiado en política o no, pero igual el hecho de que mi hermana estuviera desaparecida a mí me ha afectado toda mi vida. O sea, toda mi vida y me di cuenta que, bueno, después nace mi hijo, empiezo a tener problemas también yo, el papá de mi hijo, él también había tenido su historia y él estuvo en el Estadio Nacional y empezamos a tener problemas. Mi madre también estaba con bastantes problemas porque ella era activa en la agrupación y era la encargada de prensa y de relaciones diplomáticas en la agrupación en esa época. Habían coordinadoras por zona, no habían presidentas y mi mamá era coordinadora de la zona central y, bueno, mi madre media enferma y todo pero ahí andábamos detrás de mi hermana. Cuando yo quedo embarazada de mi hijo, bueno, tuve algunos problemas también y como consecuencia de eso creo que mi hijo nació con los problemas que él tiene hoy día: es autista y es sordo. Y, bueno, eran demasiados los problemas que el niño tenía y con mi mamá el último año vivimos en 52 partes distintas. De loco realmente y ya no podíamos estar. Mi mamá arregló todos los papeles, todas las cosas y la única alternativa que encontró fue que nos viniéramos a Inglaterra. Yo no me quería venir pero, bueno, mi mamá, el papá de mi hijo dijeron, "No". O sea, un niño con todos los problemas que tiene, no podemos seguir viviendo así en estas condiciones sin poder trabajar ni él ni yo. O sea, era imposible. Ya no podíamos seguir en esas condiciones y mi mamá arregló todo para que nosotros saliéramos porque tenía una gente conocida, amigos, contactos, qué sé yo, y se las arregló para que saliéramos.

Salimos el 24 de marzo del '80 y justo nos tocó que el aeropuerto estaba todo cordonado porque Pinochet había ido de viaje de turismo, no sé qué cosa, a Filipinas y el dictador de Filipinas no lo quiso dejar entrar porque tenía manifestaciones en las calles y no quería armar más problemas por Pinochet más encima, así que lo devolvieron. Imagínate como estaban de emputecidos y justo nos tocó ese día que

nosotros viajamos. Fue una historia terrible. ¡Terrible! Y, bueno, el niño tenía dos años en ese tiempo. Llegamos a este país. Ahí nos tuvieron en el aeropuerto. No nos trataron nada de bien. Nos querían hacer una revisión médica a la cual yo me negué. No quise aceptar y ahí estuve discutiendo que no, porque a mí nadie tiene por qué estar ultrajando de esa manera. Y yo como macho porque así soy yo, yo dije, "No". Entonces el papá de mi hijo tratándome de convencer de que no, que pucha, que sino vamos a tener problemas. No, no, no, ni cagando. No y no y no. Y después más o menos como que se resolvió un poco la situación porque el niño traía certificados médicos. Entonces finalmente por los certificados médicos que venían en inglés. Como sabíamos que tenía problemas médicos, entonces finalmente accedieron a dejarnos pasar. Y había una persona que estaba esperando del comité de recepción y todo y que yo la veía que llevaba horas y con toda esta cosa estuvimos hasta las once de la noche en el aeropuerto. Como de las siete de la tarde hasta las once de la noche en esta discusión bizantina estúpida que yo no quería dar mi brazo a torcer y esta mujer nos miraba y nos miraba. Y no sé por qué me daba la tinca que era la persona que nos iba a buscar. Y finalmente yo le hablo como a esa hora y ahí se resolvió un poco el problema yo creo porque apareció ella. Le hablo, claro, en castellano porque yo no hablaba inglés y, claro, era la persona que nos tocaba para que nos fuera a buscar. Estaba ahí tres horas. Más. Imagínate, cuatro horas. Viéndonos pero con una actitud totalmente de, de no sé, de una negligencia, una estupidez. Entonces ya mi recepción a este país fue algo que no lo toleré. Dije, "Se ganan el sueldo a costa de los refugiados". Se ganan esto, hacen carreras y ahí ya empiezo a darme cuenta cómo todo este círculo, digamos, de esta gente que se llama muy de Izquierda o de qué sé yo o de derechos humanos son unos cínicos. A lo mejor esto que te digo no coincide con lo que mucha otra gente te ha dicho porque es más *polite*. Yo no soy. Yo digo las cosas como yo las he vivido, como es mi verdad y mi experiencia.

Entonces yo, del día uno, me di cuenta que eran todos unos cínicos en este país. Después pasaron como unos pares de meses, no sé, como un mes o un par de meses más. Veo a la señora Thatcher que no ha sido mucho tiempo que estaba en el Gobierno. Estaba esta gente en huelga de hambre, los irlandeses. Y decía, "¡Hm! Se pueden morir si quieren. Es problema de ellos." Y digo yo, "Pero sí ni Pinochet en Chile se ha atrevido decir eso cuando nosotros la agrupación hemos estado en huelga de hambre. Se ha preocupado un poco aunque no haya dado respuesta pero no se ha atrevido a decir eso públicamente." Y esta vieja de mierda lo dijo públicamente en la televisión. ¿Ya? Entonces a mí no me han vendido nunca la pomá en este país, lo de la democracia ni de las maravillas de este sistema. Lo único que pude comprobar era que este sistema era peor mierda de lo que yo me imaginaba. Eso es lo único que comprobé y a mí nunca me ha gustado este país. Por eso: porque lo encuentro cínico, lo encuentro hipócrita. Por un lado te dicen una cosa y por otro están mintiendo. Yo creo que es el sistema mismo que ya en Chile también lo estamos viviendo. O sea, no es que sea este país hoy en día es el sistema de mierda. Esto se ha generalizado mundialmente ya. Se han empezado, digamos, a prostituir el planeta entero, digamos. Y yo lo veo así. No sé si estaré equivocada o no pero es cómo yo lo percibo.

Y, bueno, dentro de miles de dificultades, primero a mí nunca me quisieron dar un curso de inglés. Se lo dieron a él. No a mí. Yo tenía que ir a los cursos del *council* pero los cursos del *council*... [*laughs*] Es que eran gratis. Cuando llegamos nos llevaron a un *bed-and-breakfast* ahí cerca de Victoria Station, pero yo no tenía idea, y nos llevaron en *underground*. Si te puedes imaginar. Yo lo encontré el colmo, fíjate, porque andábamos

con la guagua y llevamos no sé cuántas horas de viaje porque tuvimos que hacer una escala en Ginebra y el niño sin comer, sin nada. Bueno, porque el problema con mi hijo que también él nació con el *cleft palette* entonces tenía que comer toda la comida pasada y entonces era súper complicado darle de comer y nos llevaron a ese *bed-and-breakfast*. No teníamos ni dinero ni nada, nada, nada. Nos dieron, no sé, algo como £20 o algo así y nos dejaron porque era justo *Easter Holiday*, o sea, la *Easter* y nos dejaron como tres semanas en un *bed-and-breakfast* y con como £20. Bueno, en ese tiempo £20 era harta plata en comparación con lo que es ahora pero de todas maneras como uno no sabía qué hacer, dónde ir, dónde ir a comer. Primero, no teníamos la costumbre comer ese tremendo *breakfast* en la mañana, yo por lo menos que pesaba 45 kilos [*laughs*] y siempre fue mañosa para comer yo. Sentía el puro olor en la mañana del *bacon* con los *eggs*, con los huevos. ¡Euch! Entonces y el papá de mi hijo me decía, "Tienes que comer porque sino ¿qué vas a hacer después?" Yo no podía, no podía. Y al niño no le podía dar eso. Y peleas y discusiones en el hotel porque no podían cocerle unos huevos duros para que yo se los pudiera moler y darle algo.

Finalmente, estuvimos como seis, ocho meses en otro, nos cambiamos después a Notting Hill Gate, a otro lugar, y descubrí la comida china de vegetales porque mi hijo lo crié sin carne porque, bueno, era más sano y a él le costaba menos y descubrí los *takeaway*, los ponía en la juguera así lo tenía caliente po'. ¿Cómo no le iba a dar comida caliente? No lo podía estar alimentando tampoco todo el tiempo con esos tarros y además que tampoco tenía cómo calentarlos, entonces comprábamos *takeaway*, lo metía en la juguera y le dábamos. [*laughs*] Claro, hasta que nos dieron una casa por aquí, por Hackney. Así que llegamos a Hackney de esa manera en esa época pero a otro lado, a una casa más chica. Después me cambié hace como diecisiete años aquí. Cuando me separé me cambié aquí a esta casa con mi niño.

Y, bueno, fue difícil pero un poco con la misma dinámica del comité de refugiados, yo empecé a hacer cosas y como me gustaba pintar, pintaba, como te digo. En Chile, en el período de la peña, qué sé yo, con mi compañero, digamos, porque nunca me casé con el papá de mi hijo y otro pintor chileno nos íbamos a las poblaciones y hacíamos festivales de música. Nos íbamos a poblaciones y hacíamos, pero claro, así bien que no se notara nada po', huevon. [*laughs*] Que no se notara. Bien, bien camuflado íbamos a las poblaciones a hacer festivales de música con los pobladores y cosas. Entonces nosotros hacíamos las escenografías y pintábamos las cuadras. También salíamos a pintar en las noches. Yo no sé cómo hacíamos esas cuestiones. Claro, en ese tiempo no había nacido mi guagua todavía, pero salíamos a pintar en la hora de toque de queda. Yo no lo haría ni cagando ahora. No lo haría. Es que no lo haría. Es que simplemente no lo haría. Cuando lo pienso, yo no sé cómo hacíamos esas cosas.

Q
¿Qué pasaban con esas pinturas? ¿Tienes registro, fotografías?

A
No, porque eran en las paredes y al otro día ya le ponían pintura de nuevo, rapidito las tapaban po'. Mis dos amigos habían participado en la Brigada Ramona Parra. Yo no. Yo era muy joven todavía. Yo nunca participé, aparte de que yo era de Temuco. No. Pero igual. Entonces la idea es que íbamos con otra gente más. Había que estar mirando. Mirando. Entonces ya no eran tan artísticas como las Ramona, po'. Estas cuestiones eran rayados casi. ¡Claro! Para denunciar la cosa de la dictadura. Te juro que no podría

hacerlo ahora. O sea, no sé por qué uno perdía el miedo. Yo no sé por qué uno, aunque a veces tú tenías miedo, o sea, no crees que no tenías miedo. Pero no sé, no sé si era la adrenalina pero no sé y bueno. Cuando una ya es mamá se pone más conservadora. Yo no sé pero hacíamos todas esas cosas y, como te digo, llego aquí y lo primero que hago es mirar por la ventana cuando despierto al otro día y digo, "*Oh, my god!* ¡O Dios mío! Este país gris entero. ¡Qué horrible!" Eso fue lo primero que digo: gris. Y claro, bueno, después ya vino el verano, ya un poco cambió el panorama, estábamos más cerca de Holland Park. Más bonito. Tengo unas fotos del niño recogiendo las florcitas bonitas y nos cambiamos acá y, como te digo, yo no tenía cursos de inglés ni nada. A él le dieron una beca para estudiar que nunca la usó, que la desperdició y todas estas mujeres que andaban trabajando, las *social workers*, que aquí que allá andaban detrás de los tipos y, claro, tú te quedai' allí y yo más encima estaba sonada porque tenía al cabro que nadie quería cuidar porque tenía problemas. Era complicado, tampoco me atrevía a dejarlo con nadie porque, no sé po', uno tiene una mentalidad distinta a la de acá. Así lo veo porque la mujer, por ejemplo, que tiene él ahora, a los niños no los ves nunca. Yo no podría, yo como mamá no podría estar sin mi chiquillo al lado. ¿Entiendes? Mi niño se crió a la cola mía pintando murales, incluso te puedo mostrar fotos que tengo y así chiquitito en un mural. A él le encanta la idea de la pintura y hoy día él pinta. Te tengo que mostrar unos cuadros que si quieres lo filmas porque son extraordinarios. Arriba los tengo.

Q
¿Él aprendió contigo?

A
¡Solo! Como él es autista tú no le puedes enseñar. No. Imposible. Pero él estaba siempre conmigo. Yo en la casa como era tan chiquitito. Yo lo dejaba porque ¿qué iba a hacer? Así que le di una pared en la escalera porque estas casas están llenas de escaleras. Entonces que él pintara lo que quisiera. Yo no lo dejaba hacer eso en otras paredes porque toda la casa no podría estar así. Pero a veces igual hacía sus rayados por ahí. Tenía una pared que era libre, que era para él. Entonces, hacía lo que quería. Y lo dejaba hacer lo que quisiera aparte porque yo lo tuve que tener mucho tiempo en la casa porque tuve muchos problemas con los servicios sociales aquí. Ésa es otra cosa que también me impedía hacer muchas de mis cosas porque ellos querían que yo lo mandara a un colegio pero resulta que mi hijo se sentía frustrado y no entendían porque además era sordo. Lo mandaba a un colegio autista pero era sordo. No lo entendían. Entonces mi hijo tuvo cuatro accidentes. Ya al cuarto accidente decidí que no lo mando más. No lo mando más al colegio. Se queda en la casa pero eso implicó de que me llamaban todos los días del colegio - primero porque el colegio era privado entonces estaban perdiendo dinero. Me llamaba el profesor y me decía, "*You know*, qué sé yo, que tú sabes que tú vas a estar en problemas con los servicios sociales". Haciéndose el bueno, no. Eso temprano en la mañana. Después venían de los servicios sociales que me iban a llevar a la corte me y yo los mandaba al *fucking hell*. Claro. No, te lo digo así. Yo soy así. Y yo ya estaba rayada total porque les decía, "Hasta mi hermana la hicieron desaparecer". Les decía, "Pero a mi hijo no lo toca nadie porque yo le voy a dar un balazo a alguien que me toque a otro miembro de mi familia". Así estaba yo. Llegó un momento en que estaba así, te juro. "Pobre del que toque a alguien de mi familia, a mi hijo no lo va a tocar nadie. A mi hermana se la llevaron gratis", les decía. Imagínate les decía todo eso. No entendían nada po'. ¿Qué iban a entender? "A mi hermana se la llevaron gratis, pero a mi hijo nadie me quita. A mi hijo nadie me lo quita." Yo lo tuve

nueve meses aquí [*indicando su vientre*]. Nadie decide acerca de mi hijo y siempre se lo he dicho a su padre, se lo he dicho y no me importa que sea correcto o no correcto. Pero soy yo quien decide respecto a mi hijo. Lo tuve nueve meses aquí [*indicando su vientre*]. Yo sufrí. Yo sufrí cuando me patearon con el cabro aquí adentro. El niño sufrió la violencia, sufrió todo. Yo lo tuve aquí. Yo decido su futuro y nadie más. Y me alegro de haberlo hecho porque mi hijo hoy día es un tipo feliz. Y él ha sido, como te digo, mi inspiración y mi motor a salir adelante y hacer cosas.

Entonces, como te digo, mi hijo aprendió solo a pintar. Yo nunca le enseñé porque tampoco se puede. Y, bueno, empiezo, entre los refugiados, entre toda la gente empezamos a hacer cosas. La gente trata de hacer actividades culturales de alguna u otra manera y, bueno, ahí empiezo a hacer cosas, cositas pequeñas, lo que sea, y se va desarrollando de a poco el trabajo de uno. Yo me doy cuenta realmente de que es eso lo que quiero hacer. Con un grupo pintamos murales en una universidad por ahí. En ese grupo estaba C., el padre de mi hijo. ¿Te acuerdas de C. que estuvo? Más otra gente que ya ni está aquí. Y tengo unas fotos que te voy a mostrar y, si quieres, te puedo dar una copia de eso también. A mi hijo yo lo llevaba. Él pegaba estampillas para los *mail* y toda la comunidad lo conoce. Cuando cumplió 25 años, hay que celebrar sus 25 años. ¿Cómo lo hago? No tengo plata. ¿Dónde? En la casa no entramos. ¿Cómo lo hacemos? Y se me ocurre que puedo hacerlo en el Praxis y lo hice en el Praxis. Hice una invitación a la gente diciendo, bueno, que habrá exhibición de sus trabajos para celebrar su cumpleaños y, bueno, él que puede que traiga una botellita y algo más para compartir. Oye, llegó una paella te digo así de este porte, poco menos. Llegaron a sobrar las cosas. Llegaron a ese lugar más de 150 personas. Claro, y tú sabes que aquí en la comunidad hay gente que no se puede ni ver po'. Claro, que se odian, pero se odian, no se hablan. Es terrible. Entre los chilenos, ¡po'! Yo la verdad es que me mantengo más o menos con todo el mundo porque, pero a veces entiendo por qué la gente se pelea con otra.

Mira, cuando pasó esta cosa de Pinochet, después de que está toda la solidaridad muerta porque con la democracia se desaparece todo y se pelean todos los grupos, se desarman y no queda nada. Los únicos que existíamos éramos esos de la agrupación de detenidos desaparecidos. Todavía nos juntamos algunos familiares y algunos amigos. Y claro, en uno de los viajes de la Sola Sierra que vino para acá y nosotros teníamos el proyecto de La Casa de la Memoria y ahí estamos, teníamos el proyectito La Casa de la Memoria con varias personas. El Vicente Alegría porque tengo que nombrarlo. [*laughs*] Primero porque es histórico, el huevon, un tipo extraordinario. Es amigo mío. Somos amigos. Tengo que nombrar el huevon. No puedo no nombrarlo porque al final, él fue el creador, digamos, del famoso piquete. A Pinochet lo tomaron detenido durante la semana de mi cumpleaños. El 16 fue que lo tomaron en la noche, era día viernes y el día de mi cumpleaños fuimos a 10 Downing Street a pedirle con Jeremy Corbyn, otro compañero más, Vicente, yo y otra compañera que era de PC. Fuimos a pedirle a Tony Blair que, pucha, que detuvieran a Pinochet, que sabíamos dónde estaba y toda la cuestión. Pero ésta era una de esas tantas cosas que tú haces y ya otras veces había venido Pinochet, pero en el tiempo de la Thatcher no había pasado nada, po'. Lo que pasa es que los Laboristas estaban nuevitos, por eso se les pasó. Fue por casualidad, se les pasó porque él tenía una orden de detención por delincuente común no más del Scotland Yard. Por supuesto, sí, es un asesino, un delincuente, no. Entonces Scotland Yard no se puede poner analizar cada huea. O sea, si hay una orden de detención, ellos detienen ¿me entiendes? Así funciona la cosa. Cuando estaba la

Thatcher obviamente se veían todos estos aspectos para que no lo fueran a detener. Entonces se mandaba alguna orden o alguna cosa para prevenir pero, como estaban los Laboristas novatos, no sabían sobre esta chiquiñuela y los pilló de casualidad y no sabían po'.

Q
No habían preparativos.

A
Claro. Fue la cueva que tuvimos. Mala cueva para él pero se fue todo muy casual en realidad porque esta orden de detención y todo este proceso con el Garzón y todo esto ya estaba sucediendo en España con el tribunal internacional y todo esto. Había habido un tribunal internacional en Bruselas en el que mi madre participó muchos años antes. Todas estas ordenes de detención y todas estas cosas estaban corriendo hace muchos años antes pero, claro, se actuó rápido y yo me acuerdo que el fin de semana antes habíamos tenido un asado en la casa de Vicente que llovió *as usual* [*laughs*] y dije, "¡Puta! ¿Qué cresta podemos hacer?" Teníamos que hacer algo. ¿Qué hacemos? Pero, claro, no sabíamos mucho. ¿Qué hacer? Pero ahí un poco moviéndose con el Amnesty, el Vicente y otros más, el Bell, se movieron un poco y consiguieron algo. Y muévele, digamos, a Scotland Yard y sucede la cosa y estamos celebrando mi cumpleaños el día sábado aquí, acá en la casa no más. Y el Vicente se suponía que tenía que venir po' y no llegaba nadie. De repente el teléfono y el Vicente, "Ya", digo. "Siempre con alguna excusa porque viene tarde." "No", me dice. "Al Pinochet lo detuvieron", me dice. "¿Dónde?" digo yo. "Está aquí en la clínica. Vengan todos para que hagamos un *picket*. Estoy llamando a todo el mundo para que hagamos un *picket*." Entonces después se transformamos en el "piquete de Londres". Y llovía, con paraguas todos ahí en la clínica y, bueno, se juntó toda la gente, imagínate. ¿Cómo no se iba a juntar toda la gente? Los que se odiaban, los que no se odiaban. Todos se empezaron a hablar pero después cuando, durante ese año y medio no te puedes imaginar todas las cosas que sucedieron. De todo sucedió. De todo sucedió. Yo ya después decidí que no iba a ir todo el tiempo más que a algunas cosas que ya era demasiado la cuestión también, no. Y después que se acabó, cuando se fue el Pinochet, se pelearon todos, se armaron como veinte mil grupos, se pelearon todos. Entonces cada cual armó su grupo. Además apareció gente que tú jamás habías visto participando en nada po'. Entonces las polillas, como les dicen, que les gustaba salir en las cámaras. Yo lo último que quería era salir en las cámaras. Te juro, te digo honestamente, porque no. Tuve una pelea con un tipo por ahí, que los dejé un poco en ridículo pero porque era traficante de armas, no. Era un suizo. No me puedo acordar de su nombre. Y llegó ahí y estaba defendiendo a Pinochet frente a la High Court, frente a todos los canales. La CNN y todos entrevistando al tipo. Entonces, unos cabros que venían de Chile que eran más o menos jóvenes me dicen, "Oye, anda a cagarle la onda. Anda a cargarle la onda." Voy y le digo al tipo, "Oye, cómo puedes venir a defender a este criminal". Y el tipo dice, "*Police!* ¡Llama a la policía!" Y dice. "*Detain this woman!*" "Oye", le dije. "¿Tú crees que estás en Alemania fascista? *No, my friend*. Ni tampoco estamos en el Chile de Pinochet. *We're in England, darling*", le digo yo. Y esto salió en todos los canales de televisión. Mi primo me vio en Canadá. Me vieron en Chile. Te juro. Imagínate. Obviamente cuando yo le digo eso, todas las cámaras se enfocaron en mí po'. El tipo estaba emputecido. Enfrenté a Longeira también porque me dio unos empujones cuando estábamos en la House of Lords. "No, no, no," le dije yo. "Tú crees que estás tratando las vacas", le dije yo. "No, no, no. No

estamos en el fundo, compadre. Tienes que tener un poquito más de respeto." Estaba emputecido el tipo.

Yo por mucho tiempo hice cosas pero no me dediqué 100%. Un poco porque, claro, uno nunca tenía mucho apoyo. Hice cosas para la solidaridad para allá para acá, hice algunas exhibiciones pero cuando viene esta cosa de Pinochet, y qué sé yo, está la Sola acá y, bueno, se necesitan hacer algunos lienzos y la Sola les dice que me llamen para que haga algunas cuestiones. Y empiezo hacer esto. Y yo todavía estaba en tratamiento porque yo estuve mal un tiempo justamente en '98, bastante mal. Yo estuve en el hospital psiquiátrica. Estuve un tiempo - casi dos meses - en el hospital. Estuve mal. Y, bueno, pero tuve que hacer el esfuerzo para salir de esa situación y justamente cuando el '98 fui a Chile estaba saliendo de eso, en calidad más o menos, no muy bien, tomando pastillas, qué sé yo, y viene esta cosa de Pinochet justo meses después y me ayudó un poco a salir. Dejé las pastillitas, todo, y empezamos a pintar los lienzos y todas esas cuestiones. Después de eso, digamos, empecé a hacer mis proyectos. Ya empecé a trabajar a otro nivel. Tener proyectos, hacer *research*, hacer proyectos y terminarlos. Pero también fue la ayuda de mi psicóloga que me ayudó. Tuve suerte, digamos. A veces cuando uno pisa fondo, es lo mejor que le puede pasar a uno. Y mi experiencia en el hospital psiquiátrica fue una cosa valiosa, o sea, importante y que me marca mucho en el sentido que me ayuda mucho a decidirme: que yo nací para pintar y que tengo que hacerlo no más. Y que no hay ninguna otra excusa porque antes como que yo misma me ponía excusas, con mis estudios en la universidad. Saqué un *degree* aquí también, hice estudios latinoamericanos con alemán. Hice un montón de otras cosas. He hecho de todo en este país, he hecho de todo. No sé si leíste un libro que se llama algo de *La quinta montaña* de Coelho. No sé si es ése o no. Me confundo. Se me olvidan las cosas. Debe ser las drogas que yo tomé. No drogas, digamos, de ésas pero de medicina que afectan exactamente igual que las otras aunque los médicos se hagan los idiotas porque afectan igual o peor. No, sí es verdad. He perdido mi claridad. El libro es sobre la vida de un profeta, es un tipo que nace profeta y todos tratan de que no sea, los padres no quieren porque ser profeta es complicado, es difícil, ya. O sea, más que complicada la cosa. Entonces los padres tratan de que él no sea. Él trata de hacerse huevon toda la vida hasta, pero es inevitable. Yo creo que lo mismo ha pasado conmigo. Todos han hecho todo para que yo no sea, hasta yo misma he hecho todo para no ser. Pero es inevitable, tú terminas siendo no más. Y eso yo creo que ha pasado conmigo, conmigo con mi cuestión artística. Tú terminas siendo. Tú te das cuenta al final que eso es y tú tienes que hacerlo. Y además es lo que te hace ser tú y te hace ser contento, pero uno se boicotea, constantemente uno se está boicoteando. No sé por qué. Porque uno tiene mucha caca en la cabeza, mucha influencia externa, un montón de hueas que no sirven pa' na'. Entonces por eso yo admiro mi hijo que, puta, a los veinte años me decía, "*Mummy, I'm an artist*". Puta, yo decía, ¡a esa edad me lo puede decir! ¿A mí cuánto me ha costado? Casi cincuenta años me costó entenderlo: qué es lo que era yo, para entender lo que yo era. Me ha costado tanto tiempo y mi hijo con todas sus discapacidades lo tiene claro antes que yo. En la mitad del tiempo que yo, lo tiene claro. Es genial, él es realmente genial.

Q
¿Dónde vive ahora?

A

Cerca de Manchester. Cuando vuelvan un día, vamos a ir a verlo. Él ha sido mi mejor maestro. Primero pensé que era una desgracia. Porque uno está lleno de mierda. Uno está lleno de mierda y uno cree que no. Eso es lo más increíble. Porque uno cree que no. Tengo privilegio ser su madre. Extraordinario el tipo. Sabe vivir, sabe tomar, ser feliz con lo que tiene. Uno a veces tiene tanto, demasiado, y es un imbécil, un infeliz porque quiere ser. Yo aprendía ser feliz ahora. Uno tiene sus bajones pero eso es normal, digamos. Pero a mí se me acabaron las depresiones porque he trabajado. He tenido que trabajar con ello. No es fácil. Pero lo he conseguido. Para mí no hay "no" ahora. Bueno, la muerte es inevitable. Bueno, eso es, todos vamos a pasar por eso en algún momento pero no hay "no" ahora. Yo sé que lo que yo quiero a lo mejor no saldrá en óptima calidad o lo que sea, pero no hay "no" para mí. Todo es posible. Yo creo que todo es posible si uno quiere realmente y le pone todo lo de uno y uno tiene que ponerle todo. A todo lo que uno hace uno tiene que ponerle su yo entero, su alma, su espíritu, lo que tú quieras llamarle, da lo mismo por último. Pero todo lo tuyo de verdad, ser uno de verdad. Todo se puede. No hay nada que no se pueda. Contra la muerte no se puede hacer nada pero es un proceso por el que todos vamos a pasar igual. Unos antes, otros después. Hay una cosa que siempre recuerdo de mi hermana. Yo creo que sí éramos bien distintas en muchas cosas pero hay una cosa que nunca voy a olvidar. Creo que es una de las pocas cosas sabias que ella dijo siempre y un poco profético, si tú quieres. Decía, "No importa cuándo se muere, pero cómo se muere importa". Y creo que tenía razón. Siempre pensaba que tenía razón. No importa cuándo sino que es cómo te mueres es lo importante. Y eso también es relativo. ¿Quién eres tú? O sea, eso es importante para ti pero no para los demás porque todos pensamos en formas diferentes a lo mejor y todos tenemos derecho también a pensar en formas diferentes. Por eso que yo ya no milito en partidos ni ninguna de estas hueas. ¿Me entiendes? Muchos me han criticados. Muchos me han dicho que me he vendido, que esto que lo otro. No. No es ése el punto. El problema es que uno empieza a tener una visión distinta y uno quiere ser libre. También uno tiene muchas críticas por eso, muchas envidias por eso. Ser mujer y atreverte a hacer cosas es pero pecado mortal po'. Primero, "las mujeres son todas prostitutas". Los hombres a veces no lo pueden tolerar, pero a veces los hombres son más tolerantes que las mujeres. Pero si tú eres libre, es que la primera enemiga que tiene una mujer cuando es libre es otra mujer. Te juro que es verdad. Te lo digo en mi experiencia. Tengo pocas amigas por esa misma razón. Tengo más amigos que amigas porque hay pocas mujeres que tiene una visión diferente. No digo que ninguna pero pocas. Pero no tengo muchas amigas. Tengo más amigos por esa misma razón, creo. Son más cerradas. No sé por qué. No sé si es envidia, competencia, esta sociedad que está transformada, tan competitiva probablemente. Yo no lo sé. Pienso qué cresta me envidian a mí si la vida mía no ha sido fácil pa' na'. Pero he hecho cosas porque soy porfiada. Porque, como te digo, no acepto el "no". Soy porfiada. Soy media autística para mis cosas. No sigo el camino que siguen todos. Y eso no quiere decir que uno a veces no pueda decir, "*Oh my God*, no quiero más de esto ya. Quiero tirar las cosas a la basura de repente pero después digo, '¡No!' Ya he sacrificado mucho por esto." Sigo adelante. Y así voy, así camino. Entonces, volviendo a mi trabajo artístico que no puede estar separado de mi vida personal obviamente, y la gente cree que es llegar y separar las cosas pero no es así. Uno es un ente, una cosa completa. He tenido muchas interrupciones, muchas cosas también. Como te digo, a partir de eso, decidí que no. Bueno, todo un proceso: uno tiene más años, coinciden y se juntan ciertas cosas que te aclaran ciertas situaciones. Entonces decidí hacer lo que hago. No importa. Yo vivo con el mínimo pero no importa. Pero esto es lo que me hace contenta. Esto es lo que quiero hacer. Yo estoy convencida de que para esto nací no más y punto. He llegado a esa

conclusión. Y lo voy a hacer porque estoy convencida de que para eso nací. Otra gente nació para otras cosas. ¿Por qué tenemos que nacer todos para lo mismo? ¿Por qué todos tenemos que ir como corderitos en la misma dirección? No. ¿Y por qué no podemos tener todos espacio si el mundo es tan grande? ¿Por qué no podemos ser un poco más tolerantes con el resto? Por eso no estoy de acuerdo con las guerras. No porque esté a favor de uno o de otro. No es que tome partes. Esto es una aberración ¿Cómo no podemos llegar a conversar, a mediar, a negociar? ¿Cómo somos incapaces de negociar? Tenemos que negociar porque el planeta está pa' todos, para los animales, para las plantas, para uno, para los griegos, para los suizos, para los alemanes, para los ingleses, para los iraqués, para los iraníes, para los chilenos, para los panameños o para quién cresta sea. Tenemos que aprender a respetarnos los unos a los otros. Esa cuestión el planeta no sé cuándo lo va a aprender pero uno por lo menos tiene que empezar a hacerlo. ¿Cómo uno puede esperar que el otro lo haga si uno no lo hace? Como te digo, ahí empiezo a hacer todos esos carteles y cosas. Y de ahí empiezo a hacer mis proyectos. Hice Lorca. Hice toda una investigación de Lorca porque siempre me gustó. Fue Pedro Sepúlveda quien me enseñó a pintar a mí. O sea, mirándolo, más que nada. Un tipo extraordinario como persona. Debe estar en Chile. No tengo ni idea qué es de él. A mí siempre me gustó mucho Lorca e hice todo un estudio de Lorca. Pesqué algunos de sus poemas e hice seis pinturas. Tengo una pintura que quiero pintar: *La casada infiel* que la voy a hacer ahora, una de esas cosas sueltas que tengo. Después pesqué a Oscar Wilde porque pensé que no había hecho nada de este país, a pesar de que era irlandés, pero creo que tuvo mucha influencia en muchos aspectos aquí en el Reino Unido en general, digamos. Y después pesqué a Gabriela Mistral que para mí tiene mucha relevancia en el sentido de que crecimos jugando sus rondas infantiles y recitando su poesía de niña. No sé si será lo mismo los colegios hoy en día en Chile o no pero por lo menos nosotros - mi hermana, yo - crecimos en esa época de Gabriela Mistral y yo estuve en el Liceo Gabriela Mistral de Temuco también, donde ella fue la directora y me pareció un personaje que en Chile nunca le han dado mucha pelota. Bueno, yo sé las razones por las que no le han dado pelota de todas maneras. Chile fue muy desagradecido o muy, muy poco simpático con ella en realidad porque Gabriela siendo una mujer tal vez un poco muy religiosa y todo, fue una mujer extraordinaria, una mujer muy atrevida, digamos, para su época y escribió a todo. Como escribió Lorca, como escribió Wilde también, que escribían a todo. O sea, tanto Lorca como Wilde y Gabriela escribieron a los niños y escribieron más en serio y escribieron a todo. Dentro de, digamos, su época, Gabriela también fue una persona, a pesar de ser muy católica a su manera como ella lo decía, fue una persona con una conciencia social bastante comprometida y con mucho amor en su espíritu. En Chile nunca se le valoró, se le reconoció nada de su trabajo que era extraordinario por lo demás. Y además que ella fue la primera Premio Nobel que tuvo Latinoamérica y la primera mujer y la única mujer que ha sacado un Premio Nobel en Literatura en Latinoamérica y eso ya en el año '45. Imagínate. Pablo Neruda ha sacado el Premio Nobel el '72. Bueno, Pablo Neruda ha tenido todo el reconocimiento que Gabriela no ha tenido. No digo que Pablo Neruda no se merezca el reconocimiento. O sea, no quiero decir eso pero Gabriela se lo merecía y nunca lo tuvo. No sé si por ser mujer o por otras razones. No lo sé. Pero yo, cuando hago Gabriela, tomo *Piececitos de niño*, hice una pintura e hice *Miedo* porque tienen [*starts to cry*] muchísima importancia en mi infancia. [*long pause*] Recitábamos *Piececitos de niño* y *Miedo* con mi hermana. [*pause*] Después hice rondas infantiles. Después hice *Sonetos a la muerte* que es algo totalmente distinto. Es ella como mujer, con su historia, con este amor tal vez un poco platónico que ella tuvo porque era bastante religiosa, pero aunque ella era religiosa era una mujer que sentía

profundamente y esta historia es un poco bien terrible porque ellos se enamoraron y, bueno, no había una relación carnal, si tú quieres. Pero sí este hombre tuvo una relación carnal con una mujer que no quería y esta mujer quedaba embarazada, y a él lo obligan a casarse con ella. O sea, la presión de la época o qué sé yo. Entonces él no podía no cumplir a eso. Él la ve y le dice que va a hacer un viaje. No me acuerdo bien. Iban a hacer un viaje, se juntan, se despiden ya no verse porque él se va a casar con esta mujer. No le queda otra, se va a casar con esta mujer. Ella lo acepta como eso, con el dolor de su alma porque ella era una mujer muy religiosa, no hay que olvidarse de eso. Y cuando ella vuelve, él se había suicidado esa misma noche. Y de ahí nace *Sonetos a la muerte*. Entonces es una historia un poco de sacrificio [*starts crying again*] que se da mucho en nosotras las mujeres chilenas. [*pause*] Me toca. Me toca mucho. Es una mujer que puede cantarle a eso como puede cantarle a los niños, como puede cantar en forma política, como puede cantarle a todo. Lorca y Oscar Wilde igual. Distinto el drama de Oscar Wilde, pero un tipo extraordinario, un tipo extraordinario que con las palabras más bellas es capaz de mandar a la cresta a todo el mundo y también tiene su drama, su drama terrible que no es entendido. Él era casado con una mujer como la Constance Lloyd que era del consorcio Lloyd's de la compañía de seguros y él amaba su mujer pero su mujer era chata en tiempo victoriano. Una tragedia realmente vivir en una época, un artista como él, tan grande como él. Y, claro, lo liquidaron por una imbecilidad como si Inglaterra no estuviera llena de homosexuales en todos los tiempos. Eso lo usaron para cagarlo porque ésa no es la verdad. La verdad era lo que él escribía, eso era lo que les molestaba porque Lord Byron también era homosexual. ¿Cuál es el problema? A los ingleses no les importa. Aquí hay de todos los colores, de todas partes hay homosexuales generalmente y eso antes, ahora y en todos los tiempos. Pero él en esa época ya estaba escribiendo. Porque todos dicen, "Bueno, lo cagaron porque era homosexual". Yo descubrí que no lo cagaron por eso. Bueno, mucha gente lo había descubierto antes que yo obviamente. En esa época, él ya estaba escribiendo sobre el espíritu del hombre bajo el socialismo. Él murió en 1900 y nació en 1856. Y, bueno, la mujer se vengó. La mujer lo cagó con sus hijos porque él adoraba sus hijos. Yo leí la historia de uno de sus hijos que sobrevivió porque otro de los hijos murió muy joven. Le cambiaron los apellidos, todo. Se los llevaron a Francia. Los apartaron totalmente de su padre. Wilde también tiene bastante relevancia en el cambio, digamos, del sistema carcelario aquí en este país porque él estuvo en la cárcel de Reading donde metían niños, a todos juntos. Y él cuando escribe *Profundis* describe lo que pasa en las prisiones y todas esas cosas y él hace cambiar, digamos, ciertas cosas en el sistema carcelario como separar los niños de los adultos. Tiene gran influencia. Yo conocí Oscar Wilde casualmente a través de mi madre porque mi madre estudió en un colegio privado, claro, y mi madre me contaba cuando yo era pequeña el cuento *The Happy Prince*. Yo lloraba como una magdalena, por supuesto. Y, claro, y después en el colegio en Chile en la época nuestra, leímos Wilde, mucha otra gente, digamos, interesante, por la profesora de literatura sumamente interesante. Pero, claro, lo había leído en castellano. Entonces llego aquí y empiezo a entender un poco más de inglés y empiezo a leerlo. Una de las primeras obras que leo es *La importancia de llamarse Ernesto*. O sea, *The Importance of Being Earnest*. La traducción en castellano no es precisa en realidad porque significa algo diferente en inglés y, bueno, ahí me empiezo a interesar más y empiezo a leer más de Wilde y me empiezo a fascinar. Tengo que enamorarme de mis personajes sino no funciona. Tengo que envolverme en mis personajes y de ahí puedo producir algo sino no funciona porque yo le pongo todo lo mío. Y, bueno, ahora después de mi último viaje a Chile llevé Gabriela y a lo mejor van a hacer una exhibición pero no ha sucedido todavía. Dejé allá los trabajos de Gabriela pero, bueno, hicimos

todo un viaje a la Patagonia, investigué libros, conseguí más libros en Argentina que en Chile porque en Chile hay que ir a las universidades, a la biblioteca, pero en Argentina tú puedes conseguir en las librerías, o sea, en los negocios de libros. Estaba muy barato, conseguí muchísimos libros en Bariloche. Compré bastantes libros y, bueno, ahí saqué mucha, digamos, información de mi viaje último a Chile en noviembre del 2002. Bueno, me fui para el sur como en enero, los primeros días de enero, hasta mediados de febrero, casi a fin de febrero. Y de ahí llego acá, me voy a ver a mi hijo a Manchester en tren. De repente así, claro, tenía toda la información en la cabeza, pero una cosa es tener la información en la cabeza y después es darle estructura a la cuestión po'. Tú sabes eso. Entonces pero de repente se me aparecen las cosas a mí. Entonces voy en tren como tres horas, dos horas y media, a Manchester y de repente estaba leyendo unas poemas de Pablo Neruda, no sé por qué, y no tenía ni siquiera dónde escribir así que en la parte atrás de la tapa me puse a escribir y se me empezó a ocurrir, digamos, toda la estructura de la exhibición de Lautaro. Ahí decidí que eran catorce pinturas pero después eliminé una porque no me gustan los números paros y porque... No me acuerdo cuál era la otra razón pero algo era. De ahí creo que en mayo del año pasado me fui tres semanas con mi mami a España y, claro, mi mami no sale mucho. Ella sacaba su puzzle, palabras cruzadas, qué sé yo, y yo me quedaba un rato a la hora de la siesta. Como era mayo no hacía todavía tanto calor pero los españoles todos duermen siesta a la hora de la siesta. Entonces yo me ponía con mi cuadernito a hacer mis dibujitos y en esas tres semanas me hice todos los dibujos porque ya había pensado lo que iba a hacer, digamos, y salieron los dibujos y una vez que llegué acá como a fines de mayo empiezo a pintarlos y así salió Lautaro en un poquitito más de un año, un año y un mes para ser exactos. Pero esto lo tenía en mente desde hace mucho tiempo. Lautaro siempre estaba en mi mente primero porque me crió una nana mapuche o sea después de los cinco años, seis años. Nada fue muy tradicional en mi casa porque cuando mi mami se separó de mi papá se acabaron las tradiciones y todas las cosas. Mi mamá era totalmente diferente. En realidad, no sé cómo se casó con mi papá. Era bien particular porque mi mamá a fin de mes le daba el dinero a mi nana para que ella se hiciera las compras, de todo, digamos. Ella se encargaba de la casa. Mi mamá, claro, pagaba las cuentas generales y todas las cosas. Mi mamá nunca sabía lo que iba a comer. Incluso era tanto que mi nana echaba broma cuando mi mami llegaba media cruzada la casa, decía, "¡Hmph! Ya llegó enojado mi marido", decía ella. Ella se preocupaba de que hiciéramos las tareas, que estudiáramos, todo. Si a uno de nuestros pololos le caía mal a mi nana estaba sonado el tipo. Tenía que caerle bien a mi nana sino ella le hacía la vida imposible. En serio. Así que mi hermana y yo siempre les advertíamos a nuestros pololos [*laughs*] que tenían que caerle bien a mi nana porque sino ella les iba a hacer la vida imposible. Era como un homenaje a ella más que a Lautaro y siempre la he tenido en mi corazón a pesar de que ahora cuando fui quería haberla ubicado, qué sé yo, y no pude, digamos, porque le pregunté a mi madre por su apellido y qué sé yo. Yo no puedo llegar a preguntar por alguien que no le se ni el apellido porque nunca nosotros se lo supimos. Mi madre me dice, "Es que no me acuerdo". ¡No me acuerdo!

Anteayer llamé a una amiga de muchos años atrás, periodista que vivió en la casa de nosotros. Fue una cosa bien fuerte pero linda y, bueno, ella era muy amiga de mi hermana y vivía en la casa de nosotros y todo. Empezamos de hablar de mi nana po'. Entonces me dice, "Pucha, su guagua nació el 13 de septiembre". Ahí todos estábamos hecho humo. Yo no estaba ahí. La casa de mi mami fue allanada y mi nana estaba súper nerviosa. Un primo mío estaba viviendo en la casa, él estaba estudiando pero no

estaba metido en política ni nada. Imagina la ignorancia y la estupidez: cuando fueron a allanar la casa, mi mamá estaba en Valdivia haciendo su cargo. Mi mamá estaba trabajando en Valdivia y tenía la casa en Temuco y mi primo estaba en la casa. Estaba solo con mi nana al final porque, claro, todos nos tuvimos que hacer humo. Mi nana empieza con los dolores de parto el mismo 11 y mi primo que estaba criado de otra manera tuvo que partir con ella al hospital. Ellos no estaban tan mezclados con las empleadas ni mucho menos. Entonces tú te puedes imaginar. [*laughs*] ¡Qué ridículo esto! Mi primo tenía que partir con mi nana al hospital. ¿Qué le va a hacer po'? Y, bueno, el 13 de septiembre tuvo la guagua pero aún no existían los desechables, entonces mi primo tenía que ir a verla todos los días, llevarse los pañales y lavarlos. ¿Te das cuenta la cosa más absurda para mi primo po'? En eso entran a allanar la casa de mi mamá, la nana estaba en el hospital y sólo estaba mi primo y mi primo no quería abrir la puerta. O sea, abre la puerta pero no quería hacerlos pasar porque mi primo venía de mis tíos que eran de la Derecha y toda la cuestión y para él era otro mundo totalmente distinto. Estaba en la universidad, estaba quedándose en la casa de mi mamá no más pero de otro mundo. No quiere dejarlos a entrar y lo están puntando por la espalda porque habían entrado por la puerta de la cocina también. [*laughs*] Y, bueno, empiezan a allanar y empiezan a revisar todo y entre eso mi primo dice, "No, mi tía no está, mi tía no está así que por tanto no pueden entrar", y qué sé yo. Desubicado total. [*laughs*] Entonces que mi tía, que esto y lo otro y en la pieza de mi mamá encuentran una antología de Stravinsky, del músico. Y entonces, "¡Es literatura marxista!" Porque a Stravinsky [*laughs*] ¡lo asocian con rusos po'! Qué sé yo. Ignorantes. Entonces mi primo se emputece porque la ignorancia no la podía tolerar. Una cosa era que fuera de Derecha pero otra que fuera ignorante. "Y mi tía." "Y bueno tu tía. ¿Cuál es tu tía?" "Ésta es mi tía", le dice y hay una foto de mi mamá. "Huhhhh", dice el tipo que está a cargo. "Pero ésa es la señora...", dice. Esto es una equivocación. No puede ser. Claro, había sido cliente de mi mama porque mi mamá trabajó en Abastible por muchos años. Claro, era milico pero era cliente de mi mamá po'. "Esto es una equivocación", y se van. Y después mi nana le dice a mi mamá, "Señora, yo estaba tan preocupada mientras estaba en el hospital porque resulta de que la maleta que hay debajo de mi cama". "¿Qué maleta?", le dice mi mamá. "No, una maleta que dejó su hija" - mi hermana. Mi mamá abre la maleta. Entonces casi se muere mi mamá porque en la maleta habían panfletos, cualquier cantidad de cosas comprometidoras. Entonces empieza con mi primo, que no tiene nada que ver, a quemar todo en la tina del baño para que no se notara además. A quemar todo lo que encontraron. Mi mamá estaba enferma. Estaba enferma mi pobre mami. Ha quemar todo lo que encontraron. Habían afiches, libros de Mao, qué sé yo, muchos libros. Era quemar, quemar, quemar todo. Entonces a mi primo le tocó ayudar a mi mamá a hacer todas esas cosas. Bueno, obviamente, después de eso, mi primo cambió totalmente su postura. Totalmente. Y, como te digo, él tenía que ir y mi nana estuvo como veinte días en el hospital con la guagua porque no dejaban entrar ni salir a nadie del hospital. Él tenía que lavarle los pañales a la guagua. Todo. Esta guagua, que tiene la edad tuya, que nació el 13 de septiembre de '73. Bueno, volviendo al tema un poco, mi nana nos crió, nos cuidó, nos quiso y, por eso, estuve como siempre cerca al tema. Además que cuando era más pequeña tenía una compañera en el colegio alemán que su madre... Éramos súper malas las dos. Ella era chiquitita y gordita y yo era alta y flaca. [*laughs*] Y hacíamos la terrible. Y su mamá trabajaba en lo que se llama juzgado de indios. Esta cosa es bien curiosa pero yo no sé si estas cuestiones existirán o no. En esa época - yo tendría te digo 5 o 10, hasta 12, 13, 14 años - todavía existía juzgados especiales para tratar los problemas de los mapuches. Se llamaban "juzgados de indios" y la mamá de mi amiga era secretaria del

juez. Esa cosa siempre me quedó: ¿por qué los indios tenían que tener un juzgado especial para tratar sus cosas? Desde chica me quedó: ¿por qué? ¿Por qué? Y eran considerados menores de edad y todas esas cosas. Siempre las leyes fueron de desventaja de ellos. Nunca tuvieron leyes que fueran a favor de ellos. No podrían vender. Claro, en cierta forma que no pudieran vender era para protegerlos en realidad. Claro que en esa época yo no lo entendía de esa manera. Pero ahora lo entiendo de esa manera. Pero que era injusto de todas maneras porque se les trataba como si fueran tontitos. Era un juzgado de indios pero el juez no era indio, por supuesto que no po'.

Pinochet sacó su nueva ley en que no hay ningún indio pero con eso que no hay ningún indio los cagó a todos porque resulta que les dio título de propiedades. Pero los títulos de propiedades, sin que la gente supiera, significa que tienen que empezar a pagar impuestos por las tierras. Empezaron a quedar con las tremendas deudas al fisco. Muchos de ellos se vieron obligados a vender sus tierras para poder pagar las deudas al fisco, otros también porque les dieron préstamos para semillas para plantar, que sé yo. Y otros, bueno, porque se calentaban cuando alguien les ofrecía plata por los terrenos pero antes, claro, no podían vender. Claro, cuando no podían vender, ahora lo entiendo porque ésa era una forma de protegerlos. Fueron perdiendo las tierras y de esa manera los han ido liquidando y es la situación en que están hoy día. La situación de los mapuches es compleja hoy día. Bastante difícil también. Concepción todavía es parte de la zona de conflicto de hoy día. Así que no sé.

Bueno, yo me estoy retirando bastante, digamos, de mi tema pero son cosas que a uno lo influyen, lo hacen, lo activan. Tengo varias cosas sueltas, ideas de dibujos, que no son parte de un proyecto total, digamos, pero que quiero terminar, que son parte de una experiencia en España. Tengo dibujos que quiero terminar. Después, quiero hacer una cosa de un libro que me impactó muchísimo que se llama *El coronel no tiene quien le escriba*. A mí sí me impactó muchísimo, de una ternura, una dulzura, una ingenuidad y tengo mi coronel, lo tengo dibujado y hasta lo tengo marcado en la tela. Y no sé. Ese Lorca que me quedó suelto por ahí y otro igual que me quedó suelto que quiero hacer pero después de eso quiero hacer, por una cuestión más bien personal, a Goethe. Yo tengo, por mi otro lado, mi padre que es de origen alemán y mi bisabuelo por parte de mi dos, tanto de mi madre como de mi padre son también alemanes, y yo estuve en un colegio alemán. Yo aprendí mucho Goethe y a mí Goethe me gusta mucho. Y después yo hice un *degree* en alemán aquí y también me tocó estudiar Goethe y quiero hacer algunas cosas de Goethe pero tal vez no mucho. Pero después de eso, el que creo va a ser mi proyecto tal vez el final, quiero hacer a Nietzsche. [*laughs*] Me conformo con eso no más. De Nietzsche te voy a hablar un poco. ¿Por qué quiero hacer Nietzsche? Nietzsche ha sido mal interpretado, muy malinterpretado, y justamente por eso quiero hacerlo. Para ponerlo en su... muy, muy malinterpretado. El fascismo lo usó, como usaron a Orwell, todo el Occidente usó a Orwell, cuando Orwell realmente no quiso hacer una crítica al socialismo pero lo usaron. La verdad es que Orwell era un tipo mucho más inteligente y mucho más allá de todo eso. A Nietzsche se ha malinterpretado y creo que cuando él habla de lo que llaman el Superhombre y que lo usaron como una cosa racista, como una cosa siniestra, no es así. Él habla del hombre con conciencia, el hombre sin conciencia; ser humano con conciencia y el ser humano sin conciencia. Eso es lo que yo quiero reestablecer, digamos, que quede claro que cuando él se refiere al "Superhombre", se refiere al hombre que tiene conciencia de ser hombre o ser humano que tiene conciencia de ser hombre, lo que implica ser ser

humano como tal. Y eso es uno de mis planes, digamos. En mi trabajo, siempre uso mucho color. Hay mucha influencia latinoamericana, del muralismo que se desarrolló en el tiempo del Gobierno de la Unidad Popular. La influencia de la Ramona Parra que es imposible que no haya, digamos, porque uno creció, se desarrolló y aprendió ahí. Tiene que haber influencia. Y sé también que mi forma, mi expresión, a pesar de que hay influencia, es bien propia. Mi estilo es propio. Y eso es una de las cosas, digamos, que a lo mejor me da ventaja, digamos, frente a gente que ha estudiado por años, en términos académicos, arte, qué sé yo. Ése es mi lado de ventaja pero también tengo mi lado de desventaja del que estoy conciente. Digamos que para conseguir a veces muchas técnicas me ha costado años de trabajo. Para llegar a hacer las cosas que yo hago ahora, me ha costado años de trabajo. No es que así uno tiene talento y uno hace las cosas. Yo no creo en el talento nada más. O sea, yo creo en la combinación de muchas cosas. Yo creo en la combinación de que tú tienes una cierta habilidad para hacer algo y tú tienes una creatividad y tú además dominas una cierta técnica pero para tener todas esas cosas, tú tienes que trabajar. O sea, tú no puedes llegar a tener un resultado sin un trabajo, un trabajo constante y ponerle esfuerzo y dedicarte realmente. O sea, puedes tener talento, puedes tener muchas cosas pero nada sucede si tú no trabajas. Yo creo que el trabajo es fundamental, la constancia. Hay que trabajar. Es una combinación de todas esas cosas. Él que no trabaja no llega a ninguna parte. Es mi opinión, digamos. Puedes tener claridad de repente de ver las cosas, de plantearlas, pero tienes que trabajarlas. Tienes que ponerlas por escrito. ¿No cierto? Porque sino ¿qué relevancia tiene? ¿Qué importancia? ¿Cómo las vas a comunicar a los demás si no las pones por escrito? Tienes que ponerlas por escrito. Tú igual puedes tener muchas cosas por adentro pero tienes que manifestarlas de alguna manera y de una manera que sea legible para las otras personas, o sea, entendible para otras personas. Yo lo veo de esa manera. No sé. Ahora si tú quieres preguntar otro tipo de pregunta, no sé.

Q
Sí. Me gustaría que me contaras un poco más sobre el resto de los artistas chilenos en Londres. ¿Qué tanto ustedes trabajan en conjunto? ¿Qué tanta visión común tienen? ¿Y qué tanto respaldo y apoyo tienen de Chile?

A
Mira, yo creo que un poco nos juntamos los que nos caemos bien y porque estamos pensando en alguna dirección similar. Yo creo que no hay ninguna otra cosa más.

Q
¿Se organizan a través de algo concreto? ¿Por ejemplo, a través de la Embajada?

A
No. No. Olvídate de la Embajada. Y eso que ésta es lo mejor que hemos tenido. Esta encargada cultural es lo mejor que hemos tenido, porque por lo menos le sabemos el nombre. ¿Ya? Antes ni siquiera le sabíamos los nombres...

Siempre se quejan de plata, se quejan de esto, de esto otro, pero yo sé que ellos tienen. Por ejemplo, hay algunos lugares que ellos podrían conseguirse y que los consiguen de hecho cuando traen gente de Chile. Y generalmente la gente, no quiero descalificar la gente que traen de Chile, pero siempre hay gente bien plana. Ésa es mi opinión muy personal. Eso no quiere decir que sea tan así, pero yo lo siento así. Y es gente como muy neutral, como nada que ver. No sé. Ésa es la sensación que yo tengo y tampoco

hace ningún impacto, ningún golpe aquí la verdad. Te lo digo honestamente porque el tipo de gente que ellos traen o promueven, creo que no los conocen en Chile, ni aquí, ni en ninguna parte. Ésa es la impresión que yo tengo. Pero a lo mejor estoy equivocada. No sé. Te lo digo al tiro, yo siempre trato de ser objetiva, en lo posible, trato. Y trato de ser justa también pero tú nunca has escuchado a la Embajada decir, "Oye, vamos a traer a los Illapu o gente que ha hecho alguna carrera, alguna cosa en Chile". Nunca ha traído a nadie realmente que tú habías escuchado, que tú habías sabido. No.

Q
Y el intercambio de aquí hacia allá. ¿Qué tanto ha ocurrido?

A
Ninguno. Ni siquiera aquí, que estamos aquí, que sería más fácil decir, "Oye, no tenemos que pagar pasaje ni estadía". Imagínate, Alfredo, o sea un tipo tan brillante como Alfredo. Ellos habían sido compañeros en la universidad y, qué sé yo, por último ellos podrían entender a lo mejor su situación, pero no ha habido ninguna colaboración en ayudarlo un poco a salir de la pobreza. Alfredo vive en la pobreza más absoluta. Un tipo que realmente es brillante. Yo lo conozco hace muchos años: un tipo muy íntegro, muy todo. Alfredo está. Donde le piden, allí va. Y por nada, ¿ah? Siempre va por nada. Todos van por nada en realidad. Todos vamos por nada aquí. Por nada. Y no hay reconocimiento para nada. No hay ningún tipo de reconocimiento ni ayuda, ni siquiera que nos digan, "Oye, sí les vamos a publicitar esta cuestión". Nada. No hay ningún tipo de ayuda. Y no porque ellos no estén enterados. Están pero yo no sé po'. Ellos están para promover a la gente de allá para acá. O a cierta gente conocida de ellos. Yo no sé. No sé mucho. Lo único que te pudo decir es que no hay, lo que sí te puedo decir claramente es que los que estamos acá nunca hemos recibido ningún apoyo de la Embajada. Para nada. Y eso que sí se mueven, invitan a alguna gente, a algunas cosas. A los otros encargados que habían antes no les sabíamos ni el nombre. A esta encargada la conocemos. O sea, antes las agregadas culturales o agregados, yo no sé si eran agregados o agregadas o lo que fueran, no les sabíamos los nombres ni sabíamos que existían. Entonces a todo esto, la Carmen Gloria, de todas maneras ha sido bastante más simpática. Tengo que reconocerlo. Se quejan siempre de que no tienen plata, que no tienen plata. Pero nosotros no vemos la misma actitud, por ejemplo, en la encargada cultural, por ejemplo, de Venezuela. Ellos tienen una casa aquí que se llama la Casa Bolívar que tiene como un *hall* donde hacen cosas, actividades. Lo arriendan, que sé yo, para distintas cosas, incluso la Embajada Chilena lo usa para algunas cosas. Pero hay una actitud diferente cuando vienen los venezolanos para ayudar a los venezolanos, una actitud totalmente distinta a la que tiene la Embajada Chilena. Pero ésa es la situación. Aquí lo que se ha hecho generalmente se ha hecho con las patas y el buche. Antiguamente, había mucho más apoyo cuando estaba de moda el asunto de Chile. Yo cuando llegué ya casi estaba pasando de moda. Casi un poco. A mí no me ha tocado mucho. Éstas son cuestiones de moda, depende de que lo que está pasando en el mundo, unos estamos más de moda, otros están menos de moda. Así se manejan las cosas. Por ejemplo, si tú vas a una galería inglesa: "Ah, eres latinoamericana. No, nosotros no estamos interesados por esas cosas." Antes de mirar tus cosas. "No, ustedes, usan muchos colores. No, hay que hacer cosas en estos otros tonos, en estas cosas." Te dicen exactamente lo que ellos quieren. Entonces yo te cuento mi experiencia. Para hacer esta cosa de Lautaro, yo fui a una tal October Gallery. Alfredo me acompañó porque le habían vendido un cuento. Claro, lo usaron a Alfredo como lo usan siempre. Porque eso es lo que hacen: nos usan siempre. Vamos

allá. No hago más que entrar al lugar y me di cuenta al tiro porque yo tengo eso del olfato y dije, “No”. Pero me quedé un poco por Alfredo. No me trataron muy bien, por supuesto. Me cobraban £1.500 por la galería que ni siquiera era la de abajo. Había un chileno trabajando en la galería. Conversamos y me dice así. “Donde no vean plata, no vean un drama, aunque muy bonito sea tu trabajo y todo, no te van a dar pelota. Así que estás perdiendo el tiempo.” Me pedían £1.500. Ni siquiera consideraban los días que yo quería. Tenía que ser cuando ellos decían y ni siquiera la sala principal sino otra sala por allá, no sé, que ni siquiera me la podían mostrar y yo digo, “No, yo no puedo pagar esa cantidad de plata. O sea, máximo la mitad. Mucha plata.” ¿De a dónde? Yo con las patas y el buche no puedo hacer eso. Entonces le digo, “Bueno, me hacen alguna rebaja o qué sé yo”. “Cuando son indios que vienen de allá, qué sé yo, los atienden porque hacen plata con ellos”. ¿Entiendes? Eso me lo dijo el chileno. Lo que vende es lo que tiene violaciones, sangre, me dijo, donde hay todo ese tipo de cosas. “Donde pueden hacer plata de la miseria humana, ahí se ponen. El arte por el arte”, me dijo. “Estai’ perdiendo el tiempo ¿Para qué te voy a hacer creer otra cosa? ¿Para qué te vas a hacer ilusiones?” Yo ya me había dado cuenta pero lo hice por el Alfredo. Yo me di cuenta que esta cuestión no iba a pasar porque yo estaba pidiendo la mitad del precio. Después conseguí un lugar en Arcola y hasta por ahí no más me quedé *happy* porque también son otros negociantes. A todo esto la misma October Gallery es una *charity*. ¡Una *charity*, huevon! Cobran £1.500, puta, por una sala y ¡son *charity* po’, hueon! Antes no. Yo me acuerdo que en este país en el tiempo del GLC ahí te conseguías lugares que los financiaban. Habían más posibilidades pero esa cosa se acabó hace mucho tiempo. Porque el Ken Livingstone fue una farsa, un engaño con la gente ahora, un cínico. Porque salió elegido porque la gente pensaba que iba a hacer lo que hacía antes. Y este huevon lo único que quiso era tener al Partido Laborista de vuelta y eso es lo que consiguió, así y todo tampoco sacó tanta votación. Para mí es un cínico. Pero bueno, antes te podías conseguir lugares en galerías. Ahora las galerías consiguen apoyo del Arts Council, se consiguen las platas y te hacen exhibiciones en que les importa una raja los artistas. En otro lugar que fui se conseguían las platas para una exhibición de los refugiados por decirte pero les importa una cresta. No invitan a nadie de arte, ni críticos de arte, ni ninguna cosa. Igual ellos reciben la plata, ¿entonces para qué se van a tomar la molestia? Ellos tienen que poner los cuadros de los tontos hueones que somos nosotros, y punto. Les están dando la plata, entonces ellos no se dan la molestia de hacer ninguna otra cosa ni de promover ni nada, porque todo funciona así aquí en este sistema. Bueno, estoy hablando de aquí no más porque vivo aquí, esto es lo que estoy viendo. Probablemente en otros países pasa lo mismo. Vivimos en este sistema de mafiosos porque esto es un sistema de mafiosos. Todo es una mafia. Entonces ¿qué pasa? Ponen los cuadros de estos pobres pelotas ahí y quienes van a la exhibición son los amigos del pobre pelota no más. Van dos, tres, que son amigos del pobre pelota y eso sería todo. Ellos no se molestan porque total están recibiendo plata igual y *for free*, por no darse la molestia de nada. Tienen un local no más donde cuelgan las hueas y punto. Entonces ellos están profitando de los artistas sin darse ni una molestia de nada, más que aplicar a los *fucking funds*. *Sorry* de mi lenguaje pero es la verdad. Eso es lo que hacen. Ésa es la realidad de aquí. Tú tienes que pagar si tú querís poner tus cuestiones porque no hay espacios para la gente. No hay espacios para los artistas ni ingleses ni de ningún tipo. A menos que seas, no sé po’, el Prince Charles que pinta unas asquerosidades de acuarela, hueon, o no sé qué otra pelota. ¡Claro! Cuando ellos sepan que van a hacer *profit*. *And a lot of profit*. Cuando el *profit* esté asegurado. Incluso un día hicieron una cosa en una galería de arte, justamente la Embajada, que eran unos premios, un concurso de literatura que hicieron en una galería

de arte y la dueña era una chilena. ¡Cáchate! Una chilena, media argentina, media inglesa, no sé. Entonces qué iba a conversar con ella si yo miro las cosas que tienen colgadas y ya sé. Tú te das cuenta. Claro. “No”, la tipa le dijo a mi amigo. “No, pucha, que no, yo nunca exhibo cosas de latinoamericanos”. “No”, le dijo. “Porque yo me aseguro que voy a vender”. Pero ¿cómo tú te aseguras si vas a vender o no si tú nunca probai’? Claro, sigue la teoría del diario el *Sun*. Puta, a la gente le gusta el *Sun*. Claro, porque si es la única mierda, la gente compra y consume esa mierda po’. Pero si tú no probai’ con otra cosa, ¿cómo puedes saber si la gente consume o no consume otra cosa? Si tú no probai’, no puedes saber. Yo no creo que a la gente le guste realmente. Porque le dan esa mierda, compran esa mierda. Si le dieran otra porquería, consumirían otra porquería. Porque así es la gente ¿o no? Yo tenía un compañero, cuando estuve a la universidad, bien jovencito. Claro porque yo estudié ya vieja. Y él me decía, “Yo esa porquería del *Sun* la prohibiría. Yo dictaría una ley que prohíba leer esa porquería.” Yo le decía, “Pero tú no puedes hacer eso porque es contra los principios de la democracia o de la libre elección de la gente.” “Es que es una mierda”, me decía. No sé qué otra cosa me quieres preguntar sobre la situación que nosotros vivimos aquí. No hay apoyo. Todo se hace con las patas y el buche. Con mucho esfuerzo.

Q
Cuéntame sobre la construcción de vínculos para que tu trabajo fluya con Chile.

A
A mí me gustaría. A mí me gustaría poder hacerlo porque yo soy como un *alien* aquí en este país. No existo. [*laughs*] A lo mejor no tendría tanta importancia, pero sí me interesaría. Me interesaría tener algún vínculo porque de alguna forma lo que uno pinta o uno hace tiene que ver con la historia - esa historia un poco borrada de Chile - y yo creo que es importante que la gente de alguna manera conozca esa historia. Es interesante que la gente conozca ciertas cosas, las experiencias que uno ha tenido y que la gente no las conoce simplemente porque se ha borrado una etapa de nuestra historia. De eso sí que estoy conciente. Me gustaría tener un vínculo pero yo creo que a través de la Embajada es imposible. Ellos han tenido bastante tiempo y no lo han hecho. Y conocen el trabajo de uno y saben los esfuerzos que uno ha hecho y jamás han ofrecido ningún tipo de apoyo. Creo que la Embajada no está dispuesta. No sé si es la persona particularmente o es una política. No tengo idea.

Q
En tu interacción con el resto de los artistas chilenos, ¿percibes que ellos también quisieran tener esta apertura, este vínculo?

A
Yo creo que sí. Yo creo que sí. Yo creo que hay una tremenda gran frustración en todos nosotros, ¿ah? Yo lo veo de esa manera. No sé si los otros lo expresan de la misma manera. Pero yo lo percibo de esa manera porque yo creo que también es injusto. Es injusto porque Chile nos debe algo. Nos debe algo porque nosotros tuvimos que dejar Chile por circunstancias políticas y, si hoy día hay una democracia, nosotros también tendríamos que tener un espacio dentro de esa democracia, si es que realmente estamos hablando que hay una democracia. Porque nosotros somos chilenos y no hemos dejado ser chilenos. Y seguimos sintiendo como chilenos y somos parte de la historia de Chile. Y no nos pueden borrar, aunque quisieran todos borrarnos, parece. Porque ésa parece es la realidad. Todos quieren olvidarse de que nosotros existimos.

No existen los desparecidos. No existen los presos políticos. No existen estos... No existe nada. Lo dijeron durante toda la dictadura y ahora parece que quieren continuar con eso. O sea, ¿cuándo realmente nos van a integrar? Por ejemplo, en el caso particular mío - cada experiencia es particular - pero, por ejemplo, yo no puedo llegar y decir, "Oye, me voy a Chile", así no más, porque tengo la situación de mi hijo. Yo por mí me voy al tiro a Chile. A mí nunca me ha gustado este país. No porque creo que Chile sea un país fantástico, excelente, maravilloso. Tal vez, como dice mi amiga Nicole, "Este país es una mierda aburrida; Chile es una mierda pero más entretenida". A lo mejor, no sé. Pero para mí porque es mi país. Ya. Nada más. Porque hay cosas que tienen que ver con las raíces. O porque muchas cosas no son iguales y ni van a ser nunca iguales porque había una dinámica distinta, había un crecimiento distinto tanto del chileno de Chile como uno aquí afuera, con una dinámica distinta. Yo no espero ni tampoco idealizo a Chile pero es mi país. Tengo derecho a estar en mi país en vez de ser una eterna *fucking foreigner* en este país. Porque ésa es la verdad. A donde voy o en el pequeño espacio aquí en Hackney o donde sea que voy soy una *fucking foreigner*. No quiero ser una *fucking foreigner*. Soy chilena y quiero vivir en mi país. Tengo derecho a vivir en mi país pero no puedo por razones bien concretas o bien domésticas: mi hijo, por ejemplo. Tengo una razón bien concreta que es la que me limita y ni siquiera son cosas particularmente económicas, así tan así. Es el cuidado de mi hijo. Yo no tendría cómo tener a mi hijo en Chile en las condiciones que está aquí. Él está contento. Yo no puedo llegar y cambiarlo. Si él estuviera mal, a lo mejor yo me atrevería a aventurar. Me atrevería a aventurar con él. Si él está bien, no lo puedo sacar para ir a aventurar porque no es justo para mi hijo. Él se crió aquí. Él está acostumbrado como si fuera un inglés. Yo no lo puedo cambiar. Yo no puedo ir a aventurar con mi hijo, porque Chile tampoco me da ninguna garantía, digamos, de que mi hijo va a estar bien, que voy a tener medicina para él, cuidado y ninguna de esas cosas. No me la puede dar ni a mí, me la va a dar para mi hijo. Entonces para mí ésa es una de las razones prioritarias por la que yo me quedo aquí. Mi pareja se quiere ir a Chile. Por él se subiría al avión al tiro. Yo también me subiría el avión al tiro. Sí del día uno me quise subir al avión de vuelta a pesar de todo. Y a veces no sé si fue bueno o no haberme venido. Pero ¿qué sé yo? Uno nunca sabe esa cuestión. Pero estamos en la situación en que estamos. Ya no podemos volver atrás. A mí Chile no me garantiza ninguna cosa. Chile me debe. Me debe todo. Me debe mi juventud. Me debe todo lo que pasé. Me lo debe. Claro, me lo debe. Yo siento que me lo debe. A lo mejor estoy equivocada. No sé pero yo siento que me lo debe. He peleado y peleado por sobrevivir y he peleado por todo aquí. He hecho todo lo posible. Pelé y mucho hice para que hoy día tuviéramos esta seudodemocracia mientras otros se dedicaron a hacer sus carreras y están de vuelta. Y yo aquí viviendo en una casa del *housing association* po' y a veces firmando ¿cachai? Primero, yo no vine a este país como vienen muchos inmigrantes latinoamericanos, por razones económicas. Yo vine por razones políticas. O sea, cuando viene el inmigrante económico, junta plata, viene a eso. Está contento porque está ganando plata y, puta, la manda para allá y la traduce en lo que él quiere. Yo no vine a eso. Yo vine porque mi vida estaba en riesgo, mi hijo estaba en riesgo. Entonces yo no te voy a decir que en Chile estaba bien. Tenía dificultades, digamos, de trabajo y de todo en el último tiempo. Pero, a lo mejor, si yo hubiera transado ciertas cosas dentro mi familia, a lo mejor yo habría podido tener una posibilidad pero no lo quise hacer o no se me pasó por la mente. No sé. Me encantaría irme a Chile aunque viviera absolutamente en el anonimato, encerrada en mi casa en cuatro paredes. Pero me gustaría. Pero, como no lo puedo hacer, tengo que quedarme aquí y tratar de hacer mi vida lo más agradable, lo más contenta, que es lo que trato de hacer. Y lo hago, digamos. Pero me gustaría

porque no me gusta la idea de eso de ser *fucking foreigner*. No me gusta. No me gusta. He tenido experiencias de trabajo bastante amargas en el pasado, bastante terribles y pierdo el *cool* rapidísimo. O sea, cuando me tratan así, pierdo el *cool* rapidísimo. Entonces, no sé. Es como yo veo las cosas. Me gustaría que existiera un poco de reconocimiento de todo lo que nosotros hemos hecho para que cambie la situación en Chile porque si no hubiera sido por nosotros los exiliados es que nadie sabe lo que pasa en Chile. Nosotros hemos hecho un trabajo de años, de años, de años. A lo mejor no todos los chilenos que están aquí, pero un grupo sí. Y un grupo en cierta forma considerable, considerable porque de alguna manera, como te decía, la misma cuestión de Pinochet. Creo que Chile no nos reconoce. Tener una seudodemocracia, aunque las cosas no estén prefectas, es mucho mejor que la dictadura. Sin duda, mucho mejor que la dictadura. Esto no ha sido el exilio dorado ni la huea que transmitía Pinochet. Lo pasamos como las hueas. La gran mayoría de la gente lo ha pasado como las hueas. Y Pinochet que consideró que era un drama lo que él pasó. Él vivió en Surrey a todo lujo, con guardia, con cuánta cuestión. No vivía en un *council flat* como la mayoría. Y eso que yo no he vivido en un *council flat*. Vivir en una casa del *housing association* no el lo mismo que vivir en esas torres horribles donde te asaltan al segundo que sales a la calle. Como a mucha gente aquí. Yo he tenido más suerte que otra gente que vive en una casa como ésta. Hay lugares que son siniestros. Hay mujeres que se han suicidado, que se han tirado de los pisos, porque no lo podían tolerar. Montones de gente se han suicidado entre los exiliados. Hay tantas historias, pero historias terribles de la gente. Realmente historias terribles y, como te digo, Pinochet vivió la papa po'. Se trajo hasta el cocinero, el cura, todo po'. Lo que quiso, se trajo. Claro. Tratamos de huevearlo lo más que pudimos, pero tampoco pudimos tanto. Pero la cosa no ha sido fácil aquí. Yo digo "aquí" porque vivo aquí en Inglaterra pero yo creo que para la gente que vive en Francia también ha sido difícil o la gente de otros lugares.

Q
¿Conoces muchos casos?

A
Sí. En Suecia, mucha gente se ha suicidado, más que aquí en Inglaterra. La gente que vivía en Suecia. No sé. O sea, cuando yo digo esto, no es que yo sea *anti-English* o *anti*-Gran Bretaña. No quiero que me tomes de esa manera. Pero es por razones culturales que uno no se adapta, qué sé yo. Son razones por último normales, no. O no sé. Yo ya a esta altura, no sé lo que es normal y que lo que no es normal ya. [*laughs*] Además, la otra cosa que pasa es el cambio de roles que te afecta a ti como mujer. Yo creo también a los hombres tiene que haberles afectado. No te puedo hablar por los hombres porque no soy hombre pero tú vienes también de una época distinta, en que tú llegaste aquí y, claro, tal vez en Chile las cosas están cambiadas. No sé, como yo no vivo allá. Yo he ido de vacaciones y no es mucho lo que tú te puedes percatar tampoco. A lo mejor, las cosas ya han cambiado. Eso no lo sé. Pero aquí cuando uno llega acá, es un *shock* porque hay un cambio de roles total. Entonces tú al final no sabes lo que eres, si eres hombre o mujer. A mí pasó una talla tan increíble cuando yo viajé a Chile, la primera vez que fui el '91, y voy bajando del avión en Chile y un señor me ayuda. Un señor chileno me da la mano y me ayuda a bajar la escalinata del avión. Tiene que haber pensado que estaba loca pero loca remate porque le digo, "O, no sabe cuánto le agradezco. Me hace sentir mujer de nuevo." Ese señor debe haber pensado que yo estaba loca de remate. Pero es que yo nunca había sentido ese gesto que para mí es importante. Puede ser una estupidez. A lo mejor para ti que naciste en otra época no

tiene ninguna importancia, ninguna relevancia. ¿Ya? Este señor debe haber pensado que estaba loca total. Claro, porque es, como que uno aquí empieza a sentirse como hombre, ya está como hombre. No sé si entiendes a lo que me refiero. Uno tiene que hacerlo por fuerza. Uno tiene que tomar, uno tiene que aprender a hacerse maestro, carpintero, electricista. Tú aquí tienes que aprender de todo. Y no estás acostumbrada. No estás acostumbrada, aunque fueras profesional por último. Tampoco. Mira, el baño de esta casa lo hice yo porque al final me quedé con el cagá: me dijeron que lo iban a venir a arreglar, me hicieron comprar los materiales. Al final no lo quisieron hacer. Un tipo me dijo, "Mira, yo te lo hago". A medio camino, me dijo, "No, pucha, que tú estás loca, que no sé qué, que no se puede hacer". Ya. "Déjalo compadre", le dije yo. Me quedé tres meses con el baño hecho una calamidad. Tenía las baldosas, todo comprado. Nadie lo quería hacer porque ya estaba empezado. Dije yo, tampoco tengo tanta plata para pagarle a alguien para que lo haga todo de nuevo y dije, "Ya po'". Lo hice. Y lo hice yo. Y me quedó bien, fíjate. Claro que me demoré. Me tomé mi tiempo. He tenido que aprender de hacer de todo aquí. Mira, hasta médico pediatra tuve que aprender a ser. Porque el GP es una mierda. Perdóname, será gratis aquí la cuestión - pero no es gratis porque te lo descuentan de tu salario - pero es una mierda. O sea, ¿cuál es el sentido de hacerle creer a la gente que tiene derecho a cosas que son una mierda? Tiene derecho a educación gratis pero es una mierda; no es educación. Tiene derecho a medicina pero es una mierda; no es medicina. Yo sabía que mi hijo sufría constantemente de infecciones al oído. Entonces yo lo llevaba al GP en donde no se molestaban ni en revisarlo siquiera, pero tenía que llevarlo para que me dieran la receta porque sino no me vendían el remedio en la farmacia. ¿Ya? Aquí hay una legislación. No la critico, a pesar de que es bastante inconveniente para muchas cosas, pero para otras, pienso que también tiene su razón de ser. En ese sentido no lo critico porque, por ejemplo, en Chile se abusa mucho de los remedios innecesariamente. La gente por todo compra remedios, remedios. Y los únicos que ganan son las industrias farmacéuticas y la gente se autoreceta y tampoco es correcto que tú te autorecetes todo el tiempo. Entonces aquí esto es una forma de controlar eso. Mira, no sé si ha sido tan útil o no tan útil pero de repente es medio inútil pero a lo mejor tiene su razón de ser. Pero, claro, este señor no se daba la molestia de revisar al cabro. Entonces como yo ya sabía, le miraba la oreja al cabro y sabía que tenía problemas. Entonces, le decía al GP: "Ya déme medicina tanto porque el niño tiene infección". Se lo daba y, claro, el cabro se mejoraba. Me daba la receta sin mirarlo, por eso te digo que aprendí a ser médico pediatra aquí. De todo: carpintero, electricista, todo, todo, todo, todo. Tú aprendes a hacer de todo. De repente también tú te cansas de ser Superwoman. Estoy choreada de esta idiotez del feminismo. Te chorea porque al final terminas haciendo todo y los tipos no hacen ninguna cosa al final en este sistema. Los hombres se han transformado en cero. A lo mejor, te choquea lo que te digo pero viviendo 24 años en este país. No tienen trabajo. No tienen nada y tener un hombre jodiendo en la casa es la cosa más terrible que te puedes imaginar porque no están hechos para estar en la casa. No están hechos. Somos diferentes. A mí esta idiotez del feminismo me tiene hasta aquí, te digo honestamente. No lo entiendo. Los abusos no los tolero como ser humano. Ningún ser humano tiene el derecho a abusar de otro. A mí no me vengan con la huea de que el feminismo: entonces abusamos a los hueones. No. O sea, tanto ellos como ellas son seres humanos y ni ellos tienen derecho a abusar de ellas ni ellas tienen derecho abusar de ellos. Entonces aquí la cosa se ha invertido. Las mujeres entonces empiezan a abusar de los hombres. Esa cuestión no me gusta. No me gusta. Entonces por un lado tú tienes que hacer todo y los tipos están totalmente anulados. No tienen trabajo hoy día. Los hombres no tienen trabajo en este país. No hay trabajo para los hombres, te

digo honestamente. Ya casi no hay trabajo para los hombres. Bueno, entiendo que un sistema capitalista siempre tiene que tener desempleados. Ahora con este Gobierno Laborista estamos yendo de mal en peor porque ellos quieren que esto funcione como un sistema socialista sin que haya un socialismo. Entonces no lo entiendo. O sea, ellos quieren que no haya desempleados. Entonces están tratando de quitar los beneficios, todas las cosas. Los Conservadores lo tienen bien claro. Ellos saben de que tienen que darle beneficios a la gente porque sino la gente se le va a sublevar. Es como sobarles el lomo. Ellos saben eso. Lo tienen claro. Pero estos idiotas no lo tienen claro. No lo tienen claro. Entonces ¿cómo le vas a quitar los beneficios a la gente si la tienes desempleada? Eso los Conservadores ya lo supieron después de la Guerra. Por algo tuvieron la Guerra y dejaron a Hitler entrar para liquidar cualquier posibilidad de revolución en estos países en Europa. Lo dejaron a propósito, porque Hitler no atacó al Palacio de Buckingham ni el Parlamento ni mucho menos. Se fue a atacar directamente a los sectores, las poblaciones, a las partes industriales donde había clase obrera. Ahí fue directamente. Eso lo saben muy bien. Se hacen los tontos no más. Aquí el mismo rey que tenían lo hacían abdicar porque el tipo era fascista. Y le inventaron la historia de amor. Aprovecharon que el tipo le gustaba la mina ésa pero eso no era relevante, era lo menos relevante. Siempre disfrazan las cosas de otra manera. Entonces aquí tú te transformas, no sé, y siempre te inventan cuestiones para oprimirte más y para liquidarte más. Entonces ahora, claro, para emplear mujeres con más ventajas inventaron el feminismo. A las mujeres les pagan menos que los hombres. Entonces, claro, por eso las emplean más, con mayor frecuencia y hoy día el hombre no tiene espacio en la sociedad. Entonces hay toda una crisis, digamos, de rol. Y tú te confundes. Todo el mundo se confunde aquí. Queda en la cagá con las parejas; la cagada en todo. Y esto lo hemos tenido que vivir nosotros que veníamos como pajaritos, con una mentalidad totalmente distinta. Te afecta. Para las mujeres inglesas está fantástico porque ellas son inglesas, están en su país. Puta, tienen todo el espacio. Para ellas no es ningún problema. Pero nosotras como extranjeras no tenemos ningún espacio. Es distinto, no. Para ellas, claro, puede ser fantástico pero tampoco yo lo creo, digamos, por la crisis con los hijos, los problemas con la educación y los colegios. Toda esta crisis por falta de la preocupación de los padres por sus hijos. No hay nadie que se preocupe. Y no es que quiera quitarle mérito a los hombres o a las mujeres, o a nadie en particular, pero eso es lo que he observado.

Por ejemplo, mira yo conozco el caso de una chilena que actúa como una inglesa, está casada con un inglés. Ella tiene un muy buen trabajo pero su marido lo único que hace es tomarse seis, siete botellas de vino todos los días y según él se queda cuidando a los niños. Entonces ella es como el hombre pero él no es como la mujer, desgraciadamente. Él sigue siendo hombre pero un tipo frustrado, amargado, entonces la botella no más. Los cabros y todo anda mal. Los cabros tienen problemas. Y todo anda mal. Cuando una se queda en la casa, una hace las cosas, una le tiene un plato de comida al hueon, una le hace las cosas bien y tiene los cabros bien y funciona. Pero cuando ellos se quedan en la casa no pueden porque la naturaleza de los hombres es distinta. Es distinta no más. ¿Por qué tenemos que decir que somos iguales cuando no somos iguales? O sea, una cosa es que tengamos derechos, pero que somos iguales, no. Porque somos distintos. Yo te digo honestamente yo no puedo ir a trabajar con una pala y un pico e ir a demoler edificios porque yo no tengo la fortaleza. ¿Por qué quiero ir a meterme a esos tipos de trabajo? ¿Por qué tengo que ser mejor que un hombre? ¿Por qué no podemos complementarnos? Porque ese afán del sistema capitalista o de este sistema de eso de competencia, de entrar en competencia. Si empiezas a entrar en

competencia con la persona con quien vives, estás soñado po'. No vas a tener nunca una buena relación porque, claro, la competencia significa eliminar al otro, a tu contrincante. Claro. Si tú tienes una pareja y lo quieres cagar ¿cómo te vas a poder relacionar con esa persona? La otra persona siempre va a estar a la defensiva y tú también, o sea, ahí se transforma en una guerra y es lo que hace este sistema: divide para gobernar. Así impera. Separa y divide cada vez más a la gente. Y ha llegado hasta lo más íntimo. Primero empieza por dividir las comunidades. Ahora ya empieza a dividir la familia, entre el hombre y la mujer. Por eso no me gusta este sistema. Por eso no me gusta este país. Lo encuentro muy competitivo. Probablemente yo en Chile voy a encontrar alguna cosa igual. No estoy criticando particularmente, es el sistema que impera lo que critico. Es eso lo que critico porque este tiempo antes la Guerra, si uno escucha a los viejos. Yo siempre los escucho y dicen que este país tenía otra dinámica totalmente distinta que la liquidaron. La liquidaron porque no le convenía a este sistema. Habían comunidades. La gente se relacionaba de otra manera. En los barrios habían cosas. Era distinto. Este país era distinto. Incluso yo cuando llegué como la Margaret Thatcher, claro, llevaba un año en el Gobierno, todavía este país era distinto a lo que es hoy en día. No había alcanzado destruirlo tanto esa vieja asquerosa, una mujer pero de lo más nociva. Y este Tony Blair se ha dado el lujo de felicitarla y en varias ocasiones decía que ella fue fantástica. ¡Cáchate! O sea, entiendo si hubiese sido el comentario de alguien del Partido de ella, pero no él. Y este tipo, o sea, mira, yo encuentro que, por ejemplo, John Major fue un tipo bastante más decente que Tony Blair. Claro, ese tipo no quería más, lo tenían enfermo al pobre. Él fue quien reemplazó a la Thatcher cuando la hicieron renunciar. Y yo encuentro bastante decente el tipo. Trató de parar muchas de las cosas que la Thatcher estaba haciendo. Bueno, no sé si lo hizo por ganar popularidad o si fue realmente honesto. No sé, pero lo hizo. Pero Tony Blair llevó a cabo todos los planes de la Thatcher que paró el John Major. Los ha llevado a cabo. Éste es un cerdo. Este tipo es un cerdo. Este tipo es un cerdo. Yo lo encuentro ya el colmo y no sé por qué los Laboristas lo apoyan tanto. Yo lo he dicho al Jeremy. "Oye, ¿por qué lo apoyan?" Me dice que para no destruir el Partido. "Oye", le digo yo. "Pero corta el hueveo". O sea, ¿por qué no hacen lo que hicieron los Conservadores cuando votaron en contra de la Thatcher? Porque eso fue lo que hicieron, no. Simplemente la calificaron y pusieron a John Major sin elecciones, sin nada. ¿Por qué los Laboristas no hacen lo mismo si no están de acuerdo? Por eso no les creo. No les creo nada. En ese sentido, los Conservadores dentro de su posición han sido más honestos porque no les ha gustado algo, lo sacaron y punto. No es que yo apoye lo que ellos creen. O sea, no estoy de acuerdo con ellos, pero han sido más decentes por uultimo porque si no han estado de acuerdo con algo lo han sacado y listo. Pero aquí yo no sé cuál es el juego que tienen estos Laboristas realmente. Aparte que tampoco entiendo por qué no apoyan a la Unión Europea. No entiendo por qué no la quieren apoyar y fíjate que la gente de más Izquierda del Partido Laborista son los que menos apoyan a la Unión Europea. Cuando al final de esta cuestión de las monedas y todas estas tonteras, los únicos que ganan son los banqueros. El pueblo saldría más aventajado. Mira, con toda esta mafia de las casas, por ejemplo, tendrían que nivelarse los precios. De todas las cosas tendrían que nivelarse los precios con el resto de Europa y toda esta mafia que hay de las viviendas porque esto es una verdadera mafia. ¡Los precios! La gente no puede comprar. No hay casas en donde vivir. Los arriendos son carísimos. Es muy poca la gente que tiene la posibilidad de tener una casa del *council* o de *housing association*. Yo, como te digo, que soy *lucky*. *Lucky* porque tengo esta casa pero tampoco creas que pago tan re poco, pero en comparación a lo que son los arriendos privados sí pago poco. Y soy, te digo, *lucky* pero, puta, me están echando todos los días ya casi de aquí.

Lo único que quieren es echarme. Es toda una mafia aquí. Hay gente que compra dos, tres casas. Vienen al lavado de dinero, se hacen los cínicos, compran propiedades y al final, si alguien quiere construir casa, no sé, empiezan a reclamar que no, que la *countryside*, que no sé qué historia pero sí la gente no tiene donde vivir. O sea, tú no tienes derecho de decir, "Oye, no construyamos más casas porque yo tengo casa y que el resto se joda". Lo que construyen tampoco está al alcance, digamos, de la gente más necesitada, la gente que realmente necesita tener casa. Entonces, no sé. En otros países, se construye. Por ejemplo, en Chile se construye y se construye casas para todos los sectores sociales. O sea, casitas más modestas, casitas de todos tipos. Y yo no veo que en este país se construye. Aquí lo que se hace es para los millonarios no más. Es una verdadera mafia porque los precios de las propiedades han subido pero terriblemente. La gente no tiene donde vivir. ¡Es terrible! Es terrible. Yo te digo me considero *lucky*. Tengo que cuidar esta casa pero cómo tengo que cuidarla porque yo sé que me dieron esto porque yo estaba recién llegada no más. Y eran otros tiempos pero hoy en día cada vez la cosa es dificilísima para todo el mundo, para los ingleses. Y a veces yo entiendo que los ingleses se enojan y se ponen medio racistas también pero, puta, claro, a uno no le gusta que sean racistas con uno pero yo a veces entiendo por qué se ponen así. Lo puedo entender porque ellos nos ven y dicen, "Oye, esta puta extranjera tiene esta casa y yo, estoy en la calle po". Lo puedo entender. Los entiendo. Pero esto es toda una cuestión creada por este sistema monárquico que yo no sé, ¿cuándo lo van a sacar? Yo no sé, oye, pero ¿cómo? Esta cuestión de la propiedad de las tierras, que nadie las puede tocar. No, lo más divertido es que cuando van a los países de uno ya no quieren pagar impuestos, no quieren pagar ninguna cosa. Pero aquí no se salva nadie de pagar impuestos. Imagínate, ahora este caso que hay con este tipo que tienen aquí, este ruso que es un delincuente. Aquí no le dicen nada. ¿Por qué le dicen nada? Porque viene a gastar. Mira, que pasó con este papá del novio de la Princess Diana. ¿Cómo se llama? ¿Al Fayed? Este tipo estaba alegando porque cuando él recién se instaló con Harrods y no sé con qué otras cosas más, porque tiene otras cosas más aquí en este país. Le dijeron para que él se instalara - mira, que son chuecos - le dijeron, por un arreglo que pagara no sé qué cantidad de impuestos, algo como £50,000 al año nada más. Y eso era el arreglo. Pero después, le empiezan a cobrar con retroactivos y el tipo se enojó. Dijo, "Bueno, ¿cómo, el arreglo? Y no es que este defendiéndolo. A mí ¿qué me importa? Ese hueon es millonario igual. ¿Por qué lo voy a defender? Pero igual en cierta forma el tipo tenía razón porque por un lado cuando se instala y todo, le ponen unas condiciones y se las cambian a mitad de camino. Eso no corresponde po'. El tipo estaba alegando y al final ha dejado un montón de impuestos de todas maneras aquí. Pero imagínate ese tipo en Rusia no ha pagado jamás impuestos y es uno de los tipos casi más millonarios del mundo. Con razón va a ser millonario, no pagaba nunca impuestos y vamos sacándole no más a la tierra. Es como la cuestión del cobre en Chile. El cobre fue nacionalizado en el tiempo de Eduardo Frei Montalva, padre de este otro viejo. Don Eduardo era un tipo educado. No como el hijo que es un roto ordinario, realmente un roto. Yo no sé por qué Don Eduardo no lo mandó a educarse. Yo a don Eduardo lo conocí porque era amigo de mi padre, otro Democratacristiano. No te voy a decir que era un tipo tan extraordinario, medio derechista también, pero era bastante más decente que su hijo, eso sí te puedo decir. Mi madre cuando se enteró de esto de mi hermana, qué sé yo, fue a hablar con don Eduardo porque era abogado. Entonces, claro, él no estaba ejerciendo. Fue a hablar al poco tiempo que se muriera don Eduardo. Bueno, hay varias versiones de cómo murió don Eduardo. No sé. La hermana dice que lo mataron cuando estaba en el hospital. No sé qué cosa dice doña Irena Frei. ¿No has sabido todo esto? Bueno, eso es lo que

dicen. Yo me acuerdo que estaba en Chile cuando murió don Eduardo. Murió, no sé, en una operación o algo así. Pero según la hermana dice que lo mataron. No sé. Eso no lo sé. Pero mi mamá fue a hablar con don Eduardo y le preguntó. Bueno, le pidió que se hiciera cargo del caso de mi hermana. Mi mamá le pregunto por Colonia Dignidad, un recinto de los alemanes cerca de Parral. Una colonia que estaba en manos de los alemanes pero estos alemanes no pagaban impuestos. No pagaban nada en Chile. Estaban ahí. Se fueron después de la Guerra. Alguien los mandó para allá. No sé. Recibían incluso plata de Alemania y Alemania, después de toda esta cuestión con los derechos humanos, les cortó el financiamiento. Pero igual tenían mucha plata y tenían un verdadero campo de concentración porque toda la gente que vivía ahí, incluso gente que había nacido ahí, no tenía ni siquiera papeles, ni chilenos ni alemanes, ni nada. Y esa gente no podía salir de ahí y vivían como en un campo de concentración. Hacían trabajo forzado y dicen que a muchos prisioneros políticos, sobre todo la gente de origen alemán, los llevaron ahí. Y, bueno, nosotros supimos por unos alemanes medios de Derecha en Temuco que a mi hermana la habían visto allá pero, claro, nosotros no tenemos evidencia de eso pero nosotros quisimos que se hiciera una visita. Pero eso al final quedó en nada porque esto fue en tiempo de la dictadura y, bueno, y siempre quedó en nada, digamos. Entonces el juez en esa época y la Corte Suprema dijeron de que se necesitaba alguien que hablara alemán. Entonces mi mama le dijo, “Bueno, ningún problema, mi hija, mi otra hija habla alemán. Ella puede ir.” Entonces después dijeron que no porque era familiar directo y, qué sé yo, que tenía que ir un abogado que hablara alemán. Conseguimos un abogado que hablaba alemán, igual no lo dejaron entrar pero yo te estoy hablando de antes que me viniera. Yo no puedo decir si fue el ‘78; ‘77 o ‘78. Pero dicen que mi hermana estuvo ahí pero yo no sé, realmente nosotros lo supimos no por prisioneros que estuvieron, sino por otro tipo que dijo que la había visto, que le contó un primo mío. Que la había visto ahí. No sé si será verdad. Pero entonces mi mami cuando supo que podía estar ahí fue a hablar con don Eduardo. Hubo un escándalo en el tiempo que don Eduardo era Presidente. Me acuerdo que yo era chica: se escapó un tipo de la Colonia. Un tipo. No sé si habrá nacido en Chile y lo detuvieron porque no tenía papeles chilenos. Lo detuvieron y después nunca más se supo del tipo y desapareció y todo se acalló. Nunca se supo nada más de lo que pasaba en Colonia. Entonces mi mamá le pregunto a don Eduardo, “Bueno ¿por qué existen estos Estados dentro de otro Estado?” Dice que don Eduardo se paseó de un lado para otro, para allá, para acá como cinco minutos así callado y le dijo, “Mire, señora yo no se lo puedo explicar porque éstas son cosas muy, muy complicadas. No le puedo responder.” Entonces mi mamá, “Bueno,” le dijo. “¿Usted podría tomar el caso de mi hija?” Dijo, “Yo no estoy trabajando, no estoy ejerciendo en este momento pero sí voy a considerar qué puedo hacer por su hija. Dame la información.” Y qué sé yo. Pero a los poquitos meses, murió este señor. No pasaban ni tres meses y murió este señor, don Eduardo.

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
¿Cómo fue que saliste de Chile?

A
Salí de Chile a través del British Council y por esa vía llegué a la Universidad de Glasgow siendo un pobre diablo que necesitaba más formación y justamente le pedí al jefe de la Facultad que a mí me gustaría llegar a ser un investigador como ellos lo eran. Entonces fui atendido con mucho cariño, con mucha afección y seguí haciendo lo que quería: escribiendo poesía, escribiendo cuentos. Skármeta hizo una antología de cuentos chilenos en el exterior y me puso en esa antología en Alemania. También después me dediqué más intensamente a la poesía porque tuve vínculos con algunos de los poetas que se llaman "de Liverpool", especialmente con Brian Patten que era uno de los que más me interesaba dentro de ese grupo. Era menos político y los otros pues también eran importantes pero no estaban dentro de mi onda. No sé si has oído de un chileno Redolés que es un cantante, un poeta chileno. Él sí tuvo más vínculos con los grupos más definidos con la Izquierda, con grupos de gente más vinculados a ideas comunistas. Aunque yo no soy anticomunista pero odié desde un principio el estalinismo. No me cayó muy bien desde que conocí. Tuve ideas de Pablo Neruda por sus actitudes, bueno, actitudes ciegamente prosoviético, no. Yo siempre decía, bueno, es un país tan extraño, la Unión Soviética. Los rusos ¿qué tienen que ver con nosotros? Tienen una cultura, un idioma que nunca nos ha llegado. Y tú ves ahora con la nueva reorganización política del mundo sigue la Unión Soviética como parte de Oriente más que de Occidente. Y, sin embargo, bueno, ya sabes cómo los partidos políticos...

[…]

A la Iglesia Católica le ha costado muchísimo ponerse de parte de las clases débiles por sus mismos orígenes en Chile. Las clases dominantes llamaron a los cristianos, a la Iglesia para que en sus fundos se forman en las capillas las iglesias. Y los curas, bueno, hicieron ese juego siempre, no. En una mano gorda a los ricos y en una mano normal y corriente al pobre, no… No voy a decir que todos los curas fueron así, no, pero yo tengo la impresión de que ellos históricamente han fallado y, bueno, cuando el Gobierno de Allende, yo era simpatizante de la Unidad Popular y cuando vi que la única manera de trabajar dentro del campo cultural era incorporándose a las fuerzas que más organizadamente hacían ese juego, yo pensé que el Partido Comunista era uno que estaba en esa onda. Por la amistad que yo tenía con alguna gente, yo me acerqué a los Comunistas y te digo que esa amistad fue de solamente tres meses [*laughs*] porque tres meses vino el golpe de estado y yo nunca me he sentido comunista. Aquí el profesor Mike me dijo una vez, "Mira, vamos a tener que examinar tu punto de vista marxista". "¿Cómo?" dije yo. "Yo no soy Marxista." [*laughs*] Dice, "Bueno, pero tú hablas mucho de este asunto social". Bueno, el campo que estoy estudiando es así. Se plantea en el punto de vista social y todo. Imagínate a hoja suelta de los poetas populares. No podía yo dejar de lado términos como lo social, lo económico, la marginación de esa pobre gente que aún sigue, esos poetas populares que van de un lugar a otro, de una fiesta patronal de la virgen tal, de la santa tal a otra. Eso nunca va a terminar, va a ser lo mismo. Eso es el campo que yo estudié. Lo estudié desde el punto de vista, obviamente con ojos del punto de vista de observación de cómo sufre esa clase. Entonces cuando dije yo que, y lo digo todavía, que yo no he leído un capítulo de ningún escrito de Carlos

Marx, la gente me queda mirando y dice, "¿Es cierto?" ¡Es cierto! El problema es que yo soy, diríamos, un viejo cristiano a la muy antigua, no, casi anárquico porque tampoco me gusta ir a las reuniones. No soporto las reuniones. Me gusta ser libre como esos pajaritos pero tener la opinión de esos cantos, no. Y eso es lo que yo pienso que me ha perjudicado muchísimo desde el punto de vista de lo que estamos hablando porque como no estoy alineado al Partido de Gobierno, Partido Socialista. Si yo hubiera estado haciendo activismo socialista, ya estaría en Chile. Estaría perfectamente bien trabajando o viviendo de alguna beca. Y entonces desde esa perspectiva, con ese *background*, hablamos con E. y él te va a decir. Mira, si la pregunta es: ¿qué piensas tú de la cultura? Cuando llegábamos aquí, estaba muy dividida la cosa, no. Tú eras del Gobierno, amigos de la Embajada, o tú estabas integrado en las fuerzas de la resistencia a Pinochet. ¿Ya? Había que tener mucho cuidado ahí porque la resistencia a Pinochet tú sabes que en un momento fue decisivamente armada y ahí fue un fracaso para mí esta Izquierda porque yo delicadamente me separé de esos grupos que querían de alguna manera irrumpir por la vía de la violencia. Yo sigo siendo el cristiano temeroso que no es capaz de matar a un cristiano. ¿Cómo me voy a meter yo en ésa? Entonces otra vez sospecha con este señor, no, que no es chicha ni limoná. Pero lo más importante para mí es la apertura democrática que ha tenido Chile y cuando Chile se declara democrático y se logra Pinochet apartarse del gobierno, bueno, yo pienso que ésa es la mejor posibilidad que tuvo Chile. No otra. Y desde entonces en lo que yo pueda participar desde el punto de vista democrático, ahí estoy. Ése es mi punto de vista y por eso que me he sentido más cómodamente, desde hace más de seis años que así lo han requerido, más cómodamente trabajando con el grupo Salvador Allende que con el grupo Comunista. Y que el grupo de los Comunistas antiguamente tenía un grupo que activaba culturalmente muy bien. Ellos hacían buena labor. Casi quince días ellos hacían fiestas culturales y en todas ellas he participado. Los Socialistas también pero llegó un momento en que todos se estancaron, se acabó todo el activismo. Este dato puedes pasárselo a la sección de investigaciones de la policía política porque con esta organización que se llamó "decimocuarta región" del país se descabezó el movimiento solidario que había aquí porque se ofreció la organización de lo que se llamaba la Casa Chile o la Casa Chilena. Entonces se buscó a una u otra persona para que se encargaran de estas Casas e hicieran como un club de personas que daban hasta este momento no cierto recepción cuando llegan la escuela naval, llegan militares. Llega un personaje interesante, la Casa Chilena abre sus puertas y recibe. Por un lado. Por otro, esto que te digo yo de la "decimocuarta región" que descabezó a todo el mundo porque pensaron de que con esto se podía integrar la comunidad pero desde mi punto de vista se acabó la resistencia política. A los Socialistas no les convenía que les criticaran toda la corrupción que hay ahora. No les convenía tampoco a la Democracia Cristiana cuando ellos estuvieran en el gobierno. Es decir, donde haya menos participación crítica, eso es mejor. Yo creo que ése es mi disconformidad, no. Creo yo que con Pinochet no se terminó la corrupción. Y ya ves todo ese tremendo crimen que han hecho con, bueno, dándole compensaciones millonarias a ex ministros, a ex secretarios de gobierno, a ex ex ex ex, etcétera. Y los pobres pelados ridículos que nosotros hicimos nada más que un acto de fe, de apoyo a Salvador Allende. En el caso mío personal que yo nunca he trabajado para el gobierno. Siempre trabajé para empresas privadas. Que hemos perdido todo. Nunca hemos tenido una compensación. Eso creo yo que es un poco que llega de alguna u otra manera, llega al punto de la deficiencia que ha tenido la política cultural del país en el exterior. Porque en lo económico, en la administración económica del país en exterior, yo pienso que ha sido un gran éxito, no: la promoción de, ya te dije anteriormente, gran éxito de la promoción de los productos chilenos, todo el vino en

todas partes, la fruta, etcétera. ¿Ya? Lo cual es importante para el país porque se da trabajo en el interior, se promueve el trabajo en el exterior, etcétera, etcétera. Yo creo que no, no hay ninguna falla ahí, no hay ninguna crítica. Estamos en eso. El país tiene que funcionar en función de su carácter capitalista y eso es lo que está haciendo y lo hace perfectamente bien. Ahora, cómo esa cultura se integra, ése es el gran rollo. Hay en esta "decimacuarta región" ese brazo, esa carreta que le falta una rueda, no, que es la cultura, en el exterior. Entonces pienso que se está siendo muy - me da pena decirlo, no, por Carmen Gloria que supongo que es una buena persona - es que se está siendo una cultura de la fotografía para la prensa. Creo yo que eso no es lo que queremos. Ella tiene con mucho éxito regularmente un movimiento de mujeres que se reúnen ahí con ella y escriben poesía, cuentos pienso más que todo. Y, bueno, los hombres como que son una peste, no. Cuando debería ser una reunión conjunta, donde podría participar hombre, mujer. Te diré que cuando yo hice la pregunta a uno de los embajadores que vino aquí de esta "decimacuarta región", me dijo muy suelto de cuerpo, me dijo, "Mira, pensamos que" - siempre esta gente política habla corporativamente, no, habla en plural - "Pensamos", dijo, "que la promoción de la mujer es uno de los huesos más importantes de este Gobierno porque pensamos que en la mujer se da la génesis de todo, de todas las actividades: lo político, social, la familia y todo." Le dije, "Bueno, me gustaría saber cuáles son las teorías que tú manejas en este campo porque me siento perdido. Además me gustaría para incorporarme de alguna manera, algún." Mira, llegan con esas cosas desincorporando a personas en el exterior porque no se trata nada más que de un individuo sino que todo el género masculino queda marginado de este asunto. Me parece a mí una barbaridad. Yo he dicho, "Mira, me parece que tengo que aprender de ustedes. Dígame esas teorías que están manejando porque son interesantísimos." Y el señor parece que pensó que le estaba tomando el pelo y la conversación fue como calentándose un poco más aun cuando dijo, "Pero, mira, nosotros estamos haciendo actividades y una de las grandes actividades que tenemos es, mira, que hemos hecho un congreso de mujeres y, bueno, ahí están. Las mujeres están organizadas y también hemos hecho congresos de periodistas y han ido a cientos de periodistas de todo el mundo." Entonces pregunté yo, "Hermano ¿y qué pasa con los periodistas aquí? Mira, aquí habemos varios." Y lo dije, "Mira, fui director de un periódico en Venezuela que no es con mala cosa y aquí fui fundador de uno de los periódicos latinoamericanos. Pienso que soy un periodista." Y entonces había otro periodista y dijo, "Mira, yo también mucho deseo tenía ir a ese congreso pero ni siquiera tuve el dinero para ir". Entonces yo dije, "Bueno, lo que está pasando, se está señalando a dedo quién va". Y lo peor era que fue un chileno y un argentino en representación de nuestra comunidad. Entonces yo no tengo nada que discriminar contra todos los argentinos pero me parece una barbaridad que habiendo varias personas que nos hemos dedicado por un tiempo al periodismo que no hubiésemos ido. Entonces ahora me dijo, "Mira, que va a ver un congreso de gentes intelectuales, lo mejor se va a seleccionar para el centenario de Pablo Neruda. Enviemos las invitaciones ya porque viene el 16 eso." Y ya yo pasé en bandeja y me hubiese gustado mucho haber participado. Nada, no hay nada. Entonces me desilusiona un poco. Y sin embargo me alegro porque yo, como te he dicho, la revista de cultura de Caracas me ha hecho una selección, elogio. La revista *Monteávila* que es como un preámbulo para publicitación de la selección de poesía que me están haciendo en Monteávila y me llega a dar vergüenza los elogios que me dicen de mi poesía, pero si tú hablas de E… solamente en Valparaíso me conocen. Pero en Santiago "Ay ¿quién es ese carajo?" Bueno, ahora a lo mejor no sé, porque han movido unas webs donde estoy incorporado junto a Skármeta y Isabel Allende y otros grandes de nuestra literatura, no, a ver si este chico pega. Pero si no te conocen, si no tomas contacto con las personas,

tú no tienes buen contacto y contacto así… Mira, acabo de llamar ayer para ver una cuenta que tengo de intercambio de libros que tengo con un profesor irlandés en Madrid y él me cuenta, me dice, "Mira, me he encontrado con Sergio, uno de los asesores culturales de la Embajada de Chile en Madrid, Sergio Macías. Me he encontrado con Sergio Macías y como yo mencioné tu nombre, el tipo me dijo, '¡Hombre! ¿Tú eres amigo de E.? Mira, aunque yo no lo conozco, tengo muchos deseos de dar, mira, ¿por qué no le mandas este libro?'" Entonces me ha mandado el libro que el Sergio Macías ha publicado sobre Pablo Neruda. La gente me conoce por lo que he escrito, no. Pero qué mejor relación sería si yo participara con ellos y fuera a dar una pequeña conferencia, a dar una lectura de mi poesía, etcétera. Y, mira, no es porque yo lo diga. Yo llevo años trabajando un tipo de poesía que aquí lo tienes tú. [*shows some poems*] Es un tipo de poesía en que trato de tomar toda esta cultura que yo he aprendido, que me he podrido aprendiendo: erudición del siglo XIV, XV, XVI, XVII y también de nuestro país, no. Entonces he querido de alguna manera que eso se note en mi poesía, que se note en lo que yo escribo. Y eso lo estoy haciendo hace mucho tiempo. Empecé hace años. Bueno, estos tres poemas son para Alejandra y el primero de ellos, a ver, que se llama "E.", no, y dice "para Alejandra". [*recites first poem*] El poema tomado un poquito del sueño de Job, no. Ahora, "Ejemplo de la Virgen y el Hijo Lejano". Los ejemplos son todos como fábulas en el siglo trece, catorce en España, no. [*recites second poem*] Te das cuenta. Ésa es. Ahora, este poemita ha sido inspirado en Chagall. [*recites third poem*] Terrible, cierto. Es un poema, para mí, creo está tan bien construido. Tiene una intención ideológica. Tienen humor y es lo que nos hace falta en la poesía castellana. Creo yo que no está malo lo que estoy haciendo. Humildemente lo entrego a ti. Pero en Chile no me paran, no me tiran pelota, nada más que en Valparaíso donde yo soy conocido. Todavía soy un mito en creación de revistas rebeldes pero nada más.

Bueno, como te he dicho, soy originario de Valparaíso. Entonces para saber los vínculos que tengo yo actualmente con la cultura de Chile es a través de ese punto que se llama Valparaíso pero, para saber sobre esos vínculos, hay que saber también cuál eran nuestras bases. La base era para mí, como ya te dije yo comencé a trabajar y mientras trabajaba hacía, estudiaba de noche y vinculado principalmente al Instituto Pedagógico de la Calle Colón en Valparaíso ahí después cuando se trasladó a Playa Ancha al Instituto Pedagógico de Playa Ancha. Entonces en ese tiempo teníamos un grupo de profesores, alumnos y yo era el "nada que ver" porque no estaba en la Universidad pero sí era él que tenía, tenía, siempre que estar ahí, no, porque eran mis amigos y que E. sacaba un premiosito en Casa de América y que E. había ganado el Premio Municipal de entonces y que E. había ganado también el Premio de la Biblioteca Vicuña Mackenna de la ciudad de Viña del Mar. Desde jovencito no era un Don Nadie. La gente nunca me ignoró. Entonces eso me alentado a mí para acercarme más a la Universidad. Hubo un momento en que administradores de la Universidad pensaron que yo me estaba perdiendo y no me vinculaba como estudiante ya definitiva. Me decían. Entonces yo dije que necesitaba trabajar. Entonces me ofrecieron un trabajo para que yo trabajara en la Universidad en la parte administrativa para darme oportunidad para seguir estudiando. Me iban a arreglar las horas y todo. Y cuando fuimos hablando del dinero sinceramente casi me fui de espalda porque yo ganaba *tanto* dinero sin estar en la Universidad que yo me dije, "Mira, termina la ayuda que doy a mi madre, termina la ayuda que doy ta ta ta ta." Mira, el dinero que yo sacaba de la producción de un programa en la televisión era suficiente para que viviera una familia entera mientras yo tenía mi propio trabajo. Entonces era mucho lo que yo iba a perder. Bueno, definitivamente me quedé fuera de la Universidad pero seguía haciendo trabajo y la

gente como me quería mis compañeros, mis amigos me decían, “Mira, chico, estudia esto, estudia esto, mira aquí ésta”. Entonces yo me fui formando como un autodidacta, de tal manera que como autodidacta. Al final de cuenta con el exilio me convierto yo mismo en un profesor. Antes cuando llegué aquí yo no necesitaba ningún curso de nada porque yo podía seguir pero aquí con la estructura no podía. Entonces, bueno, como te digo, la mejor tesis, eximidades de título y todo eso. En ese sentido, estuvo bien esa formación y yo había tenido una formación en la escuela cristiana que se llama Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas de La Salle que eran unos brutos para enseñar, no. Muy buenos profesores y todo, pero los mejores profesores los tuve yo cuando me fui a un instituto que dependía de la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad Católica en Valparaíso. Ahí conocí a Cedomil Goic que ahora estoy vinculado de otra manera. Esta semana tengo que entregarle un artículo que va a publicar en la revista de literatura chilena que tiene la Universidad Católica. También con muchos otros, no, y sobre todo con mis ex compañeros de clases como René Jara, por ejemplo, que es un estudioso de la literatura muy conocido en Chile. En Estados Unidos es un tipo de fama. Y así muchos otros. Entonces con esa gente y con esa ayuda generosa de los amigos, la solidaridad que había, fundamos nosotros una revista que se llama *Revista Piedra*. Entonces a nosotros nos vinculan a ese movimiento. Entonces en ella participó también Juan Luís Martínez - no sé si tú has oído hablar de él - es un rebelde, un tipo que cada vez más me gustaría que estudiaras ese caso pero él murió. Murió más joven que nosotros. Luís Martínez ha revolucionado la poesía chilena. Revolucionó la poesía chilena. Revolucionó la novela chilena, no. En breve te cuento, por ejemplo, el libro publicó que se llama *La nueva poesía chilena*. Y en la primera hoja aparece el certificado de nacimiento de la Gabriela Mistral. En la segunda el certificado de nacimiento de de Rokha. En la tercera el certificado de Huidobro y en la última el certificado de nacimiento de Pablo Neruda. Y después el certificado de defunción de todo ellos y además una bolsita con tierra de donde habían nacidos poetas y la página siguiente cuando empieza el libro. Ésa es como la introducción, ya. A ti que te gusta el arte y todo. ¡Este libro que publicó en plena dictadura! Puras banderitas chilenas en todas las páginas… [*sings*], tricolores hasta el final. Y para mí ése es el gran libro de la poesía chilena. Produjo un impacto en el momento oportuno cuando todo el mundo está cantando la canción nacional, cuando hay banderas por todos lados. Todos los poetas de Chile mueren con el señor ése. Nacen y mueren. Claro, están sus bolsitas con la tierra, con su obra. Son reales. Nadie lo niega. Pero ahí están los otros en el imaginario loco colectivo que está en cada página y en cada bandera. Este libro tú tienes que verlo. Tienes que verlo. Hay un ejemplar creo en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Londres. Se llama *La nueva poesía chilena* de Juan Luís Martínez que nació en Viña del Mar. Bueno, entonces, eso sucedió cuando nosotros estábamos afuera pero mientras estábamos nuestra crítica era contra toda esa camada de gente que se apoderaba de los jurados de los salones de pintura. Matamala era el jurado para la poesía infantil del grupo tal. Es decir, siempre es diletante, no, que se habían adueñados y están dueños hoy de la cultura en Chile. Ese radicalismo que nosotros predicamos que todavía yo lo mantengo, por eso soy un marginado. Entonces tú me preguntas cómo es que está funcionando la cultura en el extranjero sino que es un reflejo que nos viene de Chile. Y eso estamos jodidos [*laughs*] porque no se cambia lo que hay en Chile, no se va a cambiar estas pobres Embajaditas y estas pobres encargaditas de la cultura aquí en el exterior. Y ese fenómeno que se ve allí en las Embajadas así lo único que está faltando es que llegue el Embajador y les regale a todas las mujeres chilenas en el exilio una máquina de cocer. Claro que está faltando. Pero como las chilenas son realmente gente decente, gente que ha aprendido con los golpes y ha aprendido de esta calaña de

machos que somos injustos con las mujeres. Claro, ellas han cambiado del mismo modo como nosotros hemos cambiado a la faz del chileno que está adentro. Todos hemos cambiado. Y hemos cambiado no en favor de una cultura occidental sino que para mejorar nuestra cultura. Hemos cambiado. Y creo yo que si yo llegara a Chile, yo defendería pues el derecho de la mujer de tener, no cierto, más libertad de su marido. Por ejemplo, mi hermana todavía con sesenta años, sesenta y cinco años, todavía su marido habla así cuando sale a la calle, la sigue para ver con quién se junta. Me parece a mí una aberración de locos y eso pasa todavía. Aprovecha el macho para hacer lo que dijo ese señor muy irónicamente, no, de que, "Ay, porque nosotros", y hablando corporativamente, "queremos que la mujer sea el centro, el génesis". ¿No? Es un engaño eso. Es un engaño porque ellos buscan que la mujer vote por ellos y que esté siempre alienada al sistema. No, pero lo que nosotros queremos, digo corporativamente, aunque no sé si hay otros aquí, pero lo que yo aspiro, no, es que mi familia, no, tenga un concepto de libertad tan hermoso como la que tiene mi hijo, por ejemplo, quien piensa que su padre es un reaccionario, lo cual me alegra mucho. Cuando hablamos en casa, él no sabe los problemas que tengo, no, que hay. Nunca se le ha dicho nada. Pero él, a pesar de todo hay un trato digno en la casa. Hay un trato civilizado. Hay un trato pero civilizado y que cuando él oye un alza de la voz él baja inmediatamente y dice: bueno, ¿qué está pasando? No pasaba nada, le digo. Estaba pendiente. Yo creo que va a ser un buen muchacho, un buen muchacho con su novia, con su mujer, con quien sea, con su amante. Claro, porque el ejemplo. En cambio, yo tengo experiencia de familiares, no, que al conversar un poquito y escarbar se ve nuestra, la actitud del chileno que no me gusta. Es que es demasiado esclavizador. Yo me hago mal las bastas de los pantalones pero me hago yo. Me hago todo. A veces por necesidad porque no tengo quien me lo haga pero me acuerdo yo que eso lo aprendí de mi padre, de mis tíos que se hacían sus cosas. Eso se pasa de una familia a otra. El respeto por la gente. No sé. Si hablo de eso con mi hijo, mi hijo dice, "Reaccionario". Él es un novelista, sabes. Es un muchacho que tiene 17 años. Ya tiene una novela y lamentablemente no habla ninguna papa de español. [*laughs*] Entonces él está vinculado nada más los ingleses y tiene aspiración de que esa novela reviente pronto porque está en manos de una buena gente. Y lo escribió a los 16 años. A los 17 encontró una agente literario quien encontró la novela lo más rebelde que podría haberse imaginado. Es una mujer que había rechazado la novela porque dice que era invendible pero última hora dijo, "Bueno, se la voy a pasar a mis hijos para ver qué ellos piensan", y la señora cuenta en el e-mail que al ver que sus hijos se reían a carcajadas con cada página que daban vuelta. Dice, aquí hay algo interesante y ¡claro! es para sensibilidad de muchachos. La novela está en contra los muchachos rebeldes que no saben cómo rebelarse, que su rebeldía es una rebeldía ridícula y eso los hace reír, no. Y esa experiencia la sacó él de su trabajo voluntario con niños autísticos en una institución no lejos de la casa. Entonces mi hijo se dio cuenta que un muchacho siempre estaba llorando aparte y que nunca lo habían visto reír o participar. Cuando llegó mi hijo, él comenzó a contarles chistes ridículos. Entonces empezó a tener un diálogo, me contaba. "Pero, papá, unos diálogos de ridículo que me hacía reír a mí mismo. Entonces dije yo, ¿por qué no voy a escribir esta cuestión?" Entonces cada vez que se juntaba con ese niño tomaba algunas notitas y se le fue acumulando hasta que salió la novela. En su novela, no hay ningún *disabled*, solamente es que dice que los jóvenes actuales son como ese niño. Son unos rebeldes. Son unos tipos que si no le hablas en el propio idioma. "¿Entonces en qué idioma hablan?" "En ningún idioma, papá, si tú oyeras a mis compañeros, ellos no hablan nada más que a garabatos. No hablan nada, nada. No dicen ni una frase sin tres, cuatro garabatos metidos, entonces yo, bueno, lo que hice fue captar todo ese mundo, no, y tomarlo en

serio. Entonces cuando tú lo tomas en serio, es que la gente comienza reírse. Entonces es toda la trama de la novela." Y al final. No quería mostrarme el final y él le dijo a la madre que no me mostraría nada porque él pensaba que yo iba a pensar que era influencia mía que él escribía esa novela. Él no quería tener ninguna influencia mía. Eso es brillante pero él no se puede zafar de ninguna influencia. Él tiene que tener influencia. Si no es de mía, es de otro. Pero es la misma técnica. El humor se hace a base de contraste, a base de situaciones ridículas. Me estoy saliendo del tema. Sociedad Monteávila, no, que es el editor mío y le comentaba este asunto del chico que él lo conoce, pero lo conoció él hablando en español porque el tipo nació en Venezuela, este hijo mío, y, bueno, "¿Por qué no me mandas esa novela?" "Hombre, sí este huevon lo escribió en inglés, hombre, y no se puede traducir." Y éste me dice lo que me dices tú, qué frustrante pero si este hombre debería devolver, a nosotros nos pertenece esa novela. ¡Qué frustración! Este tipo estaba peor que tú, no, pensando que teniendo una novela tan rebelde, que critica la sociedad y no se puede traducir porque es intraducible. Es imposible traducir. Es solamente para ingleses.

Ahora volviendo al punto de partido que decíamos, los vínculos. Ya más o menos te entonas como era mi pasado, no. Entonces esa misma gente quedó con el mito de E. Entonces esa gente me ha dado unas pequeñas oportunidades porque déjate en Chile se usa el, si tienes la oportunidad de ponerle la pata encima a uno, se la pones. Se acabó la solidaridad del pasado y todo. Sin embargo, he tenido buenas relaciones con algunas personas generosas que me han vinculado con la, son cuestiones relacionadas con la memoria. Prohibido que nuestras obras tildadas de antemano como sospechosa pudieran ser publicitada en Chile. Eso es lo más grave de todo, no. El hecho que a mí me detengan en la calle nada más porque un tipo que, bueno, como me ves, no he cambiado mucho. Así interesado en la vida. Ahí está, se lo llevan, lo martirizan, lo torturan sicológicamente. A mí me bañaron de caca. Dilo así. Me bañaron de caca. Un pituquito de la clase media que nunca le habían dado ni una patadita en el trasero, ni su padre, nadie. Y a pata nos trataban. Fue una humillación horrorosa. Nadie se imagina. A mí me quitaron la personalidad. Yo era un tipo que no quería saber nada de nada. Era el espanto cuando los militares llevaban preso a mis amigos. Yo llegué a mi casa a convertir en pulpa de papel todos mis libros. Tenía una tremenda máquina centrífuga lavadora que a la vez secaba. Entonces yo metía en pedazos mis libros, por las noches la máquina dale, dale, dale. Y cuando paraba, sacaba la pulpa así y la tiraba al patio. Eran unas pulpas de papel porque tenía miedo que llegaran y que me vieran que tenía, ¿un libro de qué?, ¿un libro de que? No sabía qué libro estaba convirtiendo en pulpa de papel, de terror que vinieran. Nos rasparon la cabeza de miedo. De miedo que nos iban a matar allí, que nos iban a hundir en el fondo del mar. Estuve por muchas semanas desaparecido en el fondo de un barco en Lebu que se llama en Valparaíso. Nadie sabía nada donde estaba. Y así. Después las amenazas que me llegaban verbalmente y por escrita: "Si no te vas de este país, te vamos a matar". Cuando yo regresé, bueno, cuando me soltaron, me dijeron, "Si tú vuelves aquí, olvídate. No vas a ver más a tu mujer así que tenis una sola oportunidad." Así salí. Yo salí con espanto y tuve la oportunidad que la British Council con la intervención de un profesor de Glasgow quien al ver los nombres de la gente que estaba presa, por ser solamente un poeta, un tipo que había salido por ahí, que tenía publicado en Cuba y que tenía esto y lo otro, me sacaron. Y cuando me hicieron la entrevista en una revista en Londres, *Index on Censorship*, dijeron que yo era un vanguardista.

… dedicado a la memoria del dibujante y también a través de revistas de otra naturaleza, revistas que se puede decir dentro de esa revista que salen hoy y mueren mañana: efímeras. De vez en cuando mando algún artículo, entrevista electrónica que se llama *El gran Valparaíso*. ¿Has oído? Bueno, eso es todo lo que tengo, no. Algunos especialistas sobre Neruda están en constante comunicación conmigo como el caso de Edmundo Olivares que es uno de los biógrafos más interesantes de Neruda, tipo joven como tú. Ha sacado ya tres tomos de la biografía de Neruda. También tengo un vínculo con una muchacha que se llama Elvira, una profesora que es la que me compra revistas, me compra libros y tenemos un intercambio muy importante para mí. Y además el cariño y la amistad. También tengo relaciones con familiares de mis ex novia que se murió y que de vez en cuando conversamos. Con los pintores y escritores yo hablo por lo menos unas dos veces al mes por teléfono, gasto cinco libras en teléfono y eso significa como siete horas de conversación. Eso es todo el vínculo. Y el más importante que a mí me parece al nivel nacional es con la revista ésta *Rocinante* bastante fuerte a veces, no… Al principio era mejor, no… la veo bien. Peor en nada.

… de los grupos yo creo que estaban atomizados en los partidos políticos, no. Los partidos políticos como el Partido Comunista, Partido Socialista. No conozco otro grupo y estos dos grupos llevaban una actividad más o menos coherente de fiestas y actos celebrativos, no. Por ejemplo, celebrar el 18 de septiembre, hacer empanadas, bailar cuecas y todo eso, no. Y por otro lado constantemente había también algunos actos por los desparecidos, no, que esos actos me parece que los Socialistas no participaban con mucha fuerza sino que algunos individuos, no. Pero el Partido Comunista sí que lo organizaba fuertemente y además del Partido Comunista hay un grupo que se llama "Los del Piquete". Este grupo son como aquellos quien no tienen mucho interés en saber demasiado de los Comunistas y que de pronto se unieron Comunistas y algunos Socialistas diríamos de Izquierda cuando vino Pinochet acá. Entonces hubo una unidad de acción que era el ir a meterle bulla a Pinochet todo el tiempo cuando él estaba aquí y según parecía no lo dejaban dormir. Entonces ahí también se hicieron actos culturales que son actos, diríamos, que no se proyectan a Chile sino que se proyectan hacia la comunidad en forma cíclica interna, no, y siempre buscándose la cola que siempre es la misma, no. Entonces, creo que para mí este tipo de actividad cultural circular diríamos es muy negativa, no, porque estando en un país extranjero, pienso yo que la cultura dominante que es la cultura anglosajona aquí es muy fuerte. Es poderosísima. Entonces, lo que a mí me llama la atención de que en forma individual en el caso mío personal y también el caso de Alfredo Cordal, por ejemplo, en forma individual nosotros nos hemos podido vincular, él con un grupo de gente más o menos radicales, no sé, que nunca yo he tenido acceso y ni quiero tenerlo y yo, por otro lado, con los grupos, diríamos, del estatus inglés, no, con la universidad, con instituciones como The Poetry Society, no sé cómo se dice en español, pero esta sociedad, bueno, tiene actividades. Como poeta yo participo de sus publicaciones. Nunca he publicado nada ahí pero sí he publicado en otras revistas que han tenido vinculación con eso. Es decir, en otras palabras, nada que ver con Chile, y también, a través de otras sociedades como grupos folclóricos, donde se aprecia la actitud del chileno pero, me entiendes un poco, para analizar la cultura uno tiene que hacer de todo un poco: psicólogo, antropólogo y político, etcétera. Entonces, si uno ve la cabeza de estos actuantes culturales ingleses, es una cabeza romántica que ven al Salvador Allende, a Neruda de una perspectiva romántica y uno no tiene por qué estar en esa partida porque yo no tengo ningún interés en volver al pasado. Si alguno me dice a mí, "Mira, hermano, la Unidad Popular fue la última chupa del mate", yo pongo en duda eso porque nosotros realmente, creo que los

partidos políticos no han acertado los equívocos, no. No han acertado los garrafales equívocos del pasado. Pinochet no ha pedido disculpa. La Democracia Cristiana tampoco ha pedido disculpa. Todo el mundo tiene que pedir disculpa porque es un grave, el hecho del golpe de estado y previo del golpe de estado toda ésa. Ese estado de miseria que se produjo fue culpa de toda la política del país, no, que llegó a un estado de paranoia, de división del país en dos partes. Tuvimos suerte que no llegamos a la guerra civil a matarnos a uno a otro y había sido una catástrofe más grande que la que se vivió en el '73. Bueno, ese espacio político es el que todavía a pesar de la libertad que hay de hablar, de decir todo pero cada cual cada capilla se lleva el tema del espacio ese temporal y lo cocina a su modo, no. Entonces, yo no quisiera que lo que yo haga esté de alguna manera mediatizado por el modo como los ingleses ven ese pasado que es absolutamente ajeno a ellos y por ser ajeno a ellos es romántico. No tiene nada que ver con el progreso violento que tiene la economía, la cultura de los pueblos. Ése es mi punto de vista, entonces cuando tú vas a leerle un poema, por ejemplo, al Partido Comunista que tiene su gran acto, bueno, yo me encuentro realmente apestado dentro de ese grupo porque son partidos que están como parando un poco el proceso, si no es natural, pero el proceso a secas del desarrollo cultural de los pueblos y eso es lo que a mí me parece vital que alguna vez el chileno de la cultura se plante, se monte en la televisión, en la radio y se hagan una multitud de programas para que se conozca esto y que no se le enseña a los jovencitos, "Mira, chicos, tú viviste bajo un paraguas y no has visto qué ha pasado". Me parece que eso hasta es deshonestísimo porque los jóvenes de esa época vivieron la época que les tocó vivir, no la que nosotros quisiéramos que hayan vivido. La vida que nosotros vivimos fue nuestra vida y así la vivimos. Ahora ese juicio histórico, no cierto, que es el que nosotros dentro de esta explicación, de esta narración histórica, tenemos como conclusión al final que entregarlo. Decir: "Bueno, esto pasó y así se desarrolla y finalmente, bueno, los jóvenes quedaron fuera de esto". Pero yo me he encontrado con jóvenes culpables de no haber podido vivir eso y me parece a mí injusto. Esto significa la mala educación, como se ha estado formando esos jóvenes. No tienen por qué sentir culpables por una época que no es de ellos. Al revés. Esos jóvenes fácilmente van a ser rebeldes contra una Izquierda, rebeldes contra quizás hasta contra el sistema de Pinochet como pasó con Frank, el profesor éste quien era el muchachito mimado, jovencito más brillante que tenía la dictadura. Quisieron llevarlo portando la antorcha para el encuentro de Pinochet con el Presidente de Argentina o de no sé quién fue. Bueno, entonces, este muchacho que vive, entre paréntesis, en Londres. Frank se opuso a llevar la antorcha y fue una gran decepción para la Ultraderecha, no. Él se rebela. Bueno, eso es importante que esa juventud como tú también, no, que habiendo sido ausente, no cierto, tomó una conciencia de su historia y que tomando esa conciencia tome el hilo de esa historia y no quede afuera de la historia. Si se quedan bajo el paraguas y ahí se quedan, importa un comino, pero quedan, hablando de conciencia histórica, ellos quedan afuera de ese proceso. El ideal es que el individuo no sea pasivo, que el individuo siempre tenga una participación y un compromiso frente a la pelea. Entonces, ése es lo que yo puedo decir en términos generales de mis frustraciones en cuanto a cómo se piensa el desarrollo cultural. Y esto que te digo que pudiera pasar en algún cubículo, cenáculo de los Comunistas también pasa a veces peor con lo que está pasando con el Partido Socialista. El Partido Socialista tiene el gran dilema, que de una u otra manera ellos callan demasiado. Callan ante cuestiones que son, no es permitido callarse. Por poner ejemplos, el caso de esas compensaciones corruptas, no. Hubo un Socialista, director de una revista que sacan los Socialistas que sí que incorporó artículos críticos, no cierto, en contra de aquellos funcionarios que estaban sacando súper compensaciones súper

que a propósito de sus reclamaciones, contra unas pequeñas, contra las compensaciones que me pudieran dar a mí, por ejemplo, que va a ser seguramente, si es que me la dan, una miseria frente a compensaciones millonarias que han sacados algunos ex funcionarios y miembros de la Izquierda. Bueno, allí se ve que hay una reacción. Cuando yo llegué aquí a este país, no había formado ningún comité de solidaridad. Nada, no. El país seguía marchando, seguía marchando por la vía constitucional que Pinochet y su equipo lo llevaban. Entonces, pero la afluencia de gente que vino aquí, vino de todos los colores, no, Democratacristianos, Derechistas y todo, que veían la oportunidad de salir del país para tener una mejor posición. Y fueron muy pocos de estos como yo de tener conciencia cultural en esto, no. Yo pude observar aquí que llegaba gente delincuente y se mezclaban con gente de Izquierda. ¿Y quién iba a decir que no eran delincuentes, no? Nadie, porque no se conocía, pero hay casos de gente que simplemente no tenían nada que ver con la Izquierda y simplemente por el hecho que pedían asilo político, inventaban que eran perseguidos y todo. Así hay muchos casos. Muy complicado esto del exilio. Cualquiera puede decir, podía decir y ¿cómo comprobaba el Gobierno que no era cierto? En cambio, aquellos que se coercionaron en los partidos políticos fueron distintos. Ellos sí que hicieron una militancia en el exterior pero ese tipo de militancia que personalmente no la acepté porque ya el solo golpe de estado había quebrado, no cierto, un movimiento y era pues ridículo pensar que la fórmula de la Unidad Popular podía renovarse de algún modo en algún otro proyecto. ¡Eso ya pasó! No tuvo, ahora sí que se puede decir hay muchos elementos de ese proyecto que son todavía salvables. Y de hecho este Gobierno y la Democracia Cristiana lo han salvado, no. Han hecho mucho por salvarle y lo problemático que está pasando ahora es que en un futuro muy cercano nosotros vamos a tener una proporción más o menos de nueve contra uno, de nueve poetas y un solo ingeniero porque da la impresión que se está formando más artistas que gente que realmente necesita el país, no. Con ese romanticismo que estamos viendo la cultura, es que no lleva nada que a eso, a creer que ahí está mi puesto: de ser un cantante, de ser un poeta, de ser un pintor, cosa que, que vale, no, pero, hombre, ¿dónde están los ingenieros? ¿Dónde están los médicos? ¿Dónde está esa formación que necesita Chile? Y hasta no hace mucho el Partido de Gobierno no tenía economistas, no. Hay que formar ese tipo de cosa. Hay una parte, no cierto, de este desarrollo cultural que pareciera natural, así entrecomillas, pero otra que tiene que ser planificado, tiene que ser planificado desde la cúspide, desde el gobierno. Planificar cuántos médicos necesitamos, cuántos dentistas necesitamos y no vaya a pasar como pasa en un país desarrollado como es Inglaterra que tiene deficiencia o un déficit de médicos, dentistas y no hay cómo encontrar un médico que trabaje para el Estado porque no hay. No es porque no quieran. Es que no hay. Físicamente no hay médicos. Aquí en esta zona por cada dentista hay más o menos como cientos clientes. Entonces clientes sin dentistas se vuelven locos. Es ése el problema. Y claro que aquellos que tienen dinero y hacen clínicas están haciéndolas de oro porque ellos están cobrando por eso, no. Y como el sistema está hecho para que llegue a eso - que todos pagan - parece funcionando bien, pero ya te he dicho, si nosotros estamos en un proceso, en una sociedad capitalista, bueno, hay que planificar a través de ese sistema. Pero nuestro país con una democracia y todo eso, tenemos que ver que hay una mitad capitalista y una mitad socialista. Se decía como chiste en el tiempo de mi juventud de que podían promoverse la privatización de la Usina de Huachipato, no, pero jamás transportes del Estado pues transportes del Estado de partida es una gran pérdida. Es un servicio que hay que tenerlo al día y todo pero en cambio una usina sí que puede producir mucho dinero a la empresa privada. Ése es el problema también de las minas. Y esto pasó en este país.

Ya ves el desastre que ha pasado con el trasporte, se privatizó el trasporte de los trenes y ves no estaba el país preparado para eso y todavía, no, hay fallas en el servicio. Vale.

Creo yo que también es importante el manejo de la idea de que la cultura a través de los centros vecinales, de los centros comunales, pueda tener un gran impacto, no. Cuando hablaba yo del exceso de artistas o poetas y todo, es que mucha gente piensa de que con eso ya es suficiente para mi vida, no. Y me voy a los caminos y voy a leer poesía y eso parece demasiado romántico, no. Creo yo que a la par hay que tener una visión, bueno, muy concreta de pa' dónde quiere ir el país, no.

Es una cuestión primero - para mí, no - no es genérico. Es un particular regreso, no, un regreso privado, no, para tocar a la gente que uno quiere que a uno lo quiere. Quizás tocar la tierra, como dicen, no. El aire y todo, no. Tengo miedo de ser extranjero cuando llegue a Chile, no. Eso es una predicción que me parece. Cosa que, no tengo plan de ir a Chile porque no tengo dinero. No tengo planes concretos, no. Y si yo fuera a Chile, es como yo lo había pensado. Iría en plan muy concreto, a participar en un acto, en una conferencia, en un ciclo de conferencia, en un breve curso, pero para quedarme yo creo que no me quedaría simplemente por cuestiones prácticas, no. No tengo cómo vivir en Chile. ¿Cómo viviría yo en Chile? En cambio, aquí yo por lo menos puedo mantenerme. Vivo con cuentas pero se lucha y se sale, no. En Chile, llegaría a hacerme cuentas, pero ¿cómo las resuelvo? Ése es el gran problema. Uno no sabe qué puede venirle, pero…

El problema es que ése es el gran rollo de muchos que esperan demasiado del país y si el país no tiene ningún derecho de entregarles nada, no. Es el revés, no: ¿qué puedo yo aportar al país? Y en ese sentido, ya te he dicho lo que yo puedo aportar sería en ese campo de la transmisión de una experiencia. Segundo, podría en el campo concreto hacer algún seminario sobre poesía española del siglo catorce al quince, hablar sobre los cancioneros, hablar sobre el desarrollo de la imprenta en general, hablar sobre mis temas favoritos, no. Y seguramente me metería de lleno a hablar sobre Pablo Neruda, sobre estas cosas oscuras de su vida que le interesa a nada más que a unos poquitos especialistas, no. Sobre mis libros, sobre mis libros de la descripción de Santiago de Chile, sobre mi libro que viene que a lo mejor si eso se da cuando yo tengo mi libro en mis manos. También diría pues, "Mira, aquí tengo un libro que se dio en el exilio", y lo curioso es que en Chile son poquitísimas las personas que conocen estas cosas. También yo explicaría, no, y al explicar tú estás aportando, no. Explicaría la idea que tengo especialmente sobre lo que es la poesía. Pienso yo que no debe ser un tipo que invente sino que ni tampoco un tipo que describa la realidad así. Él que de dos extremos exagera me parece un fracaso pero si se toma en cuenta la realidad y también la imaginación, que haya un equilibrio entre los dos elementos para mí ésa es la técnica. Haría, tal vez colaboraría yo en algún taller literario donde podría enseñar a los jóvenes cómo es la mentira de la literatura, no. Eso es en el fondo, un juego entre realidad y no realidad y sobre todo enseñaría de la falta de humor de nuestra literatura castellana y por cierto en la literatura chilena. No hay humor y, gracias a Nicanor Parra, es que la poesía chilena es la más importante actualmente en el mundo. Pongo en duda de que la poesía de Pablo Neruda lo sea, no. Creo yo que la poesía de Neruda es demasiado grave. Si uno habla, dice, "Ah, pero los *Veinte poemas de amor*, ah", tanto que se alaba eso. Y entramos al tema del salvaje trato del hombre a la mujer y tú ves cómo Neruda cosifica a la mujer. Siempre la mujer es una cosa que sirve al hombre y ves tú cómo es el poder del hombre, del macho de encantar, de hacer, de modelar, de tocar, de amar, de imaginarse. Eso es la poesía de Neruda y obviamente de un punto de vista histórico

así como tú hablas de la cultura uno puede ver en relación a aquel tiempo cuando en los años veinte sale *Veinte poemas de amor* y lo comparas con lo que se ha escrito sobre el amor y del modo cómo se ha escrito. Obviamente Neruda es un revolucionario del lenguaje, pero de ninguna manera de las ideas que hablan de la mujer, la mujer que es fiel, que está siempre al lado, no, y peor en *Los versos del capitán*. *Versos del capitán*. O sea, el hombre que manda el barco, ésa es la crítica mayor que yo tengo a Neruda. En cambio, me gusta Nicanor Parra por su exacerbado humor que necesitaba la poesía. Claro, dijo una vez en una carta que me mandó Volodia Teitelboim diciendo, bueno, yo no estoy de acuerdo con los chistes que dice Nicanor Parra pero, bueno, como quiera la vida a veces es un chiste que uno no se da cuenta, no. La vida es jodida, es así simplemente, pero es una ridiculez la vida, no, sobre todo por ese carácter dramático que le da por naturaleza el ser humano a la vida. ¿Me entiendes?

Yo me cuido del punto de vista del que habla en el interior del texto y así en el interior de las telas. Cuando tú ves la pintura pasa lo mismo lo que te hablaba yo de esos retratos de la colonia. Hay inocentes manchitas que nadie se da cuenta pero esos carritos ahí frente de La Moneda y van arrastrando a unos individuos encadenados que están ahí, no. Si quieres antes de irte aquí en el piso anterior están en los dibujos. Te los puedo mostrar porque es importante que lo vea. Eso es. Es publicidad de las manos fuertes. Entonces, hay que tener cuidado con el análisis de algunos textos. Por eso a mí me dicen "el enano maldito" porque estoy viendo siempre esas cosas. Fui educado para ver debajo del ladrillo, no, y ahora esa posición de Neruda que dice, "Me gusta cuando callas porque estás como ausente". ¡Dios mío! Es como ya el sumo, no. Convertir a una persona en la nada. Eso es y pero la gente, "Oh, ¡qué bellos los poemas!" porque suenan lindos y te tocan los sentimientos. "Me gusta cuando callas porque estás como ausente…" ¡Dios mío! Los nervios llegan a darse vuelta pero, hombre cuidado, debajo está lo que no debería estar ahí, no. Es lo que te hablaba yo de la mujer que tiene que tener sus derechos. Porque, no cierto, no aparece esa mujer en nuestra literatura que se levante, que diga, "¡Hasta cuando estar debajo de este Nerudita!" No hay ninguna mujer que se haya atrevido decir eso, no. Hace falta que se haga eso. No sé, estoy provocando. Sí yo lo he visto de una manera muy simpática de una americana, no, contra Parra porque Parra también es un asqueroso cuando habla de manera sexual sobre la mujer, no. No digo que Parra porque me gusta, por los chistes y todo porque me hace reír, que sea una excepción. Es lo mismo, no. Es que es nuestra constitución cultural nacional que es la que está ahí.

[…]

La segunda generación, si es que no es la tercera, no. Bueno, estos muchachos que yo he visto por lo menos dependen muchísimo del comportamiento de sus padres, no, y de la madre. En caso de hogares donde los chilenos han seguido unidos, bueno, ese vínculo con Chile es muy fuerte. Es permanente. Yo hablaba, por ejemplo, por teléfono con mi sobrino. Mi sobrino es un admirador de lo que yo hago. Él lee todo lo que yo escribo, no. Entonces, pero aun cuando tiene él una visión muy idealista, no, irreal porque es el imaginario que le domina sobre su país. Él de todas maneras tiene una forma de imaginarse a Chile y él sí imagina el Chile de sus padres donde su madre y su padre se conocieron. Ha ido varias veces a Chile pero cuando va a Chile, él se siente un extranjero y tiene 17 años. No puede incorporarse. Echa de menos y se vuelve y todo. Ahora, lo otro, y esto es de una clase media, ahora la clase popular en Londres es realmente preocupante, no, porque simplemente muchos muchachos chilenos han

vivido en la calle, no. Han vivido como se viviría en Chile. Vivir en la calle significa aprender todo lo que se maneja en la calle y es un desastre para muchos. Es decir, el mismo desastre que tienen las familias inglesas lo tienen las familias chilenas.

[…]

Oye, qué pena. Te vas a perder el Carnaval Latinoamericano, no. Creo que es el 23 de agosto. Ya. Bueno, ahí se ve. Yo la última vez que fui vi como esta gente hace bandillas y se choquen entre ellos, choquen con los pakistaníes, con los negros. Oye, pero es una cosa que para mí es inconcebible por la forma de vivir que tengo, no. Es preocupante. No hay nada que ver ahí, no. Yo creo que a lo mejor esperamos mucho tanto de los viejos como de los jóvenes. El exilio creo yo que fue un desastre. En una patada te lo digo: un desastre por todos lados. Para quienes tuvieron misión de comprar una casita, venderla bien, revenderla y llevarse la plata a Chile fue una maravilla, fue una ocasión para hacerse de una casa buena en Chile. Eso lo vi yo como una de las cosas prácticas. Para los jóvenes que llegaron a los 17, 18, 20 años aquí, bueno, los que se regresaron, que era una gran mayoría, se fueron con una carrera para Chile y actualmente muchos de ellos están trabajando, muchos se han incorporado al Gobierno nacional. Eso es importante, no. Eso es lo que muchos hubieran querido, no. Circunstancias personales como el caso mío que yo tengo una tragedia en mi vida, la tragedia de mi hija que no puede vivir sola, etcétera, no. Es muy, como se dice, personal. No creo sea universal, excepto con otro compañero que vive en Londres, que le dejaron a su hijo, de tantos golpes que les dieron en un robo, un muchacho de 21, 22 años, lo dejaron como un tonto, loco de los golpes que tiene, un inválido mental. También ése es otro caso. En Chile, ellos no hubieran recibido tan buenos beneficios como se reciben aquí. Eso en términos prácticos.

Primero tengo que decirte que desde el punto de vista económico, desde hace mucho tiempo, yo quedé sin financiamiento. Por una sencilla razón. En el año ‘80, salí del país contratado con la Universidad de Cumaná en el Estado Sucre en Venezuela. Con un contrato para hacer una cátedra que se llamó “Cátedra Andrés Bello” y consistía esa cátedra en investigación por mi parte y extensión de esos conocimientos a la comunidad. Para mí, fue un gran honor hacer eso porque ya sabrás que para todos chilenos el señor Bello es el gran sabio que nosotros tuvimos, sabio para una clase porque también hubo otros como otros venezolanos que estuvo por allá por Concepción precisamente con ideas diferentes, ideas desde un punto de vista pedagógico distintas. El Simón Rodríguez. Bueno, pero a mí me tocó ésta, esta cátedra y no la de Simón Rodríguez, de enseñar quién era aquel venezolano que había salido de su patria para conseguir apoyo financiero para continuar la lucha de liberación de Venezuela y que finalmente, por cuestiones que todavía no están aparentemente muy claras, él se quedó en Londres. Contrajo matrimonio dos veces con irlandesas. Finalmente, después de haber pasado muchas dificultades, se descubre que es uno de los pilares latinoamericanos de la cultura. Se había convertido promotor de ideas latinoamericanas en Londres y, bueno, de pronto esa nación chilena que está en formación por los años ‘20 lo contratan para ir a Chile, a Santiago, y llega a Santiago lamentablemente con aquellos que le habían empleado en una dificultad muy grande porque sus cartas dicen, bueno, cartas a Caracas dice la situación es volátil. De un momento a otro, va a caer el Gobierno. Y cae el Gobierno. Se define una nueva línea política en la batalla de Lircay en 1830 y es a partir de ahí que surge la gran figura que se llama en Chile Diego Portales. Entonces, Diego Portales, no cierto, se da cuenta de este señor, trabaja con él,

le da trabajo. La formación de nuestros jóvenes intelectuales de aquel entonces de esa época portaliana, bueno, no tiene mucha diferencia con muchos intelectuales de ahora, no, que no tienen ningún acercamiento con la básica y es así, por ejemplo, que estando en Chile ya viejo se convierte en el senador Andrés Bello y sus hijos en la bancada liberal. Uno de ellos dice - estamos hablando de 1845 al '50 - de más o menos quince años de represión - ¡represión! - y uno de los hijos dice, "¿Hasta cuándo seguimos en este estado de censura?" Y hay un discurso famoso de uno de los hijos que estaba como diputado. Bueno, está como representando un poco la situación de Chile así ligeramente comparada, no, con muchas etapas del país. Bueno, ese Bello que yo tuve que enseñar, pero relacionado estrictamente con Venezuela. En el campo de la historiografía, él hizo en Venezuela la primera descripción histórica del país y lo hizo en un momento que había que vender los productos de Venezuela a Europa, al mundo, para salir de la crisis. Y una de las cuestiones muy importantes que este señor enseña a la gente, al pueblo venezolano, es que - también es aplicable a Chile, no - es que una producción sin buena distribución internacional no sirve para nada, no funciona. Y tú ves el resurgimiento de Chile en el siglo XVIII y por no depreciar lo que pasó muy recientemente con Pinochet. Hubo un nuevo resurgimiento de la producción del campo en Chile. Yo soy un hombre de Izquierda pero no puedo negar que surgió una cohesión, no, una cohesión para exportar todo de Chile, exportar el trigo, volver al trigo, volver al vino, volver a los granos, volver a la uva, todos. Está importante pero mientras se produce ese contacto con el extranjero, cuando se promueve esa necesidad de vender tus productos exitosamente se hace el puente, no, de productor, distribuidor y comprador. Bueno, hay un visible éxito. Yo pienso que uno de los éxitos que hubo en tiempo de Pinochet fue esa unidad que tuvo el campo, la producción en Chile para exportar todo en la agricultura. Que me fusilen si estoy equivocado pero ésa es mi impresión. [*laughs*] Ésa es mi impresión desde punto de vista, desde acá, no lo que uno ve.

Entonces el aporte de este señor Bello en Chile es muy poco conocido porque él desde joven fue un periodista que se dedicó a escribir artículos históricos-científicos cuando era muy jovencito. No tenía más de 20 años y escribió su primera e impactante historia del país y siguió escribiendo sobre otras cuestiones también relacionadas con la cultura. Bueno, esa historia primera que él escribe tiene como base, como digo anteriormente, de mostrar cómo en el pasado la gente que llegó a Venezuela de Canarias y especialmente los vascos que es lo que a nosotros nos pasó: que los vascos llegaron y revolucionaron la forma de producción en las minas, por ejemplo. Todavía en el sigo XVII, XVIII se usaban herramientas de madera. Entonces los vascos introdujeron herramientas de hierro, por decirte algo. Bueno, en Venezuela los vascos y los canarios fueron los que diversificaron la producción agraria y ellos hicieron conocer los productos en Europa pero además de eso, de trabajar la tierra también en forma coordinada hicieron que, bueno, atrajeron al país empresas navieras y comerciales que se instalaron en La Guaira para sacar los productos del país. ¿Ya? Entonces ése fue el gran éxito del siglo XVII, XVIII, en la economía de Venezuela. Entonces, cuando Bello escribe al principio del siglo XIX, se lamenta de que todo eso cuando se retiraron los vascos, sobre todo esa empresa que llamaban la Guipuzcoana, creo que era el nombre, bueno, esa empresa cuando se retira deja un gran vacío y se quiebra toda la producción, se quiebre todo porque no sale y se quebró por corrupción porque los precios eran miserables y entonces hubo una protesta y finalmente se fue la empresa y entonces Bello explica eso. Bueno, lo interesante de esto de una vez que Simón Bolívar termina su guerra de revolución de independencia - estamos hablando ahora de 1800, o

sea, unos diez años después, no - una de las primeras leyes económicas que se produce para recuperar el país que quedó muerto, los campos quedaron desolados. La gente que trabajaba la tierra huyó o para salvarse le cortaron la cabeza a los revolucionarios o bien simplemente abandonaron las tierras y la revolución triunfante se da cuenta que no hay producción agrícola, en los campos ricos no había. Entonces, sacan una ley que llama a los extranjeros a repoblar las tierras desoladas, ricas tierras, y les daban unos créditos increíbles, les daban tierra, además les financiaban sus costos. ¿Ya? Era un negocio redondo. Entonces como encaja Bello, el joven Bello, en esto del año 1825 que estoy hablando. Bueno, encuentro unos periódicos donde en la región donde yo vivía ellos tratan de vender al extranjero, semana por semana sale una publicación diciendo cuán rico es la región. Es decir, sin que Bello lo supiera, su ejemplo que había hecho al principio en 1800 se repite 20 años más tarde y es una región desesperada porque esos extranjeros que Bolívar pensaba que iban a llegar con ese llamado internacional no llegaban. Entonces la solución del editor de aquel periódico era publicar semana a semana cuán rico era la región para ver si algún extranjero llegaba. Bueno, eso es interesante. Bueno, esos trabajos fueron los que yo hice. Entonces tuve que quedarme allí haciendo esos trabajos, bueno, por esta necesidad de exilio, no, ésa fue la forma de ganarme la vida y también escribiendo poesía. Bueno, cuando vuelvo a este país por mi hija que estaba muy enferma, a defenderla de un sistema que todavía no sabe qué hacer con los niños autísticos, bueno, aquí me encuentro con esta lucha: por un lado mi hija y por otro lado la propia sobrevivencia en un mundo donde ya estoy viejo para poder trabajar en una academia universitaria, etcétera. Ahora tengo una empresa de traducciones en la cual tengo que luchar diariamente para sobrevivir. Y entonces, digamos, todo este entusiasmo mío, entusiasmo por escribir poesía, este entusiasmo de mis investigaciones en el campo de la cultura en Chile, bueno, se pierde. No tiene ninguna repercusión en Chile. Especialmente en esto que te dije yo de la historia de Chile, no, de revisión de un poco de la fuente, no, de las fuentes históricas. Yo no quiero defender nada, no, sólo quiero mostrar estos trabajos que yo creo que tiene importancia, importancia tiene que se diga, por ejemplo, la historia de la literatura chilena. La historia de la literatura chilena diga que al definir qué lo que es literatura chilena, no, diga que aquellos textos que exaltan la nacionalidad, no, los elementos positivos de lo nacional y resulta que si así se puede definir lo que es literatura chilena, ese manuscrito que no es muy apasionadamente defensivo de lo que es el chileno del siglo XVIII, obviamente queda fuera de considerarse como parte de la literatura chilena del siglo XVIII. Y por otro lado, por el triste diagnóstico que los especialistas han tenido sobre lo que es la literatura chilena en el siglo XVIII. Simplemente dicen en Chile no hay literatura interesante y yo pienso que ese documento aunque es, diríamos, "literatura vulgar" para definirlo contra la "literatura culta", no. "Vulgar" definido por el Quijote de la Mancha, bueno, en una sesión que tiene con el caballero del verde gabán en el episodio ése cuando el hijo sale recitando poesía y alaba al hijo por haber hecho muy bien las romances, la décima, no sé qué es lo que recitó el hijo del caballero del verde gabán. Entonces, Quijote dice, "Ah, mira, aquí hay los cultos que saben lo que hacen; los vulgares que no tienen idea lo que hacen", etcétera, etcétera. Entonces, de ahí yo saco un poco la definición para mí de lo que es la literatura vulgar y aquellos que dicen que desde el punto de vista de la cúspide que miran y dicen, "Bueno, ya, éstos son, es literatura vulgar". Entonces de esas cúspides también se define a nuestros poetas populares. Y nuestros poetas populares no se estudian en los colegios porque es literatura vulgar, no, que pertenece al folclor, como si el folclor fuera una tercera clase de producción cultural. ¿Me entiendes? Ésos son los puntos de vista que yo defiendo.

[…]

Yo te lo digo en forma intuitiva, no, porque si hay un anti - ¿cómo se dice? - teórico, teorizante, soy yo. Por mi propia formación, no. Por mi rebeldía contra justamente lo que estamos hablando, no. [*laughs*] ¿Cuándo se descubre la literatura popular? Eso es interesante observarlo, no, y uno ve que en el siglo XVIII, ya comienzan algunos europeos a buscar dónde está lo popular. Entonces tú ves en los hermanos Grimm, no, que son unos de los que comienzan a localizar estos elementos, se van en búsqueda de cuentos y entregan, no siendo ellos unos miembros de la parte dominante, no, entregan lo que esta gente hace, no, y lo presentan como parte del folclor, como una producción que no les pertenece a su clase. Y a partir de ahí, pues, ves lo que se produce, no. Es imposible que le saques del mate a la cultura occidental que el folclor también es una producción considerable para llevarla al nivel de educación universitaria.

[…]

Como que se democratice un poco la, en la comunicación, la comunicación se da mucho más fácil. Entonces, dicen que hubo un proyecto de Napoleón de exigirle a los oficiales a recopilar cuentos de la tropa. Entonces esa gente coleccionaba cuentos, canciones, para entretener a la tropa. Entonces tuvo una función muy definida y cuando todavía no se inventaba la imprenta. Mucho más antes, tú puedes observar, por ejemplo, una de unas cosas que yo sé porque he trabajado y he estudiado bien. Los cancioneros que están al borde de los siglos XIII y XIV, no, XIV y XV en España, cancioneros de palacios, el Cancionero de Baena, el Cancionero de Estúñiga, que son cancioneros que tienen una información increíble de cómo funcionaba la cultura popular antes que apareciera el impreso y una de las cosas fantásticas es que muchas de esas estructuras hasta hoy el poeta popular en América Latina y en España todavía lo conserva.

Un pobre indio y al final el indio cuando esté derrotado, ahí está la triste historia, no. Se ahorca porque el señor le ganó, pué, no, le ganó... Bueno, esas estructuritas, no, son interesantes para estudiar también nuestra idiosincrasia, no. Bueno, esa estructura en que un alto señor de la sociedad chilena participa con un indio, con un señor nada que ver con la sociedad de ese señor. Bueno, se daban, por ejemplo, en el Cancionero de Baena, se cuenta de que asiste a la mesa con los poetas el rey. Asisten los obispos y los obispos cantan con uno contra otro, no, y asiste la última clase de individuo que podía haber en España en aquellos tiempos que eran los judíos, diríamos, no los judíos sino los sefarditas. Es decir, aquellos que habían renunciado a ser judíos para hacerse cristianos. Bueno, y aun ahí en esa mesa, yo tengo ejemplos donde uno de los cantantes judíos, de origen judío, todavía aunque cristiano, todavía no está convencido que hayan tres personas en una y dice, cantándole a un obispo, le dice, “Mira, yo no sé, no estoy muy seguro cómo podrá haber tres personas en una. ¿Por qué no me lo explicas?” Y el cura tiene que, le contesta en otros versos, no. Y le contesta.

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo cultural en el exilio. Siéntete libre de expresar tu opinión porque la trascripción de esta entrevista no llevará tu nombre.

A
Si me persiguen por eso, bien. Si me alaban por eso, está bien. Digamos, si recibo algún tipo de ayuda, está bien. Y si me combaten a muerte, está bien también. Yo sé a qué me expongo cuando expreso mi opinión. No me importa, digamos, qué reacción pueda provocar. No me interesa en absoluto. Es mi opinión. Si le gusta a la gente, le gusta. Si no, *sorry* po'. Tengo una opinión bien clara. La opinión de la gente, digamos, de los adversarios o de la gente que pudiera, digamos, combatirme en algún sentido, ha pasado demasiado agua debajo de los ríos, digamos, del puente para que me pudiera preocupar, no.

Q
Para comenzar, si me cuentas sobre tu salida de Chile y tu llegada al Reino Unido.

A
Ya, claro. Bueno, nosotros salimos como familia prácticamente de Chile. Como grupo familiar. Con mi esposa y mis tres hijos que en ese tiempo eran pequeños de diez años, nueve años y de tres era el menor. Y yo salí, digamos, directamente de la Penitenciaria Capuchinos en Santiago que estuve ahí como un mes, no, o dos meses porque previamente yo estuve en la Cárcel de Osorno en el sur. Estuve tres años allí detenido preso y de ahí, digamos, pasé a un tribunal militar, a una corte militar que me condenó a doce años de cárcel y que después fue cambiada, a través del Decreto 504, fue cambiada, digamos, por pena en el exilio. Entonces en teoría yo había cumplido tres años. Me faltaban nueve que tenía que cumplir en el exterior. Digamos, eso fue la historia en forma breve de mi salida. Eso para no agrandar, digamos, la historia.

Q
Cuéntame sobre ese momento político histórico.

A
Ya, bueno. Mira, lo que me impresionó siempre fue, digamos, la solidaridad internacional, digamos. Nosotros recibimos un tremendo apoyo los que estábamos preso, continuamente recibíamos apoyo a través de cartas, a través de gente que nos iba a visitar. Yo recuerdo, por ejemplo, una vez ahí en Capuchinos de repente recibimos la visita de Felipe González que en ese tiempo era diputado del Partido Socialista Español. Fue a ver a E. que había sido senador que estaba a preso ahí, pero él aprovechó, digamos, de conversar y saludar brevemente a todos los Socialistas que estábamos allí que éramos como quince y se presentó y dijo, "Bueno, yo soy Felipe González". Nos pasó la mano y, "Estamos haciendo todo lo posible para que ustedes, digamos, salgan de las cárceles libres o sino salgan, digamos, de Chile al exilio." Eso fue, digamos, un recuerdo, por ejemplo, muy importante, muy valioso. Lo otro que también nosotros conseguimos tres visas. Teníamos tres visas: una para ir a Canadá, otro para ir a Alemania porque mi señora todavía estaba, hay un acuerdo del Gobierno Alemán con el Chileno de que los descendientes de los alemanes hasta la quinta generación todavía tienen todos los derechos y son considerados ciudadanos alemanes todavía y ella estaba en la cuarta generación. Entonces nos habían

dado un montón de facilidades en Alemania y nos habían dado visa pero al final no pudimos irnos ahí porque el gobierno federal alemán daba visa pero después, digamos, los Estados tenían que estudiar el caso y ellos tenían que dar una segunda visa prácticamente y el Estado que nos habían asignado empezó a estudiar mi caso y nos dijo que teníamos que esperar diez meses más. [*laughs*] Entonces diez meses era demasiado para estar preso todavía, entonces dijimos aceptemos la beca, o sea, la visa de Inglaterra que nosotros sabíamos que Inglaterra era uno de los países más liberales que han habido siempre en toda Europa y todo el mundo. Y dijimos tenemos más *chance* y en teoría es más fácil aprender el inglés. [*laughs*] Así que ya dijimos ya y como en dos semanas estuvimos acá en Londres.

Q
¿Qué año fue eso?

A
El año 1977 llegamos a Londres y todavía en ese tiempo había *smog*. Ahora ya casi no hay pero en el invierno había mucho. En las tardes se veía siniestro, no. Con esa llegada fue que se me ocurrió después escribir una poesía que no porque lo diga yo sino la gente, los expertos, por ejemplo en el diario latino el experto que hay en cultura encontró que este poema había sido, digamos, había captado muy bien la experiencia y aquí está: "Perdido entre la niebla", se llama. *Lost in the fog*. Éste es el poema que escribí en este libro que apareció ahora en junio del 2004, digamos, para recordar el momento en que llegamos aquí a Londres. Escribí este sentimiento sobre la llegada en un poema que se llama "Perdido entre la niebla". "Yo no sé qué hago en este extraño país. Las nubes cubren el cielo. No puedo ver las estrellas durante la noche. El frío penetra mis pobres huesos. No entiendo el lenguaje. Nadie puede pronunciar mi nombre. Yo no puedo pronunciar los suyos. La gente anda siempre apurada desapareciendo en todas direcciones como almas arrancando del demonio. La nostalgia me corroe el alma. La soledad me acuchilla el pecho. Camino a lo largo de esta gran ciudad perdido entre la niebla. Yo no sé si voy o vengo." En este diario latino que parece, digamos, cada mes, *Noticias*, el experto que tienen en cultura, él hace un análisis y encontró de todo este libro a lo único que se refirió fue a ese poema que le había gustado mucho.

Q
Qué bien.

A
En este diario también he cooperado varias veces y en un número antiguo escribí este artículo que es bastante largo, hartas horas de trabajo.

Q
Es de 2001.

A
Eso te lo voy a regalar para que tengas una evidencia.

Q
Mi consulta es: cuando ustedes estaban en Chile, ¿qué rol jugaba para ti la literatura? ¿Cómo se desarrolló eso?

A
Ahí tengo toda una historia que, todas estas historia voy a tratar, digamos, de hacerlas breves y sintéticas porque sino estaríamos horas y horas, días y semanas. Mira, mi, como en la época que yo viví, como yo tengo 63 años, entonces cuando yo era joven, en ese tiempo, digamos, no había televisión, no habían diarios. Habían pero mi familia no tenía los medios económicos para comprar diarios, para comprar libros. Y la radio, bueno, uno no lo escuchaba mucho. No podíamos ir al cine porque como no teníamos dinero. Entonces de muy joven, algo así como de doce o trece años, yo empecé a leer, no, por algún motivo. No tengo idea por qué. Me empecé a, bueno, sería como la única satisfacción que yo tenía, digamos, dentro de mi vida personal y familiar y de medio ambiente. Entonces empecé a leer y yo era un verdadero maniaco que leía, digamos, todos los días, todos los días, rápidamente, los 365 días del año leyendo libros y recuerdo que me leí la biblioteca completa de Puerto Montt. Bueno, no por supuesto los libros de matemática, de química, de biología, sino los libros, digamos, de literatura y después que había leído todos los libros de literatura, empecé a leer los libros, digamos, de política, de economía, de sociología. Y sabes tú que a través de los libros - porque aquí habría que lanzar un pensamiento profundo - han sido los libros, fueron los libros que a mí me han ido formando como ser humano desde todo punto de vista, prácticamente los libros. La influencia de mi ambiente por supuesto también es determinante pero en el caso personal mío los libros han jugado, digamos, un rol fundamental. Yo me acuerdo que en mi familia no había nadie dedicado a la política, nadie dedicado a las actividades sindicales, a las actividades, digamos, grupos humanos, grupos deportivos, culturales o cualquier otro comunitario. No, cada uno vivía su vida, digamos, pequeña a nivel individual no más o familiar. Entonces yo de repente cuando empecé a leer los libros de política me encuentro con los libros de Lenin, de Engels, de Marx y de todos los revolucionarios a escala mundial, de algunos latinoamericanos también, y se apareció así como algunos dicen, digamos, los religiosos dicen, "Yo encontré a Dios y me iluminó el espíritu. Y encontré a Jesús..." Yo encontré, digamos, la explicación a los fenómenos sociales, políticos, históricos a través de la lectura de los clásicos del Marxismo-Leninismo o de los revolucionarios en general. Entonces yo dije es la política, digamos, es una de las fuerzas que mueve la sociedad y por supuesto después ya cuando me hice más adulto ya tenía 17, 18, 19 años, dije, "Bueno y la política en Chile es algo importante". Yo dije, "Bueno, yo tengo que pertenecer a un partido político porque son los partidos políticos, digamos, los que conquistan el poder y puedan hacer algún cambio en la sociedad". Porque yo veía la pobreza, la miseria de la gente. "Esta sociedad, digamos, está mal organizada, entonces hay que cambiarla, organizar una nueva sociedad". Y la respuesta, digamos, a través de los libros la encontré en el socialismo. Entonces dije, "Pero entonces aquí en Chile, ¿a qué partido puedo yo ingresar que, digamos, interprete mi necesidad de cambio?" Y ahí se me ocurrió empezar a buscar cuál era el programa, la doctrina del Partido Comunista chileno, el Partido Radical, de Partido Socialista, del PADENA y otro partido que había en ese tiempo y uno más que ni recuerdo porque eran pequeños pero de los más grandes conseguí sus programas, sus reglamentos, los principios, los estatutos porque para poder escoger, digamos, cuál era aquel en que me iba a sentir mejor y ahí descubrí, digamos, solito sin ayuda de nadie ni del Espíritu Santo ni de Dios ni de nadie de que era el Partido Socialista chileno de la época que era el que mejor, digamos, me interpretaba. Yo dije, "Ya, voy a ser militante del Partido Socialista chileno". Bueno y ahí ingresé el año '60 y del año '60 ahora llevo 44 años como militante del Partido Socialista chileno, digamos, que es algo muy importante, digamos. Se demostraba, digamos, que por lo menos soy fiel a una determinada política o doctrina política. Nunca me he cambiado y seguramente me voy a morir siendo Socialista y sigo hasta este momento siendo militante activo del Partido. Eso. Es importante. La importancia

de los libros, ¿te fija? De la literatura. Y de ahí, digamos, que yo toda mi vida. Y después ya empecé a leer libros muchos más serios, más interesantes. Después ingresé cuando yo era adulto a la Escuela Normal de Valdivia. Empecé a estudiar Pedagogía, Psicología, Sociología, Administración y conseguí el diploma de profesor primario. Entonces allí, digamos, también ya mi mundo se fue ampliando mucho más. Y a través de la lectura justamente porque el profesor primario, tú misma has sido profesora, y el profesor se pasa leyendo y escribiendo todos los días para poder enseñar a los niños, a los jóvenes. Ésa fue, digamos, la experiencia con respecto a la literatura y por supuesto después ya se me abrió el panorama y empecé a leer como loco, como un maniaco total todos los libros de la literatura rusa, todos los libros de la literatura francesa, todos los libros importantes refiero yo, clásicos, todos los libros de los escritores ingleses, de los escritores españoles y latinoamericanos también. Latinoamericanos importantes: cubanos, colombianos, peruanos y todos los chilenos. ¿Te fijas? O sea, yo puedo decir, digamos, honestamente que con la experiencia que tengo, los libros, la literatura han jugado un rol pero, prácticamente todo lo que yo soy, digamos, todo lo que me ha formado han sido, digamos, los libros. Los libros, las revistas, los diarios, documentos. Así que desde muy joven fue una influencia, digamos, determinante en mi manera de ser, en mi formación y en mi conducta, digamos. Y en mi formación, digamos, como revolucionario porque yo toda mi vida he sido socialista, toda mi vida he querido, digamos, ayudar y contribuir a cambiar la sociedad, el sistema capitalista. Yo lo veo que es malo. Está mal organizado. La gente no es feliz, entonces hay que cambiarlo.

Q
Cuando estábamos entrando, me describías tu trabajo como mecánico, cierto, haciendo los cambios de aceite y todo eso. Me parece interesante porque me estás describiendo todo este mundo más intelectual de los libros. ¿Hay una conexión entre estas dos dimensiones de la vida cotidiana?

A
En un trabajo bien modesto, refieres tú.

Q
Claro. ¿Cómo se plasma?

A
Mi trabajo es bien honesto. Es físico. Muy buena pregunta porque ya captaste porque, mira, cuando el periodista éste captó la poesía ésta - por supuesto yo no lo conozco, nunca ha conversado conmigo - además hemos tenido discrepancias porque una vez hizo una llamada a un concurso de cuentos, mira, no solamente desde mi punto de vista, sino de los que sabemos literatura encontramos que había sido una cuestión ridícula, patética. Entonces yo le envié una crítica de él para ser publicado. Por supuesto no la publicaron porque era muy dura. Él, sabes tú, dijo que a él le había gustado ese poema porque le parecía que era una sinopsis de una persona que llegaba a un país exiliado extraño y que había podido captar muy bien, digamos, la sensación ésa y que le parecía que era como una instantánea fotográfica que había captado justo el momento preciso. Y sabes tú la coincidencia, sabes tú que antes de escribir el poema yo, mira y esto él lo dijo después de 6, 8 años que yo había escrito y yo antes de escribir el poema me dije, “Voy a escribir unos poemas sobre esta sensación, digamos, del exiliado. Entonces, ¿qué tengo que hacer? Ah, tiene que ser un poema breve, que vaya al grano, al centro mismo del problema. Entonces tiene que ser justamente como una instantánea fotográfica,” pensé yo. Mira, lo mismo que

él dijo como diez años después: un instantánea fotográfica, así como cuando uno va de vacaciones, o cuando hay una fiesta y que alguien llega al momento fulminante de la fiesta ¡pum! saca una foto. O cuando alguien va de vacaciones a un país extranjero, España o Venecia, ahí justo en un lugar clave llega ¡pum! saca y también tendría que ser así como una postal fotográfica que muestra lo mismo, una postal también muestra lo más interesante de un país lugar, trata de mostrar lo que dicen los ingleses: el *mood* de la gente o del país. Entonces eso fue lo que pensé, tiene que ser una instantánea o una postal turística que capté y sabes tú que él después dijo exactamente lo mismo. Yo quedé, "*Oh, my God!*" Claro, interesante.

Volviendo a lo que tú me decías, justamente sabes tú que como el trabajo mío que es más que nada físico y bien duro, que hay que ir caminando en un tremendo garaje en donde se distribuyen como 120 buses. Entonces hay que andar por todo el garaje y como todo este trabajo es mecánico te permiten, tú vas pensando, estás haciendo el trabajo. Estás, digamos, manejando pero como es una cuestión tan inconciente, uno va pensando cuando uno está cambiando las baterías o cambiando los neumáticos que al final uno lo hace de forma automática. Sabes tú que montones de los poemas que están aquí, yo los he ido desarrollando y se me han ocurrido cuando yo estoy trabajando, haciendo un trabajo físico. Bueno, esto no es nada extraordinaria porque hay escritor, Henry Miller parece o el otro, no recuerdo cuál, pero un escritor norteamericano famoso también tenía un trabajo bien aburrido y bien mecánico. Mientras estaba haciendo su trabajo, inventó un montón de cuentos y de novelas porque su trabajo le permitía simultáneamente elaborar, digamos, intelectualmente. Entonces es importante porque hay trabajos que te impiden hacer eso. Si tú estás metido en una oficina en un determinado trabajo, no te deja espacio para tu creación porque el maldito trabajo, digamos, necesita tanta concentración y tanto, digamos, está metido en sí mismo, tienes que estar metido haciendo el trabajo no más y no hay nada más. Este trabajo, sabes tú, que menos mal me ha permitido, montones de mis cuentos yo los he ido arreglando, revisando, puliendo porque tú sabes hay que estar revisando, arreglando, puliendo. Esa conexión es súper importante. No sé si responde tu pregunta.

Q
Sí, de todas maneras, pero ¿qué sucede con el proceso inverso? ¿De qué manera esta sabiduría que te dan los libros, que te da esta intelectualidad, te ayuda a resolver la parte mecánica de tu trabajo?

A
Bueno, mira. Tú logras sobrevivir, digamos, mejor como ser humano porque en un trabajo así, digamos, tú te vas a encontrar con problemas de la vida diaria que si tú no eres en algún aspecto altamente desarrollada, te van a derrotar. Te van a abusar. Entonces, mira, yo te cuento un caso mío. Porque yo he tenido en mi trabajo varios diferentes *managers*. Entonces de repente aparece un *manager*, un idiota, un estúpido, un cretino, un racista, pequeños criminales realmente. De baja categoría moral que por A, B o C te agarran un odio tremendo. Él, claro, tiene que haber captado que yo era un tipo que salía de la norma. No sabía prácticamente nada de mí. Entonces pensó este tipo, "Yo tengo que echarlo, no me gusta, me molesta, me pone los nervios de punta, entonces lo único que yo tengo que hacer es echarlo. Bueno, yo soy el *manager* y lo echo no más." Y sabes tú que hizo una campaña sistemática para echarme. Y yo no tenía ninguna *chance*, digamos, de poder escaparme porque acá, digamos, con la compañías les dan un poder omnipotente, y creo que en todos los países del mundo, a sus *managers*. Ellos son los comandantes

prácticamente, capitanes de la industria, le llamen ellos, los comandantes. Entonces en una pelea, un alegato entre un *manager* y un empleado o un obrero, no va a ganar el empleado ni el obrero nunca. Va a ganar el *manager* 99%. 99% de las veces va a ganar el *manager*. Entonces dije, "Ah, con este tipo voy a tener un problema", y empezó una escalada hasta que llegó el momento en que me dijo prácticamente que me echaban. Primero puso todos estos pasos, un *verbal warning*, después los *disciplinary proceedings*, que se llama, paso uno, paso dos, paso tres, hasta el final *pum*. Pero él no sabía que yo era miembro del sindicato General Workers Union. Creo que es el sindicato más grande que existe acá. Tenía antes como dos millones y es bien poderoso. Y entonces cuando hubo una reunión final para prácticamente echarme, entonces me dijo que yo podía ir a esa reunión con uno de mis amigos o con un representante del Trade Union pero él nunca creyó que yo era. Porque yo pago mis cuotas del *direct debit* no a través de la compañía, te fijas. Eso hace mucho acá para poder defenderse. Entonces él no sabía y entonces el día de la reunión final en que yo iba a ser despedido, yo aparezco con un oficial del Trade Union, un funcionario altamente especializado, son como abogados, sabes tú. Tienen una capacidad y conocen toda la legislación de Gobierno sobre el trabajo, son verdaderos abogados de los trabajadores de los sindicatos para defenderlos. Y sabes tú que este *manager* se quedó espantado y sabes tú que pidió a mí que yo no aceptara, que no llegara con éste, que yo dijera que no necesitaba la asistencia de éste. Le dije, "No". Le dije, "Yo soy miembro de este sindicato. Estoy pagando mis cuotas justamente para que me defienda. Porque además," le dije, "es la primera vez en más de quince años que yo estoy en un problema como éste y justamente yo he pagado para que él me defienda", y le dije, "No, yo no acepto eso, no voy a aceptar lo que usted me está pidiendo". Él me empezó a pedir que yo le dijera a él que yo no necesitaba a esta persona para que él le dijera al otro que se fuera. Entonces yo dije, "No". Sabes tú que él *manager* le pidió directamente al funcionario éste del sindicato, le dijo que no era bienvenido en esa reunión, que él no quería que él estuviera y el otro dijo, "Mira," sacando sus documentos, "en las Actas del Parlamento del año tanto dice esto y respecto a las relaciones, industriales dice esto. Él pidió asistencia y yo estoy aquí. Si él me dice que me vaya, yo me voy pero él ya dijo que me quería aquí así que yo no me puedo ir aunque usted me diga, así que yo no me voy a ir, así que pudimos hacer la reunión." Y sabes tú que después él paró el proceso y después apareció otro funcionario. Fue este *manager* derrotado en una forma brutal. Como estos defensores de los trabajadores tienen tanta experiencia, sabes tú que era como, el *manager* se veía como en una esquina como un pequeño escolar de la escuela primaria ante un poderoso *headmaster*, director de escuela. Lo trató así en una forma bien sutil pero bien inteligente. Lo trató, digamos, como si era un pobre, triste ignorante. Y no me pudo echar. Sabes tú que desde esa vez el tipo me ha evitado y no me ha visto nunca más... Ya van como un año y medio de la vez que me quiso echar y fue derrotado por estos funcionarios de los sindicatos y me ve así brevemente, me ha hablado como dos veces no más en un año y medio, casi dos años y antes prácticamente me andaba controlando toda la semana, me quería poner bajo su maldito pulgar. Te fijas, entonces, y eso es desarrollo cultural. Como tengo un tremendo desarrollo político, ya tenía medidas preventivas para poder defenderme en un caso de esto, digamos, tan concreto, que es muy común acá. Entonces allí, bueno, lo otro, digamos, que me permite, como sé mucho de psicología, también me permite en mi trabajo evitar problemas, roces entre los trabajadores, que a veces se arman tremendas discusiones y peleas, te fijas. Ya sé, conozco, apenas veo una persona yo ya yo sé, "Ah, éste es un *troublemaker*".

Q
Sacas el perfil al tiro.

A
Claro. Y, digamos, nunca entrar en conflictos con ellos y tratar, digamos, de tener una actitud, digamos, bien seria de trabajo. Porque además yo sé que acá, digamos, lo que a los empleadores les gusta mucho es, y con eso ellos defienden sus intereses, es que el trabajador primero no falte nunca al trabajo al año porque aquí sabes tú hay gente que falta, digamos. La mujer de mi hijo menor de origen irlandés pero es británica y trabaja en la oficina de la seguridad social. Es experta en todo esto. Claro que ahora le dieron un training de cinco años y cuando termine su *training* de cinco años va a ser un *top* de los *civil servants* como funcionario. Va a poder ser, digamos, asistente de los Ministros del Gobierno y va a ganar £45.000 al año. [*laughs*] Entonces sabes tú que porque estamos conversando este asunto de…

Q
… qué manera toda esta sabiduría que proviene de los libros, la literatura, se plasma en lo cotidiano.

A
La cuestión política, sindical y el asunto de la psicología también. Sí. Eso.

Q
Y cuando veníamos entrando me contaste que estabas a cargo de todos esos buses con otro colega.

A
Sí, claro.

Q
¿Él es inglés?

A
Es británico pero de origen irlandés. Tú sabes aquí hay un montón de gente que son de Irlanda, de Gales y Escocia. Son británicos, son como ingleses pero ellos se consideran todavía como irlandeses, galeses y escoceses, no. Bueno, eso no lo entiendo mucho.

Q
Te estoy imaginando en este galpón con los buses, ya me imagino que tu cerebro está haciendo todas estas conexiones por toda la lectura que haces.

A
Sí, sí, claro. Me sirve, me sirve todo. O sea, me permite, digamos. Mira, todos somos cachetones, farsantes, vanidosos, egoístas. Pero el problema es que todo este tremendo conocimiento acumulado que yo tengo porque yo he leído cerca de 17.000 libros - pero 16.000 libros serios, no basura - o sea, porque de lo que más he leído ha sido, digamos, ha sido política, literatura, economía, sociología, historia y pedagogía, psicología, de administración. Estuve estudiando Administración. Por un año en un *polytechnic* de Sheffield, Administración Pública. Entonces a mí me permite sobrevivir bien toda esa tremenda cantidad de conocimiento acumulado, mis relaciones con la gente, porque allí yo tengo que lidiar, digamos, con especialmente, mira, llegan jóvenes ingleses recién egresados de los *colleges* porque los entrenan para ser mecánicos. Entonces un montón

de esos ingleses jóvenes son verdaderos, como les llamen acá, vándalos o *hooligans*, gente con poco nivel cultural, bien groseros, bien brutales. Mira, son tipos que a pesar de que algunos son casados con hijos pero en la hora de trabajo, claro, son responsables - porque el sistema los obliga ser responsables, el sistema económico aquí, te dijo como lo conversábamos anteriormente, las compañías y a los *managers* quieren que uno no falta nunca... - ahí era la conexión con esto. Sabes tú que la señora de mi hijo nos contó que en este servicio hay gente que falta dos, tres, hasta cuatro meses en el año, no van a trabajar. Que están enfermos, que están con estrés, que están con depresión. Inventan cualquier cosa. ¡Dos, tres, cuatro meses sin trabajar! Y el servicio, las compañías no los pueden echar porque ellos tienen, digamos, cómo probar que se sentían mal o que. Oye, pero faltar dos, tres, cuatro meses en el año ¿no crees que es mucho? Entonces, mira, yo en ese aspecto soy de los que no falto nunca en todas las partes que he trabajado porque he trabajado en varias partes entre paréntesis, como no me enfermo nunca, me cuido bien, mi salud, soy un tipo *fit*, *healthy*, como dicen. Por enfermedad no falto nunca en todo el año. Por una cuestión ocasional, por ejemplo este año cuando se murió Rodrigo Bastías, fui a su funeral a Sheffield, ahí pedí un día de vacaciones extra, otra vez cuando se murió la Francina también. Obligatorio. Porque era militante del Partido. Y solamente cuando pido mis vacaciones, pero las otras veces no falto nunca. Entonces tengo un record intachable asistiendo mi trabajo. Y ellos lo tienen de los *records*. Entonces ese maldito *manager* tampoco, porque los oficiales del sindicato se conectaron después con el director general de la compañía y el tipo quedó mal. No llego atrasado nunca tampoco. Claro en el año, no voy a decir nunca, porque llego atrasado una vez o dos veces, máximo tres veces en el año. Cuando hay otros tipos que llegan veinte, treinta, cuarenta veces atrasados en un año, ¿te fijas? Entonces en ese aspecto, digamos, yo en teoría soy un buen trabajador. Cumplo como trabajador. Bueno, y haciendo mi trabajo también le hago todo el empeño que puedo. No soy de los que anda sacando la vuelta, ni que soy flojo. Hago mi trabajo porque además aquí las compañías, sabes tú, que tiene todo un sistema. Bueno, esto viene de siglos y está conectado con una cuestión militar también y las compañías, digamos, usan o han usado, usan montones de técnicas militares. Entonces usan mucho el espionaje, te fija, porque la supervisión, el rol de los *managers*, los *supervisors*, toda esta gente es andar controlando, vigilando. Todo el tiempo te están observando. Ellos saben inmediatamente quién saca la vuelta, quién es flojo y quién, digamos, serio, responsable y cumplidor. Ellos saben inmediatamente en un mes. En último caso cuando una compañía, sabes tú, no saben bien, mandan lo que le llaman esto, nosotros los llamamos informadores, digamos, sapos. Mandan gente de afuera por un o dos meses. Los ponen allí a trabajar y esa persona, sabes tú, que anda observando todo. Observa los *managers*, los trabajadores, los empleados después mandan un *report* al Director General o al General Manager o a quién sea. Fuera que un montón de compañías están llenas de cámaras, ¿sabes tú? Allá, digamos las cámaras te controlan todo. Saben al tiro si uno llega atrasado o no. Es cuestión de mirar las cámaras no más, porque las cámaras captan tu vehículo. Yo tengo un cacharrito. Tienen la patente, tienen todo. Hay una cámara a la entrada y hay cámaras distribuidas en todo el garaje. Entonces además de eso, te fijas, dentro la compañía, ustedes saben, las oficinas también. Ahora, sabes tú por nada ponen cámaras en las cantinas, en los comedores, por todos lados. Están faltando que pongan cámara dentro de los baños, en los *toilets*. Es un proceso, digamos, de vigilancia increíble. Entonces ésa es la historia.

Q
Si pudiéramos volver al poema que me leíste porque, claro, como lo describes es un poema que captura muy bien un momento, una emoción, tu experiencia como chileno en el

exilio. ¿Te sentiste extranjero en Chile alguna vez? Cuando tu mujer ha regresado a Chile, ¿cómo se ha sentido? ¿Se ha sentido como de vuelta en casa o se ha producido este mismo fenómeno?

A
Bueno, mira, ahí yo tengo también una cuestión personal, una opinión y una experiencia, digamos, y un convencimiento al que yo he llegado después de toda mi experiencia. Debido a mi desarrollo personal, yo sé y lo he podido demostrar en algunos casos que yo ahora, digamos, yo puedo vivir, si me mandan a vivir o yo llego o yo decido irme a vivir en China o en Rusia o en la India o en Japón o en España o en Portugal o en Venecia o en Paraguay o en Brasil o en Perú. Mira, yo viviría exactamente y sobreviviría y me comportaría y sería, digamos, feliz a mi manera en cualquier lugar del planeta. O sea, vendría a ser por mi desarrollo un ciudadano de este planeta tierra. Las barreras pa' mí ahora no corren. Claro, sigo siendo chileno. Me siento feliz siendo chileno pero me siento también un ciudadano del mundo. Yo te digo que ahora yo para mí Inglaterra, digamos, es mi segunda patria. Yo primero soy chileno pero simultáneamente seguido, digamos, por una décima de segundo, una décima de milímetro, yo, no es que me considere inglés pero, digamos, quiero y respeto y defiendo a Inglaterra como un segundo país, digamos, pegado a Chile prácticamente a pesar de que Chile está, digamos, a miles y miles de millas. Para mí, digamos, Gran Bretaña, una sociedad con todos sus defectos y errores que también tiene sus virtudes. Entonces yo me siento bien acá. Respiro feliz el aire que puedo respirar aquí en Inglaterra, como podría respirar, como te digo, el aire chino, japonés o español o peruano. Es una cuestión que no me preocupa, nunca me he hecho problema por eso. Vivir en Chile o acá ahora no tiene ninguna diferencia, ninguna cuestión, digamos, te digo yo nunca he sentido la nostalgia que sienten algunos con Chile que, mira, hay una, claro que yo lo entiendo sí, porque ese poema me ha hecho llorar como dos, tres veces, a pesar que la vida me ha hecho un tipo verdaderamente brutal yo puedo sobrevivir y si hubiera que en un determinado momento llegar, como lo hacen los iraquíes, a cortarle el cuello a alguien defendiendo, yo se los corto. María Eugenia Bravo también escribió un poema sobre el exilio, es un poema tan emocionante y triste que todas las veces que lo leo me hace llorar en una forma terrible. Una vez me invitaron, la Sofía Buchuck organizó un festival literario con lectura de poemas en la Universidad de South Bank y me pagaron £30 por leer mis poemas. Leí como tres poemas. Fue Eduardo Embry también. Y se me ocurre leer también para mostrarles a los ingleses porque eran todos ingleses estudiantes y algunos profesores también, este, digamos, sentimiento del exilio de la gente que vive acá, y se me ocurre leer el poema de la María Eugenia y no lo pude leer, alcancé leer la, no llegué ni a la mitad y sabes que se mi hizo un nudo y me empezaron a correr las lágrimas. Todos quedaron "¡Ah, este tipo es loco!" [*laughs*] Y la Sofía Buchuck me llevó agua. Para mí ése, digamos, de todos los poemas de exilio que he leído es el mejor de todos y yo he leído hartos.

Q
¿Cómo ves el resto de los chilenos? ¿Han trascendido esa etapa o todavía están pegados en esa nostalgia, ese dolor?

A
Claro, mira, un montón de chilenos - de la partida yo nunca estuve en esa posición - muchos chilenos creyeron que el exilio iba a durar un año, dos años, tres años, cinco años, no más. Un par de años. Entonces según ellos, ellos decían, "Yo tengo mis maletas listas, digamos, para el regreso". Eso era su actitud. Decían, "Yo siempre estoy preparado o

preparada y tengo mi maleta lista para llegar y regresar a Chile". Yo pensaba, "No tienen idea lo que están hablando", porque yo de un principio supe, digamos, por toda esta experiencia acumulada que tengo, por mis conocimientos, digamos, con contactos con un montón de gente estudiosa, digamos, de nivel mundial de todos problemas políticos que la dictadura en Chile no iba a durar ni uno ni dos ni tres ni cinco años. Iba a durar, ellos planificaron para estar allí en el poder prácticamente indefinidamente. Algunos hablaban - y yo les creía - por lo menos pretendieron treinta, cuarenta años como Franco ya lo había conseguido en España. Entonces en fin, ¿por qué no nosotros? Podríamos estar hasta cuarenta años. Entonces ellos planificaron para eso. Para estar veinte, treinta, cuarenta años, por ahí van. Entonces que aquí los chilenos digan, "Tengo lista mi maleta para volver a Chile", porque creían que la dictadura iba a durar tres o cinco años. Dije: "Ni tienen idea de lo que están hablando, no saben". Bueno, lo que yo creía se cumplió. No tuvieron cuarenta años pero tuvieron 17, que es harto. Harto. Eso, digamos. Y, claro, vivían con esta, llamémosle una especie de nostalgia pero una nostalgia mal fundada, digamos, mal alimentada. Creer de que la dictadura iba a durar tan poco y que no iba a ser tan brutal tampoco. También creyeron que iba a ser más suave. Entonces, bueno, además yo creo que ayuda. En el caso mío, me ha ayudado. Mira, te lo digo yo y te lo puedo decir con todo orgullo y toda confianza, el estado de felicidad en que uno vive. Entonces si yo he sido, digamos, a nivel individual, personal feliz sexualmente, yo ya tengo un paso adelante comparado con la gente que es infeliz individuamente en el aspecto sexual que es importante en la relación, digamos, humana. Fuera de eso, digamos, si yo me he sentido feliz con mi trabajo, con mi profesión - no importa si yo estoy trabajando ahora de obrero en una fábrica, lo hallo secundario - pero de todas maneras yo me siento bien trabajando. He conocido un montón de gente. Voy a escribir después, digamos, cuentos y cuestiones relacionadas con el trabajo aquí dentro del medio inglés. Voy a escribir este problema que tuve con el *manager*. Voy a escribir eso. Lo tengo todo anotado, está todo listo, digamos, del abuso de un *manager* contra un pobre trabajador, digamos, ahí hay un tema. Y de las relaciones, digamos, en un medio entre trabadores porque como la gran cantidad de los escritores nunca jamás han sido obreros sino que son gente, digamos, que verdaderamente la mayoría son, digamos, porque el acceso a la cultura, digamos, está la gente de alta nivel, de los que tienen dinero, los que van a la universidad, digamos, los que tienen la capacidad para comprar libros pero yo prácticamente no conozco verdaderamente ningún escritor famoso de los que están famosos de que haya sido obrero, realmente obrero, obrero. No existen. Y alguien por ahí lo decía eso también. No sé mucho justamente que el acceso es porque el acceso a la cultura es una cuestión costosa. Y los obreros común y corrientes no tienen, digamos, la capacidad para tener, en último caso están muy cansado no más. Después de su trabajo donde lo explotan en forma brutal, la compañía o ellos mismos se autoexplotan porque, te digo, los obreros ingleses también en ese aspecto algunos son, digamos, bien estúpidos, bien irracionales, bien animales. Tú no vas a creer esto pero yo lo creo porque lo he visto porque yo te puedo nombrar los lugares donde ellos estaban. El garaje donde estoy hay un tipo que es el mejor mecánico del garaje pero mira la tara gigante que tiene: empieza a trabajar a las 10 de la noche y tiene que trabajar hasta las 6 de la mañana. Sus 8 horas, claro, de lunes a viernes. Pero sabes tú que éste no termina a trabajar a las 6 de la mañana. Trabaja horas extra y ¿sabes tú hasta qué hora trabaja? ¡Trabaja hasta las 2, las 3 y las 4 de la tarde! Yo me voy a las 3 a mi casa y varias veces sigue trabajando hasta las 4. ¡Trabaja 17, 18 horas al día! ¡A la semana son 70, 80 horas! Cuando era guardia de seguridad, porque trabajé como guardia de seguridad, sabes lo que decía un tipo joven: trabajaba, porque los guardias de seguridad trabajan 6 días la semana de lunes a sábado y tienen el domingo libre no más, pero éste trabajaba los domingos también y algunas veces trabajaba 3 meses sin parar y a

veces 4 meses y después pedía, digamos, porque tenía un acuerdo con la compañía, todos los días domingos se les sumaban. Le acumulaban todo y tenía libre algo como 15 días, 17 días, 18 días. Salía de vacaciones. Oye, pero esa cuestión yo no la hallo normal. ¿Cómo alguien va a estar trabajando tres, cuatro meses sin parar? Y después, claro, en teoría bien bonito pero voy a tener 15 o 18 días libres, puedo ir al extranjero o dormir, descansar. Pero yo encuentro que esa cuestión es ser medio animal, medio irracional. Claro, son bien limitados, sí. Sí, trabajar no más. Especialmente acá en Europa. Sí, mira, es para ganar más dinero porque aquí también ¿qué es lo que hacen un montón de chóferes? También trabajan dos semanas completas sin parar y después de dos semanas quedan libres dos días. ¡Pero después de 14 días sin parar trabajando todos los días! No lo entiendo, te fija. Viven en otro mundo ellos. Es otro mundo.

Q
Has construido otro mundo personal, un mundo familiar.

A
Claro. Entonces, mira, en mi caso siempre he sido feliz, digamos, sexualmente, que es una cuestión importante. Siempre he sido feliz con mi esposa que tú conoces. Claro, a veces hemos tenido problemas. En uno de los poemas lo cuento. Una vez estuvimos separados como seis, siete meses. Después volvimos ¿te fija? Pero ya vamos a cumplir cuarenta años de casado ¿te fija? Ahora ya no nos separamos. Como esposo también he sido feliz. Hemos tenido hijos, entonces siempre me he sido feliz con mis hijos. Me siento feliz con mis hijos porque ninguno es alcohólico, ninguno es drogadicto, ninguno está, digamos, preso en una cárcel, ninguno se ha suicidado como aquí hijos de exiliados se han suicidado hijos de exiliados acá. Uno de los poemas trata ese caso. Interesante. Esta cuestión es una falencia del exilio, no. Es un poema bien bueno. Se llama “Nuestros muertos”. Y aquí, mira. “Juanito” - la idea es que no olvidemos, recordemos - “Juanito,” dice, “el joven abrumado por los conflictos familiares, el racismo y el matonaje escolar colgado en la puerta de su propio dormitorio.” Y así pasó. Se colgó un día. Pum. Vivía por allá, por Charlton ¿te fijas? Casos reales. Entonces, mira, eso a mí ayudaba mucho. Bueno, lo otro que es la cuestión política. Verdaderamente nosotros los seres humanos nos desarrollamos y podemos ser felices si pertenecemos a un grupo social. Si pertenecemos a una familia, un grupo familiar, si pertenecemos a un grupo político, a un grupo deportivo, a un grupo religioso, a un grupo, digamos, comunitario, a un grupo literario porque yo he estado metido en montones de talleres literarios. Soy feliz. Una de las felicidades más grandes es ésta, por ejemplo, estar conversando aquí de cuestiones intelectuales, de cuestiones artísticas, en cuestiones que nos cruja el seso, estar, digamos. Montones de veces sigo yendo al *college* estudiando. Hace poco, el año pasado, estuve tres meses, fui a un taller literario, allí cerca donde trabajo. Me inscribí en las tardes. Iba de las 7 a las 9 todos los días lunes por tres meses. Porque para mí, digamos, es lo máximo estar en una sala de clases como profesor enseñando o como estudiante escuchando ya que me enseñen, aquí cualquier que quiera enseñar enseñe. Para mí ya es lo máximo eso, te fija. Y ésa es el tipo de cuestiones que me hace feliz, te fijas. Y hay cuestiones impresionantes. Como te digo, acá nosotros tuvimos una huelga de hambre. Cuando la lucha contra Pinochet estaba en lo máximo acá hicimos huelga de hambre y yo estuve dos semanas sin comer. Nos entrevistaba la prensa, la radio, la televisión en Sheffield. Fueron Miembros de Parlamento, nos entrevistaron, nos sacamos fotos. Son cuestiones que a ti te tiran pa’ arriba en vez de tirarte para abajo o cuando fuimos aquí en la gran marcha. Ha sido la marcha más gigantesca que existió en toda la historia británica, de la marcha contra la guerra. Un millón y medio de personas. Partimos justamente de aquí, de Embankment,

nosotros. Embankment. Y teníamos que ir a Trafalgar Square. Sabes tú que caminando se demora, digamos, no más de veinte minutos. Veinte, veinticinco minutos. Ese día demoramos seis horas y media en llegar a Hyde Park. Las calles estaban llenas, llenas, llenas, llenas. Y no se podía caminar po'. Avanzamos un poquito un par de metros no más y se detenía la columna y allí estábamos y después avanzamos otra vez dos, tres, cuatro metros. Seis horas y media demoramos. [*laughs*] Entonces esas cosas, digamos. En cambio para desgracia a montones de exiliados no han tenido la fortuna que yo he tenido. Montones no han trabajado, por ejemplo. Ahí hay otra tara famosa también, ésa que a mí nunca me ha preocupado. Porque vinieron chilenos que en Chile, por ejemplo, conozco una mujer que, todas estas cuestiones son reales, yo me he formado, digamos, en la brutal realidad, a mí la brutal realidad me hace crear un concepto en mi cabeza, yo no cojo ideas, digamos, del aire, ni nada, sino que de la experiencia diaria real llego a una conclusión. Entonces todos estos casos son verídicos. Esta mujer era directora y, claro, dijo, "¿Cómo voy a empezar a trabajar acá, digamos, haciendo el aseo por ahí en una oficina?" Como montones de mujeres chilenas hacían. O "¿Cómo voy a empezar a trabajar, digamos, en otro trabajo doméstico sirviendo a las mesas en un restaurante? No, yo tengo que encontrar un trabajo, digamos, que este al nivel que yo tenía en Chile como directora de un liceo de niñas." Llevó una vida miserable acá. Otro tipo en Chile era profesor universitario, entonces aquí también estudió y sacó otro título universitante. Todos los trabajos que ha tenido, digamos, han sido universitario pero trabajitos pequeños por un par de meses, por un año y después queda, mira, nunca ha podido tener una situación profesional estable porque él no quiere un trabajo que esté bajo su nivel. Mira, yo nunca me he hecho problema. Yo trabajaba, fui guardia de seguridad, fuera de este trabajo en que estoy, soy *handyman* ahí, digamos, obrero, prácticamente ayudante de los mecánicos que es un *unskilled worker*, trabajo no calificado. Trabajaba en otra fábrica también, varias veces en fábrica también como obrero sin ninguna calificación. Una vez estaba de ayudante, digamos. Tenían una bodega donde habían cuestiones metálicas, moviendo cajas, recibiendo pedidos, de obrero no más pero ni siquiera calificado. Nunca me ha hecho problemas yo. Otra vez hice *minicabbie*. Pero otras personas no hacen eso. Entonces eso lo hacen ser infelices, te fija. Hay otra mujer que también tiene un montón de títulos universitarios. Tampoco ella no quiere trabajar. Se siente rebajada si trabaja en algo, digamos, que para ella es más bajo del nivel que tiene. Para mí esa cuestión es ridícula. No tiene sentido. Ella no sabe que Ho Chi Minh, que es uno de los lideres mundiales, trabajó justamente de cocinando y pelando papas en barcos que mandaban cuando vivía en exilio. Estuvo en Londres también como pinche de cocina, ayudando en una cocina por ahí por Whitechapel. Bueno, y después fue uno de los líderes máximo que ha tenido el movimiento revolucionario mundial. El único país que ha derrotado Estados Unidos ha sido Vietnam y cuando Vietnam derrotaba a los yanquis, él era líder. Y pelaba papas en los barcos, te fijas, y servía las mesas y hacía *washing up* en un restaurante. ¿Qué tiene que ver eso? Bueno, y montones de cuestiones, digamos, que a mí, mira, a pesar de toda de la brutalidad, porque verdaderamente tú sabes ésta es una sociedad, digamos, brutal. Esta sociedad está mal organizada. Esta sociedad, digamos, así cómo está estructurada, digamos, está condicionada para producir en la gente un sentido, digamos, de inferioridad, un sentido de infelicidad, un sentido, digamos, de pena, de amargura, de frustración de los sentimientos. Es una sociedad mal organizada, digamos, que crea todas estas taras. Entonces la mayoría de la gente verdaderamente no es feliz, te digo. Entonces los pocos que logran ser felices es porque han logrado, digamos, un alto desarrollo psicológico e intelectual, cultural, digamos, mental, digamos, de experiencia acumulada que los pone sobre el nivel, digamos, de toda la miseria que produce esta maldita sociedad. No hay duda en eso. La experiencia me ha mostrado eso. Claro, entonces, yo por eso he logrado

sobrevivir bien, te fijas. Pero un montón de chilenos no, porque tú sabes aquí han habido montones de chilenos y chilenas que se han separados de sus parejas. Se han separado una, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco veces. Yo conozco chilenos, chilenas separados varias veces que tienen hijos en Chile, hijos acá, tienen hijos con una chilena, hijos con una inglesa, hijos con una argelina, con una hindú, te fija, una vida miserable en ese aspecto o fracasada o aproblemada - como tú la quieres llamar - pero verdaderamente ellos no son felices. No sé. Un montón de chilenos que son desgraciados en ese aspecto, infelices en ese aspecto. No es porque ellos lo quieren. Bueno, a veces ellos también se lo buscan porque hay cada miserable.

Q
¿Cómo ves la sociedad chilena? Bueno, sé que no has regresado a Chile pero tu mujer sí.

A
No pero conozco igual que tú. Igual que tú. Mira, a través del Partido, a través de los cientos de chilenos que van, todos los chilenos de mi grupo, del Partido Socialista chileno, tenemos un núcleo organizado que sigue funcionando. Todos los chilenos de mi grupo que van por allá, cuando llegan, rinden un informe en una de nuestras reuniones. "Ésta es la opinión que yo traigo de Chile. Esto es lo que conversa allá. Esto es lo que yo vi. Todos estos son los cambios que he notado." Un informe completísimo. Entonces, te fija, que tengo una tremenda riqueza de información porque lo importante que son experiencias variadas, ¿te fijas? De repente llega un sesudo profesor universitario que dice, "¡Yo fui a Chile y ésta es la opinión que tengo!" Pero de repente va un obrero no más que apenas sabe leer y escribir pero él también es capaz. Llega una mujer, un sociólogo, un antropólogo, un periodista. Una tremenda diversidad de opiniones. Bueno, revistas que llegan y traen también. Yo por muchos años estaba inscrito a una revista, me la mandaba mi mamá todas las semanas. Entonces estamos, te digo, tenemos información, digamos, casi precisa de lo que pasa en Chile. No es problema eso de ir siguiendo los acontecimientos chilenos del exterior, te digo. Por ejemplo, en la época en que Pinochet dirigía, digamos, los destinos de Chile, la gente mejor informada de todo lo que pasaba en Chile no eran los chilenos que vivían en Chile. Éramos nosotros. Te digo esa cuestión es una verdad irrefutable. Nosotros teníamos información, como decimos, al hueso, al callo de cada cosa que pasaba en Chile. Entonces no es difícil. No es difícil.

Q
Cuando hablábamos de esta miseria humana, por así llamarla, decías la miseria de esta sociedad pero me queda la ambigüedad. ¿Te referías solamente a Gran Bretaña?

A
No, no. Mira, tú sabes bien que ahora el sistema capitalista está globalizado y existe lo mismo en todas partes. Sabemos bien que ¿cuál es el país de más alta criminalidad en el mundo? Estados Unidos. ¿Cuál es el país con más locos del mundo? Justamente Estados Unidos y todos los países desarrollados donde hay más locura, te fijas. Porque es el sistema el que crea a esta gente, digamos. Los crea porque los derrota primeramente. El sistema derrota los seres humanos. Los derrota. Y por eso que la gran mayoría quedan locos porque no tienen recursos. Hay una cantidad de locos circulando por todos lados aquí y en todos los países y especialmente ahora te digo con esta cuestión del uso indiscriminado del *mobile*. Yo te digo la locura va a empezar a crecer en una forma gigante porque la gente no sabe, no tiene ni idea y son la gente pobre la que más compran y usan que le produce tumores cerebral. El uso excesivo de este *mobile* produce tumores por la

radiación que despiden los *mobiles*. Y si los usan aquí al lado de los testículos le va a producir un tumor en el testículo derecho y si los usan acá atrás al lado de los riñones, le va a producir un tumor en el riñón. Los primeros que comprobaron fueron los militares porque como los militares usan toda esta cuestión de las armas peligrosas, digamos, los radares, las bombas atómicas, toda esta cuestión. Ellos fueron los primeros que hicieron estudios de los efectos de *mobile* en la posible conducta humana y ellos fueron los primeros que descubrieron y los militares que trabajan en todos los lugares sensitivos les tenían totalmente prohibido el uso del *mobile* y recomiendan que afuera tampoco, en la vida civil tampoco lo usen porque les va a dañar el cerebro. Después la universidad también empezó a hacer estudios independientes y también comprobaron lo mismo: que produce un daño. Y después hubo, digamos, grupos científicos pero el problema es que los grupos científicos algunos están pagados. Por ejemplo, ahora hace poco se descubrió que también además, mira, es un estudio serio: un estudio de cuatro años que costó dos millones y medio de libras. ¿Cuál fue la conclusión? Que además que el uso excesivo del *mobile* produce, digamos, tumores, afecta a la cuestión del DNA, la cuestión genética. Al otro día que ellos publicaron en una revista famosa, un supuesto sabio dijo - por supuesto él está pagado por las compañías que producen los móviles - "No," dijo, "No está probado científicamente que el uso del *mobile* produzca daño al DNA." Mira, bueno, esta cuestión la sabemos de memoria. Sí las compañías cigarreras tabaqueras negaron por 150 años que el cigarrillo producía cáncer. Después de 150 años nos dijeron que sí y vino la petición de las compensaciones. Bueno, estas gigantescas compañías que son millonarias que hacen los *mobiles* van a negar también por 100 o 200 años si fuera necesario que los *mobiles* dañan la salud. No hay duda. Lo van a negar todo el tiempo.

Q
¿Cuál es la conexión entre tu postura de cambio, de transformar la sociedad, y tu trabajo artístico, tu creación?

A
Ya. *Easy, yeah!* Te voy a decir porque es súper fácil eso. Porque todo lo que yo he escrito está conectado, digamos. Yo escribo lo que le llaman, le llaman, los expertos lo llaman "literatura creativa no ficticia" le llaman pero también le llaman "literatura testimonial". Por eso, mira, yo todo lo que escribo está relacionado con lo que ha sido mi experiencia como ser humano y, digamos, como individuo, como esposo y como amante, etcétera. Por ejemplo, aquí tengo una poesía a mi esposa: "Esposa, amiga, amante". ¿Te fija? Tiene una tremenda importancia esto. Yo he vivido casi cuarenta años con ella, te fija. Esa cuestión también ha determinado mi vida. Fíjate qué casualidad le escribo a mi mamá también. Qué bonito. "Mi mamá nos decía. Hijos míos, nos decía, para nosotros los pobres la educación es lo más valioso en la vida. Mujer visionaria, luchador ejemplar. La vida es dura, egoísta, brutal. Tú la has hecho un poco dulce con amor maternal y sabiduría proletaria." ¿Te fijas? Un homenaje a mi mamá. ¿Por qué? Porque también he sido un tipo feliz con mi relación con la madre, porque tú sabes especialmente los hombres. Yo siempre le mi hija decía, "Mira, nunca te metas con un hombre, primero averigua toda la relación hogareña familiar que tuvo." Mira, no existe ningún hombre que si tuvo una relación mala con la mamá pueda ser un buen amante o un buen esposo. Va a ser miserable porque - a lo mejor hay excepciones pero es una regla general - porque solamente si uno tuvo una relación buena con la mamá uno va a poder ser buen amante o buen esposo. No hay duda. Todos los psicólogos lo dicen. Entonces hombres que fueron abandonados por la mamá cuando eran niños porque la mamá era prostituta, porque se fue con otro. y hayan quedado sin el cariño maternal va a ser un mal hombre. No hay duda en eso. Va a quedar dañado

psicológicamente. Importante. Yo fui feliz con mi mamá así que puedo ser feliz con mi señora también, ¿te fijas? Este poema es para Pinochet, los dictadores, lo hallaron muy bueno: "Ultra Ego". Digamos, el egoísmo y la vanidad lleva al exceso. Bueno, y después, mira, aquí un poema sobre mi hermano. Y ¿por qué lo pongo ahí? Porque resulta que mi hermano era estudiante universitario de la Universidad Técnica de Valdivia, era dirigente del Partido Comunista, de la juventud chilena del Partido Comunista, lo tomaron preso para el golpe, lo tuvieron tres meses y lo golpearon brutalmente y le dañaron los riñones, los dos riñones se los dejaron malos y después él salió bajo libertad condicional y se arrancó a Argentina y en Argentina se murió porque no pudo encontrar trasplante de riñones y se murió po' y tenía 25 años de edad. ¿Mm? ¿Qué les parece? Entonces ahí está su historia, ¿te fijas? Determinante. Además que todo lo que yo escribo es una denuncia contra la brutalidad del fascismo chileno. La otra: "La razón de la sinrazón". Éste era un profesor primario amigo mío que en Valdivia dijeron que era extremista y lo metieron preso y lo ejecutaron con el Comandante Pepe, creo que se llamaba, un tipo Mirista, y era un pianista de calidad excepcional. Y era un buen muchacho. Era joven también. Ejecutado en la Cárcel de Valdivia. Aquí está su historia. Después la otra: "El salto mortal". Y a todos estos yo los conozco. Son amigos personales míos. Estos cuentos les impresionaron mucho a los ingleses. Varios ingleses me dijeron, a mí esta cuestión me llena de orgullo, porque yo recuerdo algunos comentarios de los lectores ingleses que digamos, mira, si uno escribe algo y a la gente común y corriente no le gusta, no le hace un sentido, ahí uno es un mal escritor. Un buen escritor es cuando la gente, público común y corriente encuentra que lo que uno escribe es más o menos bueno. Ahí, digamos, uno podría ser considerado un escritor más o menos bueno. Si tú no llegas a la gente, no tocas a la gente, uno no vale nada como escritor. Entonces, mira, al respecto de estos cuentos, uno me dijo, "*Man, you scare me*". Mira, para mí, eso fue el máximo, ¿te fijas? Otro dijo, "O, estos cuentos," dijo, "son como cuentos de terror. Son políticos pero a mí me impresionaron porque es como algo de espanto, de terror". Bueno y justamente.

Q
¿Es parte de tu intención el remecer tan fuertemente la persona?

A
Bueno, sí claro. Es toda una técnica. O la técnica que usan los abogados de que tú presentas un personaje como una victima. Si tú lo presentas como una victima, el objeto es provocar la simpatía del lector y si tú además de eso, que en este caso no había que agregarle nada, digamos, fue el terror de Pinochet, el terror de Pinochet es lo que está aterrorizando en este caso a un lector inglés, ¿te fijas? Yo ahí no hago nada. Estoy contando no más y el terror producido por Pinochet es que lo que capta un lector inglés, digamos, español, italiano o sueco, como sea, porque lo leyó una mujer sueca también y lo halló muy bueno. Y entonces ésa es la historia de éste, un profesor primario genio como pianista ejecutado porque según los militares era extremista, era terrorista. Nunca había disparado un tiro, ¿te fijas? Y éste también lo hallaron muy bueno aquí. "Así habla un desparecido", y este título tiene una conexión con otro, no es una copia pero una idea, esto de Friedrich Nietzsche, *Así habló Zaratustra*. Entonces: "Así habla un desparecido", una cuestión impactante. *Así habló Zaratustra*. "Así habla un desaparecido". Un montón de gente, claro, no va a captar pero solamente los expertos dirían, "Ah, éste es una especie de copia de Nietzsche". Ésta es la historia de un amigo mío también, se llamaba César Lara. Era el director provincial de educación en Osorno desparecido hasta este momento. No lo encontraron nunca más. Bueno. Y aquí yo cuento toda su historia po', ¿te fijas? Este cuento es impactante. Todos los que han leído este cuento han quedado *in shock* y se lo

dedico a éste, mira, una británica pero de descendencia judía. Ella era catedrática en la Universidad de Sheffield experta en economía y en política. Nos ayudó a nosotros a aprender inglés. Gratis. Ella se ofreció voluntaria e iba a las casas de los chilenos enseñando inglés. Era una mujer excepcional. Fue regidora también. Nosotros ayudábamos su campaña en Rotherham. Fue elegida. Pero tenía un problema. Como todo el ser humano tenemos una tara. Tenemos uno, dos o tres taras que tenemos escondida. Ésta, sabes tú, que era una fumadora excesiva. Fumaba, fumaba, fumaba. Tenía como 57 años cuando murió po'. Y era súper culta. Era catedrática universitaria. Y era revolucionaria y nunca pudo parar de fumar. Iba a tratamientos. Gastó un dineral. Iba a clases para dejar de fumar. Se internaba cuando tenía vacaciones en lugares, colegios especiales que hay donde siguen toda una rutina, los tienen ahí, le cobran un dineral. Y hacía lo posible por dejar de fumar pero nunca pudo y se murió no más. Cáncer a la garganta o, no sé, a los pulmones. Entonces la literatura mía está conectada, digamos, con la brutal experiencia de la vida personal mía y de Chile y de la gente en general. ¿Te fijas? Y es una literatura de denuncia, de protesta, digamos, y una vez a un profesor de inglés yo le dije, porque él preguntó así, "Bueno y ¿por qué escribimos? ¿Por qué creen ustedes que la gente escribe? Bueno, demos razones." Yo dije, "También uno puede escribir como venganza." Quedó espantado. "Pero ¿cómo uno va a escribir como venganza? Yo nunca podría escribir como venganza." "Claro po'", dije yo. "Yo además", le dije, "por un montón de razones también escribo como venganza porque yo todo lo que escribo es una denuncia contra el abuso de Pinochet, en la mayoría de mis escritos. Bueno y ha sido una especie de venganza porque yo me quiero vengar de todos los abusos y atropellos de Pinochet y allí están los ejemplos." "Ah", dijo. Entonces, por ejemplo, en este otro libro, mira, vuelve a lo mismo. Este cuento que puse acá, "La oscuridad ha llegado". Ésta es la historia del momento cuando los cuatro agentes de seguridad me fueron a buscar a mi casa en la noche. Tengo todo aquí: las 10.30 de la noche me fueron a buscar los servicios de seguridad de Pinochet y me llevaron y me tuvieron desaparecido por un mes en un lugar secreto y después me llevaron a la cárcel y allí estuve y no pude salir nunca más después de tres años hasta llegar al exilio. Entonces ésta es mi historia. Toda la historia: el interrogatorio, cómo se comportaban los agentes y cómo me comportaba yo, digamos, como victima y prisionero. Ésta es mi historia. Entonces es eso. Una denuncia.

Q
¿Podrías escribir algo que no tuviera que ver con denuncia?

A
¡Lógico! También porque resulta que un escritor tiene que ser creativo. Y, claro, uno aunque a veces no tiene una experiencia puede crear algo a través, digamos, de lo que se llama una investigación: investigando un fenómeno o una experiencia y recopilando evidencia y aquí yo tengo varios, bueno, dos, tres. Aquí, por ejemplo, en este libro, digamos, habían tres ejemplos. Uno se llama "Adicción oscura" y que es una especie, digamos, de protesta por la cultura que hay acá en Europa de esta actitud fácil por el consumo de la droga porque aquí yo te digo un montón de gente incluso culta, civilizada cree que las drogas no hacen mal y toman drogas. Y entonces aquí yo hago una denuncia brutal contra el uso de la droga y es más o menos aceptable, te fija, por lo menos una cuestión y como yo nunca he tomado droga yo tenía que más o menos conseguir, como dicen los ingleses, el *feeling* de qué lo que piensan y sienten los que toman drogas. Entonces hice una tremenda *research* sobre esto para poder interiorizar, capturar, digamos, sí y lo encontraron muy bueno y el Alfredo Cordal me dijo. "Oye", me dijo. "Tú parece que también tomas drogas, ¿ah?"

Q
Entonces ¿cuál sería tu espacio de creación ideal?

A
Bueno, uno tiene que escribir, digamos, sobre lo que verdaderamente siente sobre, digamos, lo que a uno lo entusiasma, lo apasiona. O sea, uno como escritor no puede mentir. Uno tiene que ser honesto. Tiene que ser directo. Tiene que ser sincero. Eso es lo más, tiene que sentir, digamos, con pasión del asunto. Es como los cantantes. Mira, yo inventé algo porque nunca lo escuchaba, yo creo que lo inventé. Yo cuando escucho un cantante, hombre o mujer, es bueno, yo digo, "Ay, este cantante", si es hombre, yo digo, "este cantante no solamente canta" - porque toda creación es una cuestión intelectual también - "no solamente canta, digamos, con el cerebro pero también canta con el corazón pero también canta con los testículos". Una cuestión sexual. Y si es mujer, "Ah", digo, "canta con el cerebro, el corazón y con el útero", te fijas, porque hay toda una conexión. Entonces solamente, digamos, si tú expresas de alguna manera esas tres cosas tan importantes en la vida de un ser humano, tú podís provocar un impacto, podís captar la atención de la gente, sino olvídate no más: uno crea cuestiones así superficiales, muy vanas, muy simples, te fija. Entonces uno tiene que ponerle de todo. Claro. Es importante.

Q
Y cuando regreses a Chile, ¿tú vas a continuar con tu trabajo literario?

A
Sí, lógico. Mira, la pasión de mi vida - fuera de mi familia, de mis hijos, digamos, la amistad que yo encuentro muy importante también, porque todos ésos son cosas que a nosotros nos hacen felices, digamos, la vida familiar, los hijos, los amigos, los grupos a los que pertenecemos - pero también, digamos, en el caso mío mi vida ha sido una cuestión de lucha política. Yo llevo 44 años de lucha política, metido activamente sin parar, todas las semanas, todos los días, todos los años, luchando por un ideal y también esta obra se conectó esta cuestión con la literatura. Más o menos desde cuando tenía cincuenta, o sea, ya van como 15 años que estoy dedicado todos los días a la literatura. Escribo. Todos los días escribo, que es otra cuestión: la literatura tú tienes que practicarla todos los días, una, dos, tres horas sin parar, sin parar. Bueno y eso, digamos, es lo que a mí me provoca felicidad y, claro, yo me voy a morir escribiendo - esté en Chile, aquí o en China o en Japón - voy a seguir escribiendo, digamos. Ya es una cuestión lo que se llama, allá pasa a ser una cuestión, un reflejo condicionado, una manía, una pasión absorbente, te digo, de locura.

Q
Cuéntame sobre el rol que ha tenido la Embajada en el desarrollo artístico-cultural de la comunidad y, por último, que me hables de la experiencia del piquete. ¿Cómo funcionó el arte dentro de este proceso de protesta?

A
¿De qué arte me hablas? [*laughs*] Bueno, mira, en nuestras relaciones con el trabajo de la Embajada y el Consulado, yo te puedo hablar en dos planos: a nivel de mi partido político - Partido Socialista chileno que tiene un núcleo acá, todo el tiempo lo ha tenido desde el primer día del exilio hasta hoy - y mi experiencia personal. Mira, te digo, por ejemplo, que durante los 17 años que, digamos, hubo aquí una Embajada y un Consulado

representando la política de Pinochet yo a nivel individual no fui *nunca jamás* al Consulado ni a la Embajada. Jamás yo puse mis pies ni en el Consulado ni Embajada. Como una protesta también contra el brutal régimen de Pinochet. Entonces algunos trámites que ocasionalmente tuvimos que hacer como la inscripción, digamos, de nuestros dos hijos hombres para la cuestión de servicio militar para que no queden con una especie de infracción que aparece allí. Ellos fueron. Entonces mi esposa los acompañó. Y así ocasionalmente. Nunca jamás tuve pasaporte chileno en esa época sino que viajaba con el pasaporte del *Home Office*. Azul. Todo el tiempo usé eso. Con eso viajaba. Entonces allí queda claro y tampoco el Partido Socialista chileno tampoco tuvo ningún contacto jamás. Solamente nosotros nos acercamos a la Embajada y al Consulado cuando Pinochet, digamos, desapareció del mapa político y aparecieron los Gobiernos civiles y los Embajadores y Cónsules civiles. Y ahí nos acercamos medios tímidos, ¿ah? Porque la verdad sea dicha actividades, digamos, culturales artísticas que la Embajada y Consulado hubiera iniciado en conjunto o para el beneficio de los exiliados o de la comunidad aquí, digamos, ha sido mínimo. Pocas. Bien básicas y bien simples. La única Agregada Cultural que hizo un poco más aquí, digamos, para relacionarse con la comunidad fue la Carmen Gloria Dunnage. Mira, de los otros encargados culturales nosotros nunca supimos nada. No los conocimos, no les supimos sus nombres. Pasaron por aquí sin pena ni gloria. Habían, pero todos ellas o ellos solamente se dedicaban, digamos, a las acciones o, digamos, oficiales comunes que desarrolla un gobierno que realiza alguna actividad cultural y artística a través de su Embajada pero ésas son, digamos, cosas normales no más, que viene un pianista, llámemele chileno, aquí y hace una actuación o un cantante o un pintor pero totalmente desconectado con la gente chilena que había acá que son miles ¿te fijas? Montones de ellos nunca nosotros supimos quiénes habían sido. Mira, un ejemplo concreto: a pesar de que ya llevamos tres gobiernos civiles, y a mí que me gustan tanto las actividades literarias, culturales y artísticas, te digo, jamás ninguna encargada cultural me han invitado a un acto a mí. Nunca. Como individuo. ¡Jamás! Cero. Y eso te dice mucho. Dice mucho. Yo, claro, iba porque por otros medios sabía que va a venir alguien que a mí me gusta. Por ejemplo, aquí tengo prueba. Una vez vino, digamos, Bolaño, el famoso Roberto Bolaño y yo fui po' pero a mí no me invitaron nadie. Yo fui porque a mí me gusta eso. ¿Te fija? Y porque el escritor además es muy bueno y allí yo le hice una crítica literaria a uno de sus libros. [*shows copy of* Anoche en Chile] Es un libro excelente. Después cuando murió también escribí algo sobre él porque, digamos, él me impresionó mucho. Vino también este compadre. También fuimos. [*shows Jorge Edwards information*] Bueno, nadie me invitó, ¿te fijas? Y ellos tienen, en teoría, ellos tienen todos los datos de los chilenos acá pero yo no tengo idea por qué no informan. Tengo otra crítica literaria de una española que es un libro muy bueno. Esto te lo tengo de regalo. Éste es el último libro de Gabriel García Márquez; esto lo van a publicar pronto en el diario *Noticias*, en el próximo número va a aparecer éste. Se lo paso a usted para que tenga como prueba.

Q
Y cuéntame sobre el piquete.

A
Ya, mira, bueno, nosotros con el piquete tuvimos una experiencia muy desagradable porque como grupo político nosotros creímos que podíamos tener una buena conexión de trabajo conjunto y de unidad, digamos, para protestar contra todo lo que afectaba Pinochet en esa época, presentar un frente unido. Entonces nosotros pedimos una reunión con los dirigentes del piquete que en ese tiempo era: Vicente Alegría era uno y dos más que no recuerdo pero Vicente era el principal representante y dijeron, "Ya, en primer término, ya

nos sentamos un día." Y nosotros fuimos pero ¡no llegó nadie! Y ahí nos dimos cuenta de que ellos no van a querer. O sea, no aceptaron esta idea de un frente unido contra Pinochet mientras estuviera acá en Londres y lo que hicieron ellos, se organizaron en forma separada e independiente como piquete y dejaron fuera de su grupo, digamos, a toda la gente que en teoría apoyaba las políticas de la Concertación. Ésa fue, digamos, la cuestión central. Se organizaron porque ellos siempre creyeron de que, siempre opinaban de que los gobiernos democráticos que han habido después de la caída política de Pinochet han seguido, digamos, con las políticas pinochetistas y, digamos, son una especie de Pinochet disfrazado, una cosa así. Entonces nosotros estamos en desacuerdo con eso. Entonces ellos controlaron todo y nos dejaron de lado sencillamente. Nosotros levantábamos otra organización paralela más pequeña pero con diferentes contactos pero ellos se llevaron el peso porque era más fácil, era pura acción directa prácticamente y lo que les ayudó es que la gran mayoría de ellos, por lo menos los más activos, no trabajaban. Nosotros siempre hemos trabajado y ellos, la gran mayoría, digamos, algunos ya estaban jubilados y otros vivían de la seguridad social, dinero que reciben del seguro social. Entonces tenían todo el día libre para ir y protestar y estar. Estar en todas las paradas. Entonces eso les favoreció mucho pero fue desde nuestro punto un acto, digamos, sectaria, dogmática, de los integrantes del piquete en contra de todas las políticas de los gobiernos civiles que han habido en Chile y que han jugado un rol importante en la vida chilena. ¿Quién podría, digamos, menos menoscabar el trabajo valioso que han realizado los gobiernos democráticos de la Concertación en Chile? Habría que ser, digamos, un ignorante político para rechazar de plano todo el lado positivo de los gobiernos democráticos. Entonces eso sería lo que yo brevemente podría decir.

Q
O sea, ¿lo que me estás contando es que la comunidad chilena está fragmentada por una cuestión política?

A
Sí, claro. *Sí*, exactemente. Sí, especialmente acá. Ha sido muy dura. Todavía hasta este momento, digamos. Hay dos grupos, digamos, irreconciliables: aquellos chilenos que apoyan, por supuesto sabemos bien de que los gobiernos democráticos y el último gobierno de Lagos no es un gobierno democrático perfecto, ni todo lo está haciendo perfecto. Todavía hay un montón de problemas que solucionar, pero es la mejor, digamos, solución que se podría encontrar hasta la fecha. No hay otra. ¿Te fijas? Con todos los defectos y con todas las trabas que hay, con todas las trabas que dejó la dictadura de Pinochet y esa cuestión habría que decirla y los otros chilenos que están en un trabajo que le llamen en Chile "extraparlamentario". En Chile le llama "la oposición extraparlamentaria", digamos, donde están el Partido Comunista, los pequeños grupos, digamos, de descendencia más extremista como individuos del MIR, que como partido ya no existe en Chile pero todavía quedan Miristas que están aliados, digamos, tienen una alianza con el Partido Comunista, Miristas sueltos, gente, digamos, del Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez y grupitos del Mapu, grupitos de la Izquierda Cristina y montones de pequeños grupúsculos de la ultraizquierda chilena y por supuesto son minoría. No representan ninguna, digamos, salida masiva importante para Chile. Son grupos que están destinados, digamos, a actuar en la periferia. No hay duda de eso.

¿Qué más? Oye, lo otro, una pregunta sobre la segunda generación o tercera es importante, sabes, porque tengo experiencia con mis hijos. Mira, al respecto eso, yo quiero decir brevemente que una de las cosas que me impresionó respecto, digamos, a mis hijos

porque está conectado con todo esto que hablábamos de la cuestión intelectual, de la cuestión de la psicología, digamos, de la política, de todos los avances, digamos, en el estudio del comportamiento humano. Es que con mi hijo menor, yo descubrí algo que yo antes yo ya sabía, por supuesto, de que es, que es el medio ambiente social en que uno se desarrolla, lo que determina nuestro comportamiento. Entonces, todas las ideas que nosotros teníamos metidos en nuestro cerebro, en nuestros sentimientos, provienen, digamos, de la idea y sentimiento que nos entregó nuestra familia, nuestros amigos, nuestros compañeros de escuela, nuestros compañeros de trabajo, nuestros compañeros de partidos, el ambiente social, la prensa, la radio, la televisión, toda una maraña, una red que nos está, digamos, formando a nosotros en cada país, por supuesto. Y resulta que yo aquí con mi hijo menor, me di cuenta de esa verdad tan esencial porque como él llegó de tres años aquí y él además se parece a la mamá, digamos, levemente rubio, cutis blanco y parece un inglés y además, digamos, que como llegó tan chiquitito aprendió mejor inglés, inglés perfecto, todos sus amiguitos fueron ingleses, él siguió toda la estructura educacional que hay acá, la preparvularia, la primaria, la segundaria y los *colleges* y después se formó, digamos, en los *training colleges* para conseguir una profesión y entonces ahí yo me di cuenta, por supuesto con espanto, de que la influencia que nosotros podríamos darle como familia no se podía comparar con la influencia del modo de vida inglés y él, te digo, es un perfecto inglés. Él piensa como un inglés, actúa como inglés, siente como inglés y, para remate, es como una puñalada al corazón para mí, es Conservador, ¿te fijas? ¡Entonces allí yo me di cuenta de la influencia fundamental del medio ambiente! Mira, un chileno que llega acá, que se convierte, digamos, al modo de vida inglés. ¿Por qué? Porque él prácticamente ha vivido toda su vida, ahora tiene 33 años, 30 años de influencia. Por supuesto sus novias han sido inglesas y tiene una niñita inglesa y todo es, digamos, en el modo de vida, inglés. Y él, por supuesto, no quiere saber nada de Chile. No le interesa Chile. No le interesa la familia porque él tiene todas sus conexiones aquí con Inglaterra, te fija, con los ingleses. Y, bueno, qué le vamos a hacer, ¿te fijas? ¡Pero es una verdad irrefutable! Que es para mí una lección magistral de toda esta teoría que hay sobre el proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje. Allí está definida una forma, pero te digo, ¡perfecta! Hay un caso famoso: el Michael Portillo, que fue el líder máximo del Partido Conservador y que pudo llegar a ser el Primer Ministro, es hijo de un republicano socialista que llegó acá refugiado. Es hijo de él, te fija, también pero es que también él llegó niñito acá o creo que nació acá. Y Conservador también. [*laughs*] Porque la esencia de esta sociedad, digamos, es conservadora. Fuimos derrotados por el sistema nuevamente.

Q
¿Y cómo reaccionan ante tu literatura? Porque tu literatura tiene muchas referencias a Chile.

A
Mira, no, te digo. Esto lo toca así secundariamente. Mira, él nunca me ha dado una opinión. Yo apenas he publicado mis libros yo le mando a él un libro de regalo y a su señora y a mi familia en Israel porque una de mis hermanas vive en Israel por treinta años. Tiene tres hijos. Mira, aquí también allí la influencia cultural, mira. Mi hermana al golpe militar era estudiante en Santiago y también la metieron presa en el Estadio Chile. Ella vio morir montones de sus amigos, estudiantes, baleados, porque tú sabes rodearon la Universidad Técnica y los francotiradores en la noche disparaban a los estudiantes, mataron a un montón allí, como cerca de 10 o 12 murieron en sus brazos y quedó *in shock*, te digo. Tenía unas pesadillas terribles después. Entonces ella se fue a vivir a Israel y allá se formó sus niños. Por suerte su marido es de Izquierda también pero sabes tú que ¡ella ahora

apoya a Sharon! ¡Al guatón Sharon! ¡Al fascista! Ella soporta las políticas de él. ¡Y era militante la Juventud Comunista en Chile! [*laughs*] Pero es que ella ya vive treinta años allá y todo el Estado de Israel se lo ha dado a ella. Porque es súper inteligente. Seis meses la tenían internada. Aprendió en seis meses el hebreo y trabajó por los servicios de seguridad, digamos, de la Fuerza Aérea porque ella le cuida, siguió cursos de parvularia porque en Chile sacó un título de ingeniera en Chile pero allá, pero como en Israel hay mucho machismo, una mujer dirigiendo obreros allí, entonces ella se especializó y ella le cuida los hijos a los oficiales, comandantes, generales de la Fuerza Aérea israelita. Entonces la prepararon y ella es agente de seguridad ahora, te fija. ¡Cómo nos cambia la vida! [*laughs*]

Q
¿Has podido hacer un seguimiento a la política cultural de Lagos?

A
No, mira, la política cultural de Lagos no tengo idea. No sé prácticamente nada excepto que a través de Dicoex. Han habido un montón de iniciativas para que acá en exilio se presente proyectos culturales. Había, digamos, toda una tentativa del Gobierno de Lagos por lo menos que acá en el exilio hayan actividades culturales que estén conectados con Chile y han habido ofrecimientos, digamos, y por ejemplo esta campaña que se inició de los cien años de Neruda fue un éxito gigante en todo el planeta. Nosotros acá hicimos montones de actos. Mira, ahí tengo dos, te lo puedes llevar. Hicimos otros actos pero aquí tengo de dos no más. Hay una evidencia.

Q
Cuando regreses a Chile, para poder continuar con tu trabajo literario, ¿qué tipo de espacios necesitarías?

A
Te digo. Simple. En mi opinión, yo no necesito ningún espacio ni ninguna ayuda, digamos, estatal o organización o organismo, porque todos los grandes creadores o medianos o pequeños pero que tienen coraje logran producir sus obras. Si hay una persona, digamos, que quiere hacer algo creativo y no tiene medios, sencillamente busca papel, busca cartón, busca pedazos de carpetas viejas y con eso crea una obra, digamos, artística. Y, como tú sabes, digamos, escribir es bien fácil. O sea, lo único que uno tiene que tener es papel y un lápiz no más. Y hay un ejemplo que mientras, digamos, existía el brutal, digamos, estalinismo de la Unión Soviética hubo escritores soviéticos que en forma clandestina y algunos después obtuvieron Premio Nóbel escribían. Entonces no había política para ellos. Todo lo contrario. Había una política para perseguirlos, meterlos preso en un campo de concentración, pero ellos se rebelaron contra eso y a pesar de que el Estado omnipotente los odiaba, los perseguía y los quería prácticamente asesinar o poner en un campo de concentración, ellos crearon y desafiaron al Estado totalitario y triunfaron. Entonces ¿qué? ¿Qué me vienen a pedir?

Interview with visual artist, second generation

Q
If you could begin by telling me a little about your Chilean background.

A
We came to England - me, my mum and my brother - and my father had been killed in Chile. And we went to this strange city. And there were other Chileans there and there was a small kind of community of Chilean families. And a few years later my mum married an Englishman and we changed our names. Not immediately, in fact, but we went through a process where my two new parents, if you like, my mum and her husband, adopted the two boys kind-of-thing for legal reasons, one of which was the fact that my brother was approaching the age where he'd have to do national service as a Chilean citizen and obviously we didn't want to have to do that so, through the process of adoption by an Englishman, we were given British passports at that stage and so, as I was quite young, at least my life began to normalise very quickly, you know. I was six when my parents married and eleven I think when the adoption happened. During that time, you know, we had a normal kind of family life and, you know, pretty happy time as a kid after the initial difficulties of being a refugee, my mum not knowing the language. I was too young, so I learnt English as a normal child really, so you know now I would probably say I'm a "former refugee". I'm not in exile. I live in the country where I grew up and I'm safe and things like that, so there are different kinds of nuances what a refugee is even within the kind of tightly defined legal definition. You know, I'm more keenly aware than most people what an asylum-seeker is and what a refugee is. There are other kinds of classifications I suppose as well: economic migrant, internally displaced person, things like that, so one of the strengths I think I had when I was, for example, trying to get design work from an organisation like the Refugee Council is that I had an insight into what it means. So it's not just a bold empathy. It was actually based on experience as well, which I think, you know, adds a bit of credibility to what I do visually. That's not to say I can only work for a refugee organisation, but for me that was the first step away for a charity worth working for: an organisation which has different communication needs to a commercial one, I think, and that's kind of quite a strong part of my CV.

Q
Could you describe to me how art, how your work, has helped you in the process you've just described?

A
I kind of separate design and art, I think. My profession really is a designer, although I do, you know, a few of the things like I showed you with music, things for gallery. It generally boils down to graphic communication. And it took me a while to find that, I think. I didn't really know. As a school kid, I didn't know about graphic design necessarily. I knew a bit about advertising. I knew a bit about just visual culture generally. But a lot of my focus was on fine art and the history of art and things like that. So at the stage I decided to be a designer, I had read more about fine art than I had about graphic design. They're very closely interlinked with ideas of meaning and semiotics and things like that pretty close but also, you know, when you're confused about who you are, art helps. Any kind of form of self-expression helps you to do that: to kind of resolve all those questions. And I think it has helped me quite a lot to be honest. I

feel, not rooted to a particular place, but I feel kind of confident in who *I* am, if you like, and what I do and how I might change as well. It's a kind of thing that is perhaps linked to living in different countries, growing up in a different country to that of your birth and things like; that it's not surprising for me that I'm me living in another country still and have just spent two years in Switzerland. Things like that. Emotionally it wasn't a problem anyway, but it might have been for another kind of person, another more rooted person to one particular place, so further to that I think it helps you discover yourself certainly. It helps you to work things out. It helps you to meet people who are also discovering similar things. And, you know, I was very keen, for example, when I was doing the work on Pinochet for it not to be simply some sort of cathartic process, that it was all about me and how *I* feel. For me, it was almost like an added part to the campaign firstly, communicating and dispelling myths. And so I really looked at the media coverage and things like that and tried to analyse the media coverage and where people were coming from within the media in England and also some other sources. And it was important to me that it's not just kind of therapy but more a useful tool, which is why I've always gone towards that graphic thing. Because I felt that it has some sort of use, some kind of purpose, whereas, like, arts can be deeply moving and stuff but in very abstract and vague terms. So I was sort of interested in the kind of middle ground where you put things in unusual places and you have a freedom to kind of do things a little bit differently but also to have, as you say, that impact. It's quite important. And I think, even if it's on a small scale, - I mean, it didn't get large coverage or anything like that - but, you know, certainly all the people that I knew were fully up to date with the issues at the time. And so that the people around me, whether they were at college or friends; my girlfriend as well at that time struggled to understand what was going on for me until really the finished piece and then she could see what that year had meant to me, I think. She's an English girl; it kind of made sense to her but only really at the final, final moment. It was kind of as hard for her as it was for me emotionally. And exhausting.

Q
It's really interesting to speak to you because, so far, I've only been in touch with people whom I label as "first-generation" exiles. So you're the first person I've talked to in English. Can you describe other Chileans' situations? People from your generation. What's their experience been?

A
Yeah. I think things affect people in different ways. I mean, you can compare my experience with that of my brother and it's quite a different experience, very different. We're quite different people, in any case. I suppose that something that changes your life as much as having to leave the country at an early age is quite an important point in anybody's life and you always wonder, *What if?* What if my dad hadn't died? Would I still be an artist now? Do you know what I mean? There are so many forks in the path and you only take one. And I guess, you know: what if we hadn't left at that time? What if? I mean, the experience of my father was horrific, you know. It was truly horrific. But I was much more shielded from it. My father was arrested in his own home and tortured in his own home whilst the other people in the family were in another room, one of which was my brother who was a four- or five-year-old child. And that kind of trauma can't be understated, I don't think. I wasn't there and although children are unaware in certain ways but they are very aware in other ways. You can really sense that something's wrong and something is happening way beyond your control and way beyond even your parents' control, which is probably one of the most frightening things for children, I would

say. When you find that the people that you most depend upon are powerless, it's, I imagine, a very big trauma, so my brother's experience is a lot harder, if you like, and he then had a further difficulty when he moved to England, because he was at school age and he was forced to go to the local state primary school in not a very good area where apparently he was bullied. You know, he couldn't speak English. He didn't have ways of defending himself. He was already a frightened child. A lot had happened in his life at that age. And I think it took him a long time to really catch up. You know, he's a bright individual. He always was. But his English suffered. You know, he was five years behind children and at that age that's crucial. He is a very, very different person to me. For example, during the teens, we went back to Chile in 1991 after Pinochet had gone and I remember one time we were discussing who we were, how Chilean we were, how Chilean we felt, things like that and what Chile means to me and things like that. And we had a bit of an argument because he'd almost turned his back on Chile. And he wanted to be English more than anything and his interests were about Englishness almost to an absurd degree. We shared a love for cricket. We both play cricket and loved it and all of his friends played. He was really into it and I think it was the idea of the Englishness of that sport and even colonialism, if you like, the way that the English exported the sport to the colonies and they now come back and play. The idea of the Commonwealth and things like that are amazing and *truly* British. So, you know, he didn't think that Chile meant much to him and I think it was his way of blocking things out, you know. That's natural. It's not a wrong way or a right way to deal with those sort of things and I dealt with it in a different way where I kind of idolised Latin American things. I was interested, for example, more so in football where I could see that the Brazil team was always really good and things like that, you know. I started to look at, I don't know, music, for example, expressions of Latin American music which weren't really around in my, well, we had a bit of Chilean music but when we left Chile, we didn't have anything. It was probably a suitcase, something like that. My mum left all her books, all her referents, all her kind of history. She didn't bring any records, for example, and we weren't in a position to buy music, so although music was really a big part of all our lives. My new dad - my English dad - is a big influence musically on me. A lot of his records are in my collection now, soul and things like that. There was a certain slant. The Nina Simone song is, you know. I became interested in Latin American rhythms and how they were seen in England. You know, if you watch the World Cup in England, all sorts of stereotypes come up. You know, often there's a bit of truth behind them but it *is* a stereotype. It's kind of a bottled identity of a country. So you hear statements like, "The Brazilians will like playing in this heat!" or that kind of thing, you know. Those moments where there's a bit of international community, like the World Cup or other events, musical collaborations and things like that, they're really interesting to me and I think spurred on my interest in music. And it kind of pushed me down a path. Then again, it may have been other events, as I said before. Is that innate? Would I be as interested in music had I stayed in Chile? Maybe. Maybe not. I don't know. It's hard to say. There are so many things that influence your life and have effect on or just bring out in you. I don't know. Who knows?

Q
I wonder if you can answer this question. If not, it doesn't matter. I'd like you to tell me about your mum. Because I interviewed a lady a while ago, and her daughter was born in Britain, and she said something about disconnecting her daughter from Chile as a way of protecting her. What sort of role did your mum play? What did she do in order to link you with Chile?

A
Yeah. Maybe it's part of being Chilean but family is really important. And it may not be but, you know, we were as a unit of five, as I say, during the happy years of my childhood, that our family is very, very strong and I noticed probably more strong than those of my English friends. So there are certain almost ritual things like dinnertime. We would sit down at a table and eat a dinner, often three courses. It would be an event as much as a meal. We were aware of that. So I think my mum's links to her family were still very strong and the family of my father as well. And one of the main things that she did for us that I could say sort of eternally grateful and I think has helped all of her kids to grow up in a reasonably sane way was to actually not hide things from us; not hide the fact that we were from Chile; not hide the fact that our father was killed in kind of brutal circumstances; not hide the fact that she met somebody new whom she loved as much as first time around. You know, all those things were kind of very open and open to interpretation. So, you know, she allowed us to grow in our own ways, so I may have had a slight focus on an interest in Chile. My brother had less of an interest but she didn't criticise either of us for it and didn't make us speak Spanish just because we were Chilean. It obviously helped when we phoned my grandmother on Christmas Day and things like that. You wanted to be able to communicate with these people but it wasn't like a thing where you had to. And I've met Chileans who are critical of the fact that I don't speak much Spanish. They tell you what they think.

Q
Chileans here in the UK?

A
Oh, all over. Not just Chileans. Even Peruvians. If you say that you're Chilean, then they're critical of the fact that you let something go like that. It's quite common for Latin Americans to kind of be defensive about their language, especially if you know about the history of Latin America and the kind of imperialism from the north and all those sort of things. If you were to grow up in the north, if you like, and speak the gringo language, I understand the implication. It's just, you know, I was just maybe a bit too lazy or a bit too kind of doing other things to necessarily speak Spanish all the time and I think also probably sort of because my second dad is English as well. You know, he also recognised the usefulness of being able to speak English well as a first language, especially for the problems my brother had because he got to it so late. So, no. Nothing was really forced on us but we were well-informed. And there's no kind of consequent identity problems about who we are and where we come from, because we were always aware of it. And the knowledge and understanding grows as your capacity grows, so, you know, when we were three years old, I knew that my daddy had died. I didn't necessarily know the full implications of it or what it meant. I didn't really go that far because you don't as a three-year-old. As a teenager, you may think a little bit more and ask a few more questions. And questions were never kind of batted away. They were always answered according to the level that we were at at the time. So I think that was really wise of both my parents: to help us to kind of be settled and secure about who we were which is one of the big issues, especially as a teenager as well. You know, I have a quite analytical mind; it's the way I think but, you know, if you look at the influence of both my, all three of my parents, if you like, then my mum - Chilean - is very different to my dad who's English. They think quite differently. They share a lot of views, if you like, but they think and behave and operate in different ways, which for me, in a way, is like the double influence there is pretty good. I appreciate that. My mum is much more

instinctive and, you know, kind of happy-go-lucky. She's intelligent. She's an academic herself, things like that, but she also has a fun side to her which I think we've all inherited. My dad is more, if you like, bookish or thinking or restrained. It plays off each other and they work well together as a team. You can see that has had a good influence on the three kids.

Q
Thinking about this notion of impact, what sort of spaces would you like Chile to offer you to show your work back in Chile? Are you interested in that? Do you think that's necessary?

A
Necessary for me or for Chile?

Q
For you. For Chile.

A
I don't think anything's "necessary". I think it's important to remember that: that there are different ways of doing things, different priorities and things like that. Obviously, it would be great to go there and do something but also, you know, there are ways of sharing work like the internet which is really useful. My family over there have the internet and see my stuff and, when I went there two years ago, we sat down and we had an afternoon and I showed a lot of my cousins and auntie and their children some of the work that I've done, things like that, and it helped them. In a similar sort of way, there is a myth. You know, until you meet them, until you get to know them, they are myths, you know, in our minds. My cousins all have names but didn't have personalities until I went there. You know, for their kids it was the same sort of thing: "Who is this H. in England?" You know. "What's it like over there?" and things like that and, gradually, as I get older, as our family over here becomes more and more settled and financially stable as well, just as the economy in Chile has the same effect on the family over there, then there is more opportunity for exchange. So, for example, last year my auntie came over with two of her granddaughters on a tour of Europe. We met and they saw Europe up close and, until that point, it had always been kind of a myth in the mind, you know. It's like a dream. I don't know if it's just exile or being an émigré but there's, like, a faraway demeanour to people that I've met. You know, they've kind of had a dreaminess. Most of the Chileans I've met I would say that's true of. And not just Chileans. People from all over. And also people that stayed as well who lost people who moved away. You know, it's like an outline of a story which just doesn't have the details and suddenly you're meeting them and you fill out the details of who people are, you know, of where things are, this place. I think that probably makes me think of literature, Latin American literature as this kind of, the magic realism thing makes me understand it. I can understand it perfectly, you know, when people slip in and out of kind of dreamscapes to realities of dictatorship to, I don't know, a football match. You know, you read some sort of Chilean literature that goes in seamlessly between all sorts of different situations where it probably isn't as easy to do that about England. If you write about England, it's harder to do that, I think. Like the imagery. I don't know how you explain it.

Q

As I said last time we met, the idea of exile didn't mean very much to me because I hadn't met real people with real experiences. And now that you've been in touch with your family back in Chile and you know Chileans who've never left and people our age who were too young to be conscious of what was going on, what's your perception? How do they relate to the issue of Pinochet and exile? Is there a real need to understand what happened or is it just something in the newspapers which had nothing to do with them?

A
I think for me, as far as I know, and I may be ignorant about this, but I think the exiles that left are almost forgotten. They were treated in different ways. When it comes down to it - this is maybe to do with my image of the Chilean psyche, of the Chilean Left - people, just as they are quick to criticise about language, there are people who are criticised for different things like: if you left, is that cowardice? If you stayed, is that braver? Is that somehow better? You know, a lot of my mother's family have an image of her as The Rich Lady From Over There who can, you know, pay to go to Chile when she wants and she doesn't want to come back because she's got a nice life over there. And that's partly true, I suppose, but there was a long time when there was no way she could go back. And I think there are probably things to be resolved about that. And, just as people do a lot of soul-searching, also search other people's souls. For example, something I think about quite a lot is the idea of torture in Chile during and after the coup: that one of the aims of the torture was to get names. And one of the, if you can imagine, which I do, I suppose, that what are you to think? What are you supposed to do? You know, how would you deal with that if it were you? What would you do? You know, all these sort of questions people go through and I think people do think about them and they also think about, for example, people who *did* give names under torture. And, you know, I've heard about kind of criticism of people who did that or I've heard about people who felt guilty for the rest of their lives because they gave a name and then the person died. Do you know what I mean? But, for me, they can't be criticised. How can you criticise someone who's been tortured and, under extreme conditions, gave the name of somebody? And probably didn't give the name of five other people. And how do you blame the victim? It seems to me ludicrous to blame the victim of something like that, than to look at the perpetrators and the support that the perpetrators got. And there's a similar thing, I think, to do with exile. Like: "Those people got out. They were safe." You know. And they don't always think about the difficulties of exile. I mean, you take my mum's case. Her husband had been tortured and killed; murdered, OK, to put it bluntly. She tried to get some sort of justice and was then threatened herself that they would kill her and her children. As a mother, what do you do? Do you continue? Do you put your children in danger? Do you know what I mean? You have to make earth-shattering decisions at a time when you are also under massive amounts of stress. You have a limited number of choices available to you. You have a limited number of resources. And some are lucky and some are not. My mum took the decision to get out. She got the opportunity and she got out. She then went to a strange country where she didn't know the language. She didn't know many people. She had just lost her husband, so the person she would normally in those situations turn to was no longer there. She was miles away. At that time, there was no internet. International calls were ludicrously expensive. You know, she was on her own basically. And it took a while, I imagine, for a community of Chileans to come together with a similar sort of problem. I mean, they all had similar sort of problems and could offer and accept different levels of support from each other. But simply because they were Chilean doesn't mean they were necessarily friends. You know, you're thrown together. You have to be with these people. They're the only people

that speak your language and know your country and really understand what you've been through. But then again, my mum had an experience, for example, where she was criticised by some male members of the Chilean community for marrying an Englishman and couldn't see beyond. They thought that it was too much. I don't know what they thought. You talk about it now and any sort of reasonable person would see how stupid that is but I suppose at the time they felt, you know, under pressure as a community and protective over their womenfolk, I imagine as well. But come on! It's not like. Well, whose business is it of theirs anyway? Things like that. It's stupid. But, you know, there are all sorts of different difficulties that are specific to being an exile, as well as simply being in another country. And I imagine that a lot of people in Chile won't see that far. I think my mum was, not necessarily harassed, but, yeah, harassed by the police who would come to her house at all times of the day or in the evening, at night, when the kids are in bed and things like that and ask her questions and be pretty rude, things like that, until probably she married an Englishman. And apparently - I'm paraphrasing here - he took a policeman aside and said, "Look, this is the last time you do this. If you want to come see my wife, you call first, you make an appointment which you both agree." And things like that, but how is a Chilean supposed to know how to speak to a British policeman? Do you know what I mean? What are they there for anyway? They don't say what they're there for. To a person that's come from a repressive society where the police in fact push them out of the country, it's really, really frightening. And I'm inclined to think that it's meant to be frightening as well. It all seems very far away now but, I don't know, it's still there. It's not to be forgotten. In the thing that I wrote about Pinochet, I kind of talked about being tired - tired of having to do this, of having to think about these things and wondering, "When can I be normal? When can I just get on with my life? And not have to think about something that happened at that time." I think probably a lot of people are like that. It's perhaps what you mentioned about making links and remembering. Art helps us to remember. Documentation helps us to remember a historical moment. And I think, back to your question, it would be useful for other people in Chile to understand the experiences of the exiled ones; understand the range of experiences and the range of reasons why some people stayed, some people moved on to another country, some people went back, some people went back and had to leave again. You know? It's not a simple thing. It's not having to imagine the reasons for having to leave but the reasons for staying are different. You know. So maybe - I don't know - some sort of cultural exchange would be useful, would be welcome.

Q
To both sides?

A
I would say, yeah, maybe. Yeah, of course. I mean, you take the personal experience out. I was kind of relating the political and the personal, the interchange. If you take our personal experience, the way our mum educated us, informed us about our situation, that openness helps to reconcile, you know. And I think it's important for Chile as other countries: South Africa has similar issues. The Holocaust as well is still being dealt with emotionally by the Jewish community. And I think maybe Chile is getting there. There's memorials. There's more openness. If you're in Chile, it feels like something that was part of a dark history not to be returned to. My view of Chile at the moment is that it is stable and it's normalising itself and is probably prosperous for it compared to some of the other countries around it. So, yeah, definitely you can't forget those things but you have to by a kind of ritualising or using ceremony or monuments; that kind of thing helps

to deal with it. It's part of the emotional landscape of a country, I think. You go through this kind of awfulness and then you come out from it. But it's still there. How do you teach your children if there are no real tangible…

Q
… referents?

A
Yeah. How do you? That's probably very important. There's a lot of literature obviously and things like that, but maybe physical landscape. I was thinking about the memorial that's in the cemetery in Chile. It's an amazing place. Took a lot of photographs there and things like that. As much as the physical side is part of the emotional landscape of Chile and these things are important. One of the things that I had to deal with as an artist is to, kind of, balance being normal, having an everyday life, as well as not forgetting - you need to do it as a person but as an artist too - you know, that some of the things that I'm interested in come from that but not necessarily comment on it anymore. They may do in other works but that's not the only thing that I do and I think I would suffer as a person if I did that. It would be very difficult.

Q
Could you describe Pinochet's detention? That whole process, all the visual material you have on your website and the artistic expression which took place.

A
Yeah. Let me think. And it was a shock really. I've heard her say it a lot and it's part of what I remember about growing up. The adults would talk at the table and they'd stay round the table for hours and stuff and the kids would go off and play but then you would often hear some of the things, you know. You know, she would say, "There are Chileans and there are Chileans." She would say that to English people. "Don't forget that, OK, we all came over probably for similar reasons and stuff, but, you know, that doesn't mean anything." It doesn't mean that they're good people, it doesn't mean that they're bad people, it doesn't mean anything. It just means that they were forced to leave their country and that's the single uniting thing. The second thing is, you know, that they're Chilean. But, other than that, there's not necessarily anything else that, you know, would tie them together. So, in other circumstances, they may not have ever met or become friends. Do you know what I mean? And they were a couple of stories that again I only really remember as a child. This probably adds to the dreaminess. One was that, apparently, some of the people in Hull - I don't know who it was and I don't want to know, to be honest - but kind of were active, they were part of Chile Solidarity and all this but they also took a lot of money from concerts, something like that, I don't know. As far as I understand it, they embezzled some of these funds that they'd raised to send back home or to support the exiles and things like that. And, you know, obviously that has an impact on the rest of the community. You know, if these people were labelled as, "These Chilean exiles, they're thieves!", you know, it matters because it prevents the rest of the group raising money. Do you know what I mean? So, she would say that to a lot of people: "There are Chileans and there are Chileans." And it's important to remember: it kind of links back into identity, national identity and things like that, because they're identified by their "Chileanness". But so what, you know?

Q

I know exactly what you mean. It seems that all the diversity in Chile was brought over. It's interesting. The other day I was talking to this woman and again I was just being spontaneous and I talked about "the Chilean community" and she said in Spanish: "*Estamos juntos pero no revueltos*". So there are phrases like this where people give themselves away. There are all these prejudices and biases that some people haven't overcome. They just drag them from Chile over here.

A
Of course. That's who they are. I mean, you bring your attitudes with you. You bring your experiences. You know, Pinochet was indiscriminate in certain ways. He called "the enemy within" the communists and obviously he included socialists and other leftists. Do you know what I mean? He just called them all communists and then they're evil, so it's OK that we torture them kind-of-thing. But, you know, there is a diversity there and it's more complex than simple labelling, which is what I was trying to express through my work really: the idea of a refugee. You look at the different kinds of people that I've photographed, the different kinds of tastes and opinions that they would have, even though they were all sympathetic to the refugee cause. Do you know what I mean? There's still a wealth of difference even among five people. It's important to remember, you know, the world isn't a simple place or as simple as it seems.

Q
I've come across two types of musicians: those musicians stuck in the past and very much into the political side of music and another type of musician who has realised they had to establish more universal links and they have moved forward and they're more than happy to incorporate different experiences and work with other disciplines and other artists. They're more than happy to go back to Chile. So what's your perception about that?

A
I mean, there's a couple of different things. When you were talking about that, it made me think of my own work and what direction I want to go in. You know, I often think about what to do next, what kind of things I want to look at, how to do it and express it. But not just the kind of art side but the design as well. It's important for - and this would apply to musicians as well, I think - you know, anyone who does anything vaguely political has to be really careful, basically not to turn people off by their opinion. So, it's important that, as an artist, you find a way of expressing yourself without being aggressive in that expression, because being aggressive isn't attractive, it's not widely attractive. There are certain people that may really agree with you, which is fine: they agree with you. They already agree with you. So what? You're not going to change anyone's mind if you are overtly preachy, shall we say, and it's something that I've had to struggle with quite a lot. Because obviously I've got fairly strong opinions but something I find really important as a designer, it's taught me as a designer really, is that you have to think about audience and how the audience see things. Artists don't deal with that so well, I don't think. But a designer, somebody in advertising or mass communications has to think about audience: what kinds of audience they're dealing with but also how they receive work. You know, as an artist you send it, as an audience you receive it. So, it's important that you express yourself without alienating people, without making people feel uncomfortable that they don't have exactly the same point of view as you or, you know, that you feel guilty about something. And something I've learnt through the kind of work we do with charity, that's come out of market research and stuff, you know, working for Unicef: if you have pictures

of children on the front of a catalogue of a piece of communication that's crying and obviously is in need of help, then a donor is likely to turn it over or put it in the bin or just basically not deal with it. It's too much. So you have to find ways of expressing the fact that (a) this child needs your help, but (b) is also a wonderful human being. Do you know what I mean? That there's something positive that *you* can do and I guess that's the same for any kind of art or music or whatever. You know, you do something, you make it public, you send it to an audience and they have to deal with it and the way they deal with it can mean different ways. It could make them really uncomfortable but you're going to reduce the size of your audience by doing that. Or you can be inclusive and ask questions which then they answer. Do you know what I mean? Or, you know, kind of involve your audience as much as anything else and I think those kinds of tactics are really useful for an artist. If you've got something clear to say. If your issues are different, if your kind of focus is different on formal aspects or, you know, experimentation - different artists work in different ways - if you're just interested in colour, then it's probably less important what other people think. Do you know what I mean? And often artists and the art world kind of only deals with itself. You know, it deals with a very small audience - though influential audience, I would say as well. Because things filter down to graphics, you know, or mass communications or culture generally. I mean, there's different ways of operating but I've thought quite a lot about how much to say, how much to put my opinion across, how angry you get, how passive you get. You know? They're important questions. I would say the difference between the book I did on Pinochet and the series of portrait photographs of people with refugee t-shirts on deals with that question. One is very personal: this is what I felt, this is what I saw, you know, this is what I want to happen. At the end of it, I talk about what the whole experience meant in terms of international law or kind of the way we think about human rights. Whereas the portraits are more to do with: who is that? Why are they wearing a t-shirt? Are they really a refugee? Where are they from? All those kind of questions that hopefully work in a different way. You do it for different reasons, I suppose. Yeah, it's a very interesting question.

Q
Absolutely. I can see that your background as a graphic designer informs your work as an artist just as my work, my background as a teacher, as an educationalist, informs my current research. But again it has to do with the issue of impact, the issue of universalising an idea and opening it up to a wider audience, as you said.

A
Well, you have to decide why you're doing it. Is it to help you? Or is it to help other people understand you? Or is it to help other people understand other things? You know, you have to analyse why you're doing it.

Q
Exactly. And I thought it was very interesting that you said that artists sometimes aren't very good at that.

A
Yeah, I mean, they think about it less. I mean, of course, it's important because they still work within a market. They still need to live. They still need to sell work or, you know, have the work in galleries. It's a rarefied atmosphere for that but it's still within a normal kind of commercial framework, if you like. But, you know, the difference, I think, maybe is

the client. A graphic designer will often work for a client. More often than not, they'll have a client who has a brief, who is paying money to get something back and what they get back is a piece of communication which communicates what they want to communicate and they don't have to think about that, you know. For artists, it's the client as well who plays that role and that could be anything, you know. It could be what happens when I put pink next to blue. What happens if I add sand to this paint? Do you know what I mean? It's abstract, obviously, but it's almost like scientific investigation. It doesn't always have a tangible meaning.

Q
If we could go back to Pinochet's detention and if you could describe how you perceived, saw and experienced the artistic mood and atmosphere.

A
The main thing was shock really. It was just amazing. You know, I was kind of laughing… a lot. He's arrested, you know. What is going on? It was a year of my life in which I went through quite a lot. I was at this art school which was quite a famous place. A lot of famous artists went there and stuff like that, so there was a certain amount of pressure to do something decent with your time there. I mean, the teaching style is all about just letting you get on with things, so, you know, you could have done anything. I could have done anything. And I already had some ideas about what I wanted to do. It was like a playground, in effect. There were all sorts of resources which I could use: printing presses, darkrooms, things like that. It was great. And then, all of a sudden, Pinochet barged in and it was right at the start of the second year, my final year. I can't remember what was happening but basically I had a lot of free time, if you like. I had an unstructured course which allowed me to be anywhere in the city at any given time almost. And obviously at the end of the year you had to produce something but I didn't think too much at that time because I had, you know, a bit of time to go. So I heard on the news and there were a few frantic phone calls. Everyone we knew was going. We worked out where he was and I went along. What I can remember is the time that he was arrested and the time that I first got to know. There was a bit of a lapse and it made me feel that he'd been arrested for maybe a week or something like that and I just hadn't seen the news or something like that. But in fact it was quite quick. It was, you know, the next day. I think on the Saturday night he was arrested. The Sunday I saw the news and saw that little kind of picket with some Chileans there shouting and stuff, and so I went along the next day on the Monday and I just went to see what was there. I didn't really know what I would find or who I would speak to. I was a bit nervous and I didn't really know what to. I went round to one side of the hospital and I could see there was a police presence and I could see that there had been quite a large crowd perhaps. And I though, "Oh my god, I've missed it." The one chance I had to go and it was gone! I didn't know it would take a year of my life and because I went on the Monday and it was during the day that most of the people that were there the day before who had jobs and things like that wouldn't have been there. And so I looked around and then I went round to the other side and I saw, I think they were some Chilean senators. I didn't have a clue who they were or anything. They were probably rightwing senators, I think, and they came out from the hospital and they spoke to one cameraman and as they were speaking - there were about four Chilean-looking people that I hadn't noticed - when they were interviewing these senators, the people behind were, like, shouting, singing, clapping and things like that, trying to drown them our and just show that there was a protest at the same time. So there weren't that many people there. It was just these four people. I

kind of instinctively went over to join them and that was kind of that. I didn't really speak to anyone. I can remember smiling at people. As I said, before that, I didn't really, in Chile there was a Chilean community. In some ways, we were a little bit removed from them. We probably had about three, four families that we were really close friends with and one of them moved to Wolverhampton, one of them moved back to Chile as soon as they could in the early Eighties and things like that, so there weren't that many people around that we knew. There was a couple of other families that we weren't that good friends with but we saw from time to time and in London certainly I didn't know any Chileans. I knew there must be some but obviously after such a long time as well that they could just be Chileans, not necessarily an exile community or anything like that. So I kind of got into it very quickly. I went in the evening and by that time there was a lot of people there. They had all made banners and painted things and they had these amazing placards they cut out of card in the shape of ghosts, which is quite a powerful image when you first see it and you knew what it means. And there was a lot of that, you know, across the year that we saw a lot of people and they came from all over the world, from France, Chile and all over Europe, you know. Wherever people could come from, they did if they could and there was a lot of the anonymous figure of the disappeared, of the killed but that was really powerful to me. When I first saw it, it was physically powerful to me and then I realised that they were doing these things nightly. They were at his hospital every night making a lot of noise. But there's a few things that are funny though. They were there every night. They were persistent. You could see leaders there, who obviously didn't just happen; they probably had been campaigning for a while, you know, and knew that he was in the country. I found a lot of things funny but one of the things was the fact that they had such a good relationship with the police. Because obviously, it was the Metropolitan Police who arrested him, you know, and it wasn't like an aggressive riot. The police in England are used to football hooligans, you know, kind of meaningless violence and stuff. And I think trade unions and threatening crowd control; and there was a lot of little old ladies, the same age as my mum a bit older and little fat Chileans making soup and things like that. It was really friendly and open. You know, you can almost see them saying, "Aren't policemen getting younger these days?" They were very motherly to some guys in there and very polite and things like that. They did as they were told. Apparently, the hospital had asked for the process to finish around about 11 o'clock so that the other patients in the hospital could sleep. And it quickly settled into a pattern of work, you know, and this is the exhausting thing, I think: people would work all day and then go every single night to the picket, to the protests and these people had amazing stamina. They'd been exiled for years they were still at it. They were still active. It was quite inspiring. Previously, I'd not really gotten involved with kind of activism. I always had an interest in politics and followed British politics - kind of read the papers and was quite well-informed and things like that. We had a proud moment in our family when I had just turned 18 and I think it was the general election so my brother had been of legal age to vote for a while but there just hadn't been an election and also my mother at that point had just got her British citizenship, so the three of us went down as a family to vote and it was a really proud moment for our family. We'd been, if you like, denied a vote since the coup. And then all of a sudden we were part of a political constituency, a legitimate part of democracy again and it was quite a happy day for our family, you know. We went round to the local school. I don't know, I hadn't really been active but politically aware, I would say, and I'd been on a few race marches and things like that and read a lot about the far Right and race relations and things like that. But, you know, to be there! For me, it was the first time that it meant something or it probably would. I could tangibly see the impact that it would have to be there and to be noisy. You know, if we hadn't had

been there, Pinochet would probably not have been arrested or would have been let go very, very quickly. In the end, he had to spend a year in England in custody. So, yeah, it was the first time really that I'd really felt that it was important to be there and that it would have some real effect. And it did, I think. You know, he was taken almost all the way. Quickly I decided that I had to kind of pursue this. My brother, at that time, was working full-time quite hard, long hours and things, and he couldn't come all the time and he was criticised for this as well. This is sort of typical. This is my impression of some Chileans: "We haven't seen you down the picket very much. Why not?" You know? Do you know what I mean? There's pressure and I suppose that's what it means to be an activist: that you try and pressure people to do things but, you know, he was the one that picked up these two ladies that came in from Chile. It's not like he didn't do anything, so it's bullshit basically. But, you know, the other thing I was really interested in was the personal expression, or group expression; the art, if you like, of the picket. They called it *el piquete*, the protests. These ghosts, these figures, blacked out images of people, the guy with the blindfold who turned up with the charango and the poncho and, you know, the dressing up, the kind of theatre of it became really interesting to me and how, as much as, you know, the media coverage. All the imagery basically about it, all the writing, the way that the images of the story were constructed was really interesting to me and I wrote about it and I kind of dissected it and I kept cuttings and things like that. And I'd been interested in that for a while anyway, partly because of my political leanings. Basically, I'm interested in self-expression. I'm not into elitist practices, if you like. I value a lot of self-expression and self-expression kind of shows identity, if you like. So the way that people dress is really important even if they don't always know it. The way that they decorate their homes or the way they cut their hair. All those things are very important and I think people in an exiled community are very aware of this. And you saw a lot of the younger people wearing Chilean football tops and things like that. They obviously had flags ready and they bought Union Jacks as well because they felt, you know, that the British were finally kind of in solidarity and things like that. The other thing that interested me in the same vein is that there were Argentineans there or Brazilians or Swedish people. You know. To me, I'm beginning to think about things like this, flags, actually. I've just been away for the football and I was really interested in kind of the travellers and the football fans in Portugal and things like that and what that means for a country's identity and things like that. So it was really lovely to see other countries' flags at the protest. It's not just Chile's story. It was an example. It's an international example, which led to attitudes in international law and human rights and things like that. It was a case study, if you like, and, you know, like a touchstone. So, yeah, I was fairly sort of proud about the conduct of the people. It was fairly jubilant. It didn't feel like there was a lot of anger there, although, you know, some people. There's different levels of anger and for me certainly, and I expressed my view to a lot of the media. We got opportunities to speak to different newspapers and things like that. We were interviewed by TV once and things like that and it was important to give a good view, a good round view. My opinion is that it's not about revenge. It's about justice and that's a different thing. A peaceful protest is the only way to go about this, so at first I struggled, in fact, with those ideas because, you know, he was so close physically. It was a possibility that you could, if you went down that line, to get to him. If you got into that building, you could get to his room. What would you do? You know, these are questions I would ask myself. What would I do if I met him face to face? What would I say to him? What would I do? Would I harm him? What good would that do? Do you know what I mean? They're, kind of, very raw questions to ask and really valid. You know, makes you think a lot and I think, you know, to write these things down is really useful, to properly work things out. But I

suppose that's one of the main things that struck me: the physicality, that he was here. He wasn't a myth anymore. He wasn't a dream, like a bad dream. He was there. He was real. But also mediated. He was on TV. It was through the papers. The Press here is predominantly rightwing of some shade. It was quite difficult to make sure. We put a lot of effort into responding to the Press or when we spoke to the Press to actually give a rounded view. Obviously, it's going to be biased but does the Press reflect that bias? There was a lot of misrepresentation and, you know, sloppy journalism in most cases as well. One newspaper would write something and then the rest would use the newspaper as a resource to write their next thing and it continued. You know, it's important to monitor that and to kind of reflect it or to counter it. Things like that. I felt quite, in a way, useful to the people at the picket because I spoke English as a first language and was expressive. I felt like I could actually be expressive, to say what I felt, things like that. A lot of some of the older generation would not be as confident. You know, they would be expressive but not as clear or as concise or whatever.

Q
Articulated.

A
Yeah, exactly. You know, I dealt with a lot of different emotions going though it. It was tiring for me. What do I do with the material? That was the hardest thing. How do I condense this down to something that is understandable to other people? Things like that and fortunately I think the year before I'd just done a creative writing course and that helped me a lot actually to narrow things down a bit and to kind of express things well. Previously, I'd not really been into writing at all. At school, I was awful at it, you know. I know it's just lazy really. I hated sitting there having to write. But, yeah, certainly found that useful to do that.

Q
Do you have a longer piece of writing than what's on the internet? Because that would be great to look at, if you'd be willing to show it.

A
Yeah, definitely. I don't know where it is. I've certainly got it on the computer. I made a book and I think it's doing the rounds; my friends are kind of borrowing it.

Interview with musician, second generation

Q
¿Cómo percibes la actual política cultural?

A
Pienso que la política cultural de Chile así como se está aplicando en estos momentos no es efectiva. En mi caso personal, en los dos proyectos en que he estado involucrada en relación con la cultura chilena no he tenido el apoyo que he requerido, específicamente de la Embajada Chilena en el Reino Unido. Por ejemplo, por el primer proyecto estuve por cuatro, cinco meses pidiendo una audiencia con la Agregada Cultural. Nunca me fue dada. Nunca, nunca, nunca. Nunca me ayudaron con la promoción del evento jamás. Fue bastante vergonzoso. Por eso lo transmitieron por la BBC y ellos simplemente no apoyaron. Con el segundo proyecto tuve, bueno, tengo el apoyo del Embajador pero la Agregada Cultural tampoco nunca ha hecho absolutamente nada, lo cual es bastante vergonzoso para Chile. También he estado involucrada con el Ministerio de Educación. Bueno, claro, hablan de preservar el patrimonio cultural chileno pero no tienen ni recursos ni la voluntad. Y es un círculo vicioso porque si no hay voluntad tampoco hay interés en conseguir. Si no tienen recursos propios, si existe voluntad política, de alguna manera se obtienen los recursos, digamos. Puede ser que se puedan obtener dentro del propio Gobierno o afuera. En mi caso con esta película incluso he tenido contacto con instituciones que se dedican a preservar patrimonio fílmico de la humanidad, por ejemplo, la FIAF y la filmoteca española y, como yo no soy la dueña de la película sino que el Gobierno, les he dado los contactos y no han hecho absolutamente nada, ni siquiera han tenido la decencia de responder, ya. Entonces, digamos, claro, es muy fácil decir, "Nosotros no tenemos recursos, no tenemos plata", y con eso se cierra el asunto.

[…]

Bueno, pienso que mi lazo específico con Chile no es más fuerte que con otro país latinoamericano. Por mi experiencia personal, no puedo considerarme cien por ciento chilena porque también he vivido en otros países. Viví dos años en Venezuela, viví más de un año en Francia también y ahora casi seis años acá. Pero sí, bueno, por ejemplo, el proyecto de la película *El húsar de la muerte*, pienso que lo elegí más que nada por ser una cosa bastante única. Nunca se ha mostrado una película latinoamericana muda acá en este país. Esos datos los tengo del National Film Theatre. Por lo tanto, bueno, siempre pienso que innovar siempre es una cosa positiva.

[…]

Pienso en mi caso la cultura latinoamericana no ha servido para mí para reafirmar mi identidad. Eso lo tengo absolutamente claro. Socialmente tampoco tengo un círculo de amistades exclusivo chilenos o latinoamericanos. Pienso que tengo muchos más amigos europeos que latinoamericanos. Eso no me causa ningún tipo de problema. Al contrario. Y, bueno, con respecto a la música, el violín es un instrumento absolutamente europeo y, bueno, el repertorio que siempre yo estudié en Chile era también europeo. O sea, para mí era bastante chocante que jamás, jamás, jamás en universidad se nos exigiera ninguna obra, ni siquiera una obra latinoamericana. O sea, realmente una cosa absolutamente importada. Y también cuando trabajé en Orquesta Filarmónica jamás se tocó una obra latinoamericana. Me he enterado que recientemente han hecho algunos programas de

música latinoamericana pero, digamos, es como para que no digan pero el grueso de los recursos y de los esfuerzos siempre va a lo que traiga más público. Y la música chilena no atrae público. Por lo menos la música docta. Simplemente es anticomercial. Las razones no tengo interés en discutirlas ahora.

[…]

Yo me he dado cuenta en los dos proyectos en que estaba involucrada: el de los campos de concentración y el de *El húsar de la muerte* y me sorprende bastante el poco conocimiento que existe en Chile de esos dos temas. No encuentre ningún tipo publicación al respecto de música de campos de concertaciones chilenos. Estuve en contacto con musicólogos de todas las universidades en Chile y simplemente no existe nada. Siga siendo tabú. Existen otros condicionantes. No sé. Habría que estudiarlos. El asunto es que nadie se interesa por el tema. No sé si es una razón musicológica que el tipo de música que se hacía en los campos de concentración no era interesante de ese punto de vista. Eso no lo sé. Está claro que la mayor cantidad de los músicos que están en Chile no eran profesionales. Eso es un gran contraste con los músicos del Tercer Reich que, bueno, existió un gran nivel. Habían muchos compositores de gran categoría y tal vez ésa es la razón por la que nadie se interesa en hacer ningún tipo de investigación. Eso.

¡Ah! Tú me preguntaste acerca del repertorio, etcétera, y mi vínculo con Chile. Yo he tocado varias veces con pianistas chilenos. Toqué varios conciertos con un pianista, que no sé si sigue viviendo acá, Javier Gutiérrez. Estudiaba en la misma escuela que yo. Me parece que ya no vive acá. Bueno, nunca toqué un concierto con él, con Felipe Browne, pero sí tocamos varias veces juntos en su casa, digamos, por placer nada más. Y siempre he intentado incluir música latinoamericana. Ahora, mi relación con la música chilena: tengo muchos más vínculos con la música popular, no la música docta. Simplemente es una cuestión emocional. No siento ningún vínculo con la música contemporánea chilena porque simplemente no hay nada que la distinga. No existen raíces. No siento que, digamos, se diferencie sustancialmente de la música contemporánea que pueda ser producida en Hungría, en Finlandia, en Argentina, qué sé yo.

[…]

Lo poco que ocurre en Chile ocurre simplemente porque existe gente muy talentosa. Pero no existen las condiciones apropiadas ni voluntad y es un círculo vicioso porque, digamos, no es solamente echar la culpa a los políticos sino que yo diría que el común de los chilenos simplemente no está interesado. O sea, la típica pregunta que te hacen en Chile en una fiesta que no es de músico: "Y, bueno, tú eres músico pero, digamos, es de hobby, no." O sea, digamos, "¿Cuál es tu verdadera profesión?" O sea, ser artista no es una profesión en Chile. Y eso es una percepción común. Ésa es la realidad según mi percepción.

Q
Y ¿cuál sería la vuelta atrás? ¿Sería cambiar esa mentalidad?

A
Es que el problema es que la gente que es crítica de esa mentalidad emigra. Y tampoco, digamos, antiguamente era bastante crítica con la gente que no volvía porque, digamos, si la gente que tiene más talento, más ideas, no vuelve, no hay forma que se renueve. Pero,

por otro lado, Chile no tiene mucho que ofrecer. Entonces, digamos, tiene que haber algún tipo de inversión y si te encuentras con que simplemente no, digamos, no se es valorado. Ahora yo nunca, digamos, no he intentado volver a Chile. Tampoco puedo quejarme de eso, pero sí he oído mucha gente quejándose de lo mismo. Entonces, digamos, ésas son las razones.

[…]

A
Bueno, yo primero que nada, no considero que ser músico sea la pasión de mi vida, digamos. Tengo otros intereses que son igual o más importantes que hacer música. Eso no tiene nada que ver con el hecho de estar acá, digamos, afuera de Chile. Por lo tanto, pienso que no, preferiría no contestar esa pregunta porque, digamos, que si me tengo que definir en una palabra, no sé si diría que soy músico. O sea, digamos, ésa es una de las facetas que tengo pero no es la única.

Q
¿Qué impacto tiene tu trabajo musical?

A
¿Impacto?

Q
Impacto tan amplio como suena. Impacto transformador, por ejemplo.

A
Pienso, no soy de la idea que el arte tiene poderes sobrenaturales, que cambia la percepción de la gente. Pienso que una de las funciones principales del arte es darle placer a la gente. La gente disfrute con eso. Y eso para mí es suficientemente importante para validarlo. Yo no veo el arte como una cosa social. Bueno, proyectos sociales a gran escala como, por ejemplo, proyectos de orquestas juveniles en Chile que están inspirados por el ejemplo venezolano sí, bueno, tiene una importancia social pero no necesariamente tiene una importancia artística. O sea, las dos cosas no van de la mano. Está hecho de tal manera en que, de que, sobre todo en Regiones es dramático porque no existen profesores capacitados. Entonces, bueno, qué sé yo, a un trompetista lo ponen como profesor de violín ¡cuando no tiene idea! Y, claro, a los Alcaldes le fascina la idea porque, claro, van y crean una orquesta cuando tienen que inaugurar una escuela o un hospital o lo que sea y la orquesta dura hasta cuando se fue el último periodista. [*laughs*]

Q
¿Cómo tu familia asume tu estadía afuera de Chile?

A
No la aceptan. Curiosamente, mis dos padres pasaron largos años afuera antes de conocerse, estudiando, haciendo sus carreras pero, digamos, siempre la intención era volver a Chile. Por lo menos, ésa es la versión que me han contado. Y, bueno, soy hija única, por lo tanto era un poco como asumido que yo iba a tener que volver a Chile. Y, bueno, en cualquiera ocasión que se les presenta siempre tratan de convencerme que tengo que volver a Chile, etcétera, etcétera.

Q
¿Por qué querían volver? ¿Cuáles son las razones que te daban?

A
¿De Venezuela? Bueno, simplemente estaban obsesionados con eso, digamos. Primero pienso que nunca se integraron a Venezuela. Jamás estuvieron felices allá y pienso, claro, hay una gran diferencia entre elegir o no elegir vivir afuera. Pienso que habría sido distinto si hubieran voluntariamente elegido salir del país. Y, bueno, fue bastante complicado para todos, también para ellos porque se quedaron pegados con el Chile que dejaron y fue como bastante chocante.

Q
¿Volver?

A
Sí, bueno, para mí no fue volver porque yo no nací allá.

Q
Y cuando ellos tenían esta ilusión, cierto, de volver, volver, ¿tenían una misión concreta, clara de por qué volvían? ¿Había una razón explícita? ¿O era simplemente esa pasión que describes?

A
Yo no pienso que se lo hayan cuestionado. Era como que estaba escrito. Como que no cabía otra posibilidad. Incluso en esos momentos laboralmente y también económicamente la situación era más favorable en Venezuela que en Chile. Después se invirtió completamente. O sea, sería una locura seguir viviendo en Venezuela ahora con todos los problemas que han habido y siguen habiendo pero en esa época no era así.

Interview with musician, first generation

Q
Cuéntame cómo llegaste al mundo de la música.

A
No me considero músico. Nunca estudié música. Yo no sé leer música. O sea, traté de aprender. Hice cursos, muchas cosas, pero no. Para mí la música más que nada viene de otros lugares. Viene de la literatura y especialmente de la pintura. Si bien, como tal a mí la música siempre me gustó. Tocaba desde chiquitito. Vivía con mis abuelos. Hacía mi música, armaba mis instrumentos y eso para mí, eso era importante pero lo más importante era la literatura. Yo leía mucho. Muchísimo. Y eso sí. Nunca quise escribir pero sí me interesaba leer, saber. Después descubrí la pintura con unos amigos y me gustó mucho también. Me interesó muchísimo la pintura. Y a paralelo a eso yo hacía música pero nunca música como algo que yo quise hacer. Incluso en la universidad yo estudié teatro, diseño, escenografía. Pero siempre estaba relacionado con música. Fue acá cuando llegué acá que me dediqué a la música.

Q
¿Y qué edad tenías?

A
Veinte años, veintiún años.

Q
¿Y por qué la música?

A
Lo que pasa es que estudié escenografía en la universidad y cuando quise volver a estudiar algo, estudié cine también. Las becas que habían para la gente como yo - que venían otros refugiados, exiliados, qué sé yo, que querían volver a estudiar - eran solamente para lo que ellos consideraban carreras útiles: eso de economía, sociología, todo lo que fuese "ías" pero ni música ni arte estaban considerados dentro eso. Ni cine ni teatro ni nada eso y me frustró mucho porque estudié una cosa metido en la universidad, estudié como medios de comunicación o algo así… Me empecé a dedicar a la música. Lo que pasa es que en ese tiempo acá, el movimiento de solidaridad con Chile y con otros países latinoamericanos eran bastante fuertes. Había que hacer solidaridad, había que denunciar lo que estaba sucediendo y la mayor parte de los actos políticos eran muy aburridos porque eran discursos… y al final necesitaban algo de música y habían grupos de música que tocaban música tradicional chilena, no. Estaba el grupo de las Jara, de la Joan Jara, Manuela y la otra hija, la Amanda. Era un grupo de música de danza. Yo toqué un año con ellos. Bueno, pero al mismo tiempo no me interesaba tanto eso. No, yo venía de otra cosa, mi música era otra. Yo venía de otro lado pero era una oportunidad para tocar. Segundo, era como un deber. Pero fui conociendo otros músicos, otras cosas, músicos brasileros. Empecé entonces a conocer otras músicas, a tocar con otros músicos y embarqué. Nunca he hecho música, digamos, es decir, ser un profesional de la música. No me considero. Me gusta porque es lo que yo siento, lo que yo hago. Es mi vida. Pero. Eso.

Q

¿Qué tal ha sido el espacio que has encontrado aquí en Londres para desarrollarte y explorar?

A
¡Buenísimo! No, yo creo que caí en la ciudad indicada por lo que yo hago, por lo que a mí me interesa. Está todo bien porque Londres es una capital musical mundial, no. Ahora, no solamente lo que yo hago, principalmente rock es el centro. Viene todo el mundo porque aquí por el rock la gente viene acá para los estudios, a grabar, tocar, lo que sea. Aquí hay alrededor de quinientos conciertos o recitales todos los días en esta ciudad no solamente en teatros grandes sino en *pubs*, centros comunitarios y eso. Siempre hay actividad, siempre tú ves cosas de otros lugares. Encuentras de todo acá. Y eso fue muy lindo porque tocando con músicos siempre te encuentras con otros músicos de otras cosas, de otras músicas y uno va aprendiendo, va interaccionando con ellos, te vas interesando en lo que es la música, la cultura, su forma de ser, su forma de vida, de comer, de no sé, lo que sea. Y eso es muy importante, no tanto música sino para el ser humano en general, no. Claro, Londres es ideal para eso. Y para la que a mí me interesa que es la música improvisación experimental muy bueno porque es un centro también a nivel europeo de este tipo de música. Siempre hay conciertos. No tiene un público muy nutrido, muy grande, pero sí la gente va viendo, hay publicaciones, hay radio. Bien. Estoy feliz con eso.

Q
Y ¿cómo te has articulado con el resto de los artistas chilenos? Si es que hay alguna articulación entre los artistas chilenos.

A
Yo creo que más que. No. Yo creo los chilenos, no. En este momento, no. La hubo sí en algún momento porque nos fueron muchos los artistas. Aún queda, pero eso la mayor parte de la gente regresó a Chile en los fines de los ochenta o en los fines de la dictadura, cuando aparecieron las listas de la gente que podía retornar. Mucha gente no tenía trabajo. Regresó. Entonces la comunidad chilena como tal disminuyó enormemente y por lo tanto las actividades culturales y sociales y políticas también. Y la gente que quedó acá, los que quedamos somos muy pocos y dispersos. Tratamos de mantener organizaciones pero al nivel más bien burocrático que otra cosa. Entonces a nivel cultural, siempre fue muy disperso, no. Yo te contaba que el grupo Quimantú, con el que yo toqué muchos años, el único grupo chileno que conozco, aunque los únicos chilenos que quedan son Carlos ahora y Mauricio. Antes estaba el Sergio y Sergio regresó a Chile… otra gente que estaba ahí también se fue a Chile. ¿Más artistas músicos? Sí, hay un guitarrista muy bueno, un guitarrista clásico, en Escocia: Galo, Galo-Serón. Vive allí en Edimburgo. Es chileno. Guitarrista clásico muy bueno. Galo-Serón. Yo perdí contacto con él hace muchos años. No tengo su dirección o forma de ubicarlo pero está en Escocia, sí. Hay un músico chileno que llegó acá muy chiquito, no. Christian Vogel: él hace música electrónica y eso. Es bastante conocido… Él es el chileno más prominente, digamos.

Q
Y ¿qué tal ha sido el trabajo de ustedes, por así decir, interdisciplinario? ¿Qué tanto has trabajado con poetas, con pintores?

A

Bastante. Eso es muy interesante. Lo que te contaba antes: el hecho de que yo estudiaba teatro y el teatro me interesó mucho. Entonces yo he hecho muchas cosas con teatro y teatro experimental principalmente. Y eso ha sido muy lindo. Hace poco hice una música por una obra de teatro acá en el Young Vic, un teatro muy importante acá - la primera vez que compongo música para teatro solo. Había hecho música para teatro con grupos experimentales donde yo seguía la música directamente tocando en vivo y eso, no, pero esto de hacerlo de componer y eso, una experiencia muy linda. Sí, trabajaba con teatros bastante. Me gusta mucho trabajar con teatro. Y he trabajado muchos años con grupos de discapacitados, proyectos grandes también con otros artistas. Esos proyectos han sido muy lindos para mí, muy interesante haber trabajado en esa área que se encuentran cosas increíbles, no, porque el hecho de experimentar, de improvisar con gente incapacitada, con autistas, con Downes Syndrome. Es algo casi mágico porque te entregan formas de pensar, de sentir, de percibir cosas de un ángulo realmente diferente e inesperado, que a mí me gusta, a mí me interesa hacer, entonces tengo muy buenas experiencias con eso. Trabajé muchos años también con eso. Después, con otra gente, tengo un grupo - se llama - lo dirige un pianista que también es chileno. Nació en Concepción pero llegó acá cuando tenía como seis meses. Es hijo de inmigrantes rusos. Él es famosísimo en Rusia. Es el director de un grupo que se llama Moscow Composers Orchestra. El nombre de él es Vladimir Miller. Creo que tiene unos familiares todavía en Concepción de apellido Miller. Bueno, con él tenemos un grupo se llama Brick Lane Film Ensemble que hacemos música en vivo para cine mudo. También es una experiencia bellísima. Hemos tocado en festivales de cine. Tocamos una vez en bote, uno de esos barcos que andan por ahí. Un film de un director ruso, no, de Georgia. Esa experiencia también bellísima tocar en vivo con imágenes. Después, ¿Qué más he hecho? En Francia hice música para la apertura de una exhibición de pinturas. ¿Qué más? He tocado sí música para *films*. También he hecho música para *films*: cortometrajes y otra para televisión, trabajo con compositores de música para cine. ¿Qué más? Orquestas. Estoy trabajando en un proyecto mío que es con poemas de poetas chilenos en Chile y en el extranjero. Yo grabé esta música de improvisación, recogí estos poemas, los grabé y se los envié a los poetas que pude contactar para que ellos me grabaran su versión y yo incluyo su versión dentro del álbum que estoy grabando. Cuando voy a terminar, no sé. Cuando me contesten todos los poetas, y tenga el dinero para sacar el álbum. También tocamos juntos con un poeta rapero chipriota mucho tiempo, también hicimos festivales, conciertos, giras y eso fue una experiencia muy linda haber tocado y regresó a Chipre ahora. Es súper famoso en Chipre. ¿Qué más? Danza. Sí. Un grupo de danza contemporánea también, allí tocaba Carlos hace muchos años atrás con otra chipriota-griega danza contemporánea un montón de gente hacíamos la música. También otra experiencia bellísima. Como ves, he tocado en todos lugares, en todas las disciplinas. Y son experiencias bellísimas porque se van acumulando y siempre van abriendo otros caminos, otras formas de ver, otras formas de hacer música porque cada son totalmente diferentes, son realmente diferentes los *approaches*, el acercamiento, eso, la respuesta, la interacción entre unos y otros. Es diferente y todo es muy interesante.

Q
Después de pasar esta experiencia tan rica y diversa, ¿sientes que has tenido el espacio suficiente como para articular e integrar todo este trabajo?

A

En la medida de mis recursos, sí, otra vez no. Lo que pasa es que estas cosas que yo hago son proyectos directamente financiados por algunas instituciones, algunos organismos. O sea, la experiencia que poder sacar directamente de ahí para mis cosas es diferente. Yo puedo asimilar cosas, tengo proyectos, escribo cosas que me gustaría hacer pero son proyectos nada más. Mientras no tenga financiamiento, no puedo realmente llevar a cabo. Ahora como tal sí me sirven muchísimo pero llevar a. Tengo un proyecto, por ejemplo, me gustaría hacer unos poemas de un escritor francés Benjamin Péret que es un surrealista. Tiene unas cosas bellísimas. Que es una puesta en escena de unos poemas que hizo sobre los elementos de la naturaleza: fuego, agua, aire, eso. Que con toda esta experiencia de ponerlo en sí, sí tengo bosquejos de cosas que me gustaría hacer musicalmente, un poco más estructurado que eso. Tengo unos proyectos también de concepto de hacer cosas, de hacer música a través de sonido, de ruido. Voy a hacer una investigación de ruidos que se llama. Bueno, un movimiento artístico a principio del siglo veinte se llamaba en italiano, no recuerdo, pero tenían un concepto que se llamaba *The Art of Noise*, "el arte del ruido". Antes la Primera Guerra Mundial. Entonces por ahí eran los ruidos de las maquinarias, toda esta cosa del progreso, no, vinculado también a los artistas en ese tiempo de la Unión Soviética… todo muy positivo, las maquinas, la fuerza. Entonces ellos hacían composiciones con maquinarias de fábrica e iban a las fábricas grabar los instrumentos y hacían sus composiciones ahí. Con armas, con cañones. Yo estoy trabajando con ese mismo concepto. Tengo un proyecto que se llama *The Noise of Art*, "el ruido del arte". Entonces lo que yo hago, voy a las galerías y voy grabando el ruido que hacen las diferentes esculturas u objetos de arte. El sonido es lo principal los objetos en sí, pero el ruido que a veces produce, no, especialmente los de un artista suizo. Es famoso porque tenía maquinarias, maquinarias que son inútiles, que no se servían para nada, maquinarias que tenían engranajes, las llevaba por las calles. Hacía estas procesiones con amigos por las calles en Paris o en Suiza. Con estas maquinas construidas de cosas que encontradas en fábricas en desuso, engranajes, qué sé yo, motores y esas cosas. Y sobre eso trabajé… encontré un par de cosas de él por acá. Las estaban exhibiendo y me dio la idea de grabar esos sonidos. Entonces sobre eso empecé a trabajar un proyecto que algún día espero que es un proyecto específico para una galería de arte acá que se llama Tate Modern. Ésa es otra historia. Ésa es otra cosa. Como ves, resumiendo un poco a lo que me preguntabas, sí lo que yo he aprendido de todas esas disciplinas va en lo que yo hago. Ahora ninguno de esto lo he podido hacer porque no tengo dinero para hacerlo, pero sí proyectos muchísimos.

Q
Bueno, y retomando el tema del apoyo chileno…

A
Ninguno. [*laughs*] Ninguno. Nada, nada, nada, nada, nada. Nunca ha sido nada. Nunca tampoco importó mucho porque siempre ha sido que todo que hacemos, especialmente con el grupo Quilombo Expontáneo, es autogestión. Organizamos nuestros propios conciertos, hacemos nuestra publicidad, grabamos nuestra música nosotros mismos y la vendemos o la arreglamos o la prestamos nosotros mismos directamente. El acercamiento a la Embajada, específicamente a la Agregación o Extensión Cultural: mínimo. O sea, sí pero nada… contaba la otra vez que las relaciones de la comunidad chilena en general con la Embajada de Chile en este país se quebró con el arresto del dictador en este país porque fue un hito importante en la historia de la comunidad chilena que fue como el último coleteo de lo que fue esto, cuando terminó eso la

comunidad chilena se dispersó. Hasta ese momento nos aglutinamos todos todo por última vez, se tomó como una responsabilidad como chileno, como responsable de los millones de gente, de personas en Chile que nunca pudieron decir nada contra Pinochet durante la dictadura de Pinochet y teníamos la posibilidad nosotros de gritarle, decirle, cantarle, mandarlo a la mierda al dictador, sabiendo que no nos podía hacer nada. Y sí nosotros sabíamos eso. Estábamos concientes y nos sentimos responsables de poder hacer eso que en Chile no se podía hacer y nunca se pudo hacer ni tampoco se puede hacer ahora, no sé, pero que no se podía hacer. Y ésa fue la última vez que la comunidad chilena se aglutinó y se organizó sobre algo muy específico y que en eso también surgieron actividades culturales. El hecho mismo de haber tocado tambores por 501 días y estar cantando, se formaron talleres de percusión, enseñé a la gente a tocar tambores. Nos compramos tambores, fuimos donde estuviese la clínica acá, la otra allá o donde estaba en Virginia Waters, donde fuese, o los diferentes juzgados o cárceles donde estuvo… y entre esas hicimos conciertos en las calles, no, especialmente en Virginia Waters hacíamos un concierto, hubo un día de poesía, un día de música clásica, un día de otras músicas, no. Siempre hubo cosas, se celebró el 18 de septiembre, el 11 de septiembre, el 4 de septiembre y eran actividades culturales muy importantes, no… venía gente no solamente de Londres sino de todo el país y del resto de Europa. Y ésa fue la última actividad chilena así como tal que existió y no sé si existirán más, puede que existan, pero como tal no.

Q
¿Después de que a Pinochet lo tomaron preso, el grupo que se reunió ahí se diluyó, verdad?

A
Bueno, no tanto como decir. Bueno, la mayor parte de la gente sí se fue. Misión cumplida y nos fuimos para la casa. Quedó el otro grupo como tal, como se llama Memoria Viva, “No podemos dejar todo este material que tenemos, estas cosas que tenemos”… se lograron vincular con las organizaciones de los familiares desaparecidos, torturados.

La verdad es que me gusta mucho que la gente salga de Chile pero que se regrese porque lo que pueda aprender acá, la experiencia que pueda tener, una cosa es el estudio, pero experiencia a otro nivel, siempre son importantes poder desembocarla, no, en Chile o donde sea que vayan. De otra manera, ese tipo de experiencia personal no se encuentra. Uno puede leer libros, puede ver cosas pero sentirlas, de experimentarlas uno mismo es algo muy diferente. La experiencia que uno trasmite es una experiencia personal. Por eso, sí, nunca dejes de estudiar, si tienes que estudiar toda la vida, estudia toda la vida. Nosotros hicimos lo mismo. Mi mujer ha estudiado como dos. Mira, tenemos como 44, 50 años. Ella estudió y hace dos años terminó hace dos años su postgrado en vidrio… esa cosa, no. Siempre nos ha interesado estudiar justamente por eso porque nosotros estamos siempre estamos regresando. Algún día quiero regresar. O sea, ella regresó. Cristina regresó hace diez años atrás. Era una oportunidad de regresar a Chile con la beca de retorno que era para trabajar en poblaciones en cosas de diseño. Pero como siempre fue un despelote. No había plata y lo que habían prometido no había, que los trabajos que existían no existían, y esas cosas y nunca pasó nada. Duró un año allí y se regresó pero… son otros tiempos, son otras cosas, otras circunstancias. A lo mejor, no sabemos. Pero, de todas maneras, ese interés de regresar está y enseñar nuevamente así siempre está.

Q
Bueno, de todas maneras, sí, y por eso mi interés es conocer de qué manera lo que ustedes están produciendo acá ha sido retomado, valorado, divulgado en Chile.

A
Mi experiencia es a nivel puramente personal, nunca de organismos ni nada, no. He tratado de interconectar con gente, con FONDART, con organismos de la región de donde vengo, de tantos proyectos o anteproyectos de cosas que me gustaría hacer, de cosas que yo podía enseñar, cosas que me gustaría compartir, cosas que me gustaría hacer con otros músicos. Siempre ha sido a nivel personal, a nivel de conocer gente en la calle, un amigo de un amigo, y ese tipo de cosa, no, y a esa forma llegué a este lugar que te contaba antes, no, a la Escuela Popular de Música en Achupallas de Viña del Mar que me parece un trabajo excelentísimo haciendo gente de población, jóvenes que no tenían ninguna otra posibilidad en lugares donde no tienen otra forma de expandirse, divertirse. No hay nada. Y que por lo menos tengan la posibilidad de hacer música, de juntarse, de crear algo junto, de no sé. Ese tipo de iniciativa me interesa mucho. Es muy interesante. Y además, las veces que he ido a Chile, siempre he tocado música. Siempre he hecho música. Siempre he estado tocando música: en conciertos, alguna grabación, qué sé yo, no. Para mí, es vital, no. Es ser. Eso es lo que hago. Es mi vida.

Q
¿Cómo ves Chile en el plano artístico-cultural? ¿Cuáles son las impresiones de la gente que conoces cuando vuelven después de haber estado en Chile, por ejemplo?

A
Mis impresiones son específicamente a través de Internet, el vínculo más fácil y más directo que tengo con Chile, no. Bueno, de donde yo vengo, hay una cantidad de actividades, de iniciativas, no, el hecho que Valparaíso se haya declarado patrimonio, hay mucho dinero, la creación del Ministerio de Cultura. La cantidad de actividades que hay en estos momentos en Valparaíso, con la cosa de Neruda hay mucho más. Sí, hay bastante. O sea, por lo menos, hay interés. Ahora, yo no sé. Como no vivo en Chile, no tengo idea cuánto de eso es cierto… si se da solamente en la idea y después nunca más. Las noticias nunca siguen. Las noticias te dan. “Esto sucede”, te dan el titular y a los dos meses esto se olvida, no. No siguen las noticias. No sé lo que habrá pasado con tal iniciativa, si habrá resultado la casa de la poesía, no sé cómo a comprobar. Entonces mi experiencia con Chile, como te digo, es a través de Internet. Entonces para mí es muy limitado. Potencialmente sí yo veo muchas cosas, no, de gente que conozco, de gente que viene, que pasa. Claro. Y me da cierta idea. Y me da muchas más ganas de regresar. Pero ahora si esas iniciativas llegan a su fin, si son realizables. No sé. O sea, cuando yo voy a Chile, máximo he ido seis semanas, la última vez fue hace dos, tres años… En los veintitantos años que estaba acá, he ido tres, cuatro veces. La primera vez no podía entrar así que me fui a Argentina. No podría opinar sobre la realidad cultural en Chile. Ahora yo veo que hay muchas iniciativas. Siempre hay mucho interés. Hay otros campos que se están abriendo sobre eso. Me interesaría. Me parece bueno. Me parece excelente que resultara, que hubiera apoyo, que fuera no solamente a nivel de una región, que fuera a nivel nacional… sería bellísimo. Conozco gente que trabaja en eso: tengo un amigo, Miguel Campusano, con quien formamos este grupo Quilombo Expontáneo acá. Y él se regresó a Chile hace unos diez años atrás. Y él trabajaba con un grupo que se llama Calimarimba. Y ellos trabajaban con otro amigo que también vivió

acá, un actor, Pancho Morales. Trabajaban con un proyecto del Gobierno que era de una campaña educativa que iban por todo el país haciendo música y teatro. Me parece muy interesante eso. Y ellos viajaban mucho. Iban al norte. No se centraban solamente en Santiago o la región central…

Q
Me gustaría que me describieras un poco más cómo utilizas la música para conectarte, para situarte, ya sea en este contexto extranjero, y vincularte con Chile, vincularte con el resto del mundo.

A
A nivel personal, es mi historia. O sea, yo no toco música. O sea, yo nunca concientemente he tocado música chilena sino que yo toco mi experiencia, lo que yo siento, esa experiencia, lo que yo toco, lo que yo hago viene una raíz de mis veintitantos años que viví en Chile que para mí fuera la parte más importante de mi vida en muchos sentidos porque me nací, me crié, hice mis amistades, me formé en muchos sentidos, no, me formé como ser humano en Chile. Mis experiencias, por ejemplo, políticas, sociales, culturales entre el anterior del Unidad Popular hasta el golpe fue muy rica en Chile. Es una cosa que fue muy importante, no. Entonces eso me marcó mucho. En ese tiempo cuando empecé a hacer música, cuando me interesó la música, había todo unos deseos de hacer cosas. Todo era posible en esos momentos a nivel cultural y, de hecho, lo era, no, ese tipo de cosa que para mí fue muy importante el hecho de poder empezar hacerse música ahí cuando todo era posible. Lo que tú querías hacer, lo hacías. No habían límites. O sea, habían pero a mí nunca me importaban una raja si los hubiesen o no. Los hacía, no, porque había ese ímpetu: había una cosa como que, no sé, había también esa sensación de estar Haciendo Historia, sentirse parte de la Historia. Eso fue muy importante de mi experiencia en Chile. Yo me sentí parte de la Historia. Sentí que lo que yo hacía, lo que cualquiera hacía, de alguna u otra forma, cambiaba algo: gestos, formas, acciones, lo que fuese, a todo nivel. No solamente política sino que de enfrentamiento, discusión, de pensar, de no sé, lo que fuese. Era algo que cambiaba la Historia y eso fue muy importante, no. Entonces, como todo era importante, como todo era posible, todo era nuevo. Musicalmente, para mí. Yo vengo del rock porque el rock es lo que yo escuchaba cuando chico y la otra música no me interesaba mucho. Pero cuando yo decidí hacer música - dije “Esto es lo que yo quiero hacer. Me gustaría algún día ser músico.” - fue a partir de un grupo que se llama Los Jaivas. Lo conoces, no. Pero Los Javias no el grupo que ustedes conocen, era un grupo que era otra cosa. Era un grupo que hacía música experimental. Eran unos tipos loquísimos que eran de Viña del Mar donde yo vengo. Se subían al escenario y tocaban rock al comienzo. Después empezaron a tocar instrumentos como trutrucas, charangos, cosas que para nosotros eran totalmente nuevas. Eran como que alguien te prestara un violín chino, una cosa... Pero al mismo tiempo tenían radios, tocaban el piano por dentro con metales y con cositas y hacían unas tocatas que duraban tres, cuatro horas, no, y todo totalmente improvisado. Para mí, eso fue, yo tenía quince años y eso me viró: “Esto es otra cosa. Esto no es, ni es Jimi Hendrix, ni nada. Es otra cosa que es nuevo.” Y eso me dijo, claro, todo es posible. Yo puedo hacer esto. Yo puedo hacer esto. Yo puedo hacer esto. Me dan un día y lo hacía con unos amigos, nos íbamos a la playa, armábamos unos *happenings*, armábamos historias, teatros, poesía y tocábamos música con lo que fuese: con tarros de cerveza, con botellas, con lo que encontrábamos, no, rocas y eso, no. De un grupo de gente todos salieron artistas: eran poetas, pintores. Era una cosa muy linda, eso, no. Teníamos como quince, dieciséis

años y todos estábamos interesados políticamente. Estábamos militando cosas, no. Éramos al mismo tiempo responsables de pertenecer a esto que estaba cambiando, de sentirnos ciudadanos, sin haber tenido derecho a voto, ni nada, y al mismo tiempo hacer lo que nos paraban las pelotas de, qué sé yo, de fumar hierba, de tocar música, de andar como hippie como lo que fuese, no. Como decía, todo era posible, todo era importante. Era ser parte de la Historia. Eso me marcó en términos de lo que yo en este momento hago pero tú me preguntas si mi música es chilena. Yo no sé. Mis experiencias sí las tengo yo pero nunca es conciente. Esto lo que hablaba anteriormente: la acumulación de cosas, de experiencias con otros músicos, con otra gente de diferentes disciplinas… Entonces yo, al final de cuentas, lo que yo hago es eso: es volcar esa experiencia sobre cosas que yo voy sintiendo y reaccionando en un momento de acuerdo al ambiente donde me encuentro.

Q
Me interesa conocer cómo te sitúas, cierto, como chileno - esta particularidad - dentro del sistema europeo.

A
Bueno, en ese sentido, digo para mí desde el comienzo este interés por hacer cosas me llevó a intentar de conocer gente, no. Siempre he buscado, siempre he tratado de buscar cosas. Y generalmente cuando uno busca se encuentran inesperadamente, no. Si estás con las antenas abiertas, siempre vas a encontrar algo en lugares más inesperados, en lugares que ni siquiera te imaginas pudieran existir, pero son lindas esas cosas, no. O sea, por un lado, sí es personal. Tiene que ser personal pero por el otro lado también hay una cosa que es mucho más universal, que es mucho más importante que lo que uno pueda dar. Va más allá de uno. De lo que tú observas, de lo que tú sientes, de lo que tú piensas, lo que tú crees está involucrado sobre eso y ser receptivo a otras experiencias, a otras culturas, a otras formas de pensar, otras formas de ser. Es importante. Es vital dentro de lo que uno puede hacer, ser integrador de cosas, ser parte de algo, no. Me molesta mucho, no… no sea importante lo que uno siente… pero pienso al mismo tiempo es como *self-indulgent*. A mí no me interesa. Yo no cuestiono lo que cualquiera pueda expresar pero gente, por ejemplo, Tracey Emin que hace cosas como de ella muy personales. Me gusta bien. O sea, no niego eso pero, ¿qué más allá de lo que a mí? No sé pero el mundo siempre ha existido a partir de uno, las cosas, no, pero hay un mundo afuera de uno. O sea, no es Yo y Yo y Yo y Yo y el mundo, no. No puede ser así. No me interesa. O sea, tiene su valor porque todo tiene su valor y no puedes cuestionar eso, pero el valor que pueden tener puede ser muy mínimo o no sé. En realidad, es difícil valorar porque para a mí no interesa. No me llama la atención y el arte que no me llama la atención, que no me choca, no me interesa para nada. El conformismo, el comercialismo de todo esto no me, puede ser muy bonito quizás, interesante, pero el arte no debe ser interesante solamente, no. El arte es una cuestión de cuestionamiento, no de dar respuestas de cosas. Por eso yo también pienso que el arte en sí no debe ser político para nada. El arte, como las ciencias son independientes. Es uno quien es comprometido, el arte no y la ciencia tampoco. Son cosas afuera. Tú preguntas, no puedes dar respuesta. Sino si das respuestas se convierte en una cosa que no tiene valor, pierde el valor del arte… de cuestionamiento. Entonces ese tipo de cosas así del Yo, Yo, Yo es como una forma de derrota, de no ser capaz de cuestionar y sentir que el mundo es uno y nada más. No me interesa.

Q

Defíneme lo que es para ti el arte.

A
Mira, a veces es muy difícil que los artistas puedan explicar lo que hacen. Lo que pasa es que los artistas no tienen que explicar nada porque lo que uno explica está en lo que uno hace. Si yo necesitara explicar lo que yo hago no tendría valor porque tendría que explicarlo. O sea, es para la gente que lo ve, lo escucha, lo siente darle su propia interpretación porque mi interpretación puede ser completamente diferente a lo que la gente pueda entender sobre eso. Por eso te digo el arte, lo único que puedo definir el arte es que el arte es una herramienta, es una arma para cuestionar, para soñar, para sentir, para poder complementar las cosas tan básicas como el amor, los deseos, los sueños.

Q
Yo apuntaba a la intencionalidad.

A
Bueno, en ese sentido, claro. O sea, ahí tienen mi experiencia, mi experiencia más que nada política, ideológica… de tener que cuestionar todo. Yo chiquito cuestioné todo, no: el sistema, lo que me enseñaban, lo que yo hacía, todo. Porque mis padres me enseñaron a hacer eso, no, de ser capaz de eso, de ser articulado… de poder articular cosas: los sentimientos, los pensamientos, de poder entender las cosas. Y para mí, el arte fue el vehículo con que yo podía hacer eso. Me permitía mirar el mundo y entenderlo y de alguna forma tirarlo fuera a través de lo que yo hacía. Puede ser a través de dibujo, de poemas o de música o lo que fuese, no. Solamente sentir, mirar las estrellas, el sol, la luna, la playa, lo que fuese, las nubes y sentir que, o sea, además de ser un ser-uno en una sociedad, hay un mundo más allá que esto, no. O sea, está la cuestión principal que la sociedad, los seres humanos, la tierra… O sea, si tú no pones a pensar de que el universo es, de que nosotros delante del universo somos tan chiquitos y a veces nos creemos que somos tanto. Pero si miramos el cielo, nos damos cuenta que no somos tan grande, no. Entonces hay que ser un poco más humilde sobre lo que uno es. Pero al mismo tiempo, la humildad no significa no reconocer lo que uno puede aportar, lo que uno puede hacer. Referente a tu pregunta de qué lo que es el arte, no sé. Es eso: un cuestionamiento. Para mí, es un cuestionamiento de cosas, es una forma interesantísima de cuestionarse.

Las escuelas de arte, por ejemplo, son una cosa doble filo porque por un lado te enseñan técnicas y cosas que tú no sabes o que llegar a aprenderlas algún día te va a tomar mucho más tiempo. Pero por otro lado, la escuela es un producto. Tú eres un producto de la escuela, entonces el producto en final tiene que tener un valor. ¿Vale o no vale? Y te califican. Te dan notas y siempre desde chiquitito te dan notas, unos sietes, un diez, lo que sea, y al final tienes que cumplir con el currículum, con esto, con esto otro y si no calzas sobre eso, no sirves, no eres artista, no eres lo que sea. Que es una pena porque el arte no debe ser así. El arte es la exploración de uno, lo que te enseña el maestro es técnica, lo que uno hace es cosa de cada uno. Cómo aplicas esas técnicas. Puedes que no aprendas ninguna pero, bueno, eso ya es cosa de uno. Hay niveles también. Pero también si bien son importantes las escuelas de arte, el arte yo pienso, el arte tiene que ser hecho por todos sino no es arte. Todo el mundo es potencialmente capaz de crear. Todo el ser es creativo. Ahora, no todo el mundo se atreve… o se atreve pero no se siente confiado, “Lo que yo hago no tiene valor”. ¡Pero

tiene valor! Todo tiene valor. Lo que sea, no. Las escuelas de arte a lo mejor te educan para no sé, ¿para qué te educan? Para ser profesional, para vender. ¡No! He conocido gente que ha hecho cosas buenas, pero generalmente la gente que hace cosas interesantes que han ido a escuelas son gente que se rebela dentro de la escuela. O sea, se van o mandan a la mierda el profesor o a la institución y aprenden lo que tienen que aprender y después chao. Sí. Pero, de todas maneras, tiene su valor la escuela, ¿no?

Claro… uniformidad. Te convierte en un producto más, uno más que sale, eres un *tick*. No, hay gente también que no ha ido nunca en una escuela ni y hacen unas cosas bellísima, no. ¿Cómo será? Esto fue en Zimbabwe en un pueblito perdido para allá en no sé dónde. Había un pueblito de escultores en piedra y cosas bellísimas y las hacían ellos mismos. No habían escuelas ni nada. La gente en un momento en ese pueblo se interesó en hacer piedra y trabajaban unas piedras, unas rocas enormes… los que tenían más experiencia, los que llevaban años hacían unas cosas enormes, las cosas tan hermosas que hacían. Iban creando estas figuras. No sé. Hermosas. La belleza a partir no de valores entregados sino a partir de la fuerza del miedo que sentían sobre ese abismo que había entre eso de la escultura, del espacio que se creaba esa cosa metida en el espacio que definía el espacio alrededor y que era como un hoyo negro, y que era además una piedra obscura, negra verde o gris. ¡Fantástico! Esa gente nunca fue a escuela.

… lo que uno hiciera tenía un valor en sí para uno, pero tenía un valor más allá que además transformaba. No sé si a lo mejor en forma muy *naïve* quizás, tal vez no tenía ningún valor, pero uno lo sintió así. Al menos yo me sentí así, que lo que yo hiciera o hiciese tenía valor, y sentirse parte de algo y sentirse útil, sentir que mi vida tiene un valor más allá de uno mismo, un valor social. Bien. Una experiencia que creo nunca más he sentido y nunca más volveré a sentir, el hecho de tocar el cielo con las manos, tocar el culo de Dios, como dice mucha gente... Nuestra realidad era eso, descubrir esta realidad y hacerla nuestra a partir de la exploración musical y de encontrar toda esta cosa que te decía antes de las antenitas paradas y detectar “esto es nuestro”.

Q
¿Ustedes fueron los únicos en esa onda?

A
Sí, lamentablemente. Lamentablemente. Hubo un chileno, sí. Un chileno que cuando llegué ya estaba acá y se llamaba Álvaro Peña-Rojas, “the Chilean with the singing nose” que famoso se hizo él porque él salió elegido en el año ‘87, ‘88 sacó un álbum que se llamaba *Drinking My Own Sperm*, elegido el disco más malo del año. Y era un tipo genial. Por fin encontré algo que no fuese protesta ni llanto ni cortarse las venas, ni “pobrecitos nosotros”, no. Era un tipo que salía con un buzo azul como de mecánico y además tocaba con guantes. Tocaba piano con guantes. Una cosa loquísima. Todo el mundo iba a ver a Quilapayún, y a llorar, que compañero y el veía y se sentaba al piano y hacía unas cosas loquísimas, no. La gente no sabía qué hacer. La única forma de reaccionar era pararse e irse, no. Y dije, “Esto me gusta”, no. Al tiempo se fue a Alemania, duró como un año acá. Lo encontré cuando regresé a Chile, estaba tocando en Viña del Mar nuevamente pero no lo pude ver, pero está en Viña del Mar y se llama Álvaro Peña-Rojas, “the Chilean with the singing nose”. No sé lo que hará ahora. El álbum que lo tengo en Chile *Drinking My Own Sperm* es una locura. Es una cosa donde

tocan piedras... Ellos estuvieron asociados con un movimiento acá inglés. Era un grupo que se llamaba The Holy Cows, un grupo muy político de rock, un rock rarísimo y ellos estuvieron muy, muy involucrados con esa onda. Se llama Rock Alternativo.

Incluso mucha gente realmente estaba ofendida con la cosa que hacíamos nosotros porque éramos un desprestigio para Chile, no… ¿Por qué hacíamos cosas que no tenían nada que ver con Chile? Y ¿por qué no cantábamos canciones de protesta? ¿que nos reímos de todo el mundo? Me encantaba que dijeran eso porque con más fuerza podíamos hacer lo que nosotros queríamos hacer. Entonces gente como Carlos Cartens sí nos dieron espacios para presentar... A fuerza. Bueno, porque Miguel es una persona muy dinámica, no. Era un tipo que se metía con todo. Entonces siempre nos llevaba a muchos festivales, principalmente africanos. Ahí era donde la gente más enganchaba con las cosas que nosotros hacíamos. No tenían ningún prejuicio. Lo encontrarían raro. Dirían, "Esto es lo que es la música latinoamericana". Tal vez no tenían ningún concepto de lo que era música latinoamericana, por lo tanto la aceptaban como tal, pero lo que era la comunidad, especialmente chilenos, fue terrible. Tuvimos que luchar para que nos tuvieran en un evento y decir, "No, nosotros somos chilenos"… Porque había una cuestión de solidaridad, habían cosas que hacían por proyectos específicos, no: solidaridad con los presos políticos, solidaridad con algunas escuelas, solidaridad con los familiares de los desparecidos, lo que fuese, no. Y que todo el mundo participara… pero a nosotros nos dejaban al margen porque no éramos chilenos o no hacíamos música chilena. Entonces había que luchar. Miguel luchaba. Decía, "No, nosotros vamos a tocar aquí porque somos chilenos. Nos importa una raja si le gusta o no. Tenemos que participar porque nosotros somos de aquí." Era la persona que sí tenía esa forma de ser y se imponía y nos invitaban a pesar de ello, no, a estos conciertos. "Bueno, tocan quince minutos." Tocábamos media hora, pero como somos improvisado no tenemos noción del tiempo, y con mayor razón tocábamos media hora más. Era forma de integrarnos a esto porque... A mí me dolía mucho eso, no: de ser chileno y no nos invitaran cosas que tienen que ver con Chile o con lo que significaba la solidaridad con lo que sucedía en Chile en ese momento. Terrible, un sectarismo terrible. Ahora, pasó pero.

Q
¿Quién los escuchaba a ustedes aquí?

A
Los africanos y de repente algún festival…

Q
Y ¿infiltraron material a Chile?

A
Sí. Mira, tuvimos la suerte, sí enviamos cosas a Chile, no. Tocaron una vez en una radio por ahí en Santiago, en Valparaíso. Hicimos la música para un, que fue increíble, fue muy lindo eso, en tiempo de la dictadura se presentó en Chile la obra de Darío Fo - "Si no puedes pagar, no pagues" algo así, no - era *La muerte accidental de un anarquista* que era una historia que tenía mucha relación con Chile así, una cosa de alguien que mataban, que se moría, que nunca se supo si lo mataban. Era como una cosa de la DINA. Y que lo presentó un grupo de teatro, gente que vivió acá, estos actores que vivieron acá y se regresaron a Chile y se juntaron con actores que vivían en Chile y que

ya estaban establecidos. Este teatro presentaba obras de teatro en poblaciones. Al final de la obra hacían una discusión de lo que significaba la obra. En poblaciones, entonces era gratis. Ellos se financiaban ellos mismos. Y filmaron estas cosas, estas obras de teatro, en la Bandera, en la Quintana, en diferentes poblaciones marginales en Santiago. Y en la filmación incluyeron música de Quilombo Expontáneo. Esto fue en tiempo de la clandestinidad, durante Pinochet. Sí, llegó la música de Quilombo allí. Y ahora creo que vi unas grabaciones a Valparaíso y le incluyeron una música que yo hice en una obra de teatro y una de danza... un grupo de gente que estaba dispersa y quería hacer cosas, que quería tantear las aguas y ver hasta donde podíamos llegar y me acuerdo que hubo un tema que nosotros tocamos, era largísimo el tema y se llamaba "Verde y rojo", era de un músico - no sé si era venezolano - y tenía que ver con algo de los francotiradores… gente que - no me acuerdo muy bien del tema mismo - los francotiradores que disparaban de un edificio en alto, no, y era toda esta imagen que venía de Chile, de la Moneda… y en ese tiempo era absolutamente radical eso, no: un tema que mostraba balas, que mostraba la resistencia a nivel publico, no. A nivel clandestino sí habían muchas otras cosas, pero a nivel público... la gente fue ya al Teatro Municipal y fue muy interesante porque marcó un poco decir hasta dónde uno puede llegar en Chile, ya después siguieron otra cosas, no. Pero ésa fue la última cosa que yo participé activamente.

Q
¿Qué año fue eso?

A
'75 debe haber sido. No, yo estaba en el '76… Congreso sacó el disco azul que venía con un tema que se llamaba... Congreso utilizó una forma de denuncia que utilizaron los brasileros el año '70 por ahí en el tiempo de su dictadura, cuando ellos fueron prohibidos de cantar canciones y estaba la censura. Entonces la forma de evadir la censura fue hacer unas músicas que tuvieran, que en pantalla parecieran músicas no tenía ningún sentido, cosas muy banales pero que tenían a través de si tú estudiabas la música, la lírica, las cosas, sí tenía un doble sentido, un mensaje, no, en forma poética. Y Congreso hizo esta cosa con un disco azul. Y la canción se llamaba "¿Dónde estarás?" "El día se parte la tierra, el día que se muere el mar." Claro… pero detrás de eso había toda una cosa que era como una expresión de la gente que no podía expresarse. Mira, a lo mejor, ahora si yo la escucho, no dice nada, no, pero en ese tiempo sí decía mucho. Y había una cosa de la muerte de los… unas imágenes, más que nada imágenes. Utilizó mucho Milton Nascimento para decir cosas, no, en el doble sentido de las cosas y eso fue...

Yo nunca he sido músico. He intentado ser músico. He querido ser músico pero por eso mismo de no querer comprometer lo que yo hago como músico es que me he alejado de la música. Esto por ejemplo digo Carlos un gran amigo mío. Yo no podría hacer lo que él hace. ¡Que lindo lo que él hace! Es un buen músico. Es un gran amigo pero tocar música que ya está hecha… de gente que ya murió, que la hizo en tiempo que ya pasó, no puedo. No podía hacer. Yo ya no puedo tocar esa música que existió. Entonces, mi referencia es con otras cosas. No es de música. Mi referencia es a partir de colores, sensaciones más que nada. O la poesía, la literatura o la pintura. Hay poetas y hay pintores que sí mi música se refleja mucho: Miró, por ejemplo, pintor que siempre tengo una gran referencia por sus colores tan primarios. Yo tengo amigos también, amigos pintores que yo, estos amigos de que hablaba yo de Chile que ahora viven acá, otros en

Holanda, Argentina que tienen esa gran experiencia, esa misma vivencia, que mi referencia musical va con lo que ellos hacen con el color, con la textura, con los olores de la pintura, el óleo, el tamaño, la figura. No el tema sino cosas más que nada tangenciales. Sobre eso y entre ellos el color es muy importante en lo que hago con la música. Cuando yo toco música donde improviso, improviso a través de colores, referencias que no tienen que necesariamente ser musical. No hay una referencia musical. Son otras cosas. Imágenes. Especialmente imágenes. Debe ser, yo pienso, porque a veces trato de analizar, no, el hecho que yo nunca podía aprender a leer música. La experiencia que te conté antes del grupo Quimantú que toqué muchos años con ellos que para mí fue una experiencia muy linda en términos de conocer el país pero musicalmente para mí fue muy frustrante por el hecho de tocar por no sé cuántas veces por año, trescientas veces por año la misma canción, el mismo orden, los mismos chistes, la misma presentación. Todas estas formas de hacer música para mí... Yo gané dinero. Era una forma de vender. Pero para mí era al mismo tiempo muy frustrante porque era una forma de prostituir lo que yo quería hacer, de lo que a mí sentía como músico. O sea, la música para mí no era eso. No podía ser una forma de ganar dinero con eso. Era una forma de expresión, una forma que uno tiene como cualquier ser humano de crear, de sentir y de expresar. Entonces, hacer algo así de esa forma a mí me dolía mucho. Lo pasé bien, bacán, lo pasé raja. Te digo que conocí cosas bellísimas. Vi pueblos en este país, digamos, este país desde Cornwall hasta las islas de Escocia, no: lugares chiquititos, pequeños, lindos, qué sé yo, bellísimos, bellísimos. Gente muy linda. Todos lugares diferentes pero siempre al final de cuentas venía esto que la gente escuchaba lo que yo hacía y lo que yo hacía no era lo que yo quería mostrar a la gente. No pude más. Terminé… y de ese momento decidí nunca más hacer música que a mí no tuviera primero que nada una necesidad hacerla. Entonces, yo trabajo en otras cosas, decidí trabajar en traducción, trabajar en televisión, en mil cosas, lo que fuese, pero nunca más en música, a no ser que fuese lo que yo sintiera, la necesidad de hacer algo. Estoy contento, no, estoy muy feliz de hacer. Me gustaría, por supuesto, vivir de mi música pero tampoco me opongo. Yo sé que puedo sobrevivir de otras cosas y la música para mí va a ser el centro. Es como mi religión. Yo no soy creyente ni nada. Soy ateo pero la música para mí es como, suplanta un poco eso, no, en otra forma. Esa sensibilidad del contacto con el ser humano, el conocer, el creer, contactar… sentir, no, sentir el mundo con lo que hago. Para mí, eso es.

Interview with musician, first generation

Q
Cuéntame de tu proceso de venida y tu carrera musical.

A
Bueno, yo llegué a este país el '77, habiendo pasado por Argentina. Las razones de mi salida son producto del golpe de estado en Chile y no se me permitió volver a la universidad. Yo estaba estudiado estructura y galerías de minas en la Universidad Técnica del Estado, la que ahora es la Bío-Bío, creo que se llama. Entonces ése fue el motivo principal. Ahora, en Argentina viví desde el '74 hasta venirme, en realidad, hasta el '77. Y la música dentro del plano personal siempre estuvo presente en mi casa porque mi mamá canta, mi papá, mis hermanos, todo el mundo canta. Ahora, ninguno tocaba un instrumento y yo así con amigos y amigas empecé a pedir prestado una guitarra, esas guitarras antiguas chilenas. Entonces empecé a explorar un poco esa parte. Ahora, yo escribía poesía desde hace mucho tiempo. O sea, digo desde hace mucho tiempo desde entonces hacia atrás porque hay una poesía que yo escribí, tengo que haber tenido unos cuatro, cinco años porque la poesía es, o sea, son un par de frases en realidad, pero en un español de un niño de esa edad. Entonces, por ejemplo, en vez de decir "blanca", yo digo "anca". ¿Me entiendes? O sea, yo calculo que ésa es la edad más o menos que yo, exacto. Entonces, es una cuestión que yo tenía presente en mí como persona, esta cuestión de la poesía, del arte. Ahora, yo vivo en un lugar en Maule en una población que es divina porque la casa de mi mamá está a cinco minutos del mar. Entonces en la noche tú te duermes y están las olas siempre presentes y toda una cosa ligada al océano dentro de lo que la gente joven de esa población vivió. Siempre fuimos a mirar las puestas del sol. Nos preocupamos un poco de recrear ese aspecto sin saber, no, que eso iba a tener una influencia en lo que nosotros íbamos a hacer en la vida. Entonces mi formación musical parte de escuchar a mi mamá cantando tangos, sambas. La primera samba angélica que se hizo famosa en Chile de los Fronterizos. Cuando hicimos fiesta en mi casa, qué sé yo, Leo Marini, mucho tango, música mexicana que en la zona la música mexicana era muy, muy tocada y todavía es, no. En Chile en sí se usa mucho la música mexicana. Es muy popular. Y después ya conociendo un poco más y abriendo más el espectro al raíz del impacto cultural que tuvo gente como Violeta Parra en Chile, uno empieza a buscar ciertos caminos para expresarse y ciertos ejemplos. Entonces tendríamos a Violeta Parra que es la más importante figura, yo pienso, dentro de la música chilena que rescata eso y después todo el resto que venía después de Violeta Parra pero al mismo tiempo en Argentina está pasando esto con Atahualpa Yupanqui y están llevando cosas, no cierto, de Atahualpa Yupanqui a Chile. También llegaban cosas de gente como Los Platters de Estados Unidos, no, en esa época, música que era completamente ajena en términos de poética porque no entendíamos pero sí todo el mundo cantaba, no, [*sings*] *Only Youuuuuuuuu*. Entonces esa cosa, la radio fue muy importante en mi formación y a través de la radio todo este bagaje de sonidos, como te decía, eso fue formando un poco una especie de capa dentro de mí de sonidos y de música que yo no sabía que se estaba gestando, acumulando. Entonces la génesis es, la que te digo yo, el sonido del mar, la naturaleza y la lucha de los mineros. Eso fue muy importante: la protesta del minero, la forma de trabajar, la solidaridad que había. Y eso tiene un ritmo dentro de la vida de uno. Y ese ritmo yo pienso que se quedó en mí - ese ritmo de solidaridad, de hermandad, de ayudarse - porque el trabajo de los mineros siempre fue muy duro. Entonces siempre hubo espacios para que se pudiera divertir la gente, espacios de orquestas. Los ingleses dejaron mucha de las *brass bands*, el orfeón de carabineros, el orfeón de Lota y ésos son *brass bands* en realidad y son legados

de la cultura inglesa, escocesa dentro de las minas. Entonces hay una presencia también de ese tipo de música dentro de lo que yo hago. Esos sonidos me acuerdo que estaban los, que uno seguía a los 18, para la fiesta de Navidad. Siempre había un desfile y los bomberos tocaban y nosotros seguíamos, qué sé yo, hasta izaban la bandera. Esa música también formó parte de lo que yo soy como músico ahora. Eso más o menos resumiendo de donde viene la cosa.

Ahora, mi salida de Chile provocó un montón de cambios dentro de mi vida. Y uno de los cambios mayores fue tener que enfrentar la crueldad de separarse de gente que uno quería mucho. Yo siempre lo tomé como una cosa trágica pero, a su vez, intenté de sacar aprovecho de la situación porque no habían muchos caminos y los caminos que habían en términos de volver a Chile en forma inmediata se cerraron prácticamente. Entonces yo creo por espacios de dos años uno vivió con la maleta hecha, no, para volver. Pero después eso ya fue cambiando. Creo que yo tenía 25 años cuando llegué acá si no me equivoco y salí de Chile a los 19 años, entonces joven dentro de lo que se, en nuestros países, se termina para poder salir, no. A Santiago creo que había ido una vez, dos veces antes, entonces. Y después me encontré en Buenos Aires que es una ciudad tan grande como ésta y tan bonita como ésta y allí en Argentina logré también conectarme con gente a través de mi trabajo. Por ejemplo, yo trabajé en la cosecha de manzanas en Neuquén y venía mucha gente haciendo diferentes tipos de cosechas en el territorio argentino, venían del tabaco en el norte, después de los tomates y de la uva en San Juan Mendoza, Tucumán primero, San Juan Mendoza después, pasaban a la manzana, después se iban a la esquila en la Patagonia. Entonces toda esta gente traía canciones, traía temas, traía cosas y toda esa experiencia que yo tenía de tocar samba, por ejemplo, en Argentina a la pinta de los chilenos, yo la enriquecí aprendiendo de la fuente, aprendiendo de los tipos que me enseñaron a tocar una chacarera como corresponde. Todo esto así en términos folclóricos; nada de música escrita, notación musical, todo, todo, todo. Entonces allí enriquecí mucho más el bagaje de conocimiento de la fuente misma y eso lo trasladé después acá cuando volví. Ahora, yo fui miembro de la Juventud Comunista acá por mucho tiempo. Yo en Chile no era miembro de ningún partido pero en esa época tú participabas de todas maneras, de todas maneras, y eso es lo que fue una ventaja para gente de nuestra generación. Entonces acá la única organización que a mi me merecía confianza para poder expresar ciertas cuestiones políticas que yo necesitaba expresar era la Juventud Comunista. Y ingresé la Juventud Comunista acá de fecha no me acuerdo para no mentir pero a ver yo llegué el '77, supongamos que podría haber sido el '80 por ahí por poner una fecha para no ser tan al lote pero más o menos. O sea, no tengo fechas precisas.

Q
¿Cómo todo este referente que se almacenó en Chile se cristaliza, se plasma en tu trabajo acá?

A
Yo creo que es parte de una necesidad de expresar un montón de cosas y, retomando un poco el hilo, la Jota siempre se caracterizó en Chile como acá en realidad por tener un aparato cultural muy desarrollado, muy importante. O sea, la Juventud Comunista y el Partido Comunista siempre le dieron a la cultura el lugar que corresponde dentro de la historia de la sociedad chilena, no, partiendo de Recabaren y su grupo de teatro. Entonces siempre fue como una especie de manera de ser. Por lo tanto la estructura de la Jota acá tenía gente encargada de realizar actos culturales y siempre cuando había un acto político,

se hacía un acto cultural y se empezaron a formar talleres, diferentes tipos de instrumentos. Yo toqué con las hijas de Victor Jara en el grupo Pueblo que fue el primer grupo de las juventudes comunistas acá y uno de los primeros grupos latinoamericanos y allí estaba gente como Mauricio Redolés que es un poeta chileno, Samuel Durán que es un médico ahora en Concepción pero que era muy buen músico. Su hermano se llama Rodrigo, creo que es del grupo Entrama, hay un grupo que se llama Entrama en Chile, y ahora recibió el premio en Concepción del mejor artista. Él es celista de la Sinfónica, Rodrigo Durán, creo que le llamen, es que a todos los conozco de referencia, ¿ah? Entonces yo no era miembro de la Juventud y cantaba por el grupo de la Juventud y todo el mundo, toda la comunidad latina, me veía como comunista y yo en sí era comunista pero no pertenecía a un Partido. Porque para mí ser comunista no es pertenecer a un Partido; es una actitud frente a la vida. Y eso no cambia siendo parte de un Partido o siendo gerente de un banco. O sea, no creo que hay muchos gerentes de bancos que sean comunistas pero me refiero a la forma, no, de ver la vida, la forma de enfrentar la vida. Entonces eso produjo en mí ganas de tratar de hacer cosas a parte de la cuestión militante porque también, y yo creo que es importante decirlo, se favoreció mucho a gente militante en términos de promoción, en términos de envío a conferencias, a la gente que estaba más cerca a los dirigentes del Partido. O sea, yo no estaba y nunca, todo mi trabajo musical ha sido basado en *mi* experiencia, en *mi* esfuerzo, en mi talento. Nunca fue basado en la experiencia del Partido Comunista o de la influencia que el Partido Comunista podría tener culturalmente. Y eso lo quiero aclarar porque mucha gente que hoy día está fuera del Partido Comunista, como los Inti-Illimani, los Quilapayún, los Parra, fueron gente que recibieron ayuda directa del Partido Comunista en términos de organización de festivales. Nosotros acá, nosotros digo, la Jota organizó los festivales más grandes en la solidaridad con Chile con gente como Peter Siegel, con gente como Billy Bragg, con gente como John Williams, con gente como los Inti-Illimani, como los Parra, a toda esta gente que está de visita acá. Y toda esa plata fue enviada a Chile. Toda. O sea, yo soy testigo, y además soy testigo de que todos estos grupos fueron pagados. O sea, a ninguno de estos grupos vino a tocar aquí gratis. Y a mí nadie me puede decir porque nosotros organizábamos. Nosotros llevábamos, y le pagábamos la gente. En plata no en cheque. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces eso lo quiero aclarar porque es importante que la gente sepa estas cosas. Sobre todo ahora que en Chile hay todo esto de que se separan los grupos, que uno está en Francia, el otro está allá y que se pelean por diez pesos. ¿Me entiendes? O sea, un desencanto pero y eso era la gente un poco que uno miraba hacia arriba, ¿no? Yo lo lamento porque músicos como ellos son - no se les puede negar su calidad musical - pero su calidad moral tiene mucho que, para mí, desear. Mucho. Mucho, porque yo no he visto nunca un trabajo que han hecho este tipo de gente en términos poblacionales, por ejemplo. Nunca he visto Inti-Illimani yo haciendo un trabajo de este tipo. Nunca he visto a Quilapayún haciendo trabajo de este tipo. Cuando estaba la Unidad Popular, por supuesto, todo el mundo estaba pero era fácil porque tenían los camiones, tenían la ayuda. Entonces era muy fácil ser, no cierto, de Izquierda. Claro, después del golpe la cosa se puso feísima pero mientras ellos tuvieron allí, también hubieron canales que supieron aprovechar. O sea, yo no digo que no se deba hacer. Lo que digo es que la gente tiene que reconocer que eso pasó. A eso me refiero yo. Entonces, volviendo a la cosa cultural esta explosión en términos personales se produce por escribir canciones, musicalizar la cosa poética o la cosa de poesía que yo tenía antes. Y para los primeros festivales - nosotros organizábamos acá los festivales de Victor Jara - los primeros festivales de Victor Jara se organizaron en Londres. Ahora siguen haciéndose en Chile pero se organizaron acá porque, como te digo, estaban las hijas de Victor, Manuela y Amanda, y Joan Jara que vivía acá también. Entonces con ellas nosotros, y con el patrocinio de esta gente se hizo, entonces hubo esos canales de

expresión que sirvieron para dar a conocer el caso chileno, los derechos humanos. Y participábamos no solamente cantando pero además, por ejemplo, huelgas de hambre. Yo estuve en una huelga de hambre larga - larga porque cualquier huelga de hambre es larga, no - duró 5, 7 días. Un apoyo a una huelga de hambre en Chile aquí. Entonces hacíamos todo ese tipo de actividades. Todo estaba ligado en relación a que la dictadura se terminara en Chile. Y allí dentro de ese campo habían diferencias de opiniones, habían diferencias de formas de ver cómo se derrotaba la dictadura. Entonces el campo era fértil como para los creadores dar su opinión con respecto a eso también. Eso en el sentido personal. Ahora en el sentido profesional, la primera persona que a mí me dio la posibilidad de grabar, por ejemplo, fue John Williams. Ellos vinieron a un concierto nuestro y John estaba haciendo un álbum. Se llamaba *La guitarra es la canción* donde él tocaba temas de diferentes partes del mundo incluido temas venezolanos. Y vinieron a una actuación del grupo Pueblo en ese momento y necesitaban un cuatro para tocar, para incorporar al disco y le gustó el sonido del charango. Entonces nos invitaron y yo le expliqué que el charango no era un instrumento venezolano, que era andino, etcétera, etcétera. Le gustó el sonido, entonces grabamos todos los temas venezolanos con cuatro y con charango. Yo no tenía ningún control artístico sobre, imagínate, y no iba a tener control artístico con John tampoco. Pero fue muy divertido y eso me dio la posibilidad de conocer a un músico que se llama Richard Harvey que él es nuestro invitado permanente de Quimantú. Él es otro miembro de Quimantú. ¿Ya? Y él tocó con un grupo acá que fue muy conocido que se llamaba Gryphon que hacía una cosa medieval. Muy bueno el grupo. Tuvieron la mala suerte de salir justo cuando salía la música punk y eso reventó todo porque ellos eran muy finos, muy buenos, pero la música punk barreó con todo en realidad en esa época, ¿no? Bueno, entonces Richard ha sido la persona que más influencia ha tenido en mí en términos de creación musical. Musical. No canción sino que música en sí porque él ha escrito mucha música para películas. Y él es un compositor clásico de acá que yo pienso que en el futuro va a ser clásico en términos de Elgar, en términos de música. ¿Ya? El hizo una obra preciosa que se llama *The Plague and the Moonflower*, ya, que es una cantata-opera con dibujos de Ralph Steadman. Entonces eso lo representamos en la Catedral de Exeter, en la de Canterbury, St Paul's Cathedral y Richard en ese sentido me dio la posibilidad de hacer un álbum para su compañía, un álbum de música para televisión, televisión y directamente para una cosa que se llama *library music*, *production* ahora se llama. Entonces es música que no va a los canales normales. No va a Virgin. Va a las compañías de televisión de todo el mundo, a la compañía de *filmmakers*. Se distribuye de esa manera y ellos pagan por el uso de la música. Entonces eso es lo que me paga a las cuentas a mí. Por eso puedo hacer otro tipo de cosa porque acá el derecho de autor se respeta mucho. No como en Chile o los países latinos, no. Mucho, mucho. Entonces yo soy miembro hace mucho tiempo del Performing Right Society de acá. El PRS. Y siempre me llega mi plata sagrada. Te tocan. Te tocan en China, los tipos se encargan de ir y buscar sus derechos. Una organización súper buena de acá. Porque en Chile me han grabado y me han tocado y yo nunca he sabido que me hayan pagado. Pero es una cosa de educación. Porque a la gente hay que educarla sobre la propiedad intelectual. Y decirles, "Mira, no puedes tocar esto en la radio porque si la tocas tienes que pagar". Pero se está haciendo, ah, paso a paso. En Chile ahora la Sociedad del Derecho de Autor tiene más poder, tiene más acceso. Entonces musicalmente en ese sentido con John conocí a Richard y con Richard empecé a mezclarme en el mundo de los compositores ingleses y los compositores de música para películas y para televisión más que nada. Toda esta gente toca diferentes instrumentos. O sea, son multi-instrumentalistas pero todos han estudiado o en el Royal College o en el caso de Rachel, por ejemplo, en la Royal Academy. Entonces es gente que tiene una formación formal de música. Yo no. Yo mi

formación es completamente personal. O sea, yo lo que he aprendido de música lo he aprendido en mi casa y practicando, escuchando, aprendiendo, preguntando. Y lo que me decías tú pienso que todo el mundo lo pueda hacer. Yo pienso que todo el mundo puede ser artista. Yo pienso que todo el mundo puede ser pintor. Yo pienso que todos pueden escribir poesía. No estoy diciendo que todo el mundo puede ganarse la vida haciéndolo pero que todos lo podemos hacer. Y en ese sentido yo tengo ejemplos concretos. O sea, el ejemplo mío es muy cercano. Yo me río porque muchas veces la gente discute este tipo de cosa y discute conmigo y yo tengo 25 álbumes para probar de que no necesito saber notación musical para escribir música. Hay diferentes métodos. Entonces una de mis peleas con la gente, pero peleas no en términos antagónicos sino que discusiones: es que mucha gente que piensa que la cosa de escribir música es, o de expresarse a través del arte, es para personas que han sido tocado por la mano de Dios. Mentira. Mentira. O sea, yo estoy completamente en desacuerdo pero respeto la opinión de esa gente. Pienso que hay ejemplos en la escuela nuestra donde los niños que, por ejemplo, están tocando zampoña que no conocían una zampoña. Entonces hay ejemplos concretos y una de mis mayores aspiraciones es formar acá en Londres una especie de academia de música del mundo o una universidad de música al mundo. Tenemos el germen, tenemos la génesis, vamos a empezar. Lo que nos falta, por supuesto, es plata, no, como todo el mundo pero tenemos visto un par de edificios y the World Music Academy va a ser una academia de músicos de diferentes lugares del mundo: en este caso, África, India que están más cerca acá, Celta, donde la gente va a venir a expresar su música y a enseñar parte de su música en términos de programas musicales seguido, no cierto, por las instituciones que en este país dictaminan qué se puede enseñar, lo que no se puede enseñar, pero con músicos formados en sus países, formados en sus pueblos, en sus aldeas. Y eso sistematizarlo. Entonces, es porque la música, en estos momentos, yo pienso, la música en general y sobre todo la música clásica, no tiene suficiente arraigo dentro del pueblo como pa' que salgan nuevas generaciones de Stravinskys tomando cosas folclóricas como influencia y transformándolas en sinfonías. Los únicos que están haciendo ese tipo de cosa es el Kronos Quartet en Estados Unidos, Philip Glass, Michael Nyman un poco. Pero son muy pocos. Entonces hay un elite que trata de cerrar las puertas a todo este tipo de influencia y son un elite racista como nosotros, no, los chilenos porque tú viste en Chile que somos muy racistas nosotros y no se reconoce por lo tanto no se puede remediar. Si tú le dices a un chileno, "Tú eres racista", dicen, "No, nosotros no". Y tú va y alguien, "Los indiocitos estos". Dicen, "Es un mapuchito". ¿Me entiendes? O sea, y acá se cierran espacios porque tú no eres inglés. Yo he perdido posibilidades de hacer cosas porque no soy inglés. O sea, yo tengo más currículum que muchos músicos ingleses pero no puedo llegar más allá porque no soy inglés. ¿Me entiendes? O sea, y esto no es que yo estoy resentido. No, yo estoy agradecido de las posibilidades de lo que yo he logrado de alcanzar acá. Pero todo lo que he alcanzado así porque yo he trabajado. A mí nadie me ha regalado nada. Entonces yo pienso que una forma de ayudar a la cultura en Inglaterra es promoviendo de este tipo de cosas porque en Inglaterra la gente, las organizaciones son muy buenas para dar becas a países a los cuales ellos han subyugado con mucho tiempo. Hay un sentido de culpabilidad dentro de la gente que está a cargo de todas estas cosas en Inglaterra, el arte en general. Entonces permiten mucho ellos que se abuse de eso también. Y hay músicos que aprovechan esos espacios y que son o de África, de la India, de cualquier país que haya sido colonizado y que viene a vender pomada sin ninguna calidad, sin ninguna honestidad. Entonces lo que queremos nosotros evitar es eso y trabajar con la gente que nosotros conocemos que son músicos que vienen de África y que son músicos que hemos encontrado en diferentes instancias, en festivales. Son amigos nuestros. Entonces queremos hacer eso y hay bastante gente interesada en proyectar esa academia. En Chile,

yo sigo haciendo un trabajo cultural al nivel poblacional y al nivel de donde yo soy. Tenemos un grupo de mujeres de teatro trabajando que yo creé y eso hace siete años y son solamente mujeres porque invitamos a todo el mundo y llegaron, ponte tú, treinta personas y de esas treinta personas, veinte eran mujeres. Se fueron todos los hombres. Quedaban solamente las mujeres y ellas creyeron su obra, que se llama *Pan nuestro de cada día*, y la han dado 10.000 veces y la obra es una crítica a la situación de las mujeres en las minas, no. El "pan nuestro" es el pan que tienen que hacer cada día para poder alimentar al marido, a los hijos y todos y además recibir la paliza del viejo cuando llegaba curado, el abuso de él y todo eso está escrito en la obra y esa obra trajo mucha polémica porque había gente que no reconocía ese tipo de abuso y ahora yo voy en febrero porque nosotros postulamos acá a un fondo de, Mujeres de Europa que se llama, por ellas. Entonces nos regalaron algo así como 2.500 Euros y yo se les voy a entregar para que tengan maquillaje para presentar otra obra que están haciendo ellas que está acerca de las drogas. Se llama, *¿Quiénes son los culpables?* Con ellas, por ejemplo, escribimos la música de la obra juntos, las canciones. Nos sentamos así, "Ya, a ver". Y ellas tampoco pensaban que voy a escribir canciones, viste. Yo te voy a mandar la obra. Voy a pedir que te la manden de allá porque yo no tengo copia. Tengo una copia pero creo tengo un video. Es gente que nunca pensó hacer teatro, un par de personas que sí habían hecho teatro aquí. Una profesora de castellano mía, una señora de Derecha, no, muy de Derecha-Derecha. Yo la respeto mucho porque nunca hemos tenido problemas para trabajar. Ella sabe que yo soy comunista; yo sé que ella es de Derecha. Y nos queremos mucho, lo que prueba yo a veces con gente de mi misma ideología no tengo posibilidades de trabajar porque yo no veo el cartel "éste es de Izquierda, éste es de Derecha". Yo veo lo que la gente hace, cómo impacta eso, no cierto, en la sociedad. Y Martí decía, "La mejor manera de decir es hacer", y esta gente hace. Entonces es muy divertido porque a ella vienen sus amigos. Le dicen, "¿Cómo puedes trabajar con ese comunista?" Y vienen a mí me dice, "Oye, ¿y esa vieja momia?" Nos matamos de la risa. Pero en el fondo, lo que quería decir es que allí también, yo comprobé que la gente, cuando tiene ganas de hacer cosas, las puede hacer, y esa obra, yo pienso que si la trajeron acá a Inglaterra impactaría porque la vida de los mineros en Inglaterra no es tan diferente o no fue tan diferente a la vida de los mineros allá. Las condiciones eran las mismas. Las maquinarias las llevaron de aquí. Y yo crecí escuchando hablar de Mr Monks, Mr Ward, Mr Lomas, todos estos eran los dueños de las minas y tenían casinos allí que entraban solamente los gringos y nosotros no podíamos entrar. Tenían piscinas, canchas de golf, lo mismo que hicieron en Sudáfrica, lo mismo que hicieron. Había una especie de apartheid pero que en esa época uno no se daba cuenta. Y pagaban con ficha, no con dinero. Yo tengo ficha de esa época. Bueno, yo escribí una cantata para los mineros que cuenta. Tú no tienes ésa. De ésa te voy a hacer una copia y te voy a mandar porque es interesante en términos de que un poco refleja lo que yo siento por la zona. La cantata se llama *Socavón* y la escribí hace como cuatro años, creo, la fuimos a grabar a Chile. Rachel estuvo a cargo de la parte musical porque la grabamos con gente de la Orquesta Nacional Juvenil. Un trabajo muy bonito. Muy bonito. Financiado por el FONDART en Chile. Claro que se lo financiaron a otra persona que yo apoye. Usamos un estudio de Concepción, gente de la zona, músicos de la zona porque yo también creo que en Chile todo está muy centralizado. Entonces yo trato de, cuando voy a hacer un trabajo, hacerlo en la zona. Yo he hecho dos discos en la zona para compañías de acá y les he pagado a los músicos como se paga acá. En Cuba hago lo mismo. Yo les pago a los músicos exactamente como se paga acá. Entonces, claro, la gente me respeta porque yo podría quedarme con esa plata. Me gustaría. Ojo. No digo que no. Pero después pienso gano más si es que le entrego lo que corresponde y después yo

voy, los tipos me graban gratis, te fije, me entiendes, entonces uno entrega cosas y también recibe. Eso un poco.

Q
Tocaste un tema que es importante cuando hablabas de los grandes grupos que nunca han hecho trabajo en población. Cuéntame sobre ese proceso.

A
Ya. OK. Mira, mi crítica más grande a esta gente es precisamente ésa porque en la historia de la música popular en Chile, hay muy pocas personas, muy pocas, que se han dedicado realmente a integrar la creatividad del pueblo a su obra. Se puede nombrar. O sea, estaba Violeta Parra, estaba Victor Jara y cómo se llama la otra señora que era muy amiga de la Violeta Parra que trabajaban juntas, que trabajó en la Universidad de Concepción también, que ahora le dieron un premio hace poco, que estaba siempre allí. Y hay gente en provincias que ha hecho esto, que si nombro algunos es injusto porque en La Serena deben haber y yo no los conozco pero a nivel nacional ésta es la gente más conocida. Ahora, no se puede negar de que la gente de Inti-Illimani, la gente de Quilapayún y de estos grupos, los Parra, son gente que tuvieron las mismas posibilidades que yo he tenido de ir a las poblaciones y trabajar con la gente. Victor Jara, uno de sus álbumes para mí más logrado es *La Población*, el álbum *La Población*, donde viene "Luchín", "En el río Mapocho". No sé si has escuchado ese álbum. Es bellísimo. Él fue a la población y vivió con ellos, hizo todo el trabajo. Entonces hay una cueca donde celebran que están construyendo una casa, están terminando los tijerales. Es precioso. Él con un dramaturgo chileno. ¿Cómo se llama? Sieveking. Yo lo tengo. Tengo todas las obras de Victor Jara. Entonces se los voy a mandar para que la escuchen porque ese trabajo es bellísimo. Entonces mi crítica es: ¿por qué se usan solamente esta instancia, no cierto, de creatividad cuando te conviene? Claro, yo no estoy diciendo que todos tenemos que ser Violeta Parra, que todos tenemos que ser Victor Jara. No. Estoy diciendo que hay que un poco expresar lo que uno siente a través del ejemplo de ellos. Santa María lo ejemplifica muy bien, no, cuando muere Victor Jara. Benjo Santa Cruz en Bolivia y muchos cantores que han matado defendiendo ideales, no. Los Nazis mataban mucha gente. Dice hay músicos que aman mucho su música y hay músicos que aman sus pueblos. Yo pienso que Victor Jara está en lo último, no, porque él amaba su música sí pero amaba también a su pueblo. Yo también amo más a mi pueblo que mi música. Pero trato de perfeccionar mi música porque si yo soy mejor, yo voy a poder ayudar más a mi gente que es lo que de hecho hago. Voy a hacer mejores canciones con ellos, voy a tener mejores herramientas. Esto no se han hecho en términos de Chile y no se ha hecho en términos de Inglaterra. O sea, nosotros, en Inglaterra, yo creo, nosotros, yo y Rachel, somos los únicos músicos profesionales que están trabajando en una escuela. O sea, ¿músicos profesionales en qué sentido? Nosotros estamos en el Festival Hall o en el Barbican y mañana estamos en la escuela porque para nosotros no hay diferencia. Ahora todos los músicos clásicos de la Bournemouth Sinfonietta o la London Symphony Orchestra hoy en día tienen el deber de ir a las escuelas y al pueblo porque sino les quitan financiamiento y esos tipos no saben qué hacer. Van a una escuela y no tienen idea cómo enfrentarse porque eran preparados para eso. ¿Me entiendes? Y ellos no se preocuparon.

Q
Sí, a mí lo que me llamó mucha la atención fue tu forma de trabajar en la escuela: integrar a todos los niños, que todos compusieran, que todos participaran en ese proceso creativo.

No era que ustedes iban a entretenerlos sino que ellos participaban en ese proceso. Y eso me parece altamente innovador.

A
Yo pienso que eso es lo que nos hace diferente al resto de la gente que hace este tipo de trabajo.

Q
Y ¿cómo surgió esta idea?

A
Mira, yo soy por mucho tiempo parte de un grupo que se llamó The One World Band - Orquesta de un Solo Mundo - con un muy buen amigo inglés que se llama Roger Watson. Él es experto en folclor. Él es él que tocó en Boka Halat el acordeón. A propósito, ¿tú tienes el disco de Boka Halat o no? Yo tengo uno aquí. Traje dos en realidad. Te los voy a regalar.

[…]

Entonces Roger es un tipo pionero también acá en términos de instancias multiculturales. Él es el único músico inglés que está haciendo *ceilidhs* con músicos que no son ingleses. Ahora hace poco hicimos un tour del Midlands, un poco más arriba de Birmingham, toda esa área, gente que baila como que si alguien les pone cueca, no cierto, a *ceilidh*. Nosotros *ceilidh* con un músico africano, otro de la India. Eso. Entonces *ceilidhs*. Y hemos hecho tres veces. Y hay gente que nos adora y gente que nos odia. Y la que nos odia es la gente conservadora que no toman en cuenta que, por ejemplo, tocan folclor inglés con *basuki* que es griego, acordeón que es italiano, violín que es italiano, que no es un instrumento inglés, me entiendes. Pero si tú quieres hilar fino hilamos fino pero también hay un dejo de racismo, oye. Pero es la menor cantidad de gente. A la mayor cantidad de gente le encanta porque ellos se mueven con el ritmo de esto, la coreografía de la *polka*, de un *reel*, de un *jig*. Son lindísimas. Los movimientos son lindísimos. Pero los ingleses son rígidos para moverse y con esto se empiezan a mover siguiendo lo mismo y la combinación es lindísima, liadísima, porque tiene la coreografía, los movimientos y los giros, las alzadas de manos pero ya va siendo mucho más placidos, van perdiendo un poco, se desinhibe un poco con las tambores, la gente. Lamentablemente, yo me retiré del grupo. Por ningún problema con los músicos. Mi problema es el tiempo. Este año empezamos de lunes a viernes hacer diferentes cosas. Tenemos otro álbum que grabar con el grupo en vivo y ya tenemos los dos lugares donde vamos a hacer porque vamos a hacer dos grabaciones. Estoy trabajando en Francia en una obra de teatro. Entonces estaba dos veces en el Festival de Avignon. Ahora en mayo tengo que estar en París por cuatro días haciendo eso y no quiero ser injusto con mi colaboradora y dejarla a ella con toda la pega. Entonces tuve que y me dolió porque los quiero mucho y ellos también me decían, “Nooo, te vamos a echar de menos”. “Yo también los voy a echar de menos pero es imposible.” Y yo entré al grupo para ayudar a Roger que le había dado un ataque al corazón. Le faltaba músicos y después pasé a ser parte del grupo y ya después entonces estuve casi tres años con ellos y fui por un *tour* que alargó dos semanas. Dos semanas, tres años, yo creo es bastante ayuda. Entonces volviendo al Roger, él es otra persona que hace este tipo de trabajo y rescata mucho su música, la música inglesa que es otra cosa que nosotros hacemos porque en Inglaterra también hay música folclórica pero producto de la misma gente que expresaba su música y que dejó que las relegaran a el último cuarto de un *pub* para que

allí se pusieron a cantar y no pelearon su derecho para aquí. Y que en vez de que estén tocando esta música esté cantando gente acá como en Irlanda. Pero es culpa de ellos. Entonces yo siempre rescato eso en nuestras clases en la escuela, siempre les digo, "Vamos a aprender una canción folclórica inglesa porque Inglaterra es parte del mundo", pero además porque son bonitas, porque son lindas, porque se pueden cantar y porque la gente no tiene que tener vergüenza de expresar su propia música. Claro, yo no quiero ser el campeón, el defensor de la cultura. No, pero yo estoy aportando a la cultura inglesa como la cultura inglesa aporta a lo que yo creo, a mi sonido, a mis cosas, Y eso en el fondo pienso yo que hace a un país mucho más fuerte culturalmente y la música de este país es para mí en general y la escena musical de Inglaterra es la mejor en el mundo para mí en todo tipo: clásica, rock, salsa. En Nueva York, hay buena salsa pero aquí también hay buena salsa. En todo. En todo. Entonces tú tienes la suerte o uno tiene la suerte de vivir en este país, o sea, en Londres en realidad, no en el país, en Londres, donde tú puedes tener acceso a toda esta música y tocar con gente de otros países. Eso lo que a mí me parece que hace este país diferente con todo lo malo - como en Chile, no, hay cosas buenas, cosas malas - pero yo "aquí me quedo", no, como dice Victor Jara en la canción con un poema de Neruda. Aquí me quedo porque yo siento que tengo algo que aportar este país y pienso que eso es importante por toda la solidaridad que a nosotros nos han dado. Tengo una hija que tiene 15 años que es inglesa, nació acá, pero es chilena también y tiene la ventaja de ser las dos cosas y no tiene ningún problema de identidad. Va a Chile y el *switch* y empieza a hablar y, claro, no habla tan fluido como los chilenos pero dice las mismas groserías porque yo soy chileno. Y entonces por gente como ella, por esos niños que tú viste que son de Jamaica, que son de Gambia, que son de la India. Ahora hicimos un proyecto con un músico de la India que nos enseñó una canción. Estamos haciendo un proyecto más grande, no, que se llama Music Links. Invitamos a la música brasileña, los músicos de la India que toca santur y tabla y Liliana que es percusionista y canta. Entonces en vez de celebrar a Navidad con el pesebre, cantamos canciones que hablaran de celebraciones en diferentes partes del mundo. Entonces hicimos una canción de Japón, una canción de Rusia, una canción andina, una canción de la India, una canción brasileña. Y a la gente le gustó mucho porque le quebramos un poco el esquema de la tradición porque en todas las escuelas se hace el pesebre y el niño canta las mismas canciones, no, que una vez está bien y a la directora le encantó pero le gustó además por la profesionalidad con que nosotros enfrentamos y los niños cantando donde corresponde con una actitud profesional, bonita. Entonces eso también yo creo que es un aporte en relación a la música de Inglaterra y en ese sentido hemos tenido sorpresas bellísimas como, por ejemplo, una vez hicimos [*sings*] que es una canción, creo que es irlandesa, pero es de este área, no, y ése es el ritmo [*sings again*] y los niños, nosotros entregamos la canción, la escucharon y se mataron de la risa, no, porque no tiene nada que ver con una escuela de Hackney con la música celta. A ellos le pasas *rap* y ahí te entienden. Entonces ellos transformaron la canción. Entonces en vez de ser [*sings*]... [*sings again*] Las mismas cosas pero cambiaron el sentido del *beat*. Entonces quedó rapeado y muy lindo. Yo me maté de la risa porque no era lo que esperábamos. Pero ésa es su cultura en estos momentos, entonces hemos tenido que nosotros integramos y empezar a comprar discos de Eminem, de Ms Dynamite y de todos estos raperos porque también tienen algo que decir y si tú quieres relacionarte con la juventud, con un niño, tienes que hablar su mismo lenguaje. Hay un niño así, un colorín, que es un bandido, un bandido, pero no es malo, pero es inquieto, se mueve, molesta al otro, le tira el pelo, las orejas. Mira, no lo podíamos controlar y un día yo lo llamo, "Ven. Dexter, ven. Dime ¿qué música te gusta?" "A mí me gusta Busted." ¡Busted! "Sí," le digo, "yo tengo un disco". Y, mira, el tipo de allí somos los mejores amigos. Entonces en mis clases se porta bien porque sabe que tenemos una cosa

en común y que yo lo respeto por su gusto en música. Pero te lo juro había tratado 10.000 cosas con él pero hasta que hicimos esa conexión con Busted que es un grupo joven - a mí me gusta a propósito porque cantan los tipos; no son como esos *boy bands* que los hacen, los fabrican, no, estos tipos cantan y son rockeros y qué sé yo, me encanta - entonces eso también es importante dentro de nuestro trabajo. Ahora, Rachel ha sido importantísima como un agente europeo en Musiko Musika y además por su condición de mujer porque aquí en este país son muy machistas también, muy machistas. Sobre todo la clase obrera inglesa. Imagínate, mi agente, ex agente del grupo de Quimantú, no permitió de Rachel se integrara al grupo porque era mujer. Cameron era un tipo que tenía un bajista y que era el único inglés en ese momento en el grupo no soportó, no pudo. Entonces, ¡imagínate! Claro, son ejemplos aislados pero, por favor, o sea, estamos en Inglaterra. Se supone que es un país del Primer Mundo. Entonces, no son ejemplos buenos en ese sentido pero yo por eso no voy a dejar de luchar y de argumentar. Y al final, imagínate, Rachel partió tocando dos cositas en un álbum nuestro y ahora es igual de música que todo el resto de nosotros y no hay ninguna diferencia en el escenario. Esto porque yo a Rachel la veo como, claro, tengo que verla como mujer porque es mujer, por supuesto, me entiendes, pero la veo como compañera de trabajo, en quien puedo confiar. Pero el resto de la gente no y sobre todo este tipo de apreciación en términos de que no era chilena, era mujer, está completamente en oposición a lo que yo pienso en términos de arte. Por eso que el grupo de teatro me encanta que sean puras mujeres. Claro, porque es como decirles a los tipos, "Oye, nosotros igual podemos hacer esto y mejor". Entonces yo en ese sentido. Yo tengo cara de machista. No sé por qué pero te juro siempre la gente me dice a mí, incluso le dicen a mi señora y mi señora me conoce casi de veinte años y sabe que yo cocino, que yo hago todo pero no porque yo quiero sentirme, no, porque yo pienso que un ser humano, no cierto, que le ayuda a otro ser humano es mejor ser humano no más. ¡Nada más! No porque ella sea mujer sino porque ella merece que yo le ayude. ¿Por qué voy a? ¡Imagínate! ¡Somos todos explotados en nuestra sociedad y yo voy explotar a mi señora! ¡Entonces va a ser doble explotada! ¿Viste? Claro, yo lo practico. Y tengo mis pifias, tengo mis cosas machistas también pero lucho en contra a eso. Trato de mejorar. Trato de que la cosa, trato de mejorar yo en el fondo como un ejercicio mental también.

Q
Estos niños no solamente estaban aprendiendo música. Estaban aprendiendo una actitud hacia la vida, la convivencia humana, el mundo. ¿Cómo ves el rol transformador a través de la música?

A
Yo creo que parte de una cosa de respeto primero que nada. O sea, en términos de cultura, para mí cultura es la forma de soñar que tiene un pueblo. Entonces, partiendo de esa premisa, tú no puedes castrarle a cualquier persona su forma de soñar. Iría contra, no cierto, la cosa normal. Nosotros tratamos de que el ejemplo nuestro trascienda para que los niños que la mayoría en su casa no tiene acceso a este tipo de información pueda discernir con mejores herramientas y no solamente acá en Inglaterra. O sea, lo hacemos en Inglaterra porque estamos acá pero cuando vamos a Latin América también la hacemos con la escuela que trabajamos allá porque es allí donde van a estar los futuros Presidentes, los futuros creadores, los futuros Picassos, los futuros Beethovens, los futuros, bueno, no Tony Blair porque no me gusta pero. Entonces, si tú tienes acceso a ese tipo de tierra para sembrar, hay que sembrar las cosas positivas y en ese sentido yo creo que la experiencia nuestra como país es muy enriquecedora porque en Chile han pasado cosas terribles pero han pasado cosas bellísimas también. ¿Me entiendes? O sea,

nosotros un país de este porte con dos Premios Nóbel de Literatura. Para un país como nuestro es. En Chile todo el mundo escribe la poesía. La gente la esconde y eso lo que voy, les digo, “No, no la escondan”, y los cabros que tocan igual o mejor que el Inti o tocan igual o mejor que Illapu, les digo, “No, ya hay un Illapu, ya hay un Inti, hagan lo de ustedes aunque el primer verso les salga para el carrajo, no importa, hágalo veinte veces, sean generoso con el basurero, escriban, escriban, escriban, escriban todos los días, mejoren”. Entonces, ese convencimiento yo lo traigo y lo he desarrollado producto de mi experiencia, no porque sea obstinado, porque sea testarudo no, porque hay ejemplos que uno pueda seguir en la historia de los países de gente como Martin Luther King o Gandhi, ¿me entiendes? Si esa gente ha podido lograr… dentro de esos niños va a ver gente, si es que les interesa, no cierto, va a poder lograr ser otro Victor Jara, otro Allende. Allende no era perfecto. Todos lo sabemos. La Violeta Parra tampoco era perfecta. Le pegaba a los cabros y los trataba mal ¿qué sé yo? Pero eso no quita lo grande de su obra. Y todo como humano, no cierto. Entonces el impacto nuestro pasa a ser como un medio de extraerle a los niños esa belleza, esa cosa especial que todos los niños tienen. Porque tú no sabes, no cierto, si uno de esos niños va a ser criminal. Ahora, claro esta expuesto no cierto, porque hay influencias que son malas. Tratamos de ayudar. Tratamos de salvar la mayor cantidad de niños posible. Y en eso se nos está yendo el tiempo porque empezó todo esto, como te digo, una cosa del *one-off* pero hemos proyecto tras proyecto tras proyecto y siempre siguen confiando en Hackney que es uno de los *boroughs* más pobres del país. Nos tiene mucho respeto la gente que está a cargo de la música allí, la educación de la música, y nos tienen mucho respeto porque nosotros no le sacamos el culo a la jeringa. Nosotros trabajamos en escuelas que son muy difíciles, casi siempre, y hemos logrado en esas escuelas realizar pequeñas obras que son diamantes en bruto que hay que seguir trabajándolas. Lo otro es la calidad del trabajo y en eso, por ejemplo, Rachel es una excelente músico pero además ella, producto de su formación acá, de su educación, tiene en el cerebro tiene toda la cosa del currículum. Entonces, cuando enseñamos la enseñanza va ligada al currículum nacional y en ese sentido ella es un aporte. Yo no podría haberlo hecho solo porque yo desconozco, ahora lo conozco un poco el currículum, pero antes lo desconocía. Entonces una serie de factores que tú tienes que tener dentro de ti para poder aplicarlos porque no se puede improvisar y nosotros no podemos mentir y ése es otra cosa. Por ejemplo, cuando nosotros nos equivocamos frente de los niños, nosotros pedimos disculpa a los niños y les decimos, “Nos equivocamos”, y los tipos nos miran porque no muchos profesores dicen, “Nos equivocamos”. ¿Por qué no? Te respetan más los niños, mucho más. Entonces todas esas cosas pero no hay ningún método. De todo esto tenemos un récord. O sea, todo esto nosotros lo tenemos escrito y queremos hacer un libro o un DVD de experiencias para entregarla a otra gente.

Q
¿Cómo ves Chile y su desarrollo artístico-cultural? Porque tienes un espectro: Chile cuando te fuiste, el Chile de ahora...

A
Yo el desarrollo cultural lo veo muy apegado al desarrollo de la sociedad. Entonces mi respuesta va a ser tomando en cuenta todo, tomando en cuenta la política en Chile, esta cosa que ha pasado con los niños en Chile, los abusos. Yo pienso que los chilenos se farrearon un poco la apertura después de la dictadura que es un fenómeno que se dio en España pero en España el arte ha subido mucho. Claro hubo también cosas medias oscuras pero en Chile los políticos no han sido, no son dignos de lo que se les entregó. Todos: los de Derecha, los de Izquierda. O sea, hay excepciones como don Edgardo

Condesa, por ejemplo, en Concepción, el médico que no tiene ningún Partido pero un viejo que está siempre luchando por la cosa de los derechos humanos. Además el tipo va a todos mis conciertos. [*laughs*] Pero el tipo que hace, que hace. Entonces yo creo que en Chile hay una especie de esquizofrenia dentro de la sociedad. Ves tú porque por un lado la gente hace una cosa y por el otro lado borra eso que hizo. Y eso siempre ha sido en la sociedad chilena yo pienso un factor que nosotros tenemos marcado como chilenos. Existe *double standards*: imagina la ley del divorcio y los moteles y todo el mundo sabe que existen moteles, todo el mundo va a los moteles pero legalmente no existen. ¿Me entiendes? Y es producto de la cruz, ¿no cierto? Claro. Ahora, yo no me siento con el derecho de criticar mucho allá porque es su realidad. Yo no vivo en el país y no es ninguna gracia que yo vaya desde afuera y le diga "Ustedes tienen esto, esto y esto, chao, me voy". Y no hago nada para mejorar allá. Entonces lo que sí hago es insinuar, sugerir y trabajar con ellos y cuando trabajan conmigo trabajan y lo que tienen es que no hacen la diferencia en el trabajo cuando hay que trabajar y cuando hay que joder. En Chile van las dos cosas muy pegadas. Entonces, por ejemplo, cuando yo empecé estos talleres de literatura, antes del taller de teatro. Yo fui el '87 e hice unos talleres de literatura cuando Pinochet estaba y canté en el sindicato número siete en Lota y todo y me fueron a buscar a la casa y tuve que salir corriendo. La cosa estaba brava. Y teníamos talleres, entonces antes del taller, de poesía era, y allí había gente que no conocía Benedetti porque no había literatura en Chile y yo llevé cosas de acá. Entonces estábamos así conversando y riendo gente y llegaba la hora. "Ya, empezamos ahora." Y todo el mundo se extrañaba porque empezábamos a trabajar y trabajábamos, entonces alguien quería hacer una broma, y yo decía, "No, estamos trabajando". Pero de a poco a poco se fueron dando cuenta y ahora tienen una formación no porque se la haya entregado yo sino porque la vida les enseñó que hay que trabajar en los momentos que hay que trabajar y hay que divertirse en los momentos. Esas dos cosas en Chile también son esquizofrenicas. Tú vas a una reunión y no puede ser que una reunión con un tipo del Gobierno te digan a la hora chilena o la. No, no. Hay una sola hora. La una es la una. Y eso no es porque y no es todo el mundo pero lo hace la gente, la mayoría de la gente lo hace. Entonces eso en Chile a mí me parece que resulta como una especie de guía para la gente en términos políticos también. Entonces, hay cuestiones que son serias que no se toman con la seriedad que corresponde. En arte, sigo pensando que está todo centralizado en Santiago y que tiene que ser amigo del amigo del amigo para que te den la posibilidad de hacer algo.

Entonces por eso yo no trabajo en Santiago. Claro. Entonces, yo veo la cultura en Chile como falta un acercamiento entre el pueblo real y los tipos que están manejando los bienes. Falta un contacto real. Hay gente que ni siquiera sabe cuánto vale un pasaje en micro porque andan en auto solamente. Eso lo que yo veo. Pero pienso que hay gérmenes. Y que hay gente que no conocía a Victor Jara y que toca sus canciones. Hay gente interesantísima como la gente que está haciendo *rap* en la Legua, la Legua York. Fantástico. Esa gente me interesa. Me interesa Fabio Salas, un amigo que escribe libros sobre rock, que sabe más rock que cualquier periodista inglés. Y rock inglés. Es experto. Escribe para la revista *Rocinante* y tiene programa en la radio Universidad de Chile. Fabio Salas tiene un par de libros que hecho de rock. Fabuloso. Esa gente me interesa. Entonces hay una ventana abierta siempre y siempre va a ver aunque los políticos no te entreguen ayuda, siempre va a haber. Si la cultura pasa porque la gente tiene ganas de hacer cosas. No pasa por plata. No pasa por plata. Claro, es mejor, no cierto, que tuvieran recursos pero un canto no necesita dinero. Un canto nace. Eso en el fondo, mi crítica va a esa gente y a la centralización pero que mi crítica vaya a tener impacta o no no me interesa mucho porque yo voy a seguir haciendo las cosas que estoy haciendo con esa gente de la

población y ellos van a seguir haciendo lo mismo y mejor. Mientras yo pueda ayudarlos, yo también voy a estar bien. Eso.

Q
Me parece interesante esto del grupo de teatro.

A
Aquí hay una tradición. Algunos sectores del sur de Inglaterra donde hay teatros de la comunidad y en Navidad siempre hacen estas cosas de las *pantomimes* pero al nivel comunitario, no, de la población o de la aldea. Y yo trabajé con un grupo que tampoco te contaba - porque he hecho varias cosas, en realidad - un grupo inglés que se llamó Alianza. También tengo un disco, no tengo más pero te voy a hacer copia. Que fue una gestión de Roger, Roger Watson. Pero si te metes en Internet, pone "Roger Watson" y te da toda la. Trabaje voluntariamente, vivía en Surrey y tenía muchas sesiones en Londres pero no estaba conectado al lugar donde yo vivía culturalmente, entonces un amigo, percusionista chileno, Germán Santana, él trabajaba en una organización con gente *disabled* mental y físicamente. Entonces, me invitó a trabajar con él y estuve allí como dos años y en ese lugar en Bracknell, Roger también llegó a trabajar y tenía su oficina y una organización que se llama TAPS, Traditional Arts Projects, y nos juntamos y él sabía de Chile, Victor Jara y de todo y en los *breaks* que teníamos empezamos a conversar y él se interesó en conformar una cosa de música con chilenos porque él conoce mucho una tradición inglesa de música que se llama *sea shanties* que son cantos de los marinos. Entonces en muchos de las canciones se nombra Talcahuano, a Coronel, a Valparaíso, de cuando no estaba construido el Canal de Panamá todavía, entonces todo el comercio se hacía a través del Cabo de Hornos. Entonces todas esas tradiciones Roger pensó que las podíamos unir y me propuso que hiciéramos un intercambio. Él iba a conseguirse un par de músicos ingleses; yo iba a conseguir un par de músicos chilenos. Y yo me los conseguí y se formó ésta que se llama Alianza con un músico chileno que se llama Vladimir Vega y con otro que se llama Sergio Ávila que eran buenos músicos. Pero, bueno, esa experiencia fue buenísima. Le servía mucho más a los ingleses que a nosotros porque ellos después siguieron su grupo y su grupo es buenísimo. O sea, es un dúo. Se llamen Show of Hands y siguen haciendo cosas. Son alternativos en términos comerciales pero le van muy bien. Han llenado como tres veces el Albert Hall. Son bien creativos esos tipos. Entonces hicimos todos los ensayos en un lugar que se llama Bridgeport en el sur de Inglaterra y allí habían unos aficionados al teatro que un día estaban ensayando en el cuarto vecino al nuestro, en la pieza al lado. Y entonces, yo empecé a mirar y me hice "amigo" de una niña joven de allí y me empezaba a contar que estaban preparando una obra de teatro, que todos los años ellos hicieron una obra de teatro de Shakespeare, como teatro aficionado. Y yo ya en Exeter había sido testigo de que se juntaba la gente a leer una obra de teatro y que cada uno hacía un personaje distinto leyéndolo y eso a mi me parece fantástico. Imagínate, como agarrar *La ciudad y los perros*, cada uno tomando un personaje. Entonces yo traía como el bichito, "Yo tengo que hacer algo con esto en Chile porque la iniciativa parece fantástica". Entonces se me ocurrió eso. Llamé a mi hermana y le dije, "Mira, tengo una idea. Habla con la señora Rosa que es tu amiga, que te digo yo, que fue la directora del liceo y allí invitamos". Y fui directamente sin tener ningún conocimiento más que lo que había visto y compré un libro de teatro un poco para convencer a la gente, no, pero a mí me interesaba que pasara pero que además escribiéramos la música y las canciones. Entonces llegamos. Invitamos a toda esa gente y lo primero que ocurrió fue elegir el nombre. Entonces se llama Grupo Amauta, Amauta por la cosa de los sabios pero además porque la población se llama Mable. Entonces Amauta significa ahora Mable

trabaja el arte. Entonces invitamos esta gente y empezamos a trabajar. Yo fui como tres o cuatro veces y de toda la gente que empezó, por supuesto fue quedando gente en el camino, y gente que tenía intereses que no estaba acostumbrada trabajar en forma colectiva. Entonces cuando hablaban de la obra, hablaban como "la obra que yo escribí". Y la misma gente fue encargándose de despacharlas. Se fue decantando la cosa y ahora son doce personas y para que tú te imaginas quiénes son más o menos: la señora Rosa que fue la Alcalde de Coronel designada. Mi hermana que toda su vida ha sido dueña de casa pero le gusta leer y todo, una niña que es bombero de la bomba de bencina y que es chofer de camión, la única en Chile yo creo, y cuatro profesoras más. Se ha ido integrando gente, se ha ido yendo gente, pero oficialmente son doce y ahora mi hermano que llegó de Argentina se integró pero que trabaja como más en ayuda de tramoya y llevándolas. Por ejemplo, cuando hay escena donde hay una voz de varón él hace la voz y mi sobrino que hace la cosa de la música. Y ellos son los únicos miembros honorarios no mujeres del grupo porque el grupo está todo dirigido por las mujeres. Ahora voy en febrero por diez días rapidísimo a entregarles esta platita y están súper contentas porque Rachel tiene una tía que es parte de esta organización. Que son unas viejujas con plata en Bélgica y que han ayudado, por ejemplo, a escuelas en Bolivia y nosotros peleamos este fondo que, claro, son 2.000 Euros que allá no los tienen y ni siquiera para pasaje no tenían para pagarle, porque la obra requiere tres jóvenes y cabros estaban interesados pero ni tenían ni siquiera para ir de Coronel a Mable para la micro. Claro, nuestra realidad es completamente diferente pero allá, me entiendes, entonces la obra de ahora que se va a presentar en todas las poblaciones de Coronel y es contra la droga. Se llama *¿Quiénes son los culpables?* y la primera se llama *Pan nuestro de cada día*. También me gusta más en realidad porque ésta está bien pero la hicieron, yo pienso, es muy dirigida a que los niños no tomen, es como un aviso. Yo no me atrevía a criticarla porque no tengo ninguna solución. Mi crítica no va a ser constructiva porque no voy a poder ayudarlas. No estoy allá. No tengo tiempo mientras que la otra obra yo estuve. Pero no es mala. Pero la primera es la que mi, y pienso que pueden crear mucho más, en realidad.

Q
O sea, con esta segunda obra quizás hubieses preferido motivar más a la comprensión más que...

A
Ellas empezaron a hacer *La casa de Bernarda Alba*. Entonces yo pensaba que antes de meterse a escribir otra obra, pasaran por una obra ya escrita y que la depuraran para que aprendieran giros y leyendo cómo se escribe una obra. Porque la primera está bien escrita, está buena, pero es como esas canciones salen de repente y son excelentes pero después hay que aprender la técnica porque tú puedes tener iniciativa y puedes tener intuición pero ésa toca un techo. Después viene la técnica. Tienes que empezar a aprender pero, como te digo, yo no me atrevo.

Q
¡Qué fascinante la experiencia!

A
Sí. Yo estoy súper orgulloso de eso porque a nadie se le ocurrió ni a ellas que podían hacerlo. Pero además lo lindo es que ellas se junten a través de los cumpleaños. Se van a ver cuando están enfermas. Entonces el grupo ahora es un grupo humano sólido que tiene cómo defenderse, cómo aportar y cómo celebrarse ellas como mujeres y como entes

culturales participantes activos. Ahora nunca les ha dado nada el FONDART ni la Municipalidad. Las han llevado a San Pedro y a todo el mundo encanta la obra. Yo lloraba porque es la realidad nuestra de las minas. Cuando hacen el pan, el marido, la comadre, no. Es realmente bonito. Y es su vida. Y eso va a quedar como patrimonio cultural porque lo que pasa es que cuando se cerraron las minas, mucha gente dijo, "No, que esto, lo otro, ¿qué va a ser de nosotros culturalmente?" Pero la cultura de las minas no murió y eso es mi labor. Y yo les dije, "Mira, sí las minas se cerraron pero la cultura tienen que preservarla ustedes, las historias tienen que preservarlas ustedes. Por eso tenemos que escribir una historia de nosotros. Porque mañana la van a ir a ver los niños y van a decir, 'Esto pasó en tal fecha.'" De eso se trata. Y la cantata un poco eso también.

Q
Parece tu trabajo estar muy ligado a la historia, ligado a potenciar diversos talentos, integrarlos.

A
Sí, por eso me interesa igual cooperarte porque yo, si salgo en la mañana de la casa, no tengo ningún problema. Puedo andar todo el día afuera. Pero cuando estoy en la tarde porque estoy calientito. Hoy día justamente tuve que ver a un amigo que vino de Francia. Él fue bajista de Los Jaivas y guitarrista, un uruguayo, Pájaro Canzani, que me lo encontré en un tren. Iba a Paris y andaba con la familia así que lo vine a ver por un par de horas y quiero hacer una grabación con él.

Q
¿Cómo percibes la comunidad de chilenos en Londres?

A
Te cuento estoy muy separado de eso pero por mi trabajo más que nada y también porque yo pienso la comunidad chilena se quedó. Entonces yo creo que en términos de música hay dos personas aquí en Inglaterra que están a nivel de cualquier músico. En términos de música, de arte no sé. Yo creo que la gente se quedó un poco porque es cómodo quedarse. Y no porque no hayan oportunidades, porque las oportunidades uno tiene que creárselas. Y volviendo a lo que decía, o sea, hay que ir a la escuela, hay que entablar relación con los niños, hay que tocar en las aldeas aquí.

Q
Generar redes.

A
¡Claro! Y hay que tocar a los grandes y los chicos y tocar igual de bien, respetar toda esa gente. En eso yo creo que el resto de la comunidad chilena no lo ha hecho. Hay gente que se creyó otro cuento. Hay gente que sigue viviendo en el setenta. Sí, yo lo encuentro lamentable y hay gente que yo quiero, a la que voy a ver siempre y que sigue hablando lo mismo pero yo los voy a ver porque los quiero. No porque los quiero hacer cambiar y los voy a seguir viendo. Además aquí hay mucha envidia. Mucha envidia. O sea, bueno, en Chile también, me imagino también no ha cambiado mucho. Cuando voy a Chile hay mucha gente que me adora pero también hay detractores, son venenosos. Inventan cuentos. Y eso pasa a todo nivel. Pasa a nivel de los músicos de acá también. O sea, de los músicos ingleses, te digo. Yo me manejo con ellos pero allá es como un deporte y eso acá ha pasado. En estos momentos, Ale, yo tengo posibilidades reales con Musiko Musika

de emplear gente y nosotros a los músicos le pagamos lo mismo que nos pagamos nosotros. Yo prefería traer un cabro de Chile y darle la posibilidad y lo estamos pensando. Un cabro joven de allá. Claro. Ahora, imagínate, a John Williams lo llevábamos allá a Coronel a la población a tocar.

Q
¿Cómo fue eso para él?

A
Para él, fue súper lindo. Hubo algunos problemas porque se suponía que íbamos a tener muchas actuaciones y la gente que nos llevó no, no importa. Lo importante fue que la gente quedó pero maravillada y él, bueno, él siempre ha hecho ese tipo de cosas así que. Ahora está trabajando mucho con los palestinos y todos los músicos que fueron. Richard. A Richard le encantó un restaurante - Richard es vegetariano - un restauran que está, en Colo-Colo puede ser. ¿Tú sabes dónde está Sono, una cosa de sonido? Al lado es el restaurante. Richard ha estado en la India. El tipo Richard tiene mucho dinero. Ahora está en Tailandia pero al otro lado, afortunadamente. Se construyó una casa allí y todo. Él ha estado en todas partes del mundo pero ese restaurante le encantó. O sea, que yo le creo porque además le encanta la comida y sabe de esta comida, de la otra, de la hindú, la tailandesa, la china. Y ese restaurante en Concepción, sí. Bueno, Chile le gustó mucho. Como te digo, tuvimos ese problema. Hicimos una actuación en Viña del Mar en el Municipal, la única y el resto tuve que hacerlo yo en la zona: en Coronel, Lota y en Concepción. Pero igual fue como unas vacaciones bonitas y llevar a John para allá siempre es importante. Hay gente local que quería verlo, músicos. Pero, como te digo veo a la gente chilena acá desperdigada y a otro nivel pero, como te digo, con humildad. Y la gente empezó conmigo. O sea, tuvieron las mismas posibilidades. Pudieron aprender lo mismo. Lamentablemente. A mí nadie me llamó. He estado en Cuba muchas veces grabando música con músicos cubanos pero, porque yo aprendí la clave de la salsa, para poder decirle a los tipos, “Mira, yo voy a hacer un disco de música cubana y esto es lo que es”. Y ahora quiero ir a África a hacer un álbum de música africana con gente allá. Entonces pero es porque yo me muevo, porque yo trabajo. Tenemos este proyecto, por ejemplo, ahora con el Museo de Harriman y con unas escuelas allí. Inventamos un instrumento brasileño que es un arco con una cuerda y con una calabaza, que es africano en el fondo. Bellísimo el instrumento. Y que se toca una piedrita, entonces tú tocas la cuerda y con la piedra cambia el tono. Bellísimo. A Carlos le encanta. Carlos, el percusionista nuestro, vivió tres años en Brasil. Entonces es experto en eso. Pero yo he estado modificando el instrumento, lo he estado afinando porque tiene un solo tono. Entonces en Cuba me regalaron una calabaza, la corté e hice un bajo. Y ahora se nos ocurrió hacer este instrumento para niños pero que toque dos tonos, un Sol y un Mi, por ejemplo. Pero acá no está el árbol, entonces fuimos a B&Q y probamos con 10.000 cosas que fueron flexibles hasta que encontramos una y con una cuerda de guitarra y un pote de plástico reciclado y suena entonces esta mañana estaba en eso cuando me llamaron por teléfono y a los tipos, los profesores, les va a encantar porque además es reciclado esto. Y estamos haciendo zampoñas igual pero con plástico y eso no va a tomar todo el año, todo el año educacional. Ahora, imagínate, estos cabros chilenos podían haber hecho lo mismo. Pero están en la casa. Esperan que la llegue el llamado telefónico. Y lo otro es que hay gente que no. Mira, acá, como en todos los lados, cuando tú te metes en el medio de ellos profesional, hay que ser flexible, entonces, por ejemplo, yo soy miembro del sindicato de músicos y he sido miembro por muchos años entonces hay un *rate* que uno no puede cobrar menos de eso pero hay arreglos entonces si el tipo me da cinco días de grabación y

me paga £500 por día, yo no le voy a cobrar por cada maraca que toque, ¿me entiendes? Porque el tipo está haciendo igual un sacrificio, es un músico o la compañía no le da tanto presupuesto, entonces uno se arregla. Y acá hay gente que es intransigente: "No, si es que no me paga, no se puede trabajar". Entonces te los van marcando y nadie más los invita o llegan atrasados y cuando tú llegas atrasado al estudio, el estudio hay que pagarlo, entonces. Yo soy enfermo. Siempre diez minutos antes. Y si no puedo, trato de llamar por teléfono. Me enferma que digan, "Ah ustedes los latinoamericanos, 'mañana'". No, no, mentira. "Yo llego antes que los ingleses", les digo yo. A mí no. Entonces, muchos músicos chilenos no se profesionalizaron nunca lamentablemente.

Q
¿Has seguido la política cultural chilena?

A
Yo creo que por primera vez hay una especie de avance porque hay que ser honesto. Yo creo que Lagos es un tipo muy buen estadista. No creo que sea muy buen Presidente para Chile. Pero es muy buen estadista. Y Lagos, yo creo que, de todos los que han estado después de la democracia ha sido el mejor en términos de la cultura. Yo le tengo mucho respeto. Estoy completamente desacuerdo con un montón de cosas pero no se puede ser ciego y descalificar, solamente por descalificar como mucha gente, no. Pienso que él ha tratado de hacer lo mejor posible y que podría hacer más, pero tiene muchas presiones. Un poco lo que pasó a Allende, no: presiones internas, presiones externas. Entonces creo que la política cultural es un buen indicio. Ahora es obligación nuestra perseguirla y que se cumpla, ¿no cierto? Porque yo pienso que Chile en términos de economía, por ejemplo, si está tan bien económicamente, debería hacer un aporte al área, no solamente al país, al área en Latinoamérica. Acuérdate que antes del golpe de estado, nosotros éramos la Nueva Canción Chilena y la cultura en Chile era el espejo donde se miraban las otras culturas. Chile era vanguardia en ese momento en pintura con José Balmes, con todo el mundo, en teatro con el Teatro de la Municipalidad de Concepción, después el teatro de la Universidad de Chile, los Duvauchelles, en música, bueno, para qué decir, en plástica, el primer festival de cine en Latinoamérica se hizo en Valparaíso. Entonces yo creo que hay que rescatar eso para que Chile vuelva a ser una potencia. Ahora hay gérmenes de reconocimiento. ¿Quién se iba a imaginar que a Pinochet lo iban a juzgar, que a Pinochet lo iban a declarar? Yo no. Si soy honesto digo no. Yo no me iba a imaginar. O que la Armada reconociera y que hiciera un acto de como de exorcizar La Esmeralda, ya estaba bueno. Imagina, toda esa gente que siempre dijo, "Sí son mentiras, sí los comunistas se mataban entre ellos". ¿Te das cuenta? Y eso me parece positivo. Y eso fue un impacto a la cultura pero ¿qué nos falta? Nos falta que alguien haga una canción acerca de los derechos del niño. La hizo Congreso pero de los derechos del niño después del caso Spiniak. Eso nos falta. Eso nos falta. Nos falta una canción que diga lo que te estoy diciendo recién: de que los desaparecidos no fueron un invento. Y no digo esas canciones panfletarias porque se pueden hacer bellísimas. Por ahí leí que de la poesía de Silvio Rodríguez y el tipo decía. Ni los millones de Estados Unidos ni el embargo ni toda la parafernalia que ellos han usado en contra de Cuba puede combatir al primer verso de la canción de Silvio Rodríguez que dice, "Vivo en un país libre..." Eso es, ¿no cierto? Eso lo que falta nosotros. No te digo Silvio Rodríguez porque de hecho lo tenemos allí el Pancho Villa, un cabro que es muy bueno pero falta que hagamos, se produzca ese vínculo y que produzca este tipo de canción y la canción bella, si la canción tiene que ser linda. La canción tiene que ser combatiente pero tiene que ser preciosa igual porque el amor es precio y la pelea nuestra es por amor. No es de odio. Yo estaba haciendo un proyecto con

Rob Johnson, para variar otro músico en Sidmouth. Era acerca de la vida de Victor Jara y él cantaba en inglés y ellos tienen mejores traducciones en inglés de las canciones de Victor y yo en castellano y cuando viene una de las canciones de Victor y me toca a mí introducir la canción y yo digo la pelea de Victor Jara era siempre la pelea de amor, una pelea de paz, y la pelea de Pinochet fue siempre una pelea de odio y puse a llorar y esto delante de la gente en el escenario y no podía parar. Y lo peor era que me tocaba cantar después de eso. Te lo juro que la gente me entendió perfectamente y para mí fue una catarsis. Yo creo que saqué todo, el exilio, todo y alguien lo filmó igual. Entonces yo pienso que, volviendo a tu pregunta, va por allí, va por crear estas instancias porque en los grupos como el grupo Mauta por ejemplo, tengan la posibilidad de decir no solamente en Coronel sino en Concepción, en Santiago, lo que tienen que decir, que tengan el derecho de decirlo y sean financiados. Que tú, por ejemplo, no tengas que decir, "Puta, mi estudio. Se va a terminar la cosa. ¿Qué hago?" Que vean que hay una iniciativa pionera, algo que no se ha hecho en Chile. Pero ¿qué pasa? Mandan al hijo del tal por cual por allá porque es amigo de. ¿Me entiendes? Contra eso hay que pelear. Por allí tiene que ir la cosa cultural, que no estén pensando en el teatro Pencopolitano - ¿cómo se llame? - pero que piensen en cosas reales. Que mejoren el Teatro Concepción que es bellísimo. O crean un teatro con menos pretensiones y el resto de la plata denle a Omar Lara que es un excelente poeta, una casa donde él tenga, él forme niños o que vaya a las escuelas, que lo bequen para que él vaya a todas las escuelas de Coronel, por ejemplo, a hacer talleres de poesía. Eso lo que hay que hacer. Eso lo que yo pienso que hay que hacer cultura en Chile. Claro. Porque podemos. Podemos. Pero aun así, si no pasa, igual lo vamos a hacer. Igual lo vamos a hacer. Va a costar más en términos de tiempo. Nos vamos a demorar más. Pero esta iniciativa yo la saludo como, por ejemplo, yo me imagino si tú ya tenías tu título, tu cosa. Te habría sido más fácil haber hecho una cuestión que te convenía a ti - ¿no cierto? - que meterte en esto. Eso es lo que hicieron algunos músicos chilenos. Se quedaron allí y es fácil quedarse. Sí, es fácil. Imagínate, yo tengo 52 años y quiero seguir aprendiendo. Hay instrumentos nuevos que compré ahora que estuve en Barcelona y que los quiero aprender. Claro. Porque además puedo traspasar eso cuando voy para Chile. Entonces, cuando la gente en Chile empieza a creer que la cultura en realidad es la forma de soñar que tiene un pueblo, recién vamos a empezar a cambiar las cosas. Y hay gente que está convencida. Por ejemplo, Rodrigo Pincheira del *El Sur*. Es un periodista que en *El Sur* se pierde porque sabe mucho pero tiene que ganarse los porotos en *El Sur*. Él podría escribir diez mil cosas más. No puede porque tiene un marco de - ¿cómo se dice? - de censura, que es fuertísima en Chile. Claro. Y sigue siendo fuerte y sigue ese doble estándar, esa esquizofrenia chilena que por un lado el destape. Piensan que porque muestran tetas están siendo liberados. ¿Me entiendes? Porque es muy diferente ver unas tetas en una película de Fellini que es maravillosa y que el cabro chico va y se mete y se acuerda la profesora que es arte. A mí me encantan las mujeres y al tipo que le encantan igual los varones, un varón que le gusta un varón. Ésa es otra cosa que también en Chile por lo menos está reconociendo pero hay un substrato allí reaccionario que los quiere matar y. ¡Por favor! Entonces eso también es parte de la cultura. La tolerancia es parte de la cultura. Y nosotros fuimos intolerantes en ciertos aspectos, con ciertas cosas dentro, por ejemplo, del Partido en Chile, ojo. Y de eso hay que aprender. Hay que ser más tolerante con los mapuches. ¿Cuándo vamos a tener una universidad mapuche? ¿Ves tú? Y yo hablo *acerca* de los mapuches siempre, no hablo *por* los mapuches. Durante 500 años han estado hablando bien por ellos mismos y se han defendido también. Entonces mucha gente confunde y dice, "Ay, voy a hacer una canción mapuche porque…" ¡Mentira! Los mapuches no necesitan que hagamos canciones *por* ellos. Ellos la saben hacer mejor que nosotros. Lo que hay que hacer es conversar cómo nosotros podemos - ¿no cierto? -

reconocer a ese pueblo que es un pueblo completamente diferente al nuestro y reconocerlo y entregarle los valores que corresponde y las mismas posibilidades que le entregan a los chilenos, a los huincas. Por eso te digo que tiene que haber una universidad mapuche que le entregué la enseñanza a ellos y los mapuches han demostrado con creces que ellos están haciendo un aporte a Chile porque viven en ese territorio pero ellos son mapuches y van a seguir siendo mapuches. Creo que ahora Luis Sepúlveda, el escritor chileno, causó polémica porque escribió un libro donde pone como personaje Lautaro que es gay. En serio. Imagínate, a los chilenos les tocaste al héroe. Hasta luego. Pero me parece interesante que haya polémica con respeto ¿no? Entonces la cultura, fíjate, que a mí curiosamente en Chile me ha ayudado más culturalmente y materialmente la gente de Derecha que la gente de Izquierda.

Q
¿Por qué?

A
Es porque la gente de Izquierda tiene sus reinos y no deja que nadie se acerca ahí, ves tú. Entonces la ayuda es para los súbditos de sus reinos. Entonces yo no soy porque yo vivo en Inglaterra y cuando voy los antagonizo y les digo las cosas, entonces no les conviene darles un espacio a mí, pero no me importa mucho porque yo no vivo de Chile afortunadamente. Yo mi trabajo lo hago acá y los porotos me lo gano acá. Y por eso respeto a este país y lo quiero y pago mis *taxes*. No. A mí me han respetado aquí; y yo respeto. Y a los hijos de puta de este país los trato como hijos de puta. A los hijos de puta en Chile los trato como hijos de puta. Y la gente buena la quiero, la adoro, la saludo y la celebro. Me dieron el premio de arte en la Municipalidad de Coronel. Ahora, para que me dieran el premio de arte, tuvieron que luchar, meritos tenía se sobra pero yo no era miembro de ningún partido.

Q
A través de tu proyecto los niños están hablando a través de la música. Una forma de enseñar la música que no he visto nunca. ¿Cómo surgió eso?

A
Ésta es como una respuesta a la esquematización, no, a lo esquemático de la forma de enseñar porque sin pecar de resentimiento, el problema es que la música *Western* puso patrones musicales estéticos. Entonces ellos dijeron, “Bueno, de aquí pa’ adelante va a ser 440, el La”. Y ahí todo el mundo tiene que afinar sobre eso sin tomar en cuenta, por ejemplo, que la India existe un microtono, ¿ves tú? Entonces un cantante de la India no se puede regir con un 440 porque el 440 es limitado para él. ¿Ves tú? Entonces la escala nuestra - Do, Re, Mi, Fa, So, La, Si, Do - un tipo de la India le va a cantar como [*sings*] ¿Entiendes? ¡Claro! Microtono. Entonces, estos tipos fueron tan patudos que dijeron, “Claro, fue brillante”. Sí, Mozart es brillante. Sí, Bach es brillante. ¡Por supuesto! Pero música dentro de un espectro musical. Los chinos estaban haciendo música cuando aquí andaban a palo en la cabeza los tipos. Imagínate. Ahora estoy leyendo un libro. Los chinos estuvieron en Latinoamérica antes que Colón y toda la compañía. Fue escrito por un almirante inglés con fechas, con datos. ¡Fascinante! Claro, entonces, si tú te dejas caer en el altiplano - ¿no cierto? - y no grabas la lengua sino que los sonidos y los colores y pasa inmediatamente. Tuvieras la posibilidad de ir a Nepal, es exactamente lo mismo: los rasgos, la pentonicidad de la música, todo. Entonces, claro que hubo un contacto. Sí los colores son los mismos, entonces no es que estamos viendo visiones o estamos

inventado. ¡No! La flota china, eran ciudades que viajaban con chanchos, con. El libro es fascinante. O sea, y además te lo entrega con mapas que existen de la época. Entonces todo eso tira por tierra la teoría del mundo y en este caso con de la teoría de que la música la inventaron acá po'. No. Mentira. La música siempre existió. Siempre existió alguien con el deseo de expresar algo, ¿no cierto? Y cuando yo les digo a los niños que pueden escribir porque apuesto que alguna vez camino a casa hicieron ha-ha-ha y no saben de dónde vino eso, ¿no cierto? Y lo hemos hecho. Eso es música. Entonces con toda esta cosa de las escalas y eso, mi punto de vista es que hay que respetarlas y, por supuesto, hay que escribir porque si no sería todo un desorden pero no pueden cambiar la escala, por ejemplo, pentatónica de la India o la escala pentatónica de China o la escala con microtono. No, porque son bellísimas también. Hay que complementarlas. De eso se trata. Y ahí nosotros dijimos, "OK, podemos fabricar instrumentos de los que tenemos, sacándoles ciertas notas para que sean armónicos y que los niños puedan expresarse a través de eso". Ése fue el razonamiento de fondo en realidad. Y es posible. O sea, la ignorancia es atrevida porque cuando la gente ignora, puede decir cualquier barbaridad y esto corre para los ingleses, para los chilenos, para todo el mundo. Por ejemplo, en el taxi que me venía adelante, un tipo me decía, venimos por Ilford Lane, y me decía, "Estos asiáticos de mierda que están acá". Entonces yo le decía, "Oye, ¡yo soy extranjero también!" "Sí, no, no, no, pero ustedes son diferentes po'." ¡Mentira! ¿Me entiendes? Claro. Entonces yo decía, "Oye, pero tú no sabes el aporte cultural que esta gente ha hecho, solamente en la cocina en Inglaterra, porque cuando los ingleses salen de este país y vuelven, yo lo he visto, sobre todo los músicos, porque cuando tú tocas lo único que está abierto después del concierto es el restauran hindú. ¿No cierto? Entonces la gente aquí ahora, los músicos van al continente y vuelven y dicen, "Ah, por fin vamos a comer algo inglés: un curry", porque además esa comida, la comida que acá se conoce como comida hindú, es comida de Bangladesh y Anglo-Bangladesh.

[…]

Entonces existen todos esos mitos; ese tipo de cuidar su patio pequeño, cuidar su forma de entregar las cosas y nosotros no la cuidamos en educación. Lo que sí cuidamos es que nosotros no damos método porque siempre algo va a cambiar. Nosotros usamos las cosas que nos sirven hasta que nos sirven y después cambiamos porque es dialéctica. No podemos usar el mismo método con todas las escuelas porque no todas las escuelas ni todos los niños son iguales pero sí hay cosas que se repiten y que se cumplen y de ésa nosotros sacamos el mayor aprovecho posible. Vale decir: si un niño en una escuela, por ejemplo, se dio cuenta de que en vez de saltar dos veces, era más fácil para él aplaudir dos veces, ahora tratamos los dos métodos. Tratamos de aplaudir y tratamos de saltar. ¿Me entiendes? Cosas de ese tipo. Claro. Y acá hay que tener cuidado porque, por ejemplo, hay escuelas donde vienen los niños y las niñas y corren y te abrazan y acá tú no puedes tener contacto físico ahora. Está prohibido. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces ¿qué haces tú? Los sacas y el niño se frustra porque yo fui niño y nosotros en Chile somos, tocamos a la gente, entonces es parte de mi cultura pero yo estoy viviendo en Inglaterra y, por supuesto, acá abusan de los niños. Han habido tipos que han matado. Entonces hay que tener un balance, ¿no? Un equilibrio.

Neruda centenary group discussion with writers and musicians, first generation

A1
Primera vez que un poeta se preocupa de la ética. Y el *Canto General* es a consideración de mucha gente el libro fundamental de Neruda. Mucho más que las otras obras. Mucho más que los poemas románticos desde luego y... Es el poeta que toma conciencia política a partir de la terrible guerra civil española, de la muerte de sus amigos, entre ellos Lorca...

A2
Conocí a Neruda personalmente en 1945 cuando tiró por candidato a senador por las provincias de Tarapacá y Antofagasta. Nosotros estábamos adentro de eso y yo verdaderamente me opuse a que él fuera candidato a senador por las provincias de Tarapacá y Antofagasta por la sencilla razón de que el poeta no conocía el norte de Chile. Pero ¿qué es lo que pasa? Como la orden venía del secretariado entonces nosotros lo aceptamos y salió el señor Neruda de senador por Tarapacá y Antofagasta, entonces pero su período fue muy corto porque, como dices tú, entró en el conflicto de decir cosas y se opuso terriblemente con el Gobierno que ya entonces la oligarquía criolla lo sacó al señor Neruda y así fue como él tuvo que ir al exilio y peligrando su vida. Entonces Neruda verdaderamente se la jugó en este aspecto porque siempre estuvo con la gente que estaba abajo.

A1
Claro.

A3
Por supuesto Neruda también es un poeta político porque nosotros sabemos la cantidad de poemas que tienen contenido político, pero también Neruda en su poesía, digamos, se mete en la historia, en la historia chilena, en la historia, digamos, latinoamericana y en la historia universal. O sea, verdaderamente también viene a ser un poeta histórico, de la historia de los pueblos. Y por supuesto también Neruda es un poeta filosófico porque muchos de sus poemas son filosóficos. Y sus libros, tienen mucho que ver con la filosofía. Y también con la psicología humana porque ya recuerdo que hay poemas que contienen un alto contenido de la manera de ser especialmente de los chilenos o de los latinos en general. También ¿quién se va a olvidar de que Neruda es un poeta de lo que llaman ahora del *environment*, un poeta verde?

A4
Poeta ecológico.

A3
Claro. Un poeta ecológico porque Neruda en su poesía habla de la tierra chilena, de los volcanes, de las montañas, de los ríos, de los lagos, de los mares, pasando por todas de comidas que hay en Chile. Entonces también es un poeta gastronómico. Además de la cuestión romántica, está toda la cuestión sentimental, sensual, erótica, etcétera, sobre las relaciones entre los seres humanos, digamos, hombre y mujer. Gabriel García Márquez dice en una entrevista que le hacen que para él Neruda es el poeta más grande del habla española. Un elogio que venga de Gabriel García Márquez hay que tomarlo muy seriamente...

A5
En resumen, es un poeta completo porque abarca todo. Abarca todo.

A6
Yo creo que era un ser humano. Yo creo que era un ser humano. Totalmente. Porque él sabía la combinación del amor con la gastronomía. Porque él que no ama no sabe de cocina. Él que ama sabe de cocina porque, yo no sé por qué, el amor va con la cocina. A parte de eso, yo no sé por qué todo poeta tiene que ver más con la filosofía y la locura. [*laughter*] Y todo lo que va con la filosofía y la locura va con el amor. O sea, todo lo que va con el amor va con el estómago y a parte de eso con la naturaleza. O sea, cuando se ama, se ama la vida. Se ama la vida.

A7
Oye, pero siempre en las grandes ciudades hay un lugar donde se reúnen los poetas, toman y comen, y yo creo a lo mejor este lugar puede ser. A ver, ¡Roberto! Roberto, tú nos permites entonces declarar esta noche que éste es el lugar de los intelectuales de Londres.

A6
La bohemia de Londres. La bohemia latinoamericana en Londres.

A7
Primero que aquí se empieza a jugar ajedrez y allá tenemos un campeón de ajedrez. ¿Campeón cuántas veces?

A1
... el dictador estaba en un baño turco absolutamente protegido por el Gobierno británico para que no supieran que estaba preso, pero estaba escondido en un baño turco y con L. íbamos a trabajar ese proyecto; esas cosas que uno escribía al comienzo del exilio pero que resultó ser verdad con el tiempo. L. es el típico ejemplo de un padre de familia que desarrolla una obra de arte en el exilio. Él trabajó con sus hijos. Los formó como mimos. Y formó su grupo de mimos, que eran absolutamente fascinantes. Yo me acuerdo de ellos en los '80 con tu hijo mayor, tu hijo menor que eran mimos estupendos y contigo, con toda la conciencia política que tú les habías dado. Y que realmente nos alegraba nuestras fiestas durante todos los '80 hasta los principios de los '90. O sea, L. es una piedra fundamental de la cultura latinoamericana en exilio. No solamente chilena sino latinoamericana en exilio. Y eso es una cosa que tenemos que reconocer.

A5
Parece que también escribías cuentos para niños.

A1
Bueno, eso es todo lo que quería decir. [*applause*]

A7
Mi intención no ha sido eso. Simplemente mi intención es yo me siento un poco depositario, con mucha humildad lo digo, de la cultura chilena. Por eso es que yo decía recién: no están aquí todos los que son, ni somos todos lo que debiéramos estar. Hay otra gente tan buena como ustedes. Ustedes son una selección muy buena. Otros se

han quedado en casa por una u otra razón, o yo me he olvidado de ellos que también es muy humano. No olvidado sino que no tengo la lista de todos.

A3
Como Vladimir Vega, por ejemplo.

A7
Claro, Vladimir Vega, me entiendes. A. tiene una cosa de premonición, fíjate. Escribió una obra de teatro de un general que era tomado preso aquí en Londres. Eso lo escribió en 1980. [*people murmur*] Y me acuerdo que había aquí un actor venezolano muy bueno y hacía el papel del general ese que había caído a preso aquí en Londres.

A1
Antonio Briseño.

A1
Tú hiciste de periodista que sabía.

A7
Y aquí A. era mi director. Pero por estas cosas de los vaivenes del arte, no pudimos presentar la obra, pero era una obra de premonición. Muy buena y desafío A. para que la haga alguna vez. Muy buena fue la obra esa.

A3
Mira, una cosa que quiero decir respecto a A., que me ha impresionado mucho: él ha puesto obras en escena aquí en teatro. Por supuesto, no en teatros para 1.000 personas o 5.000 pero en teatros pequeños, pero igual yo las he encontrado de una validez, una importancia gigantesca porque que un latinoamericano sea capaz de poner en escena obras teatrales acá, no importa si el teatro sea pequeño para 60, 80 o 100 personas, pero él ha hecho eso. Creo que en cinco oportunidades él ha presentado obras teatrales en diferentes teatros acá en Londres. Yo he asistido a tres de ellas y verdaderamente he quedado impresionado por la calidad de las obras y mi señora también es testigo de eso.

A1
Muchas gracias. [*applause*] He tenido harta suerte con la crítica británica. La crítica británica es muy especial porque si presentas una cosa realmente con raíces, lo aprecian. Se desconciertan pero lo aprecian.

A3
Es que son expertos. Sí, claro, es que el teatro inglés es famoso en todo el mundo. De alta calidad. Y por lo tanto los críticos, la gente que sabe de esto, sabe apreciar cuando alguien presenta una obra como las que has presentado tú.

A8
... a los 17 años yo no extrañaba mi familia porque encontré una familia, extrañé a mis amigos con los que jugaba porque estaba yo en el proceso de salir de niño a adulto o a joven. Cuando viene aquí tuve que ser adulto y defenderme por mi mismo por lo que yo era, por lo que yo tenía y allí nació H. en una peña chilena en Blackfriars en el '81. Dicen, "Y ahora en la siguiente parte vamos a tener un cantante salvadoreño que ha

venido de El Salvador y nos viene a cantar". Y yo le digo a mi hermana, "Y ¿quién es?" Y me dice ella, "Eres tú" "Pero yo nunca he cantado, yo nunca he cantado en público". "Pero cantabas en la casa, cantabas todas las canciones Victor Jara"... Bueno, me consiguieron una guitarra y frente al público canté. Me equivoqué hasta decir basta. Cuando me bajé, me dicen, "Ahora sos el representante de la revolución salvadoreña". [*laughter and applause*] Y entonces me invitaron al Parlamento, a esto, a lo uno y lo otro, a un montón de actividades y les digo yo: me invitan porque soy el único salvadoreño, no porque les guste sino porque no hay otro. [*laughter*] Porque no había otro. Y así crecí, así nací. Y al final me llaman por teléfono, "Somos la BBC y queremos que usted sea una de las personalidades latinoamericanas. Es su nombre lo que queremos."

A3
Yo me voy a concentrar aquí solamente dos poemas del Neruda político porque Neruda empezó a escribir una poesía política de cuando estuvo en España y se desató la Guerra Civil Española. Entonces en este libro, que se llama *Tercera Residencia*, aparece uno de sus poemas principales con que él empieza con esta poesía de tipo político y esta poesía dice así: "Explico algunas cosas. Os voy a contar todo lo que me pasa. Yo vivía en un barrio de Madrid con campanas, con relojes, con árboles. Desde allí se veía el rostro seco de Castilla como un océano de cuero. Mi casa era llamada la casa de las flores porque por todas partes estallaban geranios. Era una bella casa con perros y chiquillos. Y una mañana todo estaba ardiendo. Y una mañana las hogueras salían de la tierra devorando seres y desde entonces fuego, polvo. Era desde entonces y desde entonces sangre. Bandidos con aviones y con moros, bandidos con sortijas y duquesas, bandidos con trajes negros. Venían por el cielo a matar niños y por las calles la sangre de los niños corría simplemente como sangre de niños. Chacales que el chacal rechazaría, piedras que el cardo seco mordería escupiendo, víboras que las víboras odiarán. Frente a vosotros he visto la sangre de España levantarse para ahogarse en una sola ola de orgullo y de cuchillos. Generales traidores, mirar mi casa muerta, mirar España rota, pero de cada casa muerta sale metal ardiendo en vez de flores, pero de cada hueco de España sale España pero de cada niño muerto sale un fusil con ojos pero de cada crimen nacen balas que os hallaran en un día el sitio el corazón. [A8 *starts to play guitar*] Preguntareis por qué su poesía no nos habla de sueños, de las hojas, de los grandes volcanes de su país natal. Venid a ver la sangre por las calles. Venid a ver la sangre por las calles. Venid a ver la sangre por las calles." Ése es.

A1
Bueno, de esa generación de poetas somos varios: Waldo Rojas, Gonzalo Rojas, a quien le han dado el Premio Cervantes, fabuloso, antes que a Nicanor, Nicanor es un rebelde, antes que a Neruda. Gonzalo Rojas fue mucho más humilde. Dijo, "Yo voy a hacer una poesía parecida a la poesía de Kavafis, por ejemplo, el poeta griego, que hablaba de su historia. Yo voy a recorrer la historia en una forma lírica que Neruda nunca ha hecho." Ése fue Gonzalo Rojas a quien ahora le han dado el Premio Cervantes. Bueno, fabuloso. Gonzalo mi viejo amigo, mi maestro, me enseñó una cosa que voy a leer. Un poquito, no. Es cortito. Es felicísimo. Está lleno de alegría, está lleno de esperanzas...

[…]

La luz. La luz de la creación que nos sigue guiando que es maravillosa, no, y que nos llena de entusiasmo y que fue la luz que iluminó a Neruda y que iluminó a San Juan y que iluminó, a Isaías, a Elías... Pero el final es lo más interesante. Está en partes, pero el final es lo más fascinante. Atención. "Nacimiento. Nació de las entrañas de la tierra como el carbón de las locomotoras. Oscuro creció ardiente como el diamante al rojo de los pobres. Ése era Pablo. De anden en anden esperaba que regresara el padre y así en silencio creció con la palabra. Un río le enseñó la geografía pero su sangre le devino de la historia. El amor le abrió los ojos con un beso y lo hizo maestro de francés en las escuelas, luego lo convirtió en un mago, en un joven chaman de capa y sombrero. La madre de tierra le dio otra vez su residencia en su vientre y él encontró un universo en sus jugos secretos. Sólo entonces su verbo subió al aire y se hizo la carne y sangre de su pueblo. Habló por las bocas de hambrientas con un carbón encendido en su legua. Le dio voz a los sin voces y a oprimidos desde siglos y fue perseguido como ellos hasta por fin el del planeta. Sólo así pudo subir a las montanas como un hermano total de los pueblos de América. Ni todas las aguas pudieron saciar su sed de viajes. También voló en el poncho de su patria a todas partes. Recibió todos los premios de este mundo y el otro con la sonrisa de los mansos que le darán un futuro fraternal y justo en una tierra sin más fronteras que el aire transparente para mirar en paz a las estrellas. Como los trovadores murió enamorado del amor que nunca muere del mismo amor que ya lo había inmortales en los hombres pero su último grito lo escribió en las murallas contra los generales traidores que invadieron su patria. En las horas oscuras de la dictadura, volvió a nacer con sus pueblos de la muerte y hoy vuelve con nosotros a luchar por la vida sin tregua contra el imperialismo y los viejos imperios que aún invaden, saquean y asesinan a los países pobres de la tierra. Pero, en finito el niño vuelve al mar a buscar el barco de papel que cayó en la botella." [*applause*]

A7
¿Qué es el exilio? Por favor.

A2
Lo que quiero decir es que siempre del exilio han surgido los grandes hombres. Nosotros pertenecemos a esta brutal paradoja que se llama América Latina. En el exilio surge algo muy especial. Por ejemplo, Neruda escribió sus mejores poemas en el Lejano Oriente. No olvidemos. Huidobro ¿dónde escribió *Altazor*? En Paris, en el exilio. Gabriela Mistral, ¿dónde escribió su mejor poema? En Roma, en Italia, en el exilio.

A7
Oye, es que pasa una cosa. Yo hice la pregunta recién: ¿qué es el exilio? Y se lo pregunto no solamente a los exiliados políticos sino que a la gente que por razones a, b o c ha tenido que emigrar de su país y llegar a otro país. Y el choque cultural que se produce, que le llaman los ingleses muy sofísticamente el "*cross culture*". Que en realidad existe. Ahora por eso es importante que para mí que estén los poetas aquí, los actores y la prensa porque nosotros tenemos que enseñarle a este país lo que es realmente la "*cross culture*" porque tienen una idea académica, pero no lo han sufrido. Por eso nosotros tenemos que enseñarles qué lo que es la *multicultural society* porque ellos tienen una visión académica. Lo que es la *cultural diversity* también... Así se enriquece este país... Por ejemplo, Karl Marx vivió aquí y escribió *El Capital*. Sigmund Freud escribió todas sus teorías sobre el psicoanálisis. Y así tantos otros. Lenin, Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins. Y hay un hombre desconocido en la historia de Latinoamérica. ¿Cómo se llama éste? Francisco Miranda que fue uno de los maestros de San Martín,

O'Higgins. Todo eso entonces nosotros nos tiene que hacer... ¿cuál es la responsabilidad de exilio?

A1
Y el padre Camilo Torres...

A3
Oye, en una cosa estoy en desacuerdo. Tenemos que tratar de ser humildes. Nunca tenemos que decir así públicamente de que nosotros le vamos a enseñar a los ingleses.

A7
No, no, pero por supuesto. Es decir, nosotros sabemos lo que es el exilio, nosotros sabemos lo que es ser exiliado.

A3
No tenemos nada que enseñarle a los ingleses porque ellos también saben harto, se las saben por libros. Ellos tuvieron las dos Guerras Mundiales, ellos tuvieron la Revolución Industrial. Ellos son una potencia mundial...

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
¿De qué manera como poeta te has sentido beneficiado por la política cultural de Chile?

A
Yo personalmente en realidad no tengo información alguna sobre esos tipos de proyectos. Hay un problema de comunicación entre lo que es el aspecto oficial o las representaciones oficiales del Gobierno de Chile con la comunidad chilena en un caso en particular aquí en Gran Bretaña. En Londres en específico. No es un acceso fácil en el aspecto de cercanía o receptividad. Da una impresión de que la comunidad latinoamericana o la comunidad chilena en Gran Bretaña en Londres donde está la mayoría es de bajo calibre o de poca prioridad, no. Por ejemplo, no son muy amigables en el sentido de escucharte. Por ejemplo, nosotros hemos intentado tres veces acercarnos a la Embajada para conversar con el encargado o la encargada cultural sobre los proyectos de la comunidad latinoamericana incluyendo chilena que tiene el Instituto, ya, porque tenemos varios planes y proyectos relacionados con lo que es la cultura, el arte y a nosotros nos interesa que ellos sepan qué es lo que estamos haciendo nosotros. Pero en todo este tiempo yo personalmente, y yo personalmente, digamos, no soy una persona que me deje estar, no, he intentado tres veces, no, de comunicarme con la Embajada Chilena y no hay respuesta. Por ejemplo, ahora nosotros estamos organizando un evento para el centenario de Neruda en la cual hay muchos artistas internacionales y yo soy el coordinador de ello y cuando un artista de la India, no, que está participando en este proyecto, se comunicó con la Embajada la semana pasada sobre este evento y sobre el nacimiento de Neruda, el 12 de julio. Y resulta que la señora que estaba allí no se acordaba de que estaba el 12 de julio el nacimiento. Pero al parecer ellos sí tienen un evento el 15 de julio en la cual invitaron al editor, a uno de los editores de Pablo Neruda que le ha publicado aquí *Las odas elementales* y posiblemente reciba una invitación este escritor y poeta de la India y él pensaba que por dado yo tenía una invitación. Yo le dije que no y que no tenía y que era muy factible que no fuera a recibir una invitación como tal y él escribió una carta personal a la encargada cultural al respecto pero [*laughs*] no esperamos una respuesta positiva. Quizás sí, no, y en el caso, digamos, de este evento, el Instituto, yo personalmente hago un papel de coordinador. El 30 de julio yo viajo a la India pero antes de viajar a la India voy a tener una reunión con Robert Pring-Mill respecto a este evento. No sé si usted lo conoce. Robert Pring-Mill fue o es un doctor. Creo que ahora es *Professor*. No estoy seguro pero él fue Doctor en Literatura Hispánica y Latinoamericana en la Universidad de Oxford y él fue la persona que le dio a Pablo Neruda el título de Honoris Causa de la Universidad de Oxford. Es un perito en la materia y felizmente me tocó conocerlo porque cuando estuve en Oxford por un año y medio, cerca de un año y medio, me tocó conocerlo personalmente y hemos participado en varios eventos. Entonces él ahora está jubilado y voy a tener un encuentro con él antes de mi viaje. ¿Ya? Entonces todas estas cosas del quehacer cultural y artístico en la cual miembros de la comunidad, chilenos en este caso, y en el caso del centenario de Neruda para nosotros es importante que las entidades oficiales del Gobierno de Chile por lo menos sepan de lo que estamos haciendo e invitarlos al respecto o recibir algunas ideas. Tenemos la apertura suficiente para escuchar y a aprender de ellos. Digamos que eso es el objetivo. Nosotros no vemos objeciones al respecto. Todo lo contrario, vemos que en un proceso democrático una entidad oficial de un Gobierno de Chile debiera hacer eso y ya no estamos en período de dictadura. Pero también hay que entender que muchas de las personas que trabajan en la Embajada tampoco son personas de carrera. Muchos son por partidos políticos y además vienen con la idea de un período

transitorio: ocho meses máximo y luego hay cambios en las embajadas, no. Pero no hay algo sustancial en la política de cultura en el caso de la Embajada Chilena por experiencia personal, y yo de entusiasmo no me falta. Tengo entendido que no han estado envueltos en un evento cultural por muchos años. Participaron en un evento de literatura con otras embajadas latinoamericanas hace cerca de diez años, pero de un punto de vista cultural, por ejemplo, la Embajada Chilena, ¿qué evento hace? Lo que tenemos de referencia es que cada 18 de septiembre hace un evento abierto que es el 18 de septiembre, donde hay cuecas, empanadas, vino. Excelente. Excelente manifestación y nosotros lo celebramos enormemente y quisiéramos que sea más próspero. A mí, William Rowe - no sé si lo conoce usted, William Rowe es un académico del Birkbeck College especializado en literatura latinoamericana, en poesía en particular - y tiene algunas publicaciones, una antología extraordinaria de sus trabajos. Ahora creo que se especializa en poesía peruana y con él hicimos varios eventos literarios y, bueno, él es otra persona extraordinaria. Definitivamente, William Rowe va a estar y debe estar en el evento de Pablo Neruda, ya. Y me acuerdo que la última vez que estuve con William Rowe conversamos sobre algunas actividades y siempre, digamos, con recursos mínimos en realidad. Porque otra realidad de la comunidad latinoamericana que es muy diferente a la comunidad del Caribe, a la comunidad del África, el Medio Oriente y de todos los países que pertenecen al Commonwealth que son ex colonias que en el momento de su liberación muchas personas aliadas a lo que fue el Imperio tuvieron su bienvenida aquí. Y hay prioridades. Obviamente un político busca los otros y donde la mayoría de la comunidad latinoamericana está en una situación ilegal o semi-legal, con la excepción de una minoría muy pequeña. Entonces la comunidad latinoamericana no puede competir de la misma forma con proyectos en relación a otras comunidades étnicas.

Pero, sin embargo, en el pasado la comunidad chilena fue extraordinariamente exitosa en eso. Fue muy exitosa. Los grandes proyectos de artes y todos los proyectos culturales relacionados con América Latina desde el año '73 hasta los años '90 eran por organizaciones chilenas, ya, y eso era por el prestigio que significó, digamos, el hecho de los exiliados chilenos en Inglaterra. O sea, no fue en gran masa aquí pero hubo un tope de unos 5.000, 6.000 exiliados chilenos desde los años '73 hasta los '80. Después se fueron a diferentes lugares y hoy día debe quedar una comunidad de no más de 1.000 o 700 personas. Pero era muy, muy activa. Y estaban en distintas ciudades y, digamos, y esos cuadros fueron los que formaron a otros cuadros de los cuales vinieron las otras campañas de solidaridad, por ejemplo, de Nicaragua, El Salvador, bueno, Cuba y muchas otras bajo la experiencia de las campañas de solidaridad con Chile, no, que se hizo a nivel mundial que, digamos, la única gran referencia es similar a lo que fue la campaña de Vietnam que fue masiva con una recepción extraordinaria a nivel mundial, especialmente europeo. ¿Ya? Entonces que fue un período que duró hasta los años '86, '88 - hasta finales de los '80. ¿Ya? Pero cuando ya la comunidad chilena en sí en su fuerza se empezó a diluir a otros lugares, cuando vino el proceso de democratización, muchos volvieron. ¿Ya? Entonces los que quedan, digamos, están en una situación muy dispersa porque en realidad somos muy pocos. Somos muy pocos. Pero respecto a la pregunta sobre qué forma, digamos, sabemos de lo que hace Chile al interior en sus programas culturales y hacia afuera, personalmente no tengo ningún tipo de información excepto lo que yo leo en el Internet.

Q
¿Qué tanto interés hay en establecer un vínculo concreto y eficaz de conexión? ¿Qué tanta necesidad o interés hay de los chilenos?

A
Nosotros y, por ejemplo, el Instituto está muy interesado en establecer contactos con todos las embajadas latinoamericanas porque uno de los objetivos que nosotros tenemos es que, de que las diferentes embajadas puedan tomar un tipo de participación en los diferentes proyectos que nosotros hacemos. En el fondo, digamos, el proyecto del Instituto Cultural Latinoamericano es una proyección hacia el futuro. No hay una representatividad ni una institución que representa en cierta medida lo que es América Latina como nosotros tenemos en el Cervantes España. Para ello, la situación de América Latina es mucha más compleja. Son muchos países. Y uno de los objetivos en este caso del Instituto es encausar todos esos países latinoamericanos en este proyecto, escuchar y también integrar otros proyectos, no, en la medida en que, digamos, se van estableciendo contactos, enlaces y trabajo en particular. Es así uno de los objetivos para, digamos, conversar también con la Embajada Chilena.

Q
Diseñar un plan en común hacia el futuro.

A
Exacto. Y que además este proyecto que es cultural también es orientado hacia promover el desarrollo al interior de América Latina. Crear conferencias al respecto, encuentros de diferentes aspectos, no solamente de la cultura, de productos artísticos, artesanales, sino que de los productos en la cual pueden tener una acogida en el Viejo Mundo. O sea, promover al mismo tiempo no solamente la cultura sino que el desarrollo al interior de cada país.

Q
Si pudieras contarme sobre tu poesía.

A
Ya. Voy a buscar un libro, no. Los pilares principales del Instituto son: la escuela de español latinoamericano, la escuela de portugués brasileño, el equipo de examinadores, el entrenamiento hacia profesores y la editorial de escritores latinoamericanos que también es independiente y de aquí yo quisiera mostrarle tres ejemplares de lo que nosotros hemos logrado. Digamos, éstos son algunos de los logros. Éste es una antología de los poetas latinoamericanos en Londres y es del año '88. Esto es una antología en la cual es una recolección de los poetas y escritores contemporáneos que han pasado por Londres y han presentado sus trabajos, no, y es bilingüe y la editorial de escritores latinoamericanos, a través del grupo de escritores latinoamericanos, presentó este proyecto al GLC que en esa entonces era la Gran Municipalidad de Londres y en esa entonces estaba Ken Livingstone que actualmente es nuevamente el Alcalde de Londres pero cuando fue aprobado este proyecto el GLC lo estaban cerrando por el Gobierno de la Thatcher así es que el último evento cultural que hizo el GLC fue justamente la presentación de esta antología en uno de los *halls* principales que tiene en County Hall. Ésa fue el último evento que hizo. El '88, cuando lo cerraron y ésa fue la despedida del GLC que ahora no existe, ya, ya aquí hay once escritores y poetas latinoamericanos desde Chile a Cuba. Creo que hay cuatro chilenos, hay dos o tres colombianos, hay un mexicano, hay un uruguayo y hay un cubano. Ésta es una selección de un joven escritor y poeta chileno, Gonzalo Opazo, ya, de las nuevas generaciones post-Pinochetista. El título lo dice: *Acepto sugerencias*, ya. También es del Latin American Writers Publications. Y ésta es una selección de mis trabajos, no,

que también es bilingüe. Eso no es bilingüe, él de Gonzalo Opazo, ya, y ésta es una selección de mi trabajo, ya, hasta el año '89.

Q
Fascinante. ¿Qué tanto de esto llegaba a Chile?

A
Bueno, estos dos, los dos libros bilingües se presentaron en Chile el año '93. Fue una presentación, digamos, personal que hice yo en la Sociedad de Escritores de Chile. En un recital de poesía, digamos.

Q
¿Organizado por quién?

A
Por Edmundo Herrera, que es uno de los amigos personales de Pablo Neruda y que tenía un taller de literatura en Isla Negra y que en esa entonces creo que era director de la Sociedad de Escritores de Chile.

Q
¿Y después de ese evento que se hizo? Esto fue en '93.

A
En '93 en Chile y luego en '94. Y coincidió, en el '94, este segundo viaje coincidió con la llegada en Edgardo Enríquez, no, digamos, el ex decano de la Universidad de Concepción. Regresaba a su ciudad nativa y a mí me tocó vivir eso, digamos, porque fui invitado a un festival que se llevaba a cabo en la Universidad de Concepción y nadie sabía, digamos. Yo no avisé a nadie, de mis amigos, nadie sabía que yo regresaba hasta que me encontré, no, a este amigo en la calle. Me dice que me fuera a Concepción y me dio las invitaciones, los pasajes del avión y todo y ahí estuve todo lo que correspondieron mis vacaciones, ya, estuve solamente un mes de la cual estuve allí una semana y la llegada y la celebración de la Universidad y la bienvenida a Edgardo Enríquez fue como hijo ilustre de la ciudad. Eso fue muy emocionante. Y, digamos, fue un evento extraordinario, ya, porque dábamos talleres a los estudiantes, participábamos con los estudiantes y luego formamos diferentes actividades y eso lo llevábamos a la comunidad y me tocó participar y trabajar también en un taller literario con comunidades mineras.

Q
En Lota.

A
Exacto. Y luego traer todo eso nuevamente de vuelta a la Universidad.

Q
¡Qué fascinante! ¿Y qué pasó con ese trabajo? ¿Se seguía repitiendo?

A
No lo sé. No lo sé pero fue un evento extraordinario, no, de gran emotividad humana del punto de vista del calor humano en el caso, no, de Edgardo Enríquez, no. Usted sabe que él tiene dos hijos que están desaparecidos y uno muerto, asesinado. Entonces y el

recibimiento por parte de la Universidad fue magnífico. Estaba el nuevo decano presente, no me acuerdo su nombre en realidad. Pero entonces venían chilenos de muchas partes de Europa. Fue un evento internacional.

Q
Impresionante. Si pudieras describirme un poco más en profundidad el resto de los artistas chilenos en Londres. ¿Qué tanto trabajo en conjunto hay hacia un objetivo común?

A
Hubo bastante trabajo a partir del '75 hasta el '89, '90. Ya. Muchas actividades. Hubo muchos recitales de poesía. La actividad cultural latinoamericana se centraba sobre la actividad chilena, ya. Venían escritores, artistas, músicos. Era lo más dinámico en relación a lo que era la cultura latinoamericana en Inglaterra. O sea, fue muy fuerte en ese período. Venía Ángel Parra, venían - qué sé yo - todos los grupos que estaban en el exilio. Están un constante *tour*, escritores que venían de Chile, también escritores de otros países, no, bueno, Mario Vargas Llosa, pero la actividad, la gran dinámica de lo que era el movimiento cultural latinoamericano se centraba alrededor de la actividad que desarrollaban los chilenos en aquel tiempo.

Por ejemplo, desde los años '75 hasta el '89 casi en cada ciudad de Inglaterra existía comités de solidaridad con Chile. Casi todas las iglesias, digamos, tenían una representatividad. En el caso mío, cuando yo tuve que hacer mis estudios de nuevo, cuando llegué a este país, hice estudios latinoamericanos en la Universidad de Portsmouth y nosotros allí creamos lo que fue el comité coordinador y en el comité coordinador estaban todas las organizaciones británicas, los profesores, los estudiantes, todas las iglesias, partidos políticos, toda una conglomeración y muy, muy fuerte, no, y aquel entonces, digamos, era diferente. Habían recursos, bien, pero cuando se termina la dictadura, entrecomillas, digamos, se crea lo que fue la gran final. Estaba el comité coordinador que coordinaba parte del sur de Inglaterra y todo funcionaba en relación a lo que eran las campañas de solidaridad y de los derechos humanos. Una de las actividades muy exitosas fueron el apadrinamiento no de personas sino que de pueblos, ya. En la Universidad donde estábamos nosotros se apadrinó, no, es decir se adoptó la ciudad de Lautaro con diferentes proyectos hacia la ciudad. Digamos, mucho trabajo humano.

[…]

La poesía es un aspecto de expresión cultural de Chile. [*laughs*] Y los chilenos que han estado afuera del país han hecho trabajos poéticos, no, pero y mi primera referencia en mis trabajos de poesía viene de cuando tenía unos 16, 17 años, cuando participé en un concurso literario de la editorial del Gobierno de Allende, la inauguración de la editorial del Gobierno que se llamaba Quimantú. Entonces la inauguración de esa editorial hizo un concurso literario a nivel nacional y yo fui el elegido dentro de 20 nominantes, creo, pero sin premio. [*laughs*] Claro, sin premio y, digamos, ésos fueron mis primeros trabajos y, bueno, y luego yo trabajaba también para el Centro Cultural Andrés Bello en Santiago y para la Casa de la Cultura del Ministerio de Educación dando a los diferentes grupos comunicarios y talleres del norte de Santiago recursos, materiales, tutores sobre diferentes materias, no - ¿qué sé yo? - fotografía, tutor de fotografía implementábamos, digamos, traíamos diferentes materiales, laboratorio, para los centros de madres y para los clubes deportivos, etcétera.

Q
A mí me llamaba mucho la atención la cantidad de escritores, de poetas chilenos.

A
Sí. Eso es parte de la expresión idiosincrática chilena, no. Esa expresión literaria, la poesía. Y puede ser un desafío a muerte en muchos casos. [*laughs*] Como ocurrió en el caso de la antología. [*laughs*] Sí. Pero en realidad fue una característica de los chilenos que han pasado por Gran Bretaña. Y nosotros inauguramos lo que fue el grupo de escritores latinoamericanos, mm, y ése es el testimonio de esa antología.

Q
¿La de '88?

A
Claro. Ya. Y dábamos, bueno, mi mayor actividad en respecto a poesía fue fuera de Chile. Yo dejé Chile muy joven, cuando tenía 21 años, 20 o 21 años, y desde entonces escribí montones, digamos, y participé en varias otras antologías internacionales. El año pasado aparecieron algunos de mis trabajos en una antología de poetas internacionales de Londres organizada por el King's College. Y anteriormente en otra antología por un grupo literario que se llama Torriano Meeting House. He participado en varias antologías internacionales y cuando usted estuvo en el Jazz Café estaba presentando mis últimos trabajos que son diferentes a aquellos. Ésa es una colección de mi poesía. No es toda. Es una colección hasta el año '78 que está relacionada obviamente con la situación que nos tocó vivir, la situación de la represión en Chile y luego el exilio. La segunda parte son amores. [*laughs*] No amores prohibidos pero amores a final de era. Entonces es un tema diferente. Abarcan, diríamos, inclusive aspectos místicos, no, amores divinos, amores humanos, como cualquier mortal. Que en la primera parte de estos trabajos es una colección de testimonios de personas sobre sus experiencias de amor, digamos. No son personales necesariamente. La primera parte son amores mundanos y la segunda parte son amores divinos. [*laughs*]

Q
¿Qué tanta acogida ha tenido ese trabajo?

A
Bueno, los últimos trabajos han sido publicados en algunas revistas literarias y aparecieron en una antología. Por ejemplo, en lo que es la poesía, la mayor audiencia es inglesa. La mayor audiencia es inglesa. Un tercio puede ser latinoamericana pero la mayoría es inglesa. Por ejemplo, en el evento del Jazz Café en el cual deben haber habido unas quince, veinte personas, todos eran británicos. Fue una audiencia bien pequeña pero, digamos, bien profunda. Fue una bonita receptibilidad y la mayoría eran nuevas generaciones. Unos 20, 25 años y van porque les gusta la poesía y tenían que pagar un tiquete de £7, no.

Q
Así que pareciera ser que hay una mejor o mayor apreciación por parte del público británico. ¿Te atreverías a decir eso?

A

Sí. Bueno, uno porque la comunidad chilena es muy pequeña ahora y estamos muy dispersas y yo no avisé a nadie tampoco sino toda la publicidad que la hizo fue el Café que es parte de la Sociedad de Escritores de este país. Ese café es parte del British Writers Society. La sociedad de escritores está al lado. Está muy cerca. Ese café es parte. Ésa es la actividad que tiene. Y ellos organizaron, ellos invitaron y ellos hicieron toda la publicidad.

Q
Si pudieras definirme qué es para ti la poesía. ¿Por qué la poesía y no otra forma de expresión?

A
Bueno, en mi caso en particular, es lo que yo puedo hacer mejor. Es la forma que puede expresar mejor mis sentimientos y en realidad son cosas que me motivan a hacer con gran entusiasmo. Tiene una gran fuerza, una gran pasión. El poder escribir, el poder comunicar o el poder luchar por comunicar algo más allá de lo que yo me puedo expresar en términos normales porque para escribir poesía uno tiene que pasar lo mundano en cierta medida, porque no habla en poesía uno todo el tiempo para comunicarse con los demás. [*laughs*] ¿Verdad? Entonces, es esa lucha que en el fondo tú dices, digamos, es una lucha por comunicar, no, un sentimiento y el alma. No podría ser de otra forma, creo yo, comunicar lo que el alma, digo yo, sino que en poesía. Y a veces uno tiene una idea preconcebida acerca de cómo empezar un poema con ciertas ideas y cuando lo inicia es un túnel que nunca uno sabe a dónde lo va a llevar y puede terminar en algo muy diferente. Entonces eso es lo extraordinario, el misterio, no, de la creación, no: que tú tienes una idea preconcebida y al final termina en otra cosa. Quizás mejor o más profundo. O mucho mejor de lo que uno tenía pensado. Bueno, ése es el camino del poema.

Q
Bueno. Viendo tu Instituto, me doy cuenta que de alguna u otra forma, tienes contactos con chilenos que vienen llegando hace poco. ¿Cuál es la experiencia de ellos?

A
Sí. Nosotros tenemos un representante del Instituto en Santiago que trabaja en Instituto Cultural Británico y en la Universidad de Santiago. Él es profesor de idiomas y también entrena a profesores. Por ejemplo, estudiantes que quieren hacer cursos en Chile, nosotros los enviamos. Porque a veces hay personas que no quieren hacer cursos aquí, quieren hacer cursos en América Latina y los enviamos a nuestro representante y él les da recomendaciones de donde ir y también profesores de inglés. Y con chilenos, bueno, con mis amigos, mis amigos de muchos años, todavía mantenemos el contacto, con mi familia, bueno, unos de mis sobrinos que han trabajado por mucho tiempo como secretarios para el senador Letelier por Valparaíso y el otro familiar también es diputado por San Carlos, Felipe Letelier, y con mi hermana que es concejal de Santiago.

Q
Bueno, lo que a mí me interesaría saber es: ¿qué tanto interés, curiosidad hay de parte de estos chilenos que transitan por el Instituto por conocer tu trabajo, por acercarse a este legado por así decir y qué es lo que ellos comentan respecto a la actividad artístico-cultural actual?

A

Bueno, los chilenos que llegan por el Instituto. Por lo general está relacionado con trabajo. Vienen a ver si nosotros les podemos ayudar ofreciéndoles algunas clases. Generalmente son profesores y en realidad la conversación, el interés no se orienta, digamos, a lo que es la poesía. A veces nunca saben que yo escribo. Son generaciones jóvenes, máximo 30 años pero son promedio de 25 años. Tenemos tres profesoras chilenas, cuatro conmigo.

Q
Entonces pareciera que muchos chilenos jóvenes vienen acá como en un proceso de la aventura, en un proceso de…

A
Ah, yo creo que en realidad es parte de su nuevo desarrollo. Querer conocer algo más amplio de lo que han visto en Chile. Me imagino que es como el proceso que sufrió España después de la muerte de Franco, que vino el destape. Es decir, las nuevas generaciones, las nuevas generaciones de españoles no querían vivir en España y querían vivir en otros países, experimentar un tipo de libertad que no se experimentaba en su propio país, una visión más amplia. Y para ellos se les hacía quizás más fácil que a los chilenos puesto que es Europa, ya. Entonces, para los chilenos es un poco más difícil por la distancia y el costo pero es interesante ver las nuevas generaciones que pasan por Europa porque ven como parte fundamental de su desarrollo tener esa experiencia mayor de lo que a ellos les ha tocado vivir y están concientes que deben, digamos, mirar otras perspectivas más amplias también como parte de su desarrollo. Obviamente son todos chilenos con una identidad bastante fuerte pero lo que es interesante es en el sentido de identidad es que se vayan desarrollando esa identidad y no se quedan solamente en una expresión de mero nacionalismo o la bandera chilena, etcétera, sino que lo demuestren y que puedan ellos reconocer en realidad, aparte de sentirse chilenos, que también puedan aprender de cosas que no existen en Chile, y que de esa forma pudieran mejorar, digamos, al desarrollo al interior del país. Entonces, en muchos aspectos, estas nuevas generaciones es algo para mí muy positivo. Es parte fundamental de su desarrollo, de su formación, digamos, de su ampliación de lo que es el resto del mundo. Porque de alguna manera, la forma del comportamiento chileno es como si fuera un isleño: muy aislado. Bueno, ahí es por razones geográficas que tenemos. Pero han habido ahora, parece que hay bastantes posibilidades de salir del país y viajar. Personas que salen de vacaciones.

Pero en mi caso personal, no, las raíces [*pause*] resulta algo extraño a pesar de tanto tiempo que yo he vivido fuera de Chile. No, yo salí el ‘74, no, el enero de ‘75, y mi primer regreso fue en ‘93, luego en ‘94 y luego en ‘98 pero períodos muy breves. Y el fenómeno fue que en mi regreso, el factor de tiempo fue diferente al factor del tiempo real. Cuando estaba en Chile, era como que el tiempo que había estado afuera era factor de meses, que había estado afuera de Chile por poco tiempo. No eran años, no eran décadas, no. En tiempo real, fueron décadas pero cuando regresé, la única forma en que lo puedo poner es como, no, el pez que regresa al agua, al río, con mucha facilidad e hice muchas cosas que quería hacer. Hice más cosas que lo que quería hacer. Como un pez en el agua, un pez que regresa al río. Digamos, en esa forma me sentí. Y el tiempo afuera no fue tal tiempo, sino fue un factor de tiempo menor que el tiempo real.

En mi caso, el hecho de vivir sin ese sentimiento enraizado de chileno fue un período que me costó como más de cinco, seis años en superar pero después que uno lo supera el sentimiento que uno experimenta es de libertad que tú puedes vivir ya ahora en cualquier lugar. Y, digamos, con la experiencia que has tenido, ya no tienes miedo a enfrentarte a

ningún lugar y al mismo tiempo que tú reconoces lo que es tu país, puedes también reconocer con mucha más claridad, cuando superas eso, otros lugares, otras culturas, vive una experimentación de otras culturas. Es una apertura extraordinaria de conocimiento que, sin haber superado esa etapa, uno no puede experimentar. Er, por ejemplo, viajé después mucho tiempo a otras civilizaciones como Turquía. Estambul. Y yo conozco Estambul tan bien como Londres. Viajé por dos años y medio. Cada vez una fascinación por esas culturas del Medio Oriente y una apertura de conocimiento extraordinario por historia, arte, etcétera. Pero podía hacerlo por iniciativa propia una vez que me liberé de este sentimiento, digamos, aferrador de la tierra que es un sentimiento extraordinario pero es como una cápsula de un cohete que se dispara hacia otra dimensión. Entonces me siento chileno pero también soy crítico de ser chileno, no. Tengo capacidad de evaluar, digamos, las cosas positivas y las cosas, digamos, que no me gustan del ser chileno, de la sociedad chilena. Hay cosas que tú puedes ver con más claridad: las cosas positivas y las cosas que tú ya dices, "Soy chileno pero detesto ciertas cosas de Chile". No. Y una de las cosas que no me gusta para nada es la familia. [*laughs*] Que es una cosa, digamos, extraordinaria en la cultura latinoamericana. No es que no quiera mi familia. Obviamente que la quiero. Es un sentimiento que uno se puede desligar pero al mismo tiempo es tan opresor. Es de la forma cómo invade la familia con un sentimiento que en el fondo es un sentimiento bastante opresor. O sea, por ejemplo, yo veo aquí la juventud inglesa y la juventud chilena y veo que los jóvenes chilenos son tan débiles, no. Ahora, digamos, están creciendo, digamos. Pero viven con la familia hasta fácilmente los 25 años. Fácilmente, no. Y se van por lo que es la comodidad porque viven con los padres y no es que no trabajen. Trabajan, ya, pero es que la madre les prepara todo y además nunca han vivido solos. En un momento en que viven solos, no tienen esa experiencia, mientras que tú ves los jóvenes ingleses que dejan su familia a los 16 años o 17 años o 18 años. ¿Es verdad o no? Y aquellos que se quedan con la familia, no es una cosa tan de sentirse orgulloso. No tiene nada que ver que no quieran o no respeten a sus padres. Es un sentido de independencia que uno ve la juventud chilena y los jóvenes chilenos todavía están muy enraizados, no, en lo que es la familia. Obviamente es grato que tu madre te haga todo, sí o no, que te cuide, y estar cerca de ella, y que tengas una buena casa como a ellos les ha costado, pero tú no puedes vivir sola. No tienes esa experiencia y no es fácil hasta cuando no lo experimentas. Cuando tú lo experimentas, es una libertad que experimentas en ti, no. Obviamente la familia, mis hermanas son mis hermanas, son seres queridos, podemos estar distantes pero cuando aparezco solamente golpeo la puerta, no. Lo mismo con mis amigos. Pero también tener la capacidad de evaluar lo que tú eres, por lo que tú eres y no por tu familia, no. Porque a veces la influencia de la familia es tan grande que terminas siendo algo que cuando, llega un momento dado en que tú das cuenta que no quieres hacer esto y allí cuando tú tienes esa capacidad de cambio es cuando tú decides cambiar. Digamos, lo mismo el país, no, es como a veces es una presencia muy fuerte y es muy difícil superar. Se tiene que pasar un camino bastante duro, muy duro. Los ingleses mismos pueden decir cuando ellos vivían en otro país. Tenía un amigo inglés que vivió en Chile y echaba de menos el clima inglés, los bares, la vida, los Beatles, no. Cosas que son típicas de la cultura y a pesar de que este amigo vivió en Chile como cuatro años y volvió y habla como chileno también, pero es inglés. Es inglés.

Q
¿Cuál es la importancia de tener un espacio en donde puedas articular estos diversos elementos que has rescatado de diversas culturas?

A

Soy yo él que tengo ese espacio. Nadie me puede dar ese espacio. Yo soy él que creo ese espacio. Por eso cuando he regresado a Chile, me he sentido como pez en el agua.

Q
¿Y has podido hacer tus proyectos?

A
Todo lo que he querido hacer y han sido mis vacaciones pero en el fondo es tan excitante que no son vacaciones. No. Trabajé, no, estuve en la Municipalidad de Independencia. Volví a trabajar con las nuevas generaciones allí en el Centro Cultural Andrés Bello. Luego hice las presentaciones de estos libros. Luego. Es una libertad propia, no. Ya uno no tiene problemas con lo de afuera o uno, digamos, ésa es la capacidad de acción, no, en el sentido de esa liberación. Y me sentí bien dentro pero no tengo esa dependencia. Bueno, y, en cierta medida, eso es lo que es el Instituto: no depende de nadie. No hemos recibido nunca una beca de nadie. Dependemos de nuestra propia actividad. Es nuestro propio espacio. Es nuestra propia libertad, en cierta medida. Cuando regreso a Chile, regreso a una parte de mi mundo que no es todo. Que ya no puede ser todo. Fue todo. Pero ya no puede ser todo.

Q
¿Cómo has sido recibido cuando has regresado?

A
Cada experiencia es extraordinaria. Cada experiencia de mis viajes, de mis tres viajes a Chile, han sido extraordinarias. Extraordinaria. Para mí comunicarme con la gente, estar a todo nivel, digamos. No hay niveles, en realidad. No existen esos niveles. Pero, digamos, no tengo ningún problema de comunicarme con nadie.

Q
¿Qué tan importante es mantener una comunicación fluida?

A
En realidad, yo creo que esa fluidez existe dentro de tu espíritu. No es una fluidez en el cual tú necesitas a una persona para ello. Si está, fantástico, extraordinario, pero no siempre está. Y, bueno, el proyecto que tenemos aquí en Londres es un proyecto fascinante, tan fascinante que mis últimas vacaciones fueron el año '99. Mi dedicación, en parte mi fascinación, es el proyecto del Instituto, no, y la poesía, ya. Y lo que hacemos está relacionado con América Latina. Es nuestro aporte hacia la sociedad en extenso como chilenos y como latinoamericanos hacia la comunidad británica. A ellos somos los que formamos. ¿Quiénes son los que forman a los ingleses en lengua extranjera en español latinoamericano y portugués brasileño? Son latinoamericanos. Profesores latinoamericanos. Ya. Claro, uno es chileno pero también es difícil explicar. Soy chileno pero, digamos, también soy más que eso.

Q
Estaba pensando este tema de la presentación de tu último trabajo en el Jazz Café y me dijiste, "Bueno, yo no le comuniqué a nadie que iba a presentar mi trabajo".

A
Sí. Es verdad. Es cierto.

Q
Y la pregunta que me surgió es: ¿por qué?

A
Esencialmente un problema de tiempo. Esencialmente. Verdad. De tiempo y le avisé a unos ochos estudiantes dos días antes, dos o tres días antes y para los ingleses hay que avisarles con mucha anticipación. ¿Sí o no? Con anticipación. Ellos se planean su agenda, ya. Entonces y [*pause*] por tiempo, mi dedicación al, digamos, al trabajo que hago y a la cultivación de lo que es el *método intuitivo* y no hemos conversado nada al respecto pero quizás puede ser en otra ocasión y la constante investigación, no, respecto del punto de vista cultural y lingüístico que hacemos aquí. Uno es parte del método intuitivo, que es una aproximación a cómo nosotros aprendemos nuevo conocimiento. En el caso particular en una lengua extranjera, digamos, identificamos varios elementos que rompen en cierta medida con cierta ortodoxia de metodología y funciona, digamos. Funciona, digamos, el método intuitivo y como recibimos profesores de otros colegios también quien vienen a hacer sus prácticas de observación, etcétera, y se están formando y muchas veces ellos vienen a observar en práctica lo que es el método intuitivo y damos a veces unas charlas al respecto. Entonces, después de mi trabajo que generalmente termina a las 8.30, 9 - a las 9.30 estoy comiendo algo, a las 10 me relajo, a las 11 me estoy recuperando y luego funciono hasta las 2 de la mañana y de allí generalmente leo y escribo.

[…]

El Instituto ha organizado varios eventos de lectura de poesía bien exitosos, o sea, con asistencia. Me acuerdo en una de las últimas con unas cien, ciento cincuenta personas pero en un momento dado ya dice uno. Es porque uno también lo promueve, ya. Está uno allí. Y ésa es una realidad a medias. Entonces llegó un momento dado en que yo no leí más. Por un período largo no leí mis poemas que ya habían sido publicados anteriores porque ya era otra etapa estaba pasando y también suspendí las lecturas de poesía por un período de tres o cuatro años. Antes yo viajaba por muchos lugares: España, he dado recitales en España varias veces, en Suiza, en Francia, en Dinamarca, en Estambul, en Irlanda, en las dos Irlandas, ya, en Escocia, en Gales, o sea, *tour* bastante intenso, no, y, por ejemplo, en un recital de poesía en la Irlanda del Norte que era organizado por Seamus Heaney, el Premio Nobel de Literatura irlandés. Él era que organizaba ése y yo obtuve invitación, no. Yo era el único chileno que fue invitado a ese extraordinario festival, que fue transmitido además con la BBC. Él era el patrón y tuve la experiencia de conocer las Irlandas. A través de la poesía, he conocido tantos lugares, no. ¡Tuve la oportunidad de conocer las dos Irlandas! Primero llegué a la Republica de Irlanda, ya, y allí me esperaban varios escritores y poetas y debo decir de que no fue una experiencia grata o de alegría, no en el término negativo, no. Me mostraron museos que fueron campos de concentraciones, me llevaron a cada uno de los centros de prisión que los ingleses habían construido de la forma más atroz para que el ser humano se sintiera de la peor forma que uno se puede imaginar. Y algunas historias en la cual a un prisionero nunca se le perdonó su vida aunque se fuera a casar el mismo día, no, aquí hay arte y drama, gran sentimiento. Se casó como una hora antes de ser ejecutado. Hubo otro que fue tomado prisionero y estaba muy herido y lo dejaron como nuevo para que justamente enfrentara un pelotón de fusileros. Entonces me contaron historias que en el fondo me hicieron sentir tan deprimido que yo no podía leer esa noche. No estaba en condiciones ni físicas ni mentales como para enfrentar con todo lo que me mostraron. Quedé peor que cuando salí de Chile.

[*laughs*] Y me tuvieron que llevar a un parque, un parque enorme que hay en Dublín y en ese parque además tú ves caracteres extraordinarios como personas que rezan frente a un árbol, no, rezando, que son muy, de mucha fe en su religión Católica. La imagen de que me vino de la Republica de Irlanda: grandes amigos, extraordinaria gente, gran pueblo, un país admirable. Me pareció como un hospital en un proceso de convalecencia. La gente todavía está afectada, no. El país lo vi yo, digamos, ésa fue la visión que me dio, no, como un hospital en la cual sus habitantes y la gente son pacientes en vías de una recuperación de una larga enfermedad. Y luego tú cruzas la frontera - ¡ju! - para mí fue impactante porque cuando tú cruzas la frontera, en la frontera hay torres de control. ¿Tú sabes qué son torres de control? Con policía, con luces y la persona que era mi guía, que me llevaba en coche por muchos lugares, era una mujer que me vivía en el área Católica de Irlanda del Norte y lo tienen clasificado en las placas de los vehículos. ¿Sabías tú? Por colores. Entonces el soldado vio la placa. "Vives en el sector católico." "Sí, claro." "¿Y quién va ahí?" "Un escritor chileno." Y conmigo fueron muy gentiles. "Que lo pasen muy bien," me dijeron. Pero detrás la patrulla nos siguió por todo el camino. No sé si era para protegernos. [*laughs*] Pero es un sentimiento extraño que detrás de la policía que tú tienes, va a estar el soldado puntando constantemente al coche. Tú lo ves y está así. Tú lo mires por atrás y todavía está apuntando. Después, media hora después, todavía y no se ha movido del lugar por una hora o más. Así con el fusil. Entonces ésa es una experiencia y además había toque de queda por la noche. [*laughs*] Toque de queda en la capital, Belfast, toque de queda. Hicimos el recital en un edificio que era de Oxfam y luego por la noche después todo eso quedó destruido. Pusieron una bomba, fíjate, ya, y ya era toque de queda y tuve que pasar entremedio de muchas mujeres que iban todas: "¿Quién es ese señor?". Entonces fue una experiencia, digamos, diferente a la de Chile pero que en intensidad fue mucho más fuerte. Y después durante el día, digamos, continúa el festival, las presentaciones en la radio con poeta irlandés de Premio Nobel y de esa forma tuve la oportunidad de conocer Irlanda. Si no hubiera sido por la poesía. Lo mismo en España. Viajé muchas veces a España, muchas veces, muchos recitales hasta que llegó un momento dado en que, mm, aquí no hay más desarrollo. No hay mucho desarrollo y consideré que era necesario retirarme para estar conmigo mismo y proyectarme nuevamente. Entonces, desde entonces, ya no estuve envuelto yo mismo en organizaciones de poesía, festivales que antes sí estaba fuertemente, no, sino que participaba solamente cuando otros lo hacían y otros me invitaron. Si nadie me conocía, nadie me conoce. Tan simple como eso. [*laughs*]

Q
Qué fascinante el proceso, tu historial. ¿Sientes que otros artistas chilenos u otros poetas han pasado por ese proceso también?

A
Mm, no lo se. No lo sé. Es una experiencia personal. No lo sé realmente. Además me tocó mucho tiempo viajar a Suiza. Mi primera esposa era chilena pero tenía parientes en Suiza. Luego mi segunda relación fue con una suiza también pero a ella la cambiaron a Estambul, por eso también tuve mucha oportunidad de viajar a Estambul todos los meses, no. Teníamos un proyecto interesante que al final no se logró materializar para el cual yo escribía un trabajo de investigación sobre comidas y bebidas, bailes, cultura de Turquía con poesía. Era un poema relacionado con las comidas y la historia del croissant, del yogurt. [*laughs*] Y, digamos, estaba relacionado con historia y poesía, no, pero relacionada con comida, con aspectos culturales. ¿De dónde viene el croissant, crees tú?

Q
Pensé que era francés.

A
Bueno, todo el mundo piensa que es francés. Durante la expansión del Imperio Ottoman, estaba en una expansión extraordinaria hacia Europa. Era el período de las cruzadas de las tierras, no. España perdió su independencia. Fue ocupada por, digamos, los musulmanes, en realidad el Imperio Árabe, y por otro lado lo que es Estambul hoy día antes era Bizancio. Pero no era Bizancio. Fue una ocupación de los cristianos a esa región. Entonces se daba la media luna, no, y luego la luna volvió a su movimiento que tenía antes. Se liberó España después de ochocientos años de ocupación y los turcos, es decir, sigue siendo en Islam, reocuparon Bizancio, lo que es hoy día Estambul. Eso es Estambul: cuatro civilizaciones que tú encuentras allí cuando, si tú tienes cierta sensibilidad - ¡fu! - es algo, un golpe de conocimiento y un entusiasmo por conocer aquello que ya no está y aquello que sobrevive y que es diferente. Entonces cuando se expandía el Imperio Ottoman hacia Europa, hubo una gran batalla de 17 días que, si perdía el ejército austrohúngaro, Europa era invadida por, digamos, la cultura islámica y finalmente fueron derrotados, no, el Imperio Ottoman, en esa batalla, no. Los turcos fueron derrotados. Y los austriacos, como una forma de celebración de su victoria, crearon este pan que es una media luna y se lo comían. Entonces decía, "¡Atención! Cuidado con lo que comes." Eso. Y esa media luna era el símbolo del Islamismo que ellos habían derrotado.

Q
Qué increíble.

A
[*laughs*] De ahí viene el croissant.

Interview with musician, first generation

Q
¿Cómo ves el Chile de hoy?

A
Mira, el error que está ocurriendo ahora en Chile es el siguiente: se nos impuso el sistema neoliberal en Chile que es un sistema que funciona de arriba, no. Es como lo que está haciendo Blair aquí en este país. El problema es que él no puede decidir. Él puede tener una idea general de lo que quiere hacer pero el problema es que si el pueblo, los individuos que conforman esa comunidad o esas comunidades no se organizan por sí mismos y son los que impulsan la creación de ellos en la sociedad, es difícil que pase. Es por eso que a mí me duele lo que yo te digo, a mí me tiene tan dolido la cosa de la comunidad aquí en Inglaterra, lo que dije yo, la descomposición que se produjo porque ahora que se produce la descomposición, es difícil que este grupo, esta comunidad chilena o latinoamericana, pueda surgir porque los individuos van a estar todos divididos. No hay nadie, digamos, que pueda organizar algo que de fruto en la comunidad y que le ayude a la comunidad a crecer y a revitalizarla. En Chile si no hay, si la comunidad de Las Condes, Molina, San Clemente, Lontue o p'allá p'al sur, no, no es capaz de autoregenerarse, autoorganizarse y crear sus propias condiciones para hacer efectiva estas cosa, jamás va a pasar porque Chile ahora se quiere dictar a través de decretos y cuestiones económicas y eso no funciona y en Chile nosotros se lo sabíamos a fines de los '60, digamos, pueblo. De allí surgieron todas esas consignas, no, de crear poder popular porque es la organización misma del pueblo. No es el Estado. Es el pueblo mismo, es la gente, la comunidad. Entonces cuando se abandonan esos principios que nosotros teníamos, se abandonan esas ideas también y ¿qué es lo que toma prioridad? La prioridad la toma el Estado. Y el problema es que Lagos puede tener muchas cosas bonitas y puede hacer muchas cosas, pero jamás van a funcionar bien porque tú no puedes dictar eso del Gobierno. Eso tiene que ser del mismo pueblo en que crea las condiciones para su propio desarrollo espiritual y cultural, económico. Y eso debiera también apoyarse en la lucha de los araucanos, de los mapuches, significa también una autosuficiencia de esa comunidad, que ellos puedan organizarse, producir para su propia comunidad y para la comunidad de afuera. Por eso la causa mapuche tiene que apoyarse. El problema es que este sistema que nosotros estamos viviendo aquí en Inglaterra, como en Chile, porque es el mismo. Él que sabe es la gente que controla el mercado, el *businessman*, eso. Nosotros lo que tenemos que hacer es trabajar, pasarlo bien, no preocuparnos de nada y ellos deciden lo que pasa culturalmente. ¿Te fija? ¿Qué cosa de la cultura este país, por ejemplo, la determina alguna sección de esta sociedad, del pueblo inglés? ¡Ninguna! Todo se va por el mercado. No hay ninguna participación del individuo, de la comunidad con respecto a esto. Está todo dentro del mercado, entonces la gente no tiene ninguna y ésa es la democracia que ellos quieren imponer aquí. La democracia es: yo soy libre de pensar lo que quiero pensar, puedo decir lo que quiero a quién quiero en el momento que *and so on and so on*. Me puedo vestir, puedo salir. Pero no me puedo meter en las decisiones de este país. Ahora te dicen, bueno, el partido es pa' votar, ¿no? Pero el Laborista, el Conservador y los Liberales son exactamente lo mismo. La única variación es que ellos son administradores de un sistema. No hay realmente ninguna posibilidad de cambio con ninguno de ellos. Es siempre el mismo sistema. Es si te cobramos menos *tax* o más *tax*. En Chile exactamente igual. O sea, ¿cuál es la participación? ¿Cuál es la participación popular? ¿Cuál es la participación popular en las decisiones económicas? ¿O la decisión en "vamos a organizar eso, vamos hacer el otro"? ¡Ninguna! En la Municipalidad. Por ejemplo, en Molina, la Municipalidad la tiene la UDI.

Después de ser un área socialista desde los años '20 pa' adelante. Ahora la tiene la UDI. La Municipalidad decide qué es lo que se va a cantar en la Festival de la Vendimia en Molina, por ejemplo. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces, si realmente hay democracia, ese Festival de la Vendimia que era famoso en Molina antes de la UP y después de la UP, bueno, si yo escribo una canción, yo escribo una canción y la presento allí. Si la gente le gusta o no le gusta, eso es democracia. Pero la UDI trata de controlar incluso el tipo de canciones que se cante allí, no sé. ¿Tú entiendes?

Pero ése es el problema que uno tiene que tener bien claro con ese tipo de cuestiones que mientras no haya, supongo que eso también al final va a depender, digamos, de algunos individuos, valga la redundancia: individuos individuales, que sean capaces, digamos, que sean rebeldes y sean capaces de organizar ciertas cosas en la comunidad. El problema es que en Chile, en el caso de Chile, aparte, digamos, de otras cosas, todavía hay mucho miedo y yo me encontré con compañeros que decían, bueno, pero si hacemos esto, nos va a llegar la repre. Todavía ahora el año pasado. Entonces pero decía, "Bueno, pero empiecen con algo inocuo, algo que no parezca tan puntiagudo y después van cambiándolo o agregándole más y más y más cosas hasta que". Pero hay miedo. Ahora, en Chile, lo que pasa en Chile, lo que yo veo en Chile, a excepción de un sector muy pequeño de la sociedad, todo el resto se autoreprime. Fue tanto el terror, fue tanto la cosa, ya no necesitan a Pinochet para que Pinochet reprima. Los huevones se reprimen solos. No puedo hacer esto porque me van a pegar. Entonces estas cuestiones son lo que he visto de pasada.

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Lo que pasó al pueblo, al pueblo se le - ¿cómo dijera? - se le reprimió tanto que el pueblo ahora es incapaz de pensar en que ellos son capaces de hacer algo. Nosotros. Y no hay mejor ejemplo. El Gobierno de Frei nos reprimió en los '60 y el Gobierno de Alessandri antes de Frei. Y se hicieron cosas el '70 hasta el '73, la hicimos, fuimos capaces de hacerlo. Lo que la gente tiene que entender es que eso pasó y ellos, si lo permiten, va a pasar *again*. Va a pasar otra vez pero no debiera pasar porque las condiciones no son exactamente las mismas del '73. Ahora no es tan fácil para los milicos venir y decir, "Vamos a dar otro golpe porque lo que pasa es que no nos gusta." No es tan fácil, no es tan fácil y ellos saben que si lo hacen de nuevo, ya no van a tener la misma, aunque Bush está allí, ya no van a tener el mismo recibimiento que tuvieron cuando estaba Nixon. El problema es que cómo tú explicas a la gente cuando la gente en Chile no quiere escucharte y no quiere saber nada, que es lo mismo que le pasa aquí a la comunidad. Si les canto algo en una canción, no quieren saber nada porque es muy doloroso. No son capaces de reaccionar positivamente con ciertas cosas a pesar que sean duras. El problema es que yo soy diferente a mucha de esta gente porque yo, cuando a mí se ponen difíciles las cosas, yo me pongo fuerte. Cuando las cosas se calman es cuando yo me muero. Ahora viste lo que dije, yo me salgo de seguridad social y me las arreglo solo. No sé pero, bueno, llevamos una semana ya. [*laughs*] Sobrevivo una semana, viste. ¿Qué va a pasar con las semanas que vienen? No sé pero ésa es la diferencia mía con muchos chilenos acá. Al chileno cuando se le complica la vida acá no saben qué hacer. Y se achican a las circunstancias.

¿Sabes tú? Yo pienso que si se le pudiera explicar a los chilenos, a la juventud chilena de hoy día la importancia que tiene el cobre y otras industrias de ese estilo, yo creo que ayudaría bastante a cambiar el panorama, la geografía, como dijera yo, la geografía

disaffected, me refiero al hecho de ignorar, no querer pensar ni entenderlo. Pienso que una gran ayuda para que Chile pueda recuperar un poco su dignidad, un poco sus sueños y sus cosas que nos quitaron con ese golpe de estado, es que ellos entiendan de que lo que hay en Chile debiera ser para el beneficio de ellos. Y yo creo que el cobre sería, porque eso lo que se están haciendo en Chile ahora, pero el cobre yo creo es una buena bandera para empezar a promover esa cosa de que, "Éste es mío, éste es mi país, ésta es mi cultura, éste soy yo." Y volver a retomar los sueños, volver a retomar esa cosa de *nosotros podemos construir nuestro propio destino* y yo creo que hay ciertas banderas que se pueden levantar y que pueden ayudar al individuo a reintegrarse y a reconstruir su historia. Yo sé que hay unos amigos míos que están trabajando en esto de la cosa del cobre ahora y que están impulsando y yo creo que.

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…el hablar, por ejemplo, del cobre. Que el cobre era el 30% de la entrada de moneda dura al país, al Estado. Ahora es el 1.9% y en total son 385 millones de dólares que para un Estado hoy día. ¡No es nada! ¡No es absolutamente nada! ¿Qué hace Chile con 385 millones de dólares? Cuando tú necesitas un servicio de salud para el país. Cuando tú necesitas educar toda esa gente. Cuando tú necesitas crear viviendas, levantar escuelas, levantar hospitales, levantar tantas cosas. ¿Qué son 385 millones para Chile? ¡No son nada! ¿Y por qué? Porque las compañías ni siquiera pagan su *royalty*. No. ¡Se llevan todo! Se llevan todo. Es increíble pero se llevan todo, por 30 años han llevado cobre, oro, plata y molibdeno. Ellos pagan el cobre, el oro, la plata y el molibdeno que va junto con el cobre: miles o millones de toneladas. En 25 en 30 años de explotación, no han pagado un peso para el oro, solamente por el cobre y el cobre ni siquiera se lo llevan como se lo llevaban antes. Se lo llevaban en barra y si se lo llevan en barra eso pasa a ser materia prima. Estos huevones son vivos. Se llevan la piedra, la roca. Cuando se lo llevan ellos en roca ya no es, para el mercado internacional, materia prima. Entonces el valor de eso, cuando es así, se achica demasiado. Además le echan agua cuando se lo llevan pa' fuera. Más bajo el precio todavía. ¿A final lo que recibe Chile al año? 385 millones de dólares. Que no es nada. Y, sin embargo, cerraron la industria que derretía el cobre en Chile y lo transformaba en barra. La cerraron. Entonces la compañía, ellos dicen que ellos invierten en la cosa económica en Chile o en otros países y crean fuentes de trabajo. Pero ¿cómo vas a crear fuentes de trabajo si tú estás cerrando cosas? Entonces se llevan las piedras a México. En México abren una industria para derretir el cobre. Entonces porque es más barato en México. Derriten el cobre con todo lo que va con el cobre, como decía, y de ahí, ellos te pagan por el cobre cuando se lo llevan. El problema es que se han ido cientos de miles toneladas de oro, plata y molibdeno y ¡no han pagado nunca un dólar por esos minerales! Nada. El Estado chileno se los ha regalado. ¡Pa! Entonces si el joven chileno puede entender la importancia de que el cobre esté en sus manos, aunque sea una cosa figurativa, porque ahora las compañías le van a decir al Estado de Chile, "Mire, de aquí pa' abajo, hay esta cantidad de cobre. Ésta es la plata que necesito que usted me de para que yo deje las minas." Pero no importa. Pero en términos figurativos, en términos de idealismo, en términos de recuperar una dignidad como nación, como sociedad, yo creo que es esencial que se haga, aunque el costo sea alto en términos de millones de dólares. En términos de que es nuestro suelo y debiera ser usado para los intereses de nuestra gente, es importante que se haga. Ahí es cuando se empiezan a recuperar algunas cosas. Y hoy día eso es una bandera y yo estoy súper contento de que eso existe porque es una posibilidad de que los jóvenes chilenos recuperen lo que nosotros perdimos. Y ahí todo va a depender de las nuevas generaciones. Lo dijo Allende. Es cierto. "Otros hombres serán

los que…" Y es un problema mío también porque me siento fuera de la historia. Tú no estás fuera de la historia porque tú tienes la edad que tienes y estás haciendo esto y vas a llegar a Chile. Vas a conversar con gente, les va a pasar tus inquietudes y las cosas son un granito de arena.

Yo conocí una niña hace dos años atrás. Ella tiene el apellido Matte, pero ella es descendiente de los Matte que fueron Presidentes de Chile para atrás para época de la época de la Independencia y todo. Ella estaba interesada en la cosa de la memoria y vino a hacer acá también un estudio acerca de la cuestión de la memoria y ella es una Matte, no, y conociéndola, sabiendo que todavía tiene mucho problema de ser una Matte, pero era importante lo que estaba haciendo. Porque va a llegar allá a trabajar a los museos y otras cosas más y va a discutir con gente y va a hablar y va a estar diciéndole cosas a otra gente, cosas que son necesarias que se digan y que se piensen, no, y es un proceso lento. Pero al final, cuando tú juntas todos los granitos, tú puedes hacer una playa po'. Y eso es lo bonito de la cosa. Fue bonito conocerla porque ella era la polola de este, de un amigo mío que es historiador italiano que se lo pasa mucho en Uruguay, Argentina, también va a Chile y escribe en algunos periódicos en Italia, muy bonito y él le estaba ayudando también a la cosa. Conversamos en otro café aquí en Covent Garden, en otro café.

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… donar plata a un colegio allí en Chile y ¿pa' qué? Bueno, si quieren hacer eso y hay individuos, organicen una *charity* como un inglés que conozco por allí que tiene una *charity*, ayuda una escuela en Perú. Perfecto. Pero cuando tú te organices políticamente y haces ese trabajo, no tiene sentido que ellos como organización política estén haciendo eso. No tiene sentido. Háganlo como individuos. Perfecto. Pero como organización política tú tienes otras tareas que cumplir, no. ¿Cómo educas a la comunidad aquí políticamente? ¿Cómo la ayudas con todos los elementos que hay? Lo artístico y otra cosa a que tenga un alma, que tenga una vida, que crezca, que se vigorice como comunidad. Y si pueda aportar algo de su experiencia para compartir con los chilenos en Chile, lo haga. Pero si quieren apoyar a una escuela que lo hagan como individuos, pero no como un partido político. El partido político es una bandera, es una organización que lucha para cambiar la cosa del sistema. Aquí no pueden hacerlo porque no pueden participar en este sistema político. Pero pueden hacer otras cosas, no. No sé po'. Se perdieron todos los horizontes. Los horizontes están todos confundidos. Y es un problema grave. Es un problema grande. Cuando se te pierden los horizontes ¿qué es lo que vas a hacer?

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS - IN CHILE

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
¿Cómo llegaste a la exposición? ¿Cómo llegaste al arte? ¿Por qué seguiste este camino?

A
Lo que pasa es lo siguiente. En respecto a una vida, o una trayectoria artística, hay que verlo hace muchos años atrás. Yo diría que desde chico me interesó todo lo que tuviese que ver con literatura específicamente. Pero específicamente yo empecé a preocuparme de la literatura como arte, yo te diría, a los 16, 17 años en un proceso como de simple imitación, al principio. De ahí estudié filosofía. Yo me acuerdo que entré a estudiar filosofía. En filosofía, cuando yo estudiaba - te estoy hablando del año '73 - nosotros hicimos una revista que estaba en esa exposición y esa revista fue publicada el año '75. Fue una revista del centro de alumnos de la carrera Filosofía y creo que fue la segunda revista de literatura que salió en la Universidad de Concepción en esa época. Ahí escribieron personas que después seguirían en la literatura como el Tomás Harris, como Egor Mardones, como el Sergio Gómez, como no me acuerdo, pero hay más. Todos ellos que posteriormente siguieron trabajando en literatura como artistas o como productores ya de artefactos literarios como guionistas, etcétera. Pero siguieron. Y eso fue como el primer momento de trabajo y posteriormente seguimos. Yo siempre estaba ligado al arte tanto como productor de artefactos artísticos y también como productor de eventos culturales. De las dos formas. No como gestor cultural profesional sino que como un gestor cultural que esporádicamente asume esas funciones, esos roles. Porque no vivo de eso. Vivo a medias de eso, vivo a medias de producción artística, te fijas. Entonces podría decirse que lo mío es un trabajo relacionado con el arte, tanto como productor y como gestor cultural. Yo me acuerdo que después por ahí por los años '80 junto con un grupo de Concepción, nosotros hicimos una revista, o sea, ellos hicieron una revista en la cual participé después que se llama *Posdata*, que también estaba en la exposición. *Posdata* sacó seis números en ese tiempo, me acuerdo, más o menos por el año '83, '84 en Concepción se hizo una agrupación de artistas que tenía varias ramas. Se llamó ADA: Agrupación Democrática de Artistas. Eso fue como '84. Eran como 70 personas. Había música, teatro, literatura, danza, etcétera. Por ejemplo, uno de los integrantes de ADA era Patricio Bunster, uno de los coreógrafos nacionales fundadores de danza en Chile, con la Manuela, con su hija. Que ellos llegaron a Concepción con un proyecto precisamente de inserción. Venían de Inglaterra y uno de los primeros lugares donde llegaron fue ahí, entonces crearon todo un movimiento de danza que existe hasta el día de hoy. En ese mismo grupo estaba lo que se llamaba el Teatro Urbano Experimental de Concepción donde estaba la Cecilia Godoy, el Ricardo Sepúlveda, Gonzalo Ruminot, etcétera, otro grupo. Habían otros grupos también de música, etcétera. Bueno, eso duró del '83 al '86 más o menos. Se produjeron varios eventos, varios espectáculos. Multidisciplinarios. Habían de diferentes lados artísticos. Después de eso, se acabó ADA. Cambiaron las circunstancias, la gente entonces hacía otro tipo de cosas. Algunos se fueron a Santiago. Otros siguieron su vida profesional artística fuera de Chile, en Chile mismo, pero no en Concepción, algunos pocos ahí. Y ahí se fue diluyendo más o menos, se transformó. Por ejemplo, se formó un taller que fue el Taller Calaucán que sigue hasta el día de hoy en Concepción que es una escuela de danza ahora. Y etcétera. Así se fue fragmentando todo. Después otra cosa que habría que recordar de esos años, yo por mi parte siempre trabajé en esos tiempos ya con cosas de literatura específicamente y ahí teníamos un taller literario en el ADA que se llamaba Pablo

de Rokha y en ese tiempo yo tenía veintitantos años. Después de eso, yo tuve una revista que se llamó *Tantalia* que también está en la exposición. *Tantalia* fue una revista de los años ‘86 o ‘87. No me acuerdo ya. *Tantalia* tuvo una muy corta duración. Tuvo un solo número. *Posdata* duró tres años. *Tantalia* duró un solo número. En esos días, habían otras revistas. Habían otros diarios de poesía en Concepción. Había uno que se llama *Tráficos* que también está en la exposición y de ahí ¿qué más podría decir? Eso fue el año ‘86. Sí, *Tantalia* salió el año ‘86. ‘87, ‘88, ‘89 a ‘90. La cosa es que yo seguí trabajando. Ésta es una historia más o menos de las actividades. Yo seguí trabajando. Trabajaba con mi literatura específicamente también escribiendo, participando en algunos eventos literarios, etcétera. El año ‘86 mandé un libro de poesía a un concurso que es bastante, y en esos años lo era más tal vez y hoy día también lo es, un concurso, digamos, que es bastante conocido dentro del ámbito literario en poesía porque hay muchos concursos que son de novelas, todo eso. No, éste es en poesía. El año 1986 mandé a un concurso y ese concurso me lo gané y eso significó que para mí en el ambiente específico de la literatura nacional y en el ambiente especializado en poesía, tuve mucho más acceso a otras cosas. Tuve más acceso a otras cosas. Conocí mucho más gente, me conoció mucho más gente. Dejé de ser un escritor más de provincia para ser un escritor dentro de lo que el panorama de la literatura especializada regional considera que está dentro de los escritores chilenos de poesía.

Bueno, de ahí en adelante ya tenía como más posibilidades ya de ubicarme en el medio literario nacional. Como te decía, de alguna manera dejé de ser un desconocido para los medios especializados, etcétera, blah blah blah blah. Y así paulatinamente me empecé a dedicar algunas cosas que tenían relación con la escritura. Estuve escribiendo para algunas revistas y diarios como el diario *El Sur*. Después en la *Ercilla* en Santiago escribía crítica literaria sobre poesía generalmente, a veces sobre novelas. Eso ya no lo hago. Hay circunstancias que han cambiado en ese sentido y eso lo vamos a comentar después respecto a esa producción. Siempre estuve relacionado con cosas como teatro, como multimedia, precisamente porque la gente de mi generación y de la generación que es inmediatamente más joven que yo se empezó a relacionar con fenómenos de arte que son más bien integrales, no tan lineales, no tan papel y lápiz ni tan video no más. Mezclando un poco como lo que hace Alejandro Anabalón. Anabalón hace como una mezcla de varios elementos, etcétera. Y el resultado fue que cuando empieza ésta era de los proyectos estatales que empiezan a aparecer por primera vez, porque antes los únicos proyectos que habían referidos al arte eran a través de ONG o estructuras que no eran las estructuras gubernamentales. Empiezan a ver otras posibilidades de financiamiento, de obras, de investigación, etcétera, etcétera. Y yo nunca he vivido directamente, como te decía, del arte. He vivido de cualquier cosa, desde hacer artesanía, desde trabajar en lo que sea, en lo que sea, y si alguna vez hay algo que tenga que ver directamente con el arte, por supuesto. No creo tan, no sé tan bien si me gustaría mucho trabajar específicamente con cosas relacionadas con la producción artística en un 100%, ¿te fijas? Pero sí tengo conciencia de que ahora hay más posibilidades de trabajar de la, vendiendo servicios artísticos, porque eso es en el fondo. En Chile, no hay ningún poeta, incluso los poetas comillas más conocidos, que pueda vivir de lo que le dan sus libros. De hecho, en Chile, fíjate, hay una cosa curiosa. Claro que eso también ha variado. La generación anterior a mí que es la generación de Óscar Hahn, de Efraín Barquero, y la que viene, o sea, la más anterior se puede decir y la otra que viene inmediatamente después de ellos y no es la mía en donde está Javier Campos, por ejemplo, etcétera, es una generación de artistas en términos de literatos muy relacionados con los medios universitarios. Se da mucho en esa generación que el poeta sea profesor universitario o fuera de Chile o en Chile. Muchos de

los poetas, hay muchos poetas chilenos que producto del exilio terminaron siendo profesores en departamentos de literatura en universidades como la Universidad de Iowa o la Universidad de Oregón o en la Sorbonne, etcétera. Entonces ellos han ganado su dinero a través del sistema universitario una vez que están funcionando como, pero en cambio la generación que viene después. Yo estoy a medias entre las dos generaciones. Eso es uno de los rasgos como crítico con el cual se me identifica a mí en la crítica chilena a partir de ciertos comillas críticos que hacen una revista de lo que es la panorama de la poesía actual. Por ejemplo, ¿quién? El Javier Campos, por ejemplo, el Federico Schopf, o - ¡Dios mío! - Jaime Lizama. Bueno, y según las características de mi estructura, es estar en medio de las generaciones de los '80 y los '90. Mi poesía es muy visual. Mi poesía es una poesía que tiene que ver mucho con lo que es el mundo de los multimedios: de la tele, del video, de todo eso. Sin ser la poesía de los '90 y sin ser de los '80 muy dedicada a lo que es la literatura, la palabra sobre el papel. Entonces como referente crítico es como dejarme en el medio. Ni de uno ni de lo otro sino en el puente, un puente entre los dos sistemas. Y lo que yo veo es que la generación, justamente yo no pertenezco ni a la generación que es la del poeta universitario ni tampoco la que viene después que es más joven que yo. Que ahí se da mucho el rasgo del poeta que ya no es el poeta universitario. ¿Qué son? Poetas y publicistas, por ejemplo. Poetas y funcionarios públicos. Poetas y aventureros. O sea, el universo de los escritores bajo los 40 años en este momento, con los 40, 45 años, tiene una diversidad muy grande de profesiones. Tú ya no puedes hacer esa relación tan estrecha como la generación anterior de que si el tipo era un poeta, era muy probable que estuviera trabajando en un *college* o en una universidad. Ahora no. Ahora trabaja en cualquier cosa, si se quiere decir así. Y más que nada relacionada con un mundo de construcción cultural mucho más vasta, te fijas. Son productores de espectáculos. Algunos son críticos literarios de diarios, otros son, etcétera. Tienen sus propios editoriales, sus proyectos editoriales. Basta ver a Leonardo Sanhueza, a Alejandro Zambra, etcétera, a muchos de los cabros ahora. No necesariamente están pasando por la U. Bueno, todo eso significa, bueno, yo seguí haciendo mis cosas. He publicado dos libros. Estoy publicando un libro cada diez años. O sea, ahora me tocaría publicar otro. Son libros muy específicos. Mi escritura es muy programática, muy de investigación, si se quiere decir así. O sea, muy programática. Cada libro tiene temas específicos y los tres juntos constituyen de alguna manera un proyecto único que se mantiene a través de los años en donde va, se va investigando una parte del mundo y de la literatura y de la relación entre mundo y palabra a través de estos libros diseñados, si se puede decir así. No es una poesía que explore el mundo a partir de los sentimientos, ni es una poesía que su fuerza esté en la exploración lírica, te fijas, pero ésas son mis formas específicas de trabajo. Entonces, producto de eso sucede que siempre nos hemos relacionado con otros artes. O sea, nos hemos relacionado con otras artes. Yo he trabajado, yo aprendí, por ejemplo, de los años del ADA todo eso que es cómo producir, producción de eventos, producción de espectáculos. Eso lo aprendí en la práctica. Eso es un poco más desusado respecto a alguien que sea poeta. Yo sé cómo a producir un espectáculo. Yo sé lo que hay que considerar. Sé cómo armar un escenario. Sé cómo a desarmar un escenario. Sé la lista de las cosas hay que tener para un espectáculo. Sé cuáles son los pasos, por ejemplo, producto de esta actividad que tiene relación con las artes escénicas. Entonces he trabado con las artes escénicas como guionista, he trabado como director de arte, fundamentalmente guionista y director de arte y ¿con qué artes escénicas? Con teatro y con danza. Si se puede decir así. Con teatro con danza. Y con danza con teatro. He trabajado también con lo que es los medios de video como participante y también como guionista y como productor. Entonces ésos son como mis áreas de trabajo. Y he llegado a ellos sencillamente primero en forma espontánea poniéndonos de acuerdo para algunos eventos específicos, segundo porque obedecen a

un criterio de exploración para mí también de cierto entorno artístico a través del cual se prolongan los artefactos escritos y por otro también he llegado a ellos con criterio absolutamente de ventas y servicios, vendiendo un servicio. Si alguien te encarga un guión para, como te decía ahora, un guión para hacer un documental y te pasan un alto así de cosas y te dicen, "Mire, éste el tema y ahí tiene los libros". Si me pagan lo que considero correcto, yo voy a estar ahí haciendo eso con una particular concepción estética que se amolda al cliente de alguna manera. Esto es una venta de servicios. En el fondo, es una venta de servicios. Que pasa que obviamente si tú tienes una cierta capacidad artística, puedes vender mejor un servicio artístico. Porque hay una diferencia entre hacer un guión a tontas y a locas que hacer otro con un criterio estético específico. Entonces eso es. ¿Qué pasa? Como en Chile empezaron a salir estos proyectos culturales, esta financiación para proyectos culturales, uno tenía más libertad de alguna manera u otra para pensar ciertos resultados que uno quería conseguir. Por ejemplo, con mi amigo siempre habíamos querido poder hacer algo con un montón de revistas que teníamos reunidas. Específicamente que él tenía reunida. Entonces se nos ocurrió implementarlo como un proyecto de investigación cultural, que tratase de reunir lo más posible, etcétera, y dejar un material ahí. No tanto para hacer nosotros una especie de visión sociológica del fenómeno sino que para tener material para que, si alguien se interesase en hacer esa visión, lo pudiera hacer y contase con el material, ¿te fijas? Entonces se presentó el proyecto al Fondo del Libro y resultó. Se hizo. Se interesaron, lo financiaron y de hecho lo bueno que tienen estos fondos culturales es que tú puedes presentarte a ellos, concursar y en unas de esas ganártelo. Si no existiesen fondos de ese tipo, yo no podría tener plata, por ejemplo, para trabajar en libros durante seis meses como estos momentos puede suceder, te fijas. En ese sentido, hay una diferencia con otros momentos históricos de nuestra sociedad. Hay una cierta disponibilidad de fondos. Por supuesto está toda la polémica que obviamente siempre se va a dar en cualquier sistema donde se repartan fondos estatales para el arte, siempre se va a dar que de 100 que postulen van a haber 5 que sacan el fondo y 95 que no. Y de los 95, por supuesto va haber un porcentaje que va a reclamar y va a chillar y va a batallar lo más posible alegando sus derechos pero eso es parte de las reglas del juego, no. Creo que tienen todo el derecho de patalear y pedir, etcétera, y pedir mecanismos más eficientes de transparencia de resultados, etcétera. Pero de hecho si no existiesen esos tipos de fondos, sencillamente habría un montón de personas que no hubiese podido crear sus obras ni darlas a conocer, te fija, ni brindarle al aparato cultural del país. Es una riqueza de producción que no existía. Mira, hace dos meses estuve trabajando de evaluador del Fondo del Libro precisamente para el concurso de becas y hay una cosa increíble y es que yo leí todos los proyectos. O sea, era una ruma bien grande. Todos los proyectos vienen con texto. Era una ruma de 563 proyectos. Eran varias bolsas. Tú leías las obras y una cosa increíble que es que yo no recuerdo ni un solo proyecto que es un proyecto público que tuviese alguna relación con lo que nosotros podíamos llamar Cultura de la Derecha. Ninguno. ¿Qué llamamos Cultura de la Derecha? Cualquier proyecto de alguna toca ciertos referentes simbólicos de lo que conocemos nosotros como la Derecha chilena. Ninguna. Pero es un proyecto abierto. Cualquier persona de Derecha está en perfecto y legítimo derecho de mandar un proyecto. Pero no hay ninguno. Entonces, bueno, "¿Dónde está vuestra producción?" O sea, sí reclaman tanto muchos de la Derecha. "Lo que pasa es que usted no tiene producción cultural, parece." Así es simple. O sea, lo sentimos mucho. Éste es un proyecto para becas de creación literaria y no hay ningún solo proyecto que tenga ningún referente cultural respecto a la Derecha. ¿Qué quiere decir eso? Que, bueno, porque no tienen de proyectos de creación, sencillamente. ¿Te fijas? Entonces, bueno, es muy simpático ser evaluador porque te das cuenta de muchas cosas que sino no, hasta te puedo hacer un mapa, un mapa bien interesante de lo

que pasa en el país, bueno, al nivel de literatura. Otra cosa, otro mito chileno: yo pensé que iba a llegar, supongamos de 560 proyectos iban a llegar la mitad de poesía. "¡Porque Chile es el país de poetas!" No, no fue así. Se distribuyeron muy uniformemente en los géneros. Los géneros eran: poesía, cuento, novela, dramaturgia y ensayo. Y sabes tú que la poesía no fue el 50%. Fue uno de los más fuertes pero no el 50%. Yo pensé que, de diez proyectos, cinco iban a ser poesía, el resto va a ser. No, no fue así, no. O sea, hubo hartos proyectos de dramaturgia. Hubo proyectos de cuentos. Hubo novelas. Hubo un lote grande de proyectos que no estaban dentro de los géneros que hubo que tirarlos todo a ensayo porque dividieron los géneros por un decreto ley, ¿te fijas? Y no hay otros géneros donde podrían haber estado: libros de testimonio, crónicas, etcétera. Entonces todo pasó a ser ensayo. Pero, como sea, no había una gran preponderancia de la poesía. Entonces eso es otro síntoma que tú dices, "Ah, claro, sí, no es tan". Hay un montón de mitos bien clichés que uno se compra hace mucho tiempo pero, no, hay una producción rica en todos los géneros en este momento. La poesía chilena tú te das cuenta ahí que tiene una sintomatología temática y estructural y esquemática y estética bien definida. Si uno lo compara, por ejemplo, con la poesía española actual. La poesía española actual yo la leo y está la poesía española actual si tú la leías sí, excepto a algunos nombres, sigue siendo y ha terminado siendo lo que fue hace mucho tiempo atrás. Es una poesía altamente académica, altamente regida por ciertos parámetros muy convencionales, muy clásicos de criterio de belleza estética. Muy parafernálica, si se dice así. No es muy experimental. En cambio, la poesía chilena está bastante lejos. Es una poesía mucho más caótica, mucho más desarmada, mucho más experimentalista, si se puede decir así. Porque no tenemos un peso académico muy grande que nos diga que, "¡Ésta es la forma de escribir poesía!" Cosa que, sin embargo, hace poco tiempo está empezando a aparecer de alguna manera u otra. O sea, hay toda una corriente de avalamiento en estos momentos en Chile de cierto tipo de poesía, versus la poesía de corte experimentalista, si puede decir así. Pero en Chile esa confrontación es un poco artificial porque no creo que tenga mucho porvenir. Pueda tener un cierto porvenir académica pero nada más. Bueno, la cosa es que así con todo lo que te he contado, al final mi labor abarca diferentes ámbitos culturales tanto por el hecho de mi interés propio porque me interesa añadirles a mi labor de escritor de textos artísticos muchas dimensiones como son las dimensiones de lo corporal a través del teatro, la danza, la dimensión de lo visual a través del video o el cine. Eso por un lado y por otro tiene que ver con eso también en el sentido de ventas de servicios, de ventas y servicios específicamente. Yo en la medida que trabajo con el arte a veces vendo servicios que tengan que ver con el arte y que son específicamente demandas que pueda asumir un escritor respecto a otros campos del arte, como les decía. Y eso es a grandes rasgos mi relación con el asunto. Obviamente yo elijo los temas y elijo lo que me interesa un poco y las revistas me van a seguir interesando por un buen tiempo. O sea. Y no sé. Ahora tengo que preocuparme de mi tercer libro, de publicarlo y siempre he publicado yo mis libros. En Chile hay tres formas de publicar libros de poesía. La primera forma es publicarlo uno. La segunda forma es conseguir que una editorial te lo publique. Y la tercera es mandarlo a imprimir uno mismo. ¿A qué refiero con "publicarlo uno"? Me refiero que tú mismo hagas el libro y mandas a hacer el libro a tu gusto, sabiendo cómo se hace un libro. Entonces yo mando que me hagan las tapas en una parte, que me lo impriman en otra parte y que me lo armen en otra. Eso es una forma. O por último hacerlo tú mismo así en forma artesanal tratando de hacer un libro comillas con un valor agregado de objeto, un libro muy bonito, etcétera, que salga por trescientos ejemplares, que cada ejemplar tenga características de ser más o menos único. La otra es que contrates a una imprenta y le mandes a hacer el libro. ¿Y qué va a pasar con eso? Te va a cobrar un millón de pesos. Aquí tienen sus quinientos libros. Vas a tener una ruma de libros y tú verás dónde los vendes, dónde los

distribuyes. La otra forma es a través de imprenta. En Chile, hay editoriales de libros de poesía y todo eso que lo único que hacen es cobrarte a ti un millón de pesos por editarte el libro, incluirte en la lista de su, pero no tienen ni distribución ni nada. En Chile, la única editorial grande chilena que tiene distribución, y más o menos no más, es LOM. La única. Después viene Cuarto Propio. Después editoriales como la del Omar Lara, el Lar de Concepción, y otras por ahí. Pero si LOM está aquí, Cuarto Propio aquí y ésta está acá, de ahí para abajo no hay nada. O sea, nada. O sea, no hay una City Lights Books en Chile ni una imprenta de los Beats que tenga un, no. Lo que sí hay ahí son revistas que tienen proyectos de edición como *La Calabaza del Diablo*, por ejemplo. No sé si lo ubicas. Y así. Que han sacado sus propias mini editoriales como Sanhueza que tiene la editorial Quid, etcétera. Como sea, en Chile no hay ninguna editorial grande que te edite poesía. Universitaria saca, pero mira que pasa con Universitaria: Universitaria sacó, hace como diez años atrás, sacó las obras completas de Eduardo Anguita. Sacaron 1.500 ejemplares y no creo que los hayan vendido todos. En diez años. Y Anguita no es un desconocido. Pero ellos no sacan más que son nombres, te fija. Entonces la poesía en Chile no tiene mucho mercado. Somos doce millones de habitantes. Y en doce millones de habitantes los que leen poesía no pasan de 500 porque la poesía en estos momentos es un producto consumido por escritores de poesía, un producto especializado. Los que escriben poesía, le venden poesía y leen la poesía los mismos productores de poesía o gente que tiene una formación cultural que les interesa. La poesía ya no es el vehículo del siglo XVIII. No es el vehículo tampoco del 2000 antes de Cristo. No es la voz de la tribu como en tiempos de Rimbaud. No, la poesía es un producto cultural bien especializado y que le gusta ciertas personas. Tal vez lo que motiva más, diría yo, el fenómeno poético es lo que se construye alrededor de la poesía. Es más conocido lo que se pueda hacer, armar alrededor del producto de la poesía que la poesía misma. Son más conocidas las obras del teatro, las obras de cine, el video, el arte experimental que tú puedes construir sobre un texto poético y eso está más accesible a la gente que la poesía misma. Ése es un poco el sentido de trabajar con video. Es más factible que conozcan y sepan de tu poesía a través de otras manifestaciones artísticas que la pasan a rozar, te fijas. Yo tampoco pretendo que la poesía ahora pueda darle algún mensaje general o generacional. Lo que sí sucede que los poetas generacionales siempre tienen su público como nosotros lo tuvimos para nuestra generación. Porque eso es cierto. La juventud comillas de alguna manera se reconoce en la palabra de los poetas pero se reconoce en directa proporción de que el mensaje atine con sus demandas juveniles, específicamente. De hecho, es interesante ver que las bandas de *hip-hop* urbanas usan muchos mecanismos de la poesía y que los han descubierto por sí mismos. Usan estructuras métricas. Usan verso y lo han hecho solos por oído.

[…]

Con muchas bandas urbanas ahora de música que manejan bien sus textos. Que manejan con criterio de oído, te fija, pero no en mi caso. Yo escribo una poesía dura, si se puede decir así. Tiene algunas, por supuesto que tiene una riqueza lírica en cierta manera clásica, pero está tratada de alguna manera con una forma de investigación, cómo se diría, una investigación cultural, si se puede decir. Y más que cultural, simbólica. Una investigación simbólica, te fija. Y eso es. No se me ocurre qué más conversar sobre eso. ¿Tienes alguna otra pregunta? Pregúntame no más.

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Si tú me pudieras contar un poco más sobre ese proceso. ¿Por qué la investigación?

A
En realidad en mi caso específico no me refiero a un proceso de investigación en términos de documentación. Pero sí hay una parte de eso. Pero sí un proceso de investigación en el sentido de, a ver, ¿cómo me explico? En el sentido de explorar un cierto fenómeno de la realidad, fenómeno social, cultural, etcétera, a partir de mis percepciones poético-estilísticas. Por ejemplo, mi primer libro es un libro bastante complejo y está estructurado con mucha influencia de los medios audiovisuales. Es del año '86. Con mucha influencia de los medios audiovisuales. Con canciones. Es un libro, en realidad francamente es un libro que está como unos diez años adelante de su época. Es un libro que se podría escribir ahora. Es un libro que trabaja con mucho de lo que en estos momentos nosotros podemos percibir lo qué es la televisión. Trabaja con jingles. Trabaja con situaciones escenificadas, si se puede decir así. Trabaja con intertextos directos de las canciones de música rock, de películas. Trabaja con los discursos del anunciador callejero, etcétera, etcétera. Pero en el fondo ese libro explora de alguna manera una postura, una sola cosa básica y es un sentido antiutópico. Explora la idea de una sociedad fundamentalmente mediatizada a través de los medios de proyección de imágenes y en donde el valor de la existencia de las cosas en el mundo su valor como mercancía. Por dos lados. Tanto como mercancía a disposición de un comprador por un lado y la otra es como él que compra: el consumidor de bienes y a la vez el bien de consumo. Entonces ese libro trata de eso. Básicamente eso lo va explorando. El segundo libro es una exploración sobre el sentido del lenguaje, sobre el sentido de las palabras. Primero: qué significa escribir. Segundo: qué significa escribir literatura y específicamente poesía a fines del siglo XX. Eso. Y no en un sentido de investigación moral sobre la actitud de él que escriba poesía, no, sino que en un sentido más bien epistemológico o semántico. ¿Qué es lo que sucede cuando yo escribo poesía? Y segundo: ¿cómo se relacionan las palabras con el mundo interno? Y ¿cómo esa forma de relacionarse las palabras con el mundo interno funciona a las alturas de fines del siglo XX? Que lo hacen distinto a la forma en que se construye esa relación en el Romanticismo, en el Clasicismo y así, hacia atrás, te fijas, ver qué es lo que tiene de especial sobre todo porque es una época en donde la crisis del lenguaje, la desconfianza en el lenguaje es muy grande. Entonces la exploración de todas esas circunstancias es lo que da el libro. Porque la idea del libro anterior, que es un típico libro de los '80 y los '90, es el libro conceptual donde todo el libro está estructurado por un solo sentido así al estilo de los álbumes como *The Wall* o como el *Sgt. Pepper*. Este otro pretende burlarse un poco, o sea, no burlarse sino que pretende desinstalar eso. O sea, pretende asumir el rol que a uno le pareció tan terrible de la gente que hacía libros de poesía, entonces tiraba "Poema 1: Un atardecer en..." "Poema 2: Oda a mi abuelita." "Poema 3: Sentimientos bajo la lluvia." O sea, una colección de sentimientos desperdigados sin que lo una nada más que un yo lírico que está en común. Yo jugué un poco a eso pero obviamente que lo que hacen los otros poemas es hacer citas del poema central que es un poema largo y tiene nueve paginas. Otra característica que he tenido siempre es que yo escribo poemas largos. Largos. O sea, de cuatro paginas, de tres paginas, de trescientos versos, cuatrocientos. Entonces tengo esos problemas. Cuando me piden que mande un poema de veinte líneas: "Lo siento, no puedo mandarles un poema de veinte líneas porque no tengo poemas de veinte líneas". Entonces en ese texto, el poema central trata sobre lo que estaba hablando y los otros poemas que aparentemente son poemas dispersos en realidad corresponden a citas. Son citas que aclaran ciertos puntos del poema central. Entonces ése es otro punto de esta investigación programática. En el fondo la investigación programática que yo hago es la relación que hay entre el mundo de los signos y el mundo de lo que llamamos la realidad. Y la última que lo tengo ahora listo fue porque yo concursé antes de ser

evaluador, concursé al concurso de becas de creación literaria. Eso fue el año pasado, entonces tuve seis meses para dedicarme a escribir un libro. Entonces mi idea era de trabajar un libro de poesía en donde yo de algún modo construyese un artefacto que explorase el campo chileno y específicamente el campo del Valle Central. ¿Por qué el campo del Valle Central? Porque es lo más representativo del campo chileno. Para el común de la cultura chilena campo son huasos, vacas, gallinas, y cortamos ahí el campo chileno y, mira, fíjate una cosa curiosa: nosotros, bueno, yo, producto de esto, como te digo, tengo varias actividades. Una de las actividades fue - ¿ubicas el Proyecto Sismo? – bueno, yo anduve en el Proyecto Sismo en Copiapó en el norte con el grupo de danza porque ahí yo soy guionista para las obras grandes, las obras de una hora. Son obras multimedia en realidad. Llevamos como tres obras multimedia hechas. Ahora estamos trabajando en otro FONDART que es éste que sería la cuarta. Son obras de una hora. Pero cuando yo no cumplo esa función de guionista y director de arte, cumplo la función de técnico de montajes, si se puede decir así. Entonces yo me preocupo de los requisitos. Cosa que fue un infierno porque llegabas y la ficha dice, "Mesa de luz con catorce *dimmers*". Y te dicen, "No, no tenemos", y faltan tres horas para la función. Y ¿por qué no tienen? Porque quemaron la semana pasada. Bueno, hay que conseguirse, hay que ver, llamar... Bueno, y fíjate que en el norte chileno, en Copiapó, en esas partes, hay grupos folklóricos que lo que hacen es tocar cuecas. Será cueca nortina, será todo lo que sea, pero son cuecas. Entonces por supuesto hay grupos que también trabajan con su folklore local, pero es muy pregnante el Chile del Valle Central en términos de imagen folklórica. Entonces yo quería hacer. ¿Tú has visto esas pinturas de una pareja chilena…? Son muy *kitsch*. Son muy *kitsch* y eso lo que yo quería hacer. Muy *kitsch*. Por ejemplo, unas pinturas de colores chillones donde tienes unas vacas. Son colores chillones y muy trabajados donde tienes unas vacas imitando logotipos, cajitas de Rinso, lo que sea. Yo hice una portada que consiste en una caja. ¿Tienes un lápiz? Es que no tengo mi computador aquí sino les mostraría todo eso. La portada va a ser esto. Imagínate una imagen de Buda, el Buda típico y aquí la cabeza de un gallo en el pecho y aquí le puse unos óvalos donde está la cordillera de los Andes pero de las cajitas de fósforos. Ésa es la combinación que busca el libro. Es una cosa altamente *kitsch*. Es una reunión de símbolos de diferentes culturas mezcladas. El libro trabaja con eso. El libro tiene un intertexto bastante grande con el poema. También tiene intertexto con lo que es el pensamiento budista del mundo. Está todo reunido en cierto. Y en realidad está construyendo un artefacto también como todos los otros libros anteriores. A eso me refiero con el sentido artefacto de exploración y ésa es mi temática, ¿te fijas?

Q
¿Cuáles son las conclusiones de este segundo proyecto investigativo?

A
Eso lo acabé. Eso se acabó. Eso fue un libro que publiqué en ese tiempo. Ese libro no apunta específicamente sí a la realidad chilena. Apunta específicamente al lenguaje como sistema de signos en Occidente, problemas específicos del lenguaje. Como decía yo, el problema básico de por qué se escribe. ¿Por qué escribe la persona? Y ¿qué es lo que se desea con la escritura? ¿Cuál es la recepción que se desea de parte del lector? Ahí los poemas tienen directa relación con eso. Un poema que tiene que ver, más que con una película, con una obra muy chica de teatro que se llama *Wozzeck* de, no me acuerdo de quién es. Pero es chiquitita, sí. Y ese poema es una reflexión sobre la historia pero tengo un apunte...

[…]

Son libros mediados. Hay personajes que median entre uno y el libro, te fijas. El mismo nombre, por ejemplo, se llama Suma Teológica la fuente de Narciso porque es una reunión de elementos conceptuales. Se llama Suma Teológica porque, en la Edad Media, uno de los sistemas de análisis de la realidad intelectual básico es la suma teológica que consistía sencillamente en hacer dos columnas donde en la columna A están todos los argumentos a favor dichos de connotadas autoridades y en la B todos los en contra. Entonces tú dices San Anselmo de Canterbury dice que los ángeles están en relación directa con Dios. Y San Buenaventura dice esto, esto, esto. Y vas sumando. Él que tenga más argumentos que el otro y más de peso tiene la razón. En eso consistía eso, te fijas. Fuente de Narciso por el fenómeno de Narciso que consistía en enamorarse de la propia imagen. Con eso estoy refiriéndome a los signos, a la estructura simbólica de los conceptos y así en ese sentido es una poesía altamente compleja y, comillas, intelectual, pero también es muy simple. Y muy barroca. Porque básicamente es una poesía barroca: se va por el sonido de las palabras. En ese sentido, soy heredero de cierto barroco latinoamericano en el sentido de que a veces sencillamente está el sonido no más. Porque dime tú, si lees de ahí hasta ahí, te tienes que quedar con el sonido de las palabras más que nada. No creo que sea muy fructífero tratar de entender qué dice el escritor. Por supuesto que dice algo, pero lo dice a través de un sonido de palabras. Entonces todas esas cosas investiga este libro. Específicamente este libro investigaba eso, te fijas. Eso es el asunto. Y mi trabajo ha sido siempre ése específicamente. Ahora a mi altura de vida, ya me queda claro varias cosas pero para mí; o sea, lo primero que me quedaba claro es que el arte es un fenómeno altamente complejo en donde los aspectos clásicos de lo que se refieren con la palabra "arte" en Occidente - y estoy hablando de la modernidad - están cada vez más desdibujados. O sea, sobre todo en plástica, por ejemplo. O sea, ¿qué es el arte actual? O sea, el arte actual incluso puede ser mucho diseño, más que arte. O incluso como artistas pueden decir, o como lo han dicho, el futuro del arte actual es el diseño. O sea, llanamente. Entonces eso mismo llevado el plano textual, proyecta este arte de la literatura en cincuenta años. O sea, ¿para dónde se va a ir? El arte de la poesía específicamente se ha mostrado más duro que el arte plástico. Me refiero, ha subido menos disgregación. O sea, se ha conservado más estructurado, más unido. Ahora, eso no sé si es bueno o es malo. O sea, todo va a depender de cómo vamos adquiriendo ciertas percepciones fenoménicas. Mira, hace trece años atrás, vino un chileno-británico. Me acuerdo que estuve en una conferencia de una chica de Inglaterra que se llamaba Bernice Rubens, una escritora de allá se había ganado un premio que era no sé cuánto. Éstos que dan los libreros ingleses con un libro que se llamaba *Envié carta a mi amor*. Y ella en la conferencia dice algo que en ese momento a muchos les cayó mal porque ella dice que sus libros se venden en supermercado. Entonces en esos años - estoy hablando de doce años atrás en Chile - con todo eso de, "¡Qué terrible!" Y ella dice, "No, me parece fantástico. Todo lo contrario. Cualquiera puede comprar mi libro." Te aseguro que ahora un autor chileno de novelas estaría feliz si le venden sus libros en supermercados. Precisamente porque ahora a nuestra sociedad le tocó ese fenómeno - ¿cómo se llama? - de, si se puede decir, democratización de los medios de consumo. No sé. Es muy complicado hacer una reflexión sobre si eso es bueno o es malo, pero algo que doce años atrás al común de los mortales de Chile les parecía algo horrible ahora es algo deseable. ¿Te fijas? Bueno, todo ese tipo de transposición de signos, de elementos, de relaciones, es lo que me interesa a mí trabajar en mis libros. Específicamente. Eso. En mis libros de poesía. Porque eso no me interesa ni en la danza ni en el teatro ni en mis proyectos de investigación. En mis libros de poesía, sí. Yo creo que los libros de poesía son lo que más me interesa en términos

sufridos. Y me gusta escribir poesía, pero es muy complicado por ahí. Ahora estoy escribiendo una novela, cosa que no había hecho nunca. Llevo como 80 paginas y creo que la voy a terminar de aquí a un año. Y me gusta la novela que estoy escribiendo. Me gusta. Es una novela bien especial porque me gusta. Voy a decir que me gusta. Descubrí un lenguaje que me interesa explorar, etcétera, etcétera. Pero para mí la novela es muy difícil de escribir porque es totalmente distinto de escribir poesía y más que nada por la tensión que me genera porque es un proyecto a muy largo plazo. Eso es más que nada, te fijas. Hay que ser muy constante. Igual yo me he pasado escribiendo cuentos diez años para poder llegar de alguna manera adquirir una cierta solvencia. Lo que pasa es que la narrativa es un arte bastante técnico, bastante técnico, y se puede adquirir una buena capacidad de escribirlo a partir, yo siempre he dicho eso como ejemplo de que, para llegar a ser un buen novelista, se puede tener un mínimo de predisposición y gran cantidad de conocimiento y ejercitación y te garantizas en un 80% que puedes llegar a ser un buen novelista. No un novelista excepcional pero sí un buen novelista que construya productos culturales de interés. Para ser un buen poeta no hay caso. No puedes aprender a escribir buena poesía. No puedes. Sencillamente no puedes. Si no tienes una cierta capacidad de percepción del mundo interno, no hay forma de que termines escribiendo buena poesía pero a diferencia del novelista sí puedes llegar a ser un poeta mediocre y muy fácilmente, basta que tengas la intención porque Chile está *lleno* de poetas mediocres que creen que por pescar un lápiz y relacionarse con un cierto espacio interno y anotar un par de cosas son poetas. O sea, poeta mediocre no es muy difícil ser. Es más difícil ser un buen novelista, te fijas. Pero un buen poeta no hay cómo aprender a serlo. Sencillamente, no hay cómo. Si no tienes una cierta capacidad interna de percepción, no vas a llegar nunca a ninguna parte. Claro. Entonces por eso digo yo que escribir bien prosa es cosa de trabajo. Ahora si vas a ser una excepción, bueno, si no la tienes tampoco, no. Pero es un trabajo. Es un trabajo entretenido sí. Escribir prosa, escribir novela es entretenido. O sea, me entretiene mal que mal de todas maneras. Pero, como te digo, así han ido las cosas. Ahora me gustaría seguir trabajando con proyectos culturales. Por supuesto, sí. También es una forma simpática de vivir. Pero también uno tiene que saber que cada, y eso es otro asunto, y es que a la vez que se van financiando proyectos culturales y se van estructurando proyectos culturales, empiezan a ser cada vez más acotadas y sistematizadas las reglas para acceder a esos proyectos. Los formularios para postular a proyectos se han vuelto cada vez más engorrosos, cada vez más específicos. Entonces, en algunas cosas eso funciona, y en otras no. Y se han puesto por alguna razón cada vez más problemáticos. Pero ahora se ha corregido. O sea, hay toda una dinámica. Por ejemplo, cuando nosotros postulamos a esta cuestión de las revistas, postulamos a una sección de los fondos que distribuye el Fondo del Libro y lo postulamos como persona natural. Postulé yo. Al año siguiente, nosotros queríamos continuar con esto con otras dimensiones y no podemos postular porque a esa sección ya no podrían postular las personas naturales, sólo las personas jurídicas. Bueno, eso se entiende porque puede que no hayan tenido muy buenas experiencias con las personas naturales, te fijas. Ahora no. Ahora de nuevo se abrieron algunas zonas. Se van acomodando ciertas cosas. Por otro lado, no sé hasta qué punto eso funciona tanto también porque mucha gente quiera que no. Es cierto que el artista tiene que, viviendo en esta sociedad, saberse manejar en ciertos términos formales pero hay muchos que no saben manejarse en ciertos términos formales. Bueno, yo creo para los que no saben manejarse en ciertos términos formales tienen que o aprenderlo o si son lo suficientemente geniales saltárselo. Saltárselo y buscar sus recursos de otra manera. Si el tipo es suficientemente genial y tiene energía suficiente, es capaz de hacerlo. O sea, yo te digo que el FONDART y todo eso sirve para muchos artistas pero hay gente suficientemente especial como para no interesarse en los recursos ni del Fondo del Libro ni

del FONDART ni de estos. Te fijas. Porque trabajan con otras instituciones. Trabajan con otro o por último tienen otro sistema de trabajo. Entonces todo eso depende. Yo creo que es bueno tener estos fondos en Chile. Es una muy buena cosa pero es lo menos que podría hacer el Estado. O sea, no creo que sea ningún regalo. Y además que es muy poco lo que están dando. ¿Tú sabes cuánto es el presupuesto total del FONDART en plata? El FONDART entrega aproximadamente dos mil ocho cientos millones de pesos para fondos concursables. Eso lo que entrega. Y el año pasado salieron seleccionados cerca de cuatro cientos y tanto proyectos y los concursantes eran nueve mil. O sea, es menos del 10%. ¿Y cuántos en millones de dólares son $2.800.000.000? No son ni 5 millones de dólares. O sea, y ése es el presupuesto, claro. O sea, es muy poco. Es muy poco. Muy poco. Eso obliga a que los proyectos corten muy arriba. El Fondo del Libro entrega 2.300 millones de pesos. Nosotros teníamos ese problema, fíjate, resulta que llegan 563 personas al concurso de becas y sólo puedes dar 50 becas: 20 para escritores profesionales y 30 para escritores noveles, o sea, que no han publicado. Treinta y veinte y eran 563. O sea, estoy hablando de muy poco, o sea, el 10%. Es muy poco. ¿Qué significa eso? Que sólo tienen posibilidades de postular y de ganar algo los primeros cincuenta seleccionada de 563. Entonces eso produce que la gente reclame. “Pero mi proyecto era claro.” “Sí, tu proyecto era bueno. No hay duda que tu proyecto era bueno pero había otro mejor.” Qué pasa que dice, “Oye, pero saqué 95 puntos”, pero resulta que cortamos de los 96 pa’ arriba. ¿Te fijas? Es muy estrecho. Otra cosa. Es muy competitivo. Es muy competitivo. Estás en un sistema de alta competencia en términos artísticos. Pero ¿qué pasa? Hay proyectos buenos pero son criterios de una actividad que recién se está probando, hay que ir mejorándola de alguna manera. Por ejemplo, eso lo presentamos nosotros como sugerencia, de que las personas, ponte tú, fuera de los cincuenta a los otros cincuenta que no quedasen seleccionados pero que también tienen un proyecto interesante, que el Fondo de Libro les mandase un mail diciendo que su proyecto es interesante pero que lamentablemente no ganó porque no alcanzó el puntaje necesario, pero que demuestren interés porque es diferente - y sobre todo para los cabros jóvenes - eso a no recibir nada. Pero ¿qué pasa? En el fondo el Fondo del Libro reparte su plata entonces pero en el fondo son físicamente doce funcionarios para manejar todo lo que tenga que ver con todo el país. ¿Te fijas? Tenemos un Ministerio de Cultura que es interesante pero a la vez un chiste porque tienen un pobrísimo staff y pocos recursos. Yo tenía un amigo que fue Agregado Cultural en España, en Madrid, en la Embajada y ¿sabes qué era el presupuesto para el año? Tres mil dólares tenía para todo el año. Presupuesto para hacer actividades. O sea, yo no puedo trabajar así. O sea, nadie puede trabajar con esos presupuestos ridículos. Entonces, ¿qué pasa? Que aquí en Chile no hay, yo no sé cómo se hacen en otras partes, pero recién está apareciendo todo esto de lo que son los bienes culturales, se está insertando la producción de bienes culturales en la sociedad y el Estado está actuando en forma no subsidiaria, está usando su papel que corresponde. ¿Qué pasa? Que hay otros proyectos sociales, sobre todo de Derecha que piden que el Estado actúe en ciertos puntos específicos no más. Y eso no va a resultar. No va a resultar porque no tienen proyectos culturales, no tienen una capacidad de vislumbrar el papel de la cultura en un país excepto como medio de repetición de cultura arcaica. O sea, eso es, son conservadores y reaccionarios en el sentido clásico de la palabra. ¿Te fija? ¿Que pasa? El FONDART ha recibido muchos ataques pero hay mucha gente que trabaja con el FONDART y produce buenos resultados. Pero es cierto, a grandes sectores de la Derecha la plata derivada al Fomento de las Artes y la Cultura en Chile a través del FONDART y el Fondo del Libro es plata botada. Para ellos es plata botada. Y muestran su resentimiento mandando cartas a los diarios y es un resentimiento de mala conciencia y ahí se nota. No sólo es plata botada. Es resentimiento de mala conciencia de sentirse mal. Mira, han

pasado varias cosas emblemáticas en ese sentido. En Chile se hace un encuentro que se llama ChilePoesía. ¿No sé si lo ubicas? Debieras haber hablado con José María Memet que es el director de ChilePoesía. Se han hecho dos versiones. Se hizo hace dos años y el año pasado se hizo otra versión. Se hace cada dos años. Y es un evento grande que usa mucho dinero. El primer año vino harta gente conocida. Vino Yevtushenko, vino Cardenal, vino la Adrienne Rich de Estados Unidos. O sea, vinieron los *top* de los *top*. De Jamaica, Estados Unidos, de todas partes.

Q
Ah, donde leyeron poesía desde el balcón.

A
Sí, todo eso. Eso es ChilePoesía.

Q
Se hizo un documental.

A
Sí. *La tribu de las palabras*. Fue el primero. Y el año pasado se hizo el segundo. Entonces resulta que en una entrevista que le hacen a Memet le preguntan, no recuerdo si era un senador de Derecha o algo, dice, "Pero y ¿por qué le invitaron a nadie de Derecha? Esto es un encuentro sectario, blah, blah, blah." Y dice, "Y la plata del Gobierno chileno." Y Memet dice, "Perdone". Le dice, "Este evento es un evento privado financiado por cincuenta empresas privadas. El Estado de Chile coopera con algunas instalaciones y con un barco. Nosotros reunimos cerca de 480 millones de pesos a través de empresas privadas, entonces nosotros invitamos quién queremos." Y se acabó el problema. Entonces por ese lado hay elementos de gestión independiente en Chile que trabajan con la empresa privada y que han sabido cómo vender bien el producto a la empresa privada, te fijas. Para ellos no está el problema de lo que opine la Derecha porque está jugando con sus mismas armas. "Mire, éste es mi encuentro y yo invito a quién quiera, hago lo que quiera y no le rindo cuentas absolutamente a nadie". Por otro lado, está la presión que tienen sobre los medios oficiales pero tampoco resulta mucho porque obviamente que la parte de producción cultural es fundamental para un país en términos de imágenes, bueno, en muchos términos, de desarrollo humano, etcétera. Entonces por ese lado yo no le veo ninguna amenaza, te fijas, a la producción ni nada. Sí veo que son catetes que friegan, que dicen, que acá, que ¿cómo esto?, ¿cómo va a financiar esto? Bueno, sus ataques siempre son por el lado de los valores, por el lado de ciertas estructuras morales, etcétera. Cuestionan cómo el Estado pudo financiar esto. Bueno, pero no es más que eso, te fijas. Pero eso es recién lo que tenemos en Chile. O sea, no hay un Ministerio de Cultura claramente delimitado, que tenga oficinas hábiles en todo el país pero yo creo que es porque se está recién empezando y porque todavía no se le toma el peso a lo que tienes que destinar del recurso nacional. O sea, todo eso sea, tú estás viendo un proceso cultural en Chile que tiene muy poca historia. O sea, muy poca historia. No hay mucho. Yo no sé cómo será afuera. No sé los recursos. Tú vives en Escocia, en Reino Unido. Y allí ¿qué hay? ¿Hay también Ministerio de Cultura? ¿Hay subsidio para la producción cultural? ¿Hay concursos?

Q
Entrevisté a una artista que ahora está trabajando en el área pedagógica, específicamente el tema curricular y lo que tiene que ver con mejorar la formación de artistas en la

universidad. Ella vivió en Gran Bretaña durante los '70 y me contaba que la vida artística, sobre todo la formación de artistas en ese tiempo, era mucho más rica. Me contaba que desde que llegó Thatcher al poder bastante de eso se perdió. Ahora el artista está preocupado del valor económico de las obras, no tanto del pensamiento crítico. Existe un contexto neoliberal común tanto a Chile como a Gran Bretaña.

A
Sí. Yo no sé. Bueno, eso es otro punto. Y es complejo. O sea, no pasa con la poesía, por suerte, te fijas, porque no creo que nadie pueda decir, "Voy a escribir un libro de poesía para que tenga éxito en el mercado", porque ningún tipo de libro que escriba de poesía en este momento va a tener un éxito en el mercado a no ser que sea algo muy impresionante. Pero sí pasa con el novelista. Un buen novelista no sólo se preocupa de manejar bien el tema y que el tema le interese sino que el buen novelista sabe que en Chile va a tener 5, 6 editoriales que son trasnacionales como Planeta, como Alfaguara, como ésta, y que van a ver ciertos tipos de novelas que le van a interesar y que otras no les va a interesar, sencillamente. O sea, el editor de Planeta, el editor de Alfaguara no va a leer novelas que no correspondan a los temas que saben que van a vender. Entonces, el compadre no se va a atrever a emprender a una labor artística que no le va a dejar una remuneración suficiente. Con el poeta y con artes menores que no están tan enquistadas en mecanismos de consumo, o sea, que no están avaladas como productos de consumo. Eso es un problema menor todavía. Pero para otros sí, sí. En ese caso están más enredados que uno, más enredados que uno, claro. Al menos que él diga, "Voy a escribir una novela no más y me importa bien poco si se interesan". Si está dispuesto a catetear, a catetear y catetear puede que le vaya bien como mal, pero el artista en esta sociedad como un productor más, claro, tiene que tener ojo con su producto. Y aquí se está tirando así, por supuesto. Por supuesto. Yo alcancé a vivir muy poco en el tiempo de Allende. Era muy joven. No sé. Pero en ese tiempo, había una editorial del Estado que era la Quimantú. Bueno y Chile tuvo las editoriales más importantes de Sudamérica en los años '40: la Zig-Zag fue la editorial más grande de Sudamérica. O sea, tuvo una tremendo pasado editorial que lo perdió. La verdad es que yo no sé cuál de las dos cosas benefician más o menos al artista: un arte controlado y dirigido desde la óptica estatal o un arte desde una óptica neoliberal. Yo creo que el artista de alguna manera va a estar siempre tratando de flotar entre los dos extremos sin tener muy claro cómo ubicarse porque los dos extremos son altamente lesivos para el arte considerado como una labor humana vital, si se puede decir así. O sea, es difícil que un artista no sea fundamentalmente, por muy disfrazado que esté, un disidente cultural. En algún momento puede serlo y, de hecho, lo más probable es que así sea. Yo creo que siempre va a tener que estar buscando. No creo que haya una linealidad muy clara de cómo un artista se maneja en equis proyecto social. A lo más, como digo yo, yo puedo pedir ciertas y demandar comillas como ciudadano ciertas políticas hacia el arte y hacia los bienes culturales, te fijas, como este caso eso que tengamos un Ministerio de Cultura, que tengamos gente idónea que sepa en lo que trabaja cuando trabajan en el Ministerio de Cultura, por ejemplo. Yo no puedo tener en el Ministerio de Cultura sólo funcionarios hagan su trabajo. Tienen que ser funcionarios pero especializados en el área de la cultura, que sepan de qué se trata el arte, de qué tipo de fenómeno es, cómo se maneja. Que el funcionario que está a cargo del Sismo en el norte sepa lo que es un espectáculo, sepa cómo se produce un espectáculo. Que no pasen cosas que me han pasado antes. Está todo instalado. "¿Alguien hizo propaganda?" "No." "Pero, señor, lo primero que hace usted cuando monte un espectáculo, es una semana antes poner afiches, poner letreros, hacer propaganda para que venga gente porque sino no va a venir nadie." Poco menos que, "Ah, es que yo no sabía". ¿Te fija? Ésas son

personas que no están ocupando lugares idóneos, no. Entonces, todo eso al final se transforma en demandas comillas casi de políticas públicas más que de artistas. O sea, yo ahí ya no estoy hablando de ninguna cosa estética sino que, por favor, que estén preparados para hacer su función.

[…]

Primero, hace falta preparar a la gente: capacitación cultural. Claro. Si la persona va a trabajar en una oficina del Ministerio de Cultura tiene que capacitarse, entender qué es la cultura, entender qué es el arte. Si va a trabajar en supervisión de espectáculos, tiene que entender qué es un espectáculo, cómo se organiza, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, por ejemplo. Eso es lo mínimo. Segundo es capacitación en gestión. ¿Qué sucede? Sucede que hay recursos que llegan a los diferentes municipios, intendencias, gobernaciones, o sea, las diferentes subdivisiones políticas del país, llegan recursos para cultura que muchas veces se pierden. Se pierden primero porque estas instituciones no saben cómo proyectar esos recursos al exterior, no saben cómo comunicarlos, no saben cómo programar concursos, no saben cómo dar a conocer que estos fondos existen y que están a disposición de la comunidad, por ejemplo. Un ejemplo es resulta que en Valparaíso sacan una colección de literatura dividida en cinco géneros - lo mismo que te digo yo - narrativa, blah, blah, blah, blah. Entonces ellos hacen un concurso todos los años donde premian uno por área y llevan como treinta y seis libros. Son todos libros bonitos como de este aporte con una tapa muy linda. Entonces aquí en la tapa viene siempre una imagen de un artista local plástico, un grabador, etcétera, hace la tapa y lo distribuyen. Lo sacan por mil ejemplares y el ganador imagino recibe cien libros y los otros quedan para distribución y venta. Y eso lo hace el Gobierno Regional, o sea, la intendencia con fondos de cultura. En Concepción, una vez se me ocurrió con otra gente preguntar por eso mismo y no nos supieron dar una respuesta en la gobernación de qué pasaba con esos fondos. O sea, yo les dije: “Mire, esto están haciendo”. Y me dijeron: “No, es que nosotros no sabemos cómo hacerlo. No tenemos idea. No sabemos cómo conseguir fondos.” Entonces a eso me refiero yo: de que es un asunto de capacitación de esto, de este otro, de saber uno también sus derechos comillas como ciudadanos, cosa que es difícil porque en este país la cultura ciudadana todavía no existe mucho. O sea, uno no tiene muy claro cuáles son sus derechos ni cómo exigirlos ni cómo demandarlos. O sea, aquí es muy difícil. De hecho, sigue siendo una cultura donde según el apellido de la persona son los derechos que puede ejercer. Así es simple, no. O sea, no sé si afuera será así pero me da la impresión que afuera no es así en otro tipo de países. Aquí es muy marcado eso. O sea, es increíble que acá en Chile una persona que es diputado, si lo detienen por un parte, pueda decir, “¿Sabes qué? No voy a pagar el parte.” Eso es inconcebible en otro tipo de democracias. Una cultura que de alguna manera se perdió y que mucha gente no está dispuesta exigirla porque eso lo hacen de Izquierda y Derecha. O sea, hay un nivel de prepotencia en Chile de parte de los políticos de todos los bandos increíble. Eso a mí me impresiona un poco. Un nivel de prepotencia muy grande, o sea, yo he visto por la tele a los de Derecha y los de Izquierda también portarse en forma muy prepotente. O sea, parece que en Chile es muy compleja la idiosincrasia nacional y basta que le des un poquito de poder a cualquiera así para que se sienta el rey del mundo. Entonces por eso te digo yo creo que falta capacitación a nivel de eso. Seguir sosteniendo políticas culturales a través de fondos concursables, etcétera, etcétera. Diseñar mecanismos transparentes de obtención de los recursos. La manera de cualquiera pueda decir, “Quiero saber mi puntaje. ¿Cuánto tuve?” Etcétera. Claro. Eso es, básicamente. Pero todo eso pasa por exigencia del artista como ciudadano, como parte de una cultura y de un organismo país y no tiene

mucho que ver con su producción personal. Porque eso es otro cuento. O sea, mi producción personal y mis intereses artísticos puede que interesen muy poco a la sociedad y al resto del universo. O sea, realmente, o sea, claro, porque efectivamente puede que el artista se transforme en un productor de bienes comprables y vendibles. Por supuesto. Es posible. Pero yo creo que la gente que, a ver, yo creo - en mi caso - que un artista, por ejemplo, un literato productor de artefactos literarios fundamentalmente lo hace por gusto y compromiso personal. Y después por cómo le va. Entonces, por eso te digo, que como ciudadano, sí uno puede patalear por todos los derechos pero a mí personalmente como artista me importa bien poco. O sea, me da absolutamente lo mismo. Así en términos personales. Porque en realidad mi cuento como persona con mi arte no tiene nada que ver con mi cuento como ciudadano. O puede tener mucho que ver tal vez, claro, algunas cosas. Pero no está sujeto, si se pudiera decir, mi producción como habilidad de producción no está sujeta a las posibilidades del medio. Tal vez la manifestación de ésas, si. ¿Te fijas? Pero, bueno, yo sé que antes cuando no había medios, siempre se las ingenió la gente para reproducir y ahora también, sí. De hecho, cualquier persona que tenga algo que decir se las ingenia, mejor que sea con la ayuda del Estado, por supuesto, mejor que tengas un respeto social, mejor, por supuesto. Pero eso tampoco va a impedir que lo hagas de ningún modo si es que realmente quieres hacerlo. Así que estas políticas, como te decía yo, eso es lo que te diría yo, eso pienso yo: capacitación, formación, mejor estructura, inserción política de estas iniciativas, claridad de los ejecutores, de los medios de ejecutores de todo eso, buena convocatoria, propaganda, etcétera. Mira, la "Ley Valdés", por ejemplo, fue una cosa muy fracasada de alguna manera u otra porque no hay muchas formas, no se han construido puentes entre industrias privadas e instituciones artísticas. Las otras son muy, además que, bueno, hay que convencer a la gente no más. Por ejemplo, Concepción. Concepción llevan diez años haciendo, contando una historia, diez años contando una historia con un macroproyecto que es hacer el Teatro Concepción a la orilla del río. Ahora ¿qué pasa? Hasta donde lo veo yo, ése es un proyecto sin sentido. Justo cuando hace veinte años que las ciudades descubrieron que, en vez de estos mega recintos, es mejor diversificar y tener tres o cuatro recintos pequeños que tienen menos costos de mantención, que son más operativos, o sea, esos recintos gigantescos de centros culturales que dan una perspectiva urbana de veinte años atrás, ya está un poquito claro que no funcionan en las ciudades, ahora en Concepción, como están un poquito atrasados, están pensando en eso. ¿Qué sucede? Que van a hacer un recinto que tiene tres mil butacas, que tiene dos salas, que va a tener un costo de mantención de 120 millones de pesos al mes. Primero, no tienen plata para hacerlo. Cuando lo hagan, van a descubrir que no van a tener plata para mantenerlo. ¿Qué sería lo realmente útil de alguna manera u otra? Tener unas tres salas mucho más pequeñas y no concentradas en un solo lugar sino que para darle dinamismo a la ciudad. Bueno, pero anda a hablar. ¿Con quién va a hablar eso? Si los tipos que están gestionando eso son cuatro personas de muy altas esferas pero, perdón, no habido ninguna consulta ciudadana sobre el tipo de espacio cultural que queremos tener. ¿Te fijas? A eso me refiero también con vehículos de comunicación. O sea, también es otro problema chileno de que todas las decisiones culturales, por muy buenas que sean, están impuestas sin consultar a las bases. O sea, a la gente. Construyamos esto. Hagamos esto. Y nadie más opina que cinco, seis personas. O sea, pregúntenos. Hagan un plebiscito, una encuesta. Pregunten qué tipo de cosas queremos. ¿Te fijas? Entonces eso también. Pero yo creo eso es porque estamos recién implementando estos tipos de estructuras. O sea, no tenemos la tradición cultural de otros países que tienen Ministerios de Cultura. Eso es increíble. Chile no tiene Ministerio de Cultura. Y fíjate que el Ministerio de Cultura venía en el programa de Lagos. Y no el programa de Lagos éste, el programa de la Concertación después del '90, después del

plebiscito. Y jamás después Ministerio de Cultura. ¿Cuándo? Entonces, todas esas cosas y la cosa es que de alguna manera los testimonios del pasado desaparecen sencillamente, desaparecen. O sea, ¿qué pasó con una gran cantidad de artistas que en el tiempo de las protestas, en el tiempo de la batalla por la lucha política de recuperar la democracia estuvieron siempre en la punta del trabajo social? De alguna manera amparando un avance en el plano político. Los tipos se instalaron en el poder después y se olvidaron absolutamente de los artistas, de los músicos, de los teatreros. El caso del chico éste del teatro, él que se murió hace poco, de *La Negra Ester*, Pérez, Andrés Pérez, por ejemplo, que director de teatro, o sea, el renovador del teatro chileno de los '90. Resulta que él vuelve a Chile cerca del plebiscito y todo eso, también un hito blah, blah, blah, un hito cultural. Un año antes de morirse él pide Matucana 100 para hacer ahí un proyecto y se lo niegan y se lo licitan a alguien, no recuerdo quién. Para más remate la disculpa que dan a través de los diarios es patético. Como sea, no hubo una relación entre la nueva civilidad política institucional y lo que fue las demandas hacia los artistas de los años '80. Los artistas fueron bastante instrumentalizados en el sentido político. Fueron bastante instrumentalizados. Y todo tipo de artistas: teatro, plástica, etcétera. Algunos quién más quién menos se instalaron después en porvenir democrático, otros no, pero como sea hubo una instrumentalización. O sea, fueron buscados por eso, después desparecieron. Yo no sé ahora. La situación ahora es diferente y como sea lo único que pienso yo es eso: debiéremos tener unas buenas estructuras culturales, un buen Ministerio de Cultura y veremos qué pasa. No se sabe qué irá saliendo de ahí, qué beneficios, etcétera. Fíjate que en Chile hay otra cosa, ahora ya en términos más sociales: en Chile no hay ningún tipo de plan del Gobierno, gubernamental, sobre los artistas en términos de beneficios sociales como vivienda, salud. No hay absolutamente nada. No sé si en otras partes puede ser así pero no hay nada. Todas esas cosas pueden estar en un plan futuro de futuros postulantes al Senado o lo que sea, te fijas. Ahora, como sea, de todas maneras, en Chile comillas los artistas aun con su figuración menor o muy sistematizada en términos precisos constituyen un bien cultural al cual se echa mano en momentos y al cual se lo, pero en términos de fetiche, se les transforma en fetiche en el sentido de - ¿cómo se podría decir? - de una cosa a la cual se le da un contenido que no tienen, se le da poderes que no tienen. Por ejemplo: Pablo Neruda. Ahora para cuando vino la cuestión de Neruda, hubo muchos eventos muy puntuales que duraron una semana y se acabó, se acabó aquí, se acabó acá, la cuestión de Neruda. Se hizo el tren que fue para allá, se invitó alguna gente, etcétera, etcétera, etcétera, pero pasaba la semana nerudiana, pasaba un montón de cosas. ¿Cuál es la verdadera relación que hay en la educación chilena, por ejemplo, con estos iconos culturales que vendemos una vez al año? O sea, ¿cuál es la relación real o verdadera? O sea, ¿qué pasa en las escuelas? ¿Qué pasa en las escuelas básicas? ¿Qué pasa?

Q
En el diario vivir.

A
En el diario vivir, claro. ¿Qué pasa cuando tú vas a un colegio y dices vamos a hacer tal actividad en términos de literatura y no llega nadie? ¿Qué pasa cuando los mismos - y esto ya es más técnico - qué pasa cuando los mismos profesores no saben hablar? ¿Qué pasa cuando los mismos profesores universitarios no saben hablar? ¿Qué pasa cuando tú abres el diario y descubres que hay fallas de redacción? Claro, el lenguaje por supuesto se modifica, blah, blah, blah, pero ¿qué pasa cuando, como digo yo, cuando las personas comillas supuestamente de alguna manera u otra, estoy hablando en el plano de lo literario, tienen que mantener una cierta estructura lingüística, idiomática y todo los otros,

sencillamente no lo están cumpliendo? ¿Qué pasa? O sea, ¿qué está pasando con nuestras escuelas de profesores? O sea, antes habían escuelas normales. Ahora no sé qué. Están entrando muchos porque no les da el puntaje para entrar otras carreras. Les están pagando muy mal a los profesores. ¿Qué pasa con los cabros? O sea, todo eso. ¿Por qué en Chile - y así al final termina una cosa enorme - por qué en Chile todo el mundo tiene como único destino ser universitario? En Chile, la educación técnico-profesional se fue a las pailas hace rato. Y ¿qué hacemos con tantos universitarios? Si los universitarios no sirven por un montón de cosas. Te fijas. Entonces, claro, ahí se desequilibra toda la cuestión. Entonces los problemas que nosotros tengamos como artistas, todas nuestras cosas no le importa un pepino al resto de la sociedad porque tienen problemas comillas cien veces más enredados. El papá que, fíjate otra cosa increíble, este país es increíble, es uno de los pocos países del mundo, yo creo, en donde la gente vive tan mal en calidad de vida y cree que vive tan bien. Sabes que aquí en Santiago, por eso no vivo en Santiago, la gente trabaja doce horas diarias como promedio y a eso le tienes que sumar una hora y media por cada viaje para la casa. ¡Son quince horas! Y según ellos, están pero feliz. ¡Feliz! ¡Feliz! Ves a la gente a las siete de la tarde y andan así como pollo pero si hablas con ellos, están felices. ¿Que pasa? El endeudamiento del chileno, el promedio, el otro día estaba leyendo una estadística: si repartimos la deuda de cada familia chilena como promedio está debiendo 840.000 pesos a las tiendas, a las tarjetas de crédito y viven así felices, claro, sí, muy felices. Entonces, ¿te fijas? Y es así: o sea, viven con una estrés de vida y con pasándose qué película. O sea, ¿qué película? Sí po'. Yo tengo una amiga. ¿Sabes qué? En cinco años, ha acumulado como 6 millones de pesos en deuda de tarjeta de crédito. Eso significa que tiene que pagar de aquí hasta 25 años más. Por descuento por planilla. ¿Por qué? Porque salen de vacaciones. Porque esto, porque esto otro. De repente descubres que tienes que estar pagando durante veinte años. Y eso no le pasa a una persona. Le pasa a muchas personas. Se compran un auto, un televisor y de repente descubren que van a estar pagando durante 5 años pero dicen que todo está bien. Entonces por eso te digo que de todas maneras en una sociedad que tiene esos niveles de complejidad y de fallas de percepción simbólica, la percepción sobre el arte es terriblemente compleja po'. Compleja porque ya pasó a, por eso te digo, porque pasó a ser nada más un arte donde alguna elite puede reflexionar sobre el. Al resto sencillamente le pasa por encima, o sea, y nada más. O sea, ¿qué va a estar hablando? ¿Qué? Y eso pasa. Y yo lo veo. Mira, hay tantas cosas aquí ¡pero tantas! No, no, sí. Y eso se refleja en la tele también, pero curiosamente se refleja en forma, todo esto es muy interesante para poderlo analizar en el sentido de que en Chile hace dos años vino el *boom* de las producciones independientes. ¿Cómo se da esto? Resulta que empezaron a surgir las productoras de televisión como Nueva Imagen, como ésta, ésta, y empezaron a hacer programas que venden a las televisoras y apareció además los concursos del Consejo Nacional de Televisión que financian proyectos. Te fijas. Proyectos financiados. Entonces, ¿qué aparece? Que la productora equis hace *Enigma* - programa policial, la otra hace un programa de investigación forense, los otros, esto, esto, esto, esto. Y de repente en dos años, uno en la tele ve lo que nunca había en la tele chilena: una sobreabundancia de series de televisión hechas en Chile: *El día menos pensado*, *Las vueltas de la vida*, uno, uno, uno, otro que desarrollan una buena perspectiva que dan trabajo a guionistas, a artistas, blah, blah, blah, desarrollan cosas interesantes, todo eso. Está *Bienvenida realidad*, por ejemplo, todo eso. Pero paralelamente a eso, la gran estructura mediática a nivel de series chilenas es la teleserie, no estos programas que han venido a instalarse y que dan una gran diversidad y la teleserie chilena desde dos años a esta fecha, se ha vuelto cada vez más estereotipada, cosa que no tenía antes. Las teleseries se han vuelto cada vez más estereotipadas. Están acercándose, aunque muy a lo lejos, a los

estereotipos de teleseries más clásicas al estilo mexicano o venezolano y no al brasileño. Yo diría que los programas como *Enigma* tienen más la técnica brasileña. Éstas no, la teleserie chilena está cada vez acercándose a este otro estereotipo. Sin embargo, los programas satélites que se están instalando tienen una perspectiva muy simpática pero la teleserie chilena está siendo en su tratamiento actoral más ampulosa, usando diálogos más superficiales, poniendo en juego más emociones superficiales directas. Yo me reía porque decía que más o menos la teleserie venezolana toda la teleserie es: "Te odio, Luis, te odio. Te amo, Luis, te amo. Te odio, Luis, te odio." Y eso es todo. Y la chilena se está apareciendo mucho a eso. Estamos trabajando con esos códigos. Entonces se está simplificando. O sea, las claves simbólicas que se están poniendo en juego en las teleseries se están simplificando. A la vez, en las otras cosas, no. Uno no tiene muy claro porque todos esos fenómenos suceden pero son fenómenos que están ahí delante de nuestras narices. Entonces es un buen país para un sociólogo. Es un país interesante para un sociólogo. Es un país en formación todavía, en su nueva democracia y todo eso.

Q
Me llamó la atención cuando fui a ver tu exposición y salía una pancarta, no sé cómo llamarla, donde ustedes dicen que es erróneo pensar que hubo un apagón cultural, siendo que la dictadura de alguna u otra forma despertó vías de resistencia. Entonces si pudiéramos discutir un poco ese tipo de trabajo que se realizó, el tipo de temática, el tipo de dinámica en esa época de la dictadura.

A
Estudié filosofía en la Universidad de Concepción. Entré el '73. Entré con un grupo de gente. Mira, entramos como 80. Pero yo entré de 16 años de edad. Entonces venía de otra, de otra rama de la cultura de la época. Yo era hippie en esos años. Tenía el pelo hasta por aquí; no me lo corté desde los trece años. Y venía de esa cultura y de ese mundo. No del mundo político de esos años. Mi adolescencia, y toda mi ideología viene todavía de ese mundo de alguna manera. Entonces mis referentes no eran ni Marx ni nada de eso sino que era el tipo Timothy Leary, el Zen, el Budismo Zen, la macrobiótica, todo lo de esos años. Entonces mis ídolos culturales, por ejemplo, eran otros: era el Jimi Hendrix, por ejemplo, el Allen Ginsberg, entonces más o menos todo eso fue el medio. Bueno, con el golpe todo ese medio se fue a la cresta. Entonces yo no tenía mucha relación con eso. Cuando empecé a tener relación además porque era muy joven, fue a través del Departamento de Filosofía en la U porque ahí en ese Departamento había mucha gente de la Izquierda. O sea, de hecho, la mayoría y con quien mejor teníamos relaciones nosotros era con la gente de la ultra Izquierda. Por alguna razón, eran los más abiertos. O sea, ¡con la gente del Partido Comunista jamás podríamos haber tenido relaciones! Porque el Partido Comunista era súper ortodoxo y cuadrado, entonces todos lo que eran hippies y todo eso eran comillas una maniobra estadounidense, pero la gente como del FER, del MIR como eran más ultra precisamente tenían una percepción del mundo que los llevaba buscar también en elementos de la comilla contracultura. Alguien del MIR entendía si yo le hablaba del Budismo Zen y de revolución de la conciencia, todo eso. Entonces por ahí empezaron a haber algunos contactos. Pero en realidad todo el golpe, todo eso, yo lo pasé como pajarito y nunca me tocó muy directamente porque todo lo que fue hippie en Chile siguió existiendo el '73, '74, '75, '76, '77. Y como la comunidad comillas de esas características era una comunidad muy aislada, uno seguía con sus propias cosas y este mundo no lo tocaba tan directamente. De ahí, claro, uno empezó a darse cuenta de algunas cosas, etcétera. Entonces en el año '83, se juntó un grupo de artistas en Concepción y se hizo la Agrupación Democrática de Artistas que fue el ADA y ADA, como

te decía yo, funcionábamos en la Sede de la Agrupación Gremial de Educadores de Chile y fue un grupo muy grande. Fue un grupo de unas 80 personas, como decía yo, que tenía desde artistas plásticos a músicos, a danza, a todo. Entonces el sistema de trabajo de nosotros era político-cultural. ADA funcionaba haciendo cualquier cantidad de actividades y ahí aprendí la producción de espectáculos porque al final lo bueno que tenía esta agrupación fue que el ADA estaba especializado después en poder montar un espectáculo multimedia en tres horas, darlo y desarmarlo en una hora. Con todo. Con luz, con todo, como fuese. Entonces trabajamos siempre en, a ver, sindicatos, parroquias, en todos los lugares donde se pudiese dar eso. Se trabajó también con espectáculos callejeros, se trabajó con apoyo en las marchas. Era un arte comillas combatiente en el sentido en que entraba a funcionar artísticamente pero con objetivos sociales inmediatos: mostrar, denunciar, interesar, promover, juntar, orientar objetivos específicos, etcétera. Entonces eso duró, fíjate, eso es lo curioso, duró, el ADA tenía de todos elementos políticos. Había gente del PS. Había gente del PC. Había gente del MIR. Y todos funcionaban bien. Pero el núcleo como de soporte era de Partido Comunista. Precisamente cuando el Partido Comunista de alguna manera en el año ‘86, ‘87, empezó a desprivilegiar este sistema organizativo el ADA se desperfiló. Pero precisamente es interesante lo que pasó ahí. Cuando yo me fui del ADA, porque ADA dejó de interesarme, los que quedaron del ADA se transformaron en un sindicato. Hicieron un sindicato de artistas, te fijas. Es bien curioso como trataron de ser una institución más bien metida dentro del sistema social de la época y buscando beneficios sindicales para sus miembros: casa, salud, lo que fuese. Yo creo que si el PC en esos momentos no hubiese decido de alguna manera retirarse de esa línea de trabajo, el ADA habría seguido existiendo hasta el ‘88, etcétera. Entonces por ese lado está toda la experiencia del ADA y nosotros trabajamos en poblaciones, íbamos, trabajamos con muestras, trabajamos con talleres, etcétera. Uno de los fenómenos más significativos fue descubrir que terminado el período de la dictadura dura hasta los ‘90, el artista deja de tener un significativo valor político para ciertas estructuras. ¿Qué pasa? Resulta que antes del ‘90 - pasa lo mismo con la literatura - antes del ‘90, hay muchos escritores en Chile de poesía, de cuentos y de novelas - más que nada de poesía - que se expresan a través de la palabra escrita sin tener un gran techo estético pero sí un techo de contenido. Entonces resulta que el tipo es médico y escribe un libro de poemas de denuncia, el tipo es arquitecto y escribe un libro de poemas de denuncia porque ahí hay otra forma de expresarse. Se abren otros campos de expresión más *ad hoc* para lo que quiere decir y deja de escribir. Ya no escribe nunca más libros de poesía ni nada sino que se dedica derechamente a la actividad política. Entonces ahí la literatura fue una suerte de actividad subsidiaria. Lo mismo pasa con nuestra actividad artística. Cuando se abren los campos de lucha política más frontal y se establece una cierta mínima legalidad para la disputa del poder político, nosotros como artistas pasamos a un segundo lugar. Entonces ésa fue la queja de muchos de esto: “Oye, pero sí antes nos llamaba cualquier cúpula política, decía ‘Por favor que el ADA mande algunos artistas para la peña tanto y esto’”, porque les sirve a sus intereses de alguna manera y después viene el ‘90 y descubre el artista que nadie se acuerda de él. De alguna manera sirvió como instrumento para ciertos fines que no eran precisamente los de él. Entonces ése es como el traspaso de la década de los ‘80 al ‘90. Eso es el primer rasgo que yo notaría fundamental. Y por eso que muchos proyectos artísticos dejan de existir con la democracia. Desparecen, perecen grupos: el caso de Sol y Lluvia es emblemático. Lo que pasa con Sol y Lluvia que se desarma, que ahora se vuelve a armar pero ya con una proyección comercial de sobrevivencia artística comercial. Entonces se fueron desarmando. Y básicamente la diferencia es que en los ‘80 el artista ocupa un lugar legítimo en la sociedad como gestor de cambios políticos. Amparado por todo un aparataje político que trata de ubicarse en una sociedad donde no

hay reglas para este tipo de funcionamiento. Sucede que cuando aparecen esas reglas, precarias o no, y las personas que han de alguna manera puesto sus esperanzas y puesto sus energías en aprender cómo funcionar en esta nueva legalidad política, no son los artistas. El artista descubre de golpe y porrazo en los '90 adelante que tiene que transformarse en un vendedor de bienes. ¿Te fijas? En los '80, el artista no es un vendedor de bienes. Es un ayudista para el poder político. En los '90, el artista es un productor de bienes y el artista que viene de los '80, y que no tiene experiencia en eso, da bote. Da un tremendo bote porque no tiene idea de cómo enfrentarse un mundo en donde el arte es un bien de consumo y tiene que estar en condiciones de vender. Entonces yo diría que para mí ése es el rasgo fundamental de un paso al otro. El artista de los '80 su problema nunca podría haber sido, "¿Cómo vendo mi libro de poesía? ¿Cómo produzco un bien? ¿Cómo intereso a la sociedad en mi bien cultural para que ése sea un medio legítimo de subsistencia?" Ésa no es una pregunta de un artista de los '80, en absoluto. El artista de los '80 hace arte pensando en cómo expresarse y pensando que con su arte está construyendo a obtener una sociedad en donde él en unos años se va a insertar como ciudadano con plenos derechos. Y después descubre que no es así sino que tiene que aprender a ser un productor de bienes no más. Entonces eso es como a mi juicio el cambio como más sintomático primero que nada. Segundo de que el cambio es lo suficientemente brutal como para que se pierdan las coordenadas de ideología cultural. O sea, un artista de 50, 60 años que no ha podido remapiarse, que no tiene más referentes que la lucha de clases, por ejemplo, que de "dictadura", "democracia", que del "pueblo", la opresión del pueblo, está aplicando a la sociedad chilena toda una ideología que viene de la ideología dura del marxismo de los años '60 y juega mucho con la idea de enemigo. Mucho con la idea de la sociedad estructurada entre amigos y enemigos. Una especie de lucha de clases modernizada, si se puede decir así. Pero sigue funcionando con eso. Además yo creo que la sociedad chilena no se ha podido sacar ese conflicto interno que tiene, la sociedad se sigue viendo hasta el día de hoy en términos de amigo, enemigo. En términos duros. A mí me sorprende ese lenguaje cuando lo veo en las noticias o en el diario. Es un lenguaje que en Chile se usa mucho y que no está relacionado ni con la comprensión del otro ni con la aceptación del otro sino que sencillamente con el desprestigio del otro y el considerar que el otro es sencillamente tu enemigo. O sea, es muy grande y es increíble ver la cantidad de violencia que trasmiten los medios aparentemente tan democráticos. Se sigue usando esa lógica y yo diría que el artista que se formó en esa lógica y en esa percepción no tiene muchas herramientas como para desvincularse con esa forma de percibir el mundo. Aunque para el artista que permanece en Chile ya le quedó absolutamente demostrado por ese camino no va a ninguna parte, te fijas. O sea, un artista de afuera puede perfectamente seguir pensando que la sociedad chilena se divide en explotadores y explotados y no poner ninguna subdivisión en el medio. Bueno, si llega aquí a Chile y si no se reformula rápidamente va a ser un fracaso su proyecto artístico y su proyecto de inserción social porque no va a saber. Te va a decir, "¡Ah! es que te vendiste. Ah, es que esto." Entonces sobre todo pasa en el exilio. Yo creo que pasa en el exilio. Yo he hablado con gente, y no sólo pasa con el artista que vive en el exilio sino que pasa también con el investigador extranjero que viene para acá y te conversa. Una chica joven estadounidense me hizo una entrevista, me parece que de Utah o algo así. ¿Te fija? Una cabra de 22 años haciendo su tesis sobre la cultura en tiempos de Pinochet pero el discurso formado en Estados Unidos que ella trae sobre esa cultura sigue siendo un discurso de diez años atrás. O sea, me sigue preguntando concibiendo que la sociedad chilena de ahora es una sociedad en lucha permanente entre represores y reprimidos. Y la sociedad chilena está lo bastante compleja como para que no sea así ya. Entonces las percepciones del artista y del investigador siguen con esa idea romántica, romántica de que en Chile hay personas que están dando

una lucha que ellos no tienen. Y eso no es cierto. O sea, esta sociedad es muy compleja, ya no es tan lineal. Por supuesto que entonces para la persona que se tuvo que ir al exilio y vivió allá es descolocante esta cuestión po', o sea, descolocante, absolutamente. Va a ver que perdió sus líneas de referencia de amistad, perdió sus líneas de acceso a la realidad en términos de proyectos partidarios, etcétera. Fíjate tú que los partidos chilenos como el PS y el PPD están totalmente desdibujados con lo que fueron veinte años atrás. O sea, el PPD y el PS son partidos socialdemócratas al estilo europeo, o sea, y malamente europeo porque son capaces de desligarse de demandas básicas que deberían tener por una cuota de poder político. Entonces si así estamos en esos términos, claro, el otro no tiene idea de dónde está parado. Y pasa, pasa mucho eso sí. Por eso que obviamente que un artista que llega allá manteniendo toda esa ideología romántica sobre el país, le va a parecer que uno es un desastre. O sea, "¿Dónde queda la lucha contra la dictadura, compañero? ¡Ésta es una dictadura disfrazada!" Perdón, no es una dictadura disfrazada. Es una democracia horrorosa con muchas fallas pero no es una dictadura disfrazada. O sea, hay muchas cosas que hacer. Y así. Entonces ahí ya no hay muchos puntos de comunicación. ¿Qué pasa? Que el artista joven de la generación que viene después de mí, que tiene entre 25 y 40 años, ¡todo el discurso sobre clases sociales y todo eso es chino! O sea, por un lado no lo consideran. Sencillamente no lo consideran. Tienen otros referentes completamente distintos. Sus referentes son otros y sus luchas son otras. Los más radicales están más cerca a lo que es el anarquismo verde, ATTAC, todo eso. Los más radicales se manejan en términos de anarquismo y sus confrontaciones ideológicas rescatan Marx, rescatan algo de la cultura hippie, todo eso. Pero con la óptica mediática de la sociedad del siglo XXI. O sea, sus relaciones son a través de la página web, sus relaciones son a través del correo electrónico, sus ataques son a través de. Por ejemplo, me llegó un mail el otro día de uno de estos conglomerados chilenos donde te dicen que para el día tanto cuando se haga la Cumbre de las Américas, bajes un programa y lo instales para saturar los mails de la conferencia. Ése es el tipo de lucha contracultural de la gente de 25 años ahora, junto con salir a la calle y dejar la cagá, claro, te fijas. Pero ya allí hay otros referentes. Es la globalización, etcétera. No hay en absoluto una ideología que pase por los clásicos conceptos marxistas de los años '80, '70 y '60. Y esos conceptos marxistas de esos años para el productor cultural y artista de esa época siguen estando en su percepción del mundo pero ahora darían bote, así de simple. No hay puntos de contacto. Yo lo he visto en conversaciones y actividades. No hay puntos de contacto sencillamente. Te fijas. Las demandas de uno son otras. O sea, como diría yo, las demandas mías en términos de ciudadano son inserciones más prácticas en el sistema democrático con todas las fallas que tenga. No son demandas de revolución ni demandas de hacer una nueva utopía, ni demandas de ese tipo. No. Son demandas de cómo te insertas en esto, cómo operas en esto, cómo conoces esta sociedad para operar en ella. Sin que hayan sentimientos de traición ni de ocultamiento, ni de nada. Eso diría es lo que yo percibo a grandes rasgos. Ésa es la diferencia entre la época de los '80 y los '90. O sea, no hay una linealidad histórica que abarque a toda la sociedad chilena, incluido los exiliados. Y así hay un ejemplo muy simple también y es que nosotros como escritores, los de mi generación, fuimos escritores cuyos referentes más inmediatos no fueron la cultura chilena. Si uno dice que entre los años '30 y los '70, cada generación de productores literarios, poetas en este caso, tenía como referente inmediato sus anteriores, fueron los surrealistas chilenos, los parrianos, los nerudianos y así se va construyendo una generación sobre la otra. Cuando viene el golpe de '73, desaparece toda esa tradición literaria. No se enseña más en las universidades. No hay libros. No hay nada. Entonces nosotros, una gran cantidad de personas que crean en ese tiempo, que trabajan con la literatura, la historia de la literatura que ellos manejan no es la historia de la literatura chilena. Son los referentes extranjeros.

Puedan ser los Beats en mi caso, por ejemplo, y en el caso de mucha gente de mi generación. Y sólo después de un tiempo de producción, empiezan a fijarse en algunos autores chilenos, a rescatarlos, a resituarlos, a incorporarlos a su poesía. Pero definitivamente no fue una generación que se construyó sobre las generaciones anteriores. Hubo ahí un corte. ¿Te fijas? Ese mismo corte pasa entre los '80 y los '90 con los escritores y los productores culturales chilenos que están afuera. O sea, también hay un desfase. Por eso que la sociedad chilena todavía es una sociedad no integrada así, en absoluto no integrada. Ni integrada a nivel simbólico-cultural, como quien dijera que la bandera chilena para tres grupos distintos de chilenos tiene una riqueza cultural totalmente distinta, te fijas: donde uno ve un símbolo de la patria, el otro ve un símbolo de la explotación y ¡el otro ve una estupidez!

[…]

La vida cotidiana del común la gente, del común de lo urbano poblacional, del urbano de clase media, del urbano de clase alta muy ligado a todo que se llama como el destape sexual chileno. Y, por otro lado, pequeñas obras de teatro que exploran en forma más profunda situaciones precisas de la vida habitual del chileno en donde los referentes de reivindicaciones se han vuelto multifocales. Ésa es otra cosa que pasa con el arte chileno, ésa es otra diferencia. En los años '80 los grandes temas del arte chileno eran unifocales, explotados versus explotadores, resistencia versus agresores. Ahora no. Ahora por primera vez en el arte chileno están apareciendo los temas de la homosexualidad, del lesbianismo, por ejemplo, por decir dos. De los discapacitados, lesbianas, homosexuales, esto, esto, esto otro. Se está desmembrando el tejido también, enfocándose el arte en parcelas mucho más mínimas. Y teniendo temas que son reconocidos por sectores mucho más pequeños de la sociedad. O sea, ya la sociedad chilena de alguna manera está reconociendo de que las diferencias no son A y B sino son A, B, C, D, E, F. Entonces por primera vez en Chile alguien puede decir, "Voy a hacer una antología de la literatura homosexual o voy a hacer una antología de literatura lésbica", por ejemplo. Eso en los '80 te aseguro no se le habría pasado por la cabeza de nadie. No. Ahí, "Mira, voy a hacer una antología de literatura carcelaria", de los que está en la cárcel. O literatura resistente, te fijas. Ésa es la diferencia también. Los temas han pasado a ser multifocales. En el verano hubo en el Cine Arte Alameda, por ejemplo, un ciclo de cine homosexual. Eso en los '80 habría sido impensable. Pero no sólo impensado porque no había esa libertad, reconocimiento de diferencia sexual. No sólo por eso sino también porque ahí sólo el foco era lo político en el sentido específico de la palabra: de confrontación política. Eso es otra diferencia también. Y también yo creo que para un artista de afuera, un artista exiliado que sigue manejando eso, es muy desconcertante. Incluso es capaz de decirte, "Ah no, ésas son desviaciones capitalistas." Son capaces de decirlo.

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Me dices que el artista debe saber cómo gestionar, cómo abrirse espacios. ¿Era así antes o qué? ¿Qué está realmente pasando hoy? ¿Tienen los artistas las herramientas necesarias para realizar estas gestiones? ¿Cuál es tu percepción?

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A ver, creo que hay dos cosas si tú lo sitúas de los '80 a los '90. Creo que en los '80 el artista tenía muy clara la película, muy clara la película. Digamos que tenía una gran mamá que orientaba permanentemente que era, comillas, la lucha contra la dictadura. Eso bastaba para aclararle absolutamente su película y bastaba para darle un sentido a su

vida. Darle un norte. Una ficha de orientación. El artista de los ‘80 se sentía absolutamente ligado y acompañado por otros compañeros de producción y de clase, si se puede decir así, que tenían un solo norte, un objetivo común que era el día a día en la lucha contra la dictadura que se parece exactamente al poema de Kavafis, “La llegada de los bárbaros”. Están todos en el foro romano y dicen, “Vienen los bárbaros, hay que prepararse, los bárbaros están en las fronteras”, todo eso. Y de repente alguien llega con la noticia, “Los bárbaros no vienen, no vienen los bárbaros”. El hablante lírico termina diciendo, “¿Qué haremos ahora? Esa gente de alguna manera era una solución.” Claro. Es más o menos lo que pasó. O sea, pucha, trabajemos todos por la democracia y llegó la democracia y quedaste ahí en el aire marcando ocupado. Ahora arréglensela como puedan. Llegó la democracia. Arréglensela como puedan. Ya no tienen norte. Ya no tienen lucha común. Ahora son todos contra todos. Así de simple. Así es. Ahora son todos contra todos. Eso es en el fondo una percepción como la más a ultranza del cambio. Ahora ya no hay proyectos políticos comunes. Básicamente eso. No hay proyectos políticos comunes. No hay estructuras utópicas comunes que en el fondo eran proyectos políticos. No es que no hayan utopías, no es que no hayan ideologías, porque todo eso es cuestionable. Pero sí se desvaneció la utopía del Proyecto Político Común. Entonces el artista quedó ahí un poco como abandonado porque el tren llegó a destino y ahora, cabritos, hay que bajarse y caminen por donde quieran. Eso es más o menos lo que pasa. Y eso pilló a muchos de sorpresa y con esa sensación de, “¿Y ahora qué hacemos? ¿Qué hacemos?” Ya no vas a juntarte en grupos con tus amigos porque ahora ya no hay unidad de grupo, ni unidad de objetivos. Ahora te vas a juntar en forma mucho más puntual con A, B, C para hacer D y E; con F, G para hacer X, pero la lucha por la democracia fue un proyecto que durante quince años orientó a una gran parte de la sociedad chilena. Yo diría que el político que luchó en esos años tenía muy claro lo que iba a pasar después de la llegada de la democracia y su objetivo era conquistar el poder de alguna manera u otra en las cuotas que pudiese. Pero el artista no tenía claro eso en absoluto. El artista estaba luchando por un ideal de sociedad que confusamente vislumbraba, y a muy pocos se les pasó por la mente que eso tenía que ver también con una continuidad de inserción política. Entonces ahora el artista quedó en el aire no más po’. Entonces ahora este artista está ahí viendo cómo diablos sobrevivir, cómo insertarse en la sociedad, cómo funcionar, cómo ser productor, cómo desarrollarse estéticamente él y además ser ciudadano, si se puede decir así. Para el político no pasa eso porque está en el mismo juego que pretendía, entonces no se le perdió la película en absoluto. Pero los artistas que no cachaban eso están ahí. Para los artistas jóvenes de la década de los ‘90, tampoco es ningún problema porque ellos saben perfectamente cómo ubicarse. Ellos saben las reglas del juego y se las arreglan. No están buscando hacer ni asociaciones gremiales, ni nada, nada, nada. Te fijas. Por eso es que la Sociedad de Escritores de Chile - la SECH, por ejemplo - no levanta cabeza hasta el día de hoy. Es una sociedad de escritores media muerta porque no se supo adaptar no más a los tiempos pa’ na’. Tú vas para allá y es una colección de gente antigua, si se puede decir así, que no cachan nada de nada de alguna manera. Siguen pensando en los términos de los ‘70, de los ‘80, te fijas. Ellos se sienten muy unidos. Claro. Conservaron todo eso de los ‘80 pero resulta que la SECH se acaba a la salida de la casa y el mundo que pasa por los alrededores no saben que existen no más. Entonces eso es el otro asunto. Por eso te digo yo creo que para el artista formado en los ‘80 y con práctica en los ‘80 fue muy duro el cambio y por eso les cuesta mucho insertarse aquí y hacer relaciones dentro de tus experiencias directas con tus proyectos espirituales, emocionales y sociales. Pero a la vez para el artista joven de los ‘90 no hay problemas tampoco. No tienen grandes dudas. Saben cómo funcionar aquí, ya. Son nuevos. Tienen otro sistema de funcionamiento. No se hacen problemas. Esta sociedad la han sabido comprender y han vivido ahí. Entonces.

Pero los otros, no. Y es por eso. Por eso creo se acabó el gran norte de la resistencia de la búsqueda de la democracia y se les fue el proyecto. Y eso es.

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¿Cómo ves Conce ahora? ¿Cómo ves a la juventud? ¿Cómo han recepcionado tu exposición?

A
No sé, porque yo no estuve mucho allá pero sé que salió bastante bien. Se hicieron actividades, todo eso. Claro, yo creo que en Conce pasa lo siguiente: Conce en estos últimos años ha sufrido, cómo se diría, no es un desgaste, no un desfase, se ha descolocado en Concepción como ciudad la actividad artística. Se ha descolocado y ha perdido mucho a nivel oficial. A nivel juvenil, de cultura juvenil, de cultura *underground*, yo creo que está muy bien. Muy bien. Hay muchas cosas. Eso es parte de la juventud. ¿Qué es el problema? Que ha atomizado Concepción. Esto significa que hay mucha producción cultural juvenil muy interesante pero no que figura en absoluto dentro de lo que es la cultura oficial de Concepción. Que no figura en absoluto. En los años '80 y a principios de los '90 en Concepción hubo bastante producción cultural que fue capaz de insertarse dentro de medios oficiales de producción. ¿Qué significa esto? Que la Universidad del Bío-Bío a través de su Departamento de Extensión tenía actividades interesantes y con gente viva. Me refiero integrando a la comunidad a artistas regionales y relacionándola a través de la institución con el universo de la provincia. También hacía lo mismo el Departamento de Extensión de la Universidad de Concepción. El diario *Sur* tiene un suplemento de arte y cultura bastante bueno con mucha producción cultural dentro de sus páginas, de crítica, etcétera, de producción cultural. Habían otras instancias que también podían recoger la cultura y proyectarla. O sea, básicamente lo que pasa diría yo es lo siguiente: existía una fluidez adecuada entre productores culturales, instituciones oficiales y proyección en la comunidad. Eso notoriamente se perdió. El diario *Sur* cambió de dirección hace como ocho años atrás o más, después con la llegada, comillas, de la democracia se desarma el departamento de cultura del *Sur* y el suplemento deja de tener críticas literarias, deja de tener crítica y se reemplaza eso, y yo diría que las universidades hacen lo mismo, reemplazan la producción cultural regional por el criterio de lo museológico. ¿Qué significa eso? Que la Universidad de Concepción ahora tiene un programa cultural armado mucho más en base a traer manifestaciones culturales de afuera, grandes manifestaciones culturales de afuera y a exponerlos en términos de museo. Aquí montamos esto. Aquí lo ven ustedes. Se va. Llega otra exposición. Llega otra actividad. Con grandes nombres. Con nombres interesantes pero sucede que no tienen relación con los gestores culturales de su entorno. O sea, se perdió una riqueza porque lo reemplazaron por esa cultura de museo, te fijas, por privilegiar la exposición, la exposición, la traída de eventos culturales e instalarlos, en vez de rescatar de sus fuentes y darles un sentido. Curioso que pase en Conce porque no pasa en otras partes. Por ejemplo, Valparaíso tiene una riqueza cultural a través de sus instituciones que rescata su entorno provinciano plenamente. Concepción no tiene nada de eso. Eso es lo primero. Te fijas. Ahora en términos de juventud pasa lo mismo. Hacen grandes actividades pero eso no lo recoge ni la Universidad, ni los departamentos de extensión, ni el diario, ni ninguna institución oficial. Eso es una diferencia que yo encuentro bastante grande y que es significativa en términos epocales. No sé si es una política cultural de las universidades porque les sale más cómodo o no. O por miedo. Pelando un poco, yo diría que tiene que ver el miedo en eso. Tiene que ver el miedo. Y es un miedo bien estúpido pero no ingenuo. Es un miedo que reproduce más o menos el esquema de que si yo tengo una facultad determinada en una universidad determinada, en donde todos

los académicos ya tienen su vida hecha conforme a ciertas prácticas académicas, no les interesa que lleguen académicos más jóvenes porque le van a desordenar el panorama. Entonces sencillamente le tienen temor a la innovación, a la exploración y a fuentes culturales diversas que traigan diversidad porque les da susto porque se pueden quedar sin trabajo, te fijas. Eso, tan burdamente expuesto, es más o menos lo que se podrías ver tú en esto. Traigamos cosas probadas. Traigamos cosas que no nos causan problemas. Pero con eso sencillamente se les va por la borda la riqueza cultural de una ciudad, te fijas. Eso es una característica, yo diría, de Concepción, no de otras ciudades. Por ejemplo, yo he estado en varias ciudades haciendo cosas. En La Serena, estuve un semestre haciendo un taller de literatura en la Universidad para Castellano y Filosofía y La Serena siendo más chica que Concepción tiene mucho más riqueza cultural en términos de que sí hay actividades culturales en torno a literatura, están integrados los creadores regionales, están integrados los poetas regionales. Por supuesto que hay gente de afuera pero también hay uno de acá, hay un crítico de allá, etcétera. Se encargan de hacer funcionar en forma viva las diversas alternativas de creación cultural. Parece que las instituciones en Concepción le tuvieran miedo a eso, le tienen pánico, te fijas. Y eso pasó ahora. Empezó a pasar sistemáticamente desde los '90 en adelante. Fíjate que el diario *El Sur* de Concepción hasta los '90 tenía un suplemento de lujo. O sea, tú lo ves y traía muchas cosas interesantes. Ahora da pena po'. O sea, ¿has comprado el diario *Sur* el domingo? Vistes en Concepción el domingo viene un suplemento que viene con el diario. Si tú ves ese suplemento, tú lo ves, y piensas que es un suplemento de un diario de veinte años atrás. Por la diagramación, por los temas, por todo. O sea, es el peor suplemento de diarios que yo conozco en Chile. Hasta el diario *La Estrella* de La Serena que es diez veces más chico que *El Sur* y ¡tiene un suplemento digno! ¡Esa otra cosa tiene suplemento patético! Yo no he vivido mucho en Concepción este tiempo, entonces no sabría decirte cómo se fue dando ese desgaste y esa pérdida de calidad y todo, pero sí sucedió. O sea, Concepción es una ciudad que ha perdido en diez años su presencia cultural tremendamente, mucho, mucho. Y se ha distanciado de sus creadores, de sus artistas totalmente. Entonces eso tendría que verse con calma y quizás alguien alguna vez se va a interesar en ver.

Interview with former cultural administrator, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre el Fondo Canto Mestizo.

A
Yo voy a tratar de conversar sobre la experiencia nuestra. Digo “nuestra” porque no es solamente mía, es de un grupo que trabajó, hizo un trabajo serio en la cultura mientras estuvimos en Londres. En relación a la posibilidad de una continuidad de ese trabajo en Chile en realidad ahí sí voy a dar mis visiones personales y particulares frente al tema porque ahí más bien no soy un actor. Yo soy un veedor que está observando. En relación al trabajo que se dio en Londres, éste es un trabajo de un grupo interesado en poder, en primera instancia, mantener vivas nuestras raíces, nuestra cultura en una sociedad en donde la cultura de las minorías estaba ghettizada. Entonces nosotros planteamos esa alternativa bajo varios objetivos. Uno de los objetivos fue la unidad; nosotros planteamos un grupo unitario, no solamente frente a la realidad política de los chilenos, sino frente a los latinoamericanos de Londres. Mostrar que, a través de la cultura, podíamos unir distintos intereses de la comunidad latinoamericana y chilena en Londres. También tuvimos como objetivo ser ejemplos para nuestra juventud porque notábamos que muchos de ellos se estaban perdiendo, producto de que llegaron a vivir a sectores muy marginados de la sociedad londinense - aquellos lugares donde las municipalidades, las *councils* fueron las que realmente apoyaron a los chilenos que llegaron al exilio. Entonces quisimos también que la juventud pudiese identificarse con el trabajo nuestro y rescatamos varios elementos jóvenes. Con mucho orgullo, podemos decir que, a través de la cultura, ellos también vieron la necesidad de sentirse más latinoamericano y al mismo tiempo más útil en una sociedad donde probablemente no tenían más perspectivas que hacer lo que se estaban haciendo sus padres que era vivir del *social security* o limpiando suelos o pisos o baños. Nosotros teníamos visiones de grande y éramos un grupo chico porque las visiones nuestras correspondían con el entendimiento que una cultura tiene que tener elementos que la gestione, tiene que ser capaz de autoabastecerse y tiene que, en el fondo, proyectarse. Entonces quisimos nosotros ser ese canal para los trabajadores culturales latinoamericanos que estaban en Londres, dándoles la posibilidad de presentar lo que estaban haciendo a un público que curiosamente, después nos dimos cuenta, estaba ávido también de recibir. Y la sorpresa más grande nuestra fue que el *council* de Lambeth nos avaló el proyecto. Nosotros todas las actividades que hicimos en Lambeth eran autofinanciadas por Lambeth. Obviamente que nosotros también quisimos demostrar cierta seriedad de tal manera de que hicimos evidente que todos los recursos que nosotros obteníamos estaban invertidos en ellos, en los artistas. Y por primera vez los artistas pudieron tener un *hall* como el Surrey Hall, pudieron tener los músicos un excelente sonido, equipos de sonido, actuar con luces adecuadas, los grupos de teatro tener su espacio, tener salas donde pudiésemos proyectar no solamente artistas londinenses sino también llevar de los artistas que estaban aquí en Chile o que estaban en Europa. Fuimos en ese sentido un grupo que trató, a través de la cultura, poder mantener una esperanza porque, en el fondo, el trabajo nuestro consistió en tratar de remecer el espíritu derrotista de los chilenos en el exilio y de los inmigrantes que emigraron por una situación económica que allá se dieron cuenta que la cosa no era tan fácil, no era hacerse la América en Londres. Entonces nosotros quisimos, a través de nuestro trabajo, ofrecer una mirada para ellos, de que en el fondo también había esperanza, esperanza de poder salir adelante en ese medio. Y nosotros, en la medida en que fuimos trabajando, nos dimos

cuenta que cierta prensa estaba interesada en nosotros; nosotros fuimos entrevistados por la BBC World Service. En tres ocasiones estuvimos en la BBC World Service. Estuvimos en radios como Capital Radio de Londres, varias veces estuvimos allí. En alguna oportunidad, tocaron un disco entero de uno de los invitados a nuestro show que era el Osvaldo "Gitano" Rodríguez, que lamentablemente falleció. Tuvimos realmente buena recepción porque en la medida en que el trabajo que nosotros hicimos, avalado por el *bureau* de Lambeth, fue un trabajo serio. Eso mismo hizo como cadena para que realmente se comentara, se difundiera y pudiésemos tener una llegada a un mundo. Yo creo que en el mundo artístico, efectivamente logramos nuestro objetivo. En el público, curiosamente, el que enganchó más fue el público inglés, el público local cercano a Surrey Hall, que tuvo oportunidades de ver proyectos culturales, que probablemente no tenían esa posibilidad anteriormente. Entonces en el grupo nuestro incluso hicimos algunos videos y la persona que filmó era un inglés, Nigel. Trabajó también con nosotros un diseñador que nos hizo nuestras escenografías, un arquitecto argentino-polaco. Entonces nosotros tuvimos en realidad gente de muchas culturas. Dentro de Latinoamérica, teníamos trabajando con nosotros colombianos, uruguayos y chilenos en su gran medida. Y dentro del público que nos seguía, había una gran convocación de público local de gente de la tercera edad, del sector que no sabía nada de español, que no conocía nuestros dramas y que, sin embargo, logró enganchar muy bien con el trabajo cultural nuestro. Yo creo que la importancia de haberle dado espacio a los jóvenes también para nosotros fue muy gratificante en ese tiempo. Cuando digo "jóvenes", nosotros todos éramos jóvenes en esa época pero había gente adolescente, jóvenes que estaban entre estudiar y no estudiar, entre ser y no ser y aquellos que nos acompañaron en sonido, en iluminación. Uno de los jóvenes que trabajó con nosotros y que después estudió iluminación en este momento trabaja en el Canal 13 aquí en Chile. Y así yo creo que, en el fondo, si yo hago un barrido de toda la gente que trabajó con nosotros, logramos el objetivo. Ninguno se perdió. Todos están haciendo sus labores, probablemente no necesariamente en un trabajo tan bonito como el que hicimos en Londres pero sí en sus profesiones y no hay ninguno del que pudiésemos haber dicho "la droga consumió". No. Creo que al final logramos con ese objetivo. Ahora nuestras primeras visiones fueron más bien indigenistas. Nosotros pensábamos mucho y creíamos mucho en un movimiento indigenista también como una mirada unitaria hacia Latinoamérica y partimos con minorías étnicas: los mapuches en Chile, los negros en Uruguay, los indios en Colombia. Partimos trabajando ese tema pero nos dimos cuenta que ese tema, si bien era enriquecedor para nosotros, también tenía distintas visiones políticas y la misma gente con que nosotros quisimos trabajar, las organizaciones mapuches, estaban divididas tanto en Chile como allá en el extranjero, los negros de Uruguay también. Entonces al final nos transformamos, más que en levantar sus causas, en tratar de que las platas que ganábamos con estos conciertos, con estos eventos pudiésemos también dirigirlas a esos sectores desposeídos pero en esas agrupaciones. Entonces nosotros apoyamos el grupo de costureras negras en Montevideo, el Cantegril, no recuerdo el nombre pero está todo notado por ahí. Apoyamos grupos de tejedoras en el Cerro Rodelillo en Valparaíso. Apoyamos obviamente a las organizaciones mapuches y eso lo hicimos comprándole lana o enviando dinero o comprando telas o comprando máquinas de cocer. De esa manera fue el apoyo. Entonces, al final, nuestra idea primaria de indigenismo y de minorías étnicas la fuimos desarrollando dirigiendo las ganancias que nosotros obtuvimos en nuestros eventos hacia ese sector en Latinoamérica. Y obviamente también teníamos que mantener cierto capital porque a veces no todo era cien por ciento *funded*. Teníamos también que tener un capital para hacer cosas por cuenta nuestra y yo creo

que el hecho de que hubiesen dos ingenieros en el grupo hizo que mirásemos todo esto no tan artísticamente, no cómo lo ven los artistas, de repente como es una cosa así media volada, sino que nosotros aplicamos criterios de evaluación. El control del *budget* fue bien definido. Es decir, nosotros decíamos: "Estos son los dineros que tenemos, esto es lo que podemos hacer y para ser exitoso necesitamos tal piso". Y, de hecho, yo creo que, en gran parte, nuestro éxito pudo mantenerse en el tiempo hasta cuando nos regresamos por el hecho que fuimos económicamente viable. Y eso es algo que no les pasaba tampoco a los artistas en sí solos. Cuando los artistas por sí solos iban a tratar para conseguir dinero a estos mismos *councils* o *bureaux*, normalmente eran reticentes a darle a un artista en sí por su trabajo, producto de que normalmente los artistas no tenían la capacidad de gestión, no tenían la capacidad de poder manejar el dinero adecuadamente. Yo creo que fue fundamental en el éxito nuestro el hecho que hayan habido también en el grupo, además de artistas, profesores de historia, teníamos fotógrafos, teníamos distintas profesiones, de las más variadas que nos estaban ayudando. Y para que un trabajo cultural pueda ser serio, tiene que ser autosustentable. Bueno, si bien nosotros lo hacíamos también consiguiendo recursos, los recursos los invertíamos y es fundamental para poder motivar al mismo tiempo a los artistas, a que sientan que su trabajo es valorado. Y eso yo creo que fue un punto alto de nuestro trabajo. Ahora nosotros trabajábamos como Fondo, haciendo cosas solo. También apoyábamos el trabajo cultural del Partido Comunista en Londres, que fue la organización de los Festivales de Victor Jara, pero nosotros lo hacíamos por el apoyo de lo que era el trabajo cultural, digamos, indistintamente de que correspondía a un partido político determinado. Como nosotros estábamos en una onda no sectarista también nos invitaban a participar de distintos sectores y, de hecho, nosotros lo hacíamos para demostrar el gesto unitario que nosotros estábamos tratando de desarrollar con la cultura. Muchos de nosotros militó en ese tiempo en distintos partidos pero eso no impidió a que a través del proceso de trabajo cultural pudiésemos unirnos y trabajar con ideas comunes.

Q
¿Cómo fue el período de adaptación a la realidad inglesa?

A
Nosotros pudimos encontrar caminos y rumbos para desarrollarnos, no solamente profesionalmente, no solamente culturalmente, sino en todos los ámbitos y la mayoría de nosotros logró insertarse en la sociedad inglesa con nivel de inglés muy adecuado. Algunos de nosotros volvieron con doble nacionalidad, hasta ese nivel. Ahora yo no sé si fue por una medida de seguridad personal, pero adoptaron la ciudadanía británica. Pero eso fue porque estábamos insertos en la otra realidad. Nosotros nunca nos quedamos afuera. Nos opusimos a que fuéramos "los latinoamericanos del sur de Londres", un ghetto más dentro de todos los que existen culturalmente en Londres. Nosotros nos opusimos. Nosotros dijimos, "No, lo que nosotros tenemos que hacer es a través de la inserción en esta sociedad, proyectarnos nosotros". Y eso fue lo que hicimos. Ahora, como te decía recién, al grupo nuestro, esa otra mirada le dio la posibilidad de reinsertarse en Chile, yo diría, sin mayores dramas. Nosotros regresamos el año '91 en un grupo de 21 familias, todas profesionales, y de esas 21 familias, las familias que pudieron reinsertarse de verdad en Chile eran los mismos que se habían reinsertado de verdad en Londres. Son los que tenían un cuento, que tenían una historia, que tenían algo que decir, que tenían algo por qué sobrevivir en este país. Y el resto se fue, se devolvió. El resto estuvo uno o dos años y regresó. Entonces

efectivamente yo diría que, de ese grupo de 21, debemos haber quedado unas 6 o 7 familias, todo el resto se fue de vuelta.

El gran proyecto de Osvaldo era rescatar el patrimonio de la ciudad de Valparaíso. Él me decía que la cosa venía. Se demoró muchos más años. Osvaldo murió y después le dieron a Valparaíso el patrimonio cultural mundial hace dos años atrás. Así que él nunca supo y él fue uno de los gestores de ese proyecto. Cuando converso con conocidos, amigos y le cuento esta historia, ellos no lo logran a entender. Ellos piensan que el trabajo nuestro, en el fondo, era uno de los trabajos más de solidaridad hacia Chile. Lo miran como que si hubiésemos sido un grupo que estaba haciendo un trabajo a lo mejor similar a lo que pudo haber hecho Quilapayún en París o Inti-Illimani en Italia. En realidad, yo creo que para que ellos puedan entenderlo, tendrían que haber estado situado en la realidad nuestra. Y cuando muestro alguno de los volantes que nosotros hacíamos. Entonces ahora ¿cómo lo percibía yo ayer cuando estaba recopilando información para ti? En realidad aquí - y reitero: no es una posición personal frente al tema - yo creo que es una mirada nuestra de todos los que estuvimos involucrados. El trabajo que hicimos, creo que fue provocativo, creo que fue audaz. Nos creímos un cuento que probablemente solamente fue factible porque estábamos en una etapa de nuestras vidas en que éramos jóvenes, estábamos muy creativos y estábamos llanos a hacer cosas distintas y la mirada de hoy a eso es: "¡Ay! ¡Eso es lo que hicimos!" Es incluso una sorpresa para nosotros de repente cuando nos sentamos a conversar. Hasta nos sorprendemos nosotros mismos de lo que hicimos, de los logros que obtuvimos porque nosotros no lo hicimos de una forma, no sé, egocéntrica que tienen los artistas de repente desde la mirada del trabajo cultural. Nosotros lo hicimos como una necesidad de desarrollarnos a través de la cultura, como un impulso creativo aplicable de forma horizontal a todas las otras actividades que nosotros realizábamos en la sociedad inglesa. Nosotros no nos transformamos en malos profesionales porque estamos dedicados a hacer este trabajo. Al revés. Nosotros dijimos, "Si nosotros hacemos esto bien, demostramos que somos capaces de hacer esta cosa bien en esta sociedad, también nos exigimos a hacer bien las otras cosas que teníamos que hacer". Y así fue. Así fue. Fue curioso. Así fue. Entonces la mirada es hasta de sorpresa. Éramos pocos, del grupo organizador debemos haber sido diez no más, y sin embargo conseguimos mucho. Y como no teníamos la necesidad de vivir de aquello porque en realidad teníamos otras labores, eso hizo que esto lo tomáramos más para otros, más para los demás, no tanto para nosotros. Entonces le sacamos el egocentrismo del artista, lo hicimos mucho más amplio. Ya que hiciste esa pregunta, te voy a empezar a pasar algunas cosas de las que nos sorprendimos. Éste es un librillo de poesía de Eduardo Embry. Eduardo fue uno de los colaboradores nuestros. Fue uno de los que creyó en nuestro grupo. Incluso me dedicó uno de los poemas, como siempre le gusta dedicar sus poemas. Hicimos un gran trabajo con él. Muchos años estuvimos con él trabajando. Le editamos un librillo de poesía. Y también ayudamos a la edición de este otro que es de Leonardo León sobre los indígenas en Chile central. Éste es un trabajo un poco más intelectual. Este Leonardo León Solís del que te hablaba yo es el loco que nos metió en los temas de las minorías étnicas y del indigenismo. Brillante, alguien que ojala tengas la oportunidad de entrevistar.

Q
¿Te tengo que devolver este material?

A

No, con tal que lo guardes y lo difundas. Aquí tenemos una muestra de lo que nosotros hacíamos. Yo recién decía un poco arrogantemente que queríamos mostrar que las cosas tenían que hacerse bien y tenían que hacerse artísticamente en forma distinta, pensamiento que aplicábamos en todo nivel. Cuando nosotros diseñábamos un póster o un volante, nosotros nos preocupábamos de la imagen, de las letras y que además tuviera algo, que dijera algo, que contáramos algo: quiénes éramos, cuál era nuestra esperanza, por qué estábamos trabajando con este grupo. Aquí está Quilombo Expontáneo. Allí está Germán Santana, está lolito. Germán tiene mi edad, éramos todos jóvenes. Creímos en nuestro trabajo. Esto también te lo regalo.

Q
Muchas gracias. ¿Esto de qué año es?

A
Debe ser el año '87, '88. Éste fue más simple. La foto la tomé yo mismo. No tuvimos posibilidades de poner algo atrás. Y siempre poníamos también el nombre de nuestros *funders*, GLC o Lambeth. Siempre obtuvimos *funding*. Aquí están nuestras visiones. Las leí anoche y me di cuenta que correspondían a un cierto tiempo y después van cambiando. En un momento son indigenistas, después más preocupados de otras cosas. Éste fue el único concierto en que perdimos plata, que también fue indigenista por el 12 de octubre y los 500 años. Ahí nos equivocamos y hay que admitirlo. En todo caso nos equivocamos por haber llevado gente que nos cobró £2.500 por cada presentación. Entonces en realidad el público no llegó. Y no llegó probablemente porque el mensaje nuestro fue muy provocativo. Fue muy violento en relación a los 500 años. Fue tal vez la última actividad indigenista dura que hicimos. Éste fue unos de los primeros panfletos que nosotros sacamos acerca de los mapuches y en el fondo dando una visión. Pero, como te dije, todo esto fue cambiando pero da un poquito de historia. Aquí tenemos el año '89, *Latin American Culture*, y aquí tenemos "Gitano" en uno de nuestros eventos. Él también tuvo un rol importante en nuestro trabajo. En virtud de ese éxito, al año siguiente lo volvimos a llevar y ahí el año '90 las cosas estaban cambiando en Chile. Esta visión ya era más política nuevamente. Aquí esta Quimantú. Quien diseñó muchos de los diseños fue el polaco-argentino Michael Boncza. Él está en Londres. Esto es para ver y también leer un poco sobre las cosas que nosotros tratamos de difundir. Y tuvimos algunos éxitos en la prensa, como te decía. En ese tiempo, *City Limits*, una revista que era como el *Time Out*; aquí nos hizo una entrevista. Y dentro del trabajo de apoyo a otros conciertos, apoyamos a Los Jaivas cuando fueron a Londres, apoyamos el Festival Victor Jara, apoyamos el concierto de Osvaldo Torres. Logramos que la prensa se interesara por nuestro trabajo. Tengo cualquier cantidad de publicaciones. Éste es sobre la exposición de cuadros de Claudio Francia y Osvaldo Rodríguez y ésa es la lista de eventos, todos los eventos que hicimos por año.

Q
¿Cómo fue llegar a Chile? Si pudieras narrarme ese proceso.

A
Yo creo que cuando uno opta por regresar, lo hace con ciertas ilusiones. Hay un proyecto futuro y eso es lo que nosotros teníamos. Teníamos un proyecto futuro que siendo exitosos donde estábamos - yo trabajaba como ingeniero, mi señora trabajaba como técnico - teníamos este trabajo de desarrollo cultural. Estábamos como todos los ciudadanos ingleses del nivel nuestro comprometidos con el *mortgage*. Teníamos una

casa, manejábamos un auto. Cuando yo le dije a mis amigos ingleses, "¿Saben qué? Me voy", ellos pensaban que estaba loco. Pero la posibilidad de volver era por una ilusión de proyecto futuro. Y digo "ilusión" porque cuando llegamos a Chile, nos dimos cuenta que el proyecto de futuro que nosotros estábamos pensando era completamente distinto al que nos tocó vivir. Y yo creo que es bonito también que uno tome decisiones en base a ilusiones. En la práctica la ilusión nuestra probablemente muy marcada por los sentimientos que se desarrollan en el exilio: de idealización del país, de idealización de cosas que en la práctica no eran así. Ni los chilenos eran tan como nosotros pensábamos, ni la familia era tan como nosotros pensábamos, ni el país era tan como nosotros pensábamos. Nosotros lo idealizábamos por muchos años pero el proyecto nuestro era un proyecto más bien de familia. Mi gran proyecto es así: "Mira, mi hija tiene ocho años. ¿Quiero que mi hija se desarrolle en una sociedad inglesa o quiero que se desarrolle en la sociedad chilena?" Había una ilusión de que la hija podía tener más posibilidades en Chile que en Londres y obviamente que es muy fuerte el pasado de uno. Es muy fuerte en los años de exilio el peso de la familia, el peso de los amigos. Y la idealización genera la presión de poder decir, "OK. Se abren las puertas y nuestro deber es aportar lo nuestro en nuestra sociedad. Nosotros estuvimos todos estos años luchando para que sucediera lo que sucedió y ahora nos corresponde como profesionales capacitados en extranjero entregar lo que nosotros sabemos a nuestra sociedad." Y unido todo eso, son varias cosas y unidas todas ellas hicieron que uno tomara la opción del regreso y la tomara en serio. No la tomamos con un pie aquí, un pie allá. "Oye, no vendamos la casa mejor, dejémosla arrendada por si decidimos volver." ¡No! La tomamos en serio. Dijimos, "Ya nos vamos", y nos convencimos de la ilusión de que aquí en Chile vamos a ser tanto más exitosos de lo que fuimos allá en el aspecto profesional y así fue y nos deshicimos de todo, vendimos todo y nos venimos. Algo que los ingleses no entendían porque era algo que ellos no podían hacer. Ellos estaban en la carrera de que este año nos cambiamos de casa, cambiamos el auto o este año cambiamos la alfombra pero nunca van a cambiar de país porque es una cosa muy drástica. ¿De a dónde? No tienen la posibilidad. Nosotros tuvimos esa posibilidad, la tomamos y creo que una de las grandes dificultades fue la reinserción. Fue lo que tú mencionabas recién, que es la cadena de vínculos que tú tienes que tener para desenvolverte en una sociedad. Entonces de partida uno se da cuenta que la familia tiene limitaciones, que la familia tiene más dramas que cosas para aportarnos a nosotros aunque te cobija y te da todo lo que tú requerías en esos momentos. Al final, el grupo de amigos que uno tuvo en su época ya no estaba; cada uno tenía su rollo personal, cada uno tenía sus cosas. De repente tú llegas y no tienes la cadena de reinserción. No tienes personas a quien recurrir, a quien llamar y eso hay que empezarlo a hacer de nuevo. Y empecé a recontactar, eso fue lo que yo hice. Me recontacté con unos compañeros de la universidad en Chile y tuve una recepción increíble. Me recibieron con las manos abiertas en la Universidad de Santa María en Valparaíso y me dijeron, "Este año no estamos en condiciones de ofertarte nada pero vente para acá, te damos una oficina, te ponemos una secretaria, un computador, y de lo único que te preocupas es de tirar currículum y mandar a donde puedas encontrar un trabajo en tu rubro". Fue a través de ellos que yo hice factible la reinserción porque en realidad estuve como cuatro meses en la Universidad Santa María. Me dieron algunas horas de capacitación. Me dieron algunas horas de investigación pero no era para sobrevivir sino para que me mantuviera ahí. Y yo creo que recuperé unos contactos e hice amigos nuevos. La ilusión de llegar a vivir a Valparaíso, de abrir la ventana y ver el puerto, todo eso se fue muriendo con la realidad. La realidad era otra. En parte yo creo que nos sirvió mucho el hecho de que nosotros pudimos trabajar solidariamente en un ambiente

donde también éramos desconocidos, entonces, si pudimos salir adelante en un ambiente que era desconocido, con mayor razón acá, y de poco se va creando una nueva cadena de apoyo. De poco se va formando, ya sea a nivel profesional, a nivel del trabajo que uno va haciendo, te vas relacionando y vas formando nuevamente esa cadena que habías perdido. Entonces en el caso mío, yo diría que la reinserción no fue traumática. En el caso de mi hija, fue traumático en los primeros meses. En el caso de mi señora sí fue traumática y ella hasta el día de hoy piensa que a lo mejor fue un error haber regresado por el hecho que la sociedad chilena, para las mujeres como ella, es mucho más machista y con menos posibilidades. Entonces al final nuevamente tenemos que mirar el conjunto, el conjunto como familia. Logramos reinsertarnos y logramos tener lo que teníamos allá y con eso somos felices.

Q
¿Cómo ves la actividad cultural en Chile?

A
Es bueno que durante el último período se haya formado a nivel de Ministerio algo cultural. Es decir que ya le estemos dando a nivel de Gobierno, al nivel del Estado, una calidad de Ministro al encargado de cultura. Yo creo que le da de por sí un valor a algo que generalmente está muy poco valorado en Chile, que es el trabajo cultural. Entonces yo pienso que la cultura no solamente necesita políticas de Estado. Pero sí es necesario que existan políticas de Estado claras para poder hacer la cultura viable, especialmente en países como Chile donde se dejó que el Mercado regulara el aspecto cultural. Yo creo que es bueno, es positivo, que en estos momentos se esté dando una política seria a nivel de gestión cultural por parte del Gobierno. Podemos tener muchas visiones, en realidad, sobre la efectividad de ciertas políticas que se estén tomando, pero creo que es incipiente, muestra de que a futuro podemos tener cosas más sólidas. Estamos viendo que la mezcla empresa privada con gestión de políticas culturales de apoyo está dando resultados en el caso del cine. Todavía está lejos de que sea tan masivo en el plano de la música porque en el plano de la música sigue privilegiándose el factor empresarial más que políticas de apoyo. En estos momentos es muy difícil en Chile para los músicos poder sobrevivir de su arte como profesión. Probablemente van a tener que pasar algunos años antes de que podamos tener políticas más claras frente a una ayuda concreta a aquellos músicos que optan en forma seria por vivir de su arte. Estamos viendo proyectos culturales serios en Valparaíso y de hecho el Ministerio se fue a Valparaíso a usar el antiguo edificio de correos. Vemos los trabajos culturales que se hacen a fin de año en Valparaíso que son hermosos. Creo que hay una especie de renacimiento de muchas distintas partes del arte a través de este impulso cultural. Yo soy un espectador no más; no soy un actor. Y como espectador veo que es positivo. Aún falta mucho por hacer. Creo que el hecho de que a muchos artistas como pago se les haya dado puestos en Embajadas como Agregados Culturales no es la manera de pagarles. Creo que está bien que existan políticas más generales que apoyen no solamente a los destacados pero también a los más desposeídos, que los que tienen virtudes puedan tener espacio y puedan tener una capacidad de gestión y de autogeneración que tiene que venir lamentablemente por políticas de Estado. Yo creo que es positivo lo que está pasando pero aún es insuficiente. Anteriormente no había nada y va a tomar cierto tiempo poder generar recursos adecuados que permitan el desarrollo serio amparado y avalado por este Ministerio de la Cultura. Creo que se rompe también el estigma de que la cultura estaba muy dejada del Mercado, que allí estamos perdidos.

Q
¿Cómo ves Chile del futuro?

A
Yo creo que nosotros tenemos la capacidad de desarrollarnos como países como Inglaterra. A Chile en estos momentos se le mira mucho por el logro económico, como uno de los países más estables dentro de Latinoamérica. Como un país que tiene un crecimiento anual sobre la media. Pero yo creo que todavía lamentablemente las desigualdades siguen siendo muy grandes. El abismo entre los que tienen y los que no tienen, los ricos y los pobres sigue siendo alto. Indistintamente de las positivas estadísticas, yo creo que no estamos todavía cerca de eliminar realmente a los marginados, a los desposeídos, a los más pobres y yo creo que hacia allá debemos apuntar. Ojala que pudiésemos tener una continuidad de Gobierno que siga trabajando por mejorar la repartición de los ingresos y poder realmente tener un país que sea más solidario hacia los que tienen menos en estos momentos. Yo creo que Chile avanza pero en políticas sociales el avance es más lento y todavía tú caminas por los barreadas de Santiago y te encuentras con que lamentablemente los sectores desposeídos, más marginados, están cayendo en la drogadicción, en el alcoholismo como una manera de escape ante las pocas posibilidades que tienen los jóvenes de esos sectores de nuestra sociedad. Yo veo que Chile avanza pero a un paso lento en las aspiraciones de los sectores más necesitados. Pero tengo confianza. Tengo confianza de que se va a poder seguir progresando, seguir avanzando. En realidad, creemos que una mejor redistribución del ingreso debería a futuro transformar Chile en un país en donde la brecha entre los pobres y los ricos no sea más grande.

Interview with two visual artists, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo como profesor de arte.

A1
Siempre les digo a mis alumnos que cada uno de ellos tiene un artista escondido y mi trabajo es sacar ese artista escondido. Cuando termina la primera clase por lo general me dicen, “Pero, profesor, usted hoy no nos enseñó”. Entonces, ¿por qué me dicen eso? Porque yo no hago clases académicas. Les digo, “Yo jamás les voy a hacer una clase académica. Lo que voy a hacer es sacar lo que ustedes tienen metido adentro. Por lo tanto, mi trabajo va a consistir en estar detrás de ustedes criticándolos, corrigiéndoles y viendo lo que pueden mejorar.” Entonces eso les gusta a mis estudiantes. Y siguen. Tengo alumnos ya cuatro años conmigo. Yo los he hecho exponer, por ejemplo, que es una cosa que mis colegas no hacen, ni con sus alumnos de la universidad. Entonces soy como un profe atípico. En el mismo liceo, de repente uno pierde mucho porque les da confianza a los chiquillos y ellos al principio se la toman, abusan mucho. Después, claro, se dan cuenta que la cosa no debiera ser así y que yo les doy la confianza para el bien de ellos. Estableciendo una amistad me siento capaz de retarlos si no hacen nada, si son flojos. Les puedo decir, “Tienen que hacer cosas. Tienen que trabajar. Tienen que crear. Tienen que estudiar y salir adelante. Tienen que llegar a la universidad o por último a una carrera técnica. Después del cuarto medio, tienen que seguir pa’ adelante. Tienen que ser profesionales o ir a un liceo técnico.” Y de ahí se van dando cuenta. Te voy a contar una novedad. Con Antonio Rivas - el jefe de cultura de la DAEM - hace tiempo teníamos la idea de darle importancia a las escuelas de Chiguayante y la Escuela Bélgica, donde yo tenía la escuela de talento, queríamos que se transformara en la Escuela de la Artes. Pasó un tiempo y se quedó la cosa ahí y hace como dos meses atrás el jefe de la DAEM me llama un día urgente a una reunión en la Escuela Bélgica. Voy y habían como cinco personas más y me dice, “Mira, nosotros queremos que la escuela ésta sea la Escuela de las Artes, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah”. Entonces yo dije, “Qué maravilloso, qué bueno lo que escucho pero ojala que esto sea real y no le pase lo que le pasó a mi escuela de talento sino que esto sea real”, y seguimos conversando. A través de esta iniciativa, al currículum normal del alumno se le agregarán horas de Música, horas de Educación Física, porque el niño necesita de teatro, danza, fotografía y todo.

Q
Y este proyecto ¿dónde me dijiste que era?

A1
En la Escuela Bélgica en Chiguayante. Es un proyecto de la DAEM, municipal. Entonces, estamos en toda la cosa de proceso, de creación en estos momentos. Yo ya tengo hace tiempo todo lo que necesito y lo que voy a hacer con los chiquillos si es que algún día voy a trabajar con ellos. Hemos estado trabajando en cómo vamos a organizar el currículum desde párvulo hasta cuarto básico en la primera jornada y después hasta octavo. Con este proyecto el alumno sigue con el currículum oficial, sigue con Matemática, Historia, Ciencias, Francés, Inglés, Religión, Educación Física, Música, Arte. Teniendo el currículum oficial como base se agregarán más horas a Música, Educación Física, Arte, como seis horas más en total. Incluso ahora por la JEC [Jornada Escolar Completa] tenemos que dictar mucho taller, entonces se le dará más

importancia a los talleres. La idea es que el alumno siga siendo alumno normal de la escuela pero además ofrecer posibilidades de desarrollo artístico a aquellos alumnos interesados o con talento. Este año empezó a trabajar una orquesta de niños de todas las escuelas y han hecho ya varias presentaciones. Te hablo de cabros que nunca habían tocado una trompeta, un trombón, nada. Te cuento que me asusté durante la primera presentación porque vi una niña ahí tocando saxo y ella es de diferencial. Y el saxo es difícil. Entonces ¿te das cuenta? Lo que digo siempre: el arte en general hace que el alumno sea integral. Puedes enseñarle danza o puedes enseñarle teatro. Puedes enseñarle música, baile, canto, todo y el niño se hace mejor. Con mis colegas de repente es difícil, ¿no? Cuando yo les planteo este cuento, me dicen, "Claro, tú buscas más pega". Entonces yo digo, "No, no quiero que a mí me contraten. Yo no estoy buscando trabajo. Estoy contento con las horas que tengo pero yo creo que es necesario hacer esto por la cosa integral del alumno." Porque nosotros sabemos que esa persona que tiene conocimiento de las artes va a ser mejor dueña de casa, mejor trabajador de la construcción, mejor médico, mejor ingeniero, o sea, mejor ciudadano. Y eso es lo que mis colegas a veces no entienden. De repente falta un colega de Arte y mandan a otro profe, por suerte ya no pueden mandar a un auxiliar como lo hacían antes. Mandan uno de Matemática, por ejemplo, quien termina haciendo clases y obviamente no sabe enseñar arte. Además nosotros siempre estamos pidiendo que las escuelas básicas tengan especialistas.

Q
O sea, artistas, dices tú.

A1
Claro. Consideramos que es más fácil enseñarle pedagogía a un artista que arte a un pedagogo. Tú puedes aprender arte. Yo parto por la premisa que todas las personas pueden aprender a hacer arte. Yo no sé tocar el piano pero si lo intento creo que aprendería. Y para hacerlo más rápido creo que sería más fácil enseñarle a un músico la cosa pedagógica que enseñarle a un pedagogo cómo tocar un piano. Cuando se planteó esta escuela de arte que te digo, le pregunté al jefe al tiro: "¿Tendrán los niños de esta escuela la posibilidad de ir a lugares donde se hace arte?" Por ejemplo: ¿los que están haciendo pintura o dibujo podrán ir a la Pinacoteca? Porque la clase de arte que uno puede hacer en la Pinacoteca le va a durar más al alumno que las clases que puedes pasar en el aula durante un año, o un chico de música que vaya a un concierto, o una niña gimnasta que vaya a una gala artística. Esas experiencias no se les olvidan a los alumnos. Es necesario que los niños estén viendo la cosa artística.

Q
¿Cómo era la escena artística penquista en los '50 y '60?

A2
Yo hacía arte en esa época. Fui parte de la Academia de Bellas Artes acá en Concepción en los años cincuentas, la que después en el '72 genera o gesta la Escuela de Arte de la ciudad. Esa academia funcionaba en Caupolicán, casi esquina con Víctor Lamas, y la dirigía Tole Peralta. Después se cambió más al centro, distintos locales que se nos pasaban para trabajar.

Q
¿Quiénes asistían?

A2
Muchos trabajadores porque funcionaba solamente de 7 a 9 de la noche. Iban dueñas de casa, gente después de la oficina, profesores. Ofrecía clases a niños también, quienes asistían después que salían de la escuela. Esas clases las dictaba Pancho Rodríguez, él era el profesor de niños. Y claro, iban también los artistas, gente que estaba metida en la cosa bohemia y varios alumnos de distintas Facultades de la Universidad. Yo era un trabajador gráfico. Trabajaba en Chiguayante en litografía. Funcionó muy bien esa academia hasta cuando el terremoto del '60 destruyó el local. Ahí fue cuando el Gobierno de México formó la Pinacoteca con la Escuela de Arte como parte de la Universidad de Concepción y nosotros no podíamos asistir porque éramos trabajadores.

A1
Entonces la academia donde yo funciono ahora tiene como idea recuperar un poco eso, abrirse a la gente que trabaja. Pero igual es muy distinta a la Academia de los '50 porque ésa era gratis, solamente pedía una cuota de sobrevivencia. ¿Cachai? Entonces todo el mundo del trabajo se iba a hacer arte. Hoy día es comercial porque los alumnos pagan una cantidad de plata.

A2
No, antes era gratis. Uno pagaba, claro, había una cuota que era ínfima. Era muy poco lo que se pagaba y no todos podían pagar. Ahí estuvo Santo Chávez. Ahí comenzó él. Santo Chávez trabajaba en una panadería y después que terminaba se iba a hacer arte. Estuvo también Albino Echeverría, Pedro Millar, Sergio Stitchkin que era hijo del Rector de la Universidad. La Violeta estuvo también trabajando. Muchos otros. Había escultura también. La escultora Consuelo Saavedra estuvo ahí. Ella ahora está en el grupo Chiguayante Nueve... La sección folclor del coro polifónico tenía una casa antigua grande y nos dieron la mitad de esa casa como albergue para seguir funcionando mientras terminaban la otra escuela.

A1
Había una disponibilidad de la gente de hacer arte, de hacer arte por hacer arte. No como hoy día, por ejemplo, que yo creo que mucha gente que hace arte está pensando en la cosa de vender. "¿Cómo vendo?"

Q
Y, en cuanto a los espacios de circulación de obras, ¿habían espacios para exponer? ¿Estaba la crítica abierta al público?

A2
Antes había una sola sala de exposición en Concepción: el Sótano. [*chuckles*] Ahí exponían los alumnos más avanzados. Yo era un principiante no más. Después, el otro espacio era la Feria de Arte. Ahí empezamos a exponer todos los años. Esta feria se llama hoy Feria de Arte Popular donde venden artesanía. Al principio la feria fue de arte: pintura, grabados y escultura, literatura. Llegaban escritores, poetas, etcétera. Ahora es una feria comercial, no más.

Q
¿En qué momento comenzó a comercializarse?

A1
Yo creo que después del ‘73. Después de esa fecha hubo un cambio radical en la cosa porque además tienes que pensar que al artista se le veía siempre como un izquierdista, por lo tanto como un peligro para la sociedad. La Escuela de Arte en Concepción es una sola, había muy pocos alumnos. Se elimina licenciatura, solamente se puede estudiar pedagogía. La licenciatura vuelve en los ‘90. Según ellos el licenciado era un tipo que podría expresarse, mientras que el pedagogo no. No habían agrupaciones culturales. No sé si seré mañoso o qué, pero creo que hubo mucha gente que trabajó con la dictadura. Es verdad que no habían espacios para expresarse pero tampoco hicieron algo para recuperar esos espacios. No pelearon. Hubo gente que no peleó.

[…]

Q
¿Cómo ves la dimensión artístico-cultural del Chile de hoy?

A1
Mira. Hoy día, a ver, Chile ha crecido mucho en la cosa cultural. No quiero parecer resentido ni nada de eso, pero lo que a mí me molesta es que cuando se habla de arte se piensa solamente en Santiago. Los artistas jóvenes tienen que ser alumnos de profesores de Santiago, las vacas sagradas. Eso es lo que a uno le incomoda. Por ejemplo, en un proyecto en donde eligen a cien artistas, me gustaría que por lo menos eligieran a diez de diferentes regiones. Que los grupos representando al país incluyan a personas de regiones para que ellos también viajen al extranjero. Estoy conciente de que se han hecho esfuerzos, como reconocer a Valparaíso como una ciudad histórica, por ejemplo. Existen iniciativas que han permitido desarrollar la cultura en zonas más allá de Santiago. Chile ha crecido mucho. Me alegre tanto cuando supe que habían nombrado a Moira Délano como la directora del Consejo Regional de la Cultura. Ella se sacó la mugre trabajando por mucho tiempo, desde cuando estaba en la Municipalidad y ella es la persona que *sabe* de nuestro trabajo y de lo que necesitamos. Ella es la persona idónea para el cargo, y creo que debiera siempre haber nombramientos idóneos.

Q
Me contaron que ella es pintora y que ha participado durante todo un proceso con ustedes.

A1
Claro. Ésa fue una de las peticiones que hicimos cuando participamos en los “cabildos”: que los miembros de la Secretaría Regional fueran artistas. No nos importaba la disciplina, que fuera alguien de teatro, un pintor, alguien de danza, lo que fuera. Éramos amplios de criterio, pero nos acusaron...

[…]

[*shows magazine*] Esta revista la hicimos con Eduardo con mucho sacrificio. Nos ganamos un proyecto FONDART. La plata era exclusivamente para hacer estas revistas que se entregaban gratis. Miles de revistas se entregaban gratis y la gente aprendió a leer cultura con esto.

Q
¿Cuándo circuló esto? ¿En qué año?

A1
Hace como tres años atrás. Mira, ésta fue la primera revista que entregamos. La dejamos en los bancos. Nos prohibieron entrar a los bancos porque según ellos no se podía hacer este tipo de propaganda. Al final entregamos a la biblioteca, la repartimos entre amigos por ahí. A la segunda, ya andaban preguntando, "Oye, ¿cuándo llega la revista?" Ésta sobre el mar coincide con una exposición que hizo la Universidad. ¡Te las regalo!

Q
Excelente. Gracias. Están como muy pedagógicas porque son así pequeñitas. Te invitan. Son muy atractivas también. Muy lindas.

A1
Ésa era la idea, que la gente las pudiera guardar en la cartera, en el bolsillo. Se trabajó harto esa idea de poder llegar a la gente y no solamente la gente metida en cultura sino a todo el mundo. Partimos a entregarlas al ENP, donde se van a pagar los ancianos, a las ferias, hasta mandamos a las comunas. Me acuerdo que a veces llegaba al campo o a Arauco y me entregaban una de estas revistas así como gran cosa. Yo les decía, "No, gracias, ya tengo copia. Entréguensela a otro." El último proyecto que presentamos al FONDART no ganó. Era sobre niños drogadictos.

Q
Cuéntame más del trabajo con los niños, sobre todo con niños con dificultades.

A1
Te voy a pasar este artículo publicado en *5 Sentidos* porque más o menos resume mi trabajo. Mi trabajo consiste en poder desarrollar el arte y el gusto por el arte en aquellos chiquillos que no tienen conocimiento. Los niños de poblaciones no conocen nada, absolutamente nada. Ni siquiera conocen su ciudad. Entonces, cuesta un mundo llegar con lo que uno aprende en la universidad. Tú tienes que enseñar esto y esto otro, hablar de los artistas internacionales, hablar de Miró y los cabros no tienen idea. Entonces uno empieza hablándoles de lo local. Muchos directores de escuela me presentan como el gran artista que tiene Chiguayante, alguien que ha ido al extranjero, que ha hecho esto, que ha ganado algunos premios, etcétera. Entonces, los cabros no lo creen. Creen que el profe está inventando un cuento. Entonces cuesta un mundo que ellos entiendan que yo soy artista porque ellos creen que soy profesor no más. Entonces yo me paso todo el año escolar enseñándoles historia, pero en relación primero a su comuna. Trato que ellos entiendan que pueden desarrollarse por sí solos y usar el conocimiento que tienen para desenvolverse en la vida. Y yo te digo, he trabajado muy bien con ellos a pesar de que algunos cabros son medio delincuentes. El que te quieran, que te digan "Profe" en la calle, que te besen, me llena de felicidad. Una vez me operé al corazón y cuando regrese al colegio a estar con ellos, me abrazaron, me entregaron cariño. Recibir ese cariño y meter el bichito de la cultura en la cabecita de algunos niños que no tenían conocimiento de esa cosa intelectual para mí es mucho más importante que la luca que se gana al fin de mes. Para mí el desarrollar el intelecto en los alumnos de escasos

recursos es genial, lograr que ellos entiendan que el arte es una de las cosas que los va a motivar y que les va a servir para ser mucho más sensibles cuando son profesionales.

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
Si me pudieras contar sobre tu experiencia como artista estando afuera de Chile. ¿Cómo ha sido esta dinámica?

A
Salí con una beca a estudiar literatura, con la esperanza de hacer teatro porque ésa era mi especialidad en ese momento en Chile. Estudiaba también literatura, pedagogía en español, ése fue el título que saqué de la Universidad de Concepción. Bueno, visto del punto de vista en esa época era totalmente concebible hacer ambas cosas, ¿no? Tener la profesión de profesor de español y luego hacer teatro. No es así en Estados Unidos, no, de la especialización. Es muy regida, no. Es muy terrible. Cuando llegué a Estados Unidos, me encontré con el problema que les costaba mucho entender cómo si yo estudiaba literatura, hacía investigación literaria, por qué entonces quería actuar además. Aun cuando estaba escribiendo trabajos sobre teatro hispanoamericano, la respuesta que se me daba era que eran cosas totalmente diferentes. Luego nunca pensé quedarme. Obtuve mi Master en Literatura pero, bueno, justamente entonces son los primeros años de Pinochet que era horrible y no había manera de volver y me quedé a sacar el doctorado, no. Ésa fue la razón y mi plan era volver y seguir en teatro. Pero el problema era que, eso lo que yo decía en la entrevista, con el teatro es mucho más difícil de emigrar realmente por una serie de motivos empezando que es un arte colectivo. Necesita director, actor y necesita un espacio también, un espacio físico donde presentar la obra y necesita un público al cual dirigirse, y eso fue la primera cosa que tuve que entender, no, que lo que yo escribía simplemente no iba a llegar al público norteamericano, no, e incluso al público hispano, no, sobre todo cuando vivía en Philadelphia, mi primera ciudad, no, que yo odié del primer momento y nunca me gustó. Pero luego tuve la suerte de ir a New York y allí entonces recuperé mi actividad teatral pero aun así, pese a que pude tomar muchos cursos y participar en talleres, no solamente de teatro sino que de literatura, aun así me encontraba desubicado en cuanto al teatro. De nuevo el mismo problema: los hispanos que vivíamos en Nueva York son muchos, no, de orígenes diversos y, claro, las experiencias de un cubano que abandonó Cuba es muy diferente a la nuestra y luego la cultura, la psicología es diferente. La formación teatral es otra. Era muy difícil establecer diálogos y ponerse de acuerdo en cuanto a eso. Estaban teatros hispanos cuyo objetivo era por lo general hacer obras que se leyeran en los liceos y en las universidades para que los estudiantes pudieran verlas, no. Entonces escogían obras que a mí a veces parecería bastante absurdo estar en Nueva York haciéndola, como *El sí de las niñas*, por ejemplo, no. Luego habían otras cosas interesantes. Era variado. El problema es cómo dialogar con un grupo tan, tan diverso, no, hispanoamericanos que se niegan a hablar en español o que en fin toda una gran variedad que imagino en Londres habrá algo así, probablemente no en la extensión como la hay en New York, no. Entonces eso dio por resultado que se me hacía dificilísimo escribir realmente teatro. Escribí una obra de la que hablamos, no, y es una obra que estaba totalmente desfasada por motivos políticos y por motivos de la sexualidad de la obra. En ese momento era inconcebible que se pudiera hacer en Chile. En Estados Unidos, hubiese tenido que darle énfasis quizás al aspecto sexual o convertirlo en, no, no, tal cual estaba era demasiada chilena la obra además. Entonces, bueno, escuché diferentes opiniones; estuve años trabajándola. Nunca la pude hacer y ahora la he releído y, bueno, Chile ha cambiado muchísimo también y de hacerse había que reescribirla y una serie de otros factores también porque me gusta el teatro - lo dije en un momento - es porque sentía yo que era un espacio de libertad. Era como un tercer espacio de libertad

donde uno podía realmente decir la verdad, expresarla con plena honestidad sin limitación. Me gusta actuar, me gusta el juego escénico a parte del aspecto lúdico de todo aquello. Pero fundamentalmente era eso. Quedó esa obra, digo yo, inconclusa porque, claro, no se pude presentar tal cual está. No he tenido tiempo de trabajarla y aunque hice mucho teatro como actor y como director. Empecé a entender la poesía, porque la poesía como todo arte está relacionada con texto, pero tiene más facilidad, además movilidad. Entonces escribí ese libro de poemas que mencioné y vamos a hacer una segunda edición. Es el motivo del viaje a Santiago y entonces no sabía lo que estaba haciendo desde un comienzo. Sabía que no iba a ser teatro porque no era teatral aunque parecía ser un. Después desarrollándola se transformó en poema. De allí entonces descubrí la expresión poética que es lo que he estado haciendo últimamente. La primera parte es una evocación nostálgica de Chile, específicamente de Concepción a través de una relación homosexual. Y es el volver después de trece años a ver esas personas en fin. Te voy a mandar un texto porque se me acabaron, para que lo mires. Y, bueno, lo escribí, no sé por qué, tenía la necesidad de escribirlo, y luego también inconcientemente, captar un momento en Concepción, en Chile político por último. La segunda parte estoy yo en Philadelphia. Tiene un ritmo totalmente diferente. Era mi experiencia. Por lo tanto no puede salir este recuerdo nostálgico fluido de la primera parte sino que fragmentado y violento, a veces sumamente violento, y eso era la experiencia de vivir en Nueva York, muy conflictiva, muy terrible. Entonces de allí debería ser la poesía. La narrativa, no. No sé. No sé narrar nada. No sé contar nada. Pero poesía, sí. Y es lo que he seguido haciendo. Y lo que quiero publicar ahora ya es bastante diferente. Ha pasado mucho tiempo. Y, bueno, estando en el extranjero como dije me ayudó mucho a reconsiderar esos aspectos de Chile también. La experiencia de volver la primera vez y luego de seguir volviendo. Y nunca pensé quedarme en Estados Unidos. Nunca pensé. Y además no fue nunca mi primera elección tampoco; era Europa, pero no pude encontrar la manera de ir y, bueno, era más fácil Estados Unidos. Luego entonces, bueno, viví en New York muchos años. Tuve mucha actividad con grupos hispanos, mucha actividad también con grupos chilenos que después se fue disgregando y el cambio radical vino cuando me fui a Ohio, muy diferente. New York es una ciudad internacional. Ohio, Cincinnati, es una ciudad muy norteamericana con muy pocos extranjeros y recuerdo cuando llegué a la salida del aeropuerto, lo primero que vi de Cincinnati: "*The All-American City*"... y de verdad hay muy pocos extranjeros, hispanos muy pocos. Creo con yo conté hasta seis chilenos en un área metropolitana de casi dos millones de habitantes, no. Hay muchos alemanes, eso sí, no, pero alemanes ya de varias generaciones de vivir allí. Una ciudad extraña, no. Entonces allí vino de nuevo la crisis: ¿yo qué tengo que ver con toda esta gente? ¿No? Y la universidad es un grupo muy cerrado. Vino la exigencia académica que es terrible en cuánto a publicación. Es un momento crítico en mi creación donde simplemente me aferré a la poesía. Luego lo del cine surgió milagrosamente, de donde menos esperaba. Un ex estudiante mío que luego estudió cine y quiso a filmar este cuento que había leído en mi clase y siempre había pensado en mí como personaje. Me había visto actuar. Entonces adaptó el cuento a Ohio. No se dice nunca que está filmado en Cincinnati, no. Se filmó allí y adaptarla al inglés por supuesto se hizo pensando también en un público norteamericano. Salió algo diferente al cuento. Y para mí la experiencia maravillosa - qué lástima que no vas a estar el martes cuando la voy a mostrar - una experiencia maravillosa porque la única vez que he trabajado con gente de Cincinnati, con actores y directores norteamericanos. Estaban muy contentos de trabajar en algo diferente porque por lo general todo lo que hacían era comercial en la televisión, como eso, y cuando hacían algo en cine era cine comercial. Este proyecto les entusiasmó y trabajamos muy bien. Fue la primera vez que yo vi donde se produjo una integración. Había muy pocos hispanos en el grupo. Y entonces, bueno, y en la segunda película de

este chico que la hizo en Colombia, también me dio un papel, no, y tiene mucho que ver con la violencia de Latinoamérica. Se va a estrenar ahora en Cartagena. La experiencia de trabajar en Colombia, donde nunca había estado, fue muy buena. Esta última etapa que yo consideraba la peor de mi vida en cuanto a la creación, a problemas de identidad de que estoy haciendo aquí en Ohio, ocurrió este milagro de poder actuar en cine además, algo que nunca había podido hacer. Entonces luego en cuanto a volver a Chile por supuesto que siempre fue mi intención pero me era muy difícil volver y traté varias veces de hacerlo, no. Pero, bueno fueron los momentos más difíciles y en el área donde yo trabajo es difícil reincorporarse. Vi la experiencia que tuvieron otros actores, actores importantes que luego quisieron volver y encontraron las puertas cerradas, no, y encontré como un resentimiento también con la gente que se fue, bastante sutil, que no se muestra cuando uno viene de visita. ¿Mm? Pero cuando uno viene con la intención de que me quiero quedar y realizar un proyecto, inmediatamente hay una reserva. En una época, lo noté fuertemente, no. Y es bastante lógico, no. Es decir que si yo me fui de la Universidad de Concepción y dejé un espacio libre allí, no. El peligro está en que vuelvo a quitárselo a alguien que pasó por un período mucho más difícil que el mío. Ese temor de la competencia y en el teatro por supuesto, no, es muy difícil. Uno abandona un espacio, luego lo recupera y viene el resentimiento: siempre la idea de que uno lo pasó mucho mejor en extranjero de lo que pasó aquí, no. Y es totalmente comprensible, no. Incluso yo tuve una oportunidad de encontrar un trabajo en Temuco y la ciudad no me entusiasmaba mucho, no. La conozco, no. Pero, bueno, era sí una buena entrada pero me enteré que era quitar el trabajo alguien que yo conocía y yo no habría podido vivir con esa culpabilidad, no, y no lo acepté. Fue la única vez que tuve una oferta concreta, no. Entonces luego fui abandonando la idea, la fui abandonando, no. Y luego Chile ha cambiado mucho. Hubo siete años que no pude venir y después he estado viniendo cada cierto tiempo y me he mantenido en contacto, sobre todo en Concepción. Después vino otro pedido. Es que mis padres estuvieron muy enfermos. Murieron. Entonces dos años de ir y venir pero directamente del aeropuerto a Concepción en fin. Luego mi padre lo llevamos al extranjero donde murió y pasaban cinco años sin venir y no pensaba venir todavía. Dije he ido mucho a Chile. Ha cambiado mucho. Me siento totalmente desubicado, no, con el Chile de hoy. Probablemente si me vengo a vivir en unos pocos meses ya estoy reintegrado. No lo sé. Pero ha cambiado muchísimo, no. De eso hablábamos con un amigo quien tiene una visión negativa. Mi visión es que ha cambiado muchísimo pero ésa es la realidad y con esa realidad hay que trabajar en vez de quejarse de que ya no es lo que era, no, y es fácil caer en eso. Yo también en un momento, no: llegar a Concepción y veía el teatro casi destruido, no, la actividad teatral después de la dictadura, un golpe fatal para el teatro. El grupo que se mantiene con mucha dificultad es el Teatro el Rostro, por ejemplo, no. Y mucha gente se ha ido. Mucha gente ha dejado el teatro. O sea que la dictadura afectó todo el país, afectó el teatro en general pero sobre todo Concepción que era un centro teatral importante en una época. La oferta teatral la veía totalmente destruida. Luego, por supuesto, físicamente las ciudades han cambiado. Lo que siempre he detestado - los *malls*, los centros comerciales, múltiplex - son un poquito *old-fashioned*, pasado de moda con eso - pero es que no lo puedo soportar en Estados Unidos, entonces me da muchísima rabia verlo aquí en Concepción, no, también y veo que ese mismo proceso que sucedió en los Estados Unidos. El centro se va hundiendo, va perdiendo, se va deteriorando, es lo mismo con las ciudades norteamericanas excepto que allá ha llegado a un nivel alarmante y el movimiento es tratar de alguna manera de recuperar el centro, no. En Cincinnati, yo me reconcilié por lo menos con el barrio donde yo vivo porque quiso instalar una cadena de McDonald's y el barrio entero se opuso. Bastante liberal para Cincinnati, muchos estudiantes, extranjeros, gente de allí, no, artistas. Entonces hay toda una ley que impide que en toda la zona donde yo

vivo no puede entrar ninguna cadena, ningún múltiplex y los cine arte están allí. Entonces veo que hay una preocupación por eso pero aquí está recién empezando el proceso, no. Entones, cuando entré al mall la primera vez, estaba una sola vez. Sé perfectamente bien, es como estar en Cincinnati porque son las mismas tiendas, más o menos la misma fisonomía, la misma arquitectura, los cines igual. Y, bueno, eso me afectó muchísimo. Ahora ¿cuáles son mis planes? Yo sigo pensando en volver, no. Quizás. Siempre viendo posibilidades. Bueno, me falta todavía algún tiempo para jubilar, no, pero hay leyes que me permiten hacerlo antes y si lo puedo combinar con las actividades, es una manera cómo podría hacerlo. Una época pensé simplemente dejarlo todo y venir a la aventura pero ya estoy un poco viejo para eso. [*laughs*] Entonces pienso en una forma más realista de hacerlo y ésa sería una posibilidad. Ahora volvería a Concepción no estoy seguro. Probablemente a Santiago que no lo sé realmente. No me siento para nada identificado con Estados Unidos como para pasar el resto de mi vida allí. Peor si jubilo. New York fue muy buena en una época realmente: una ciudad terrible pero tiene cosas muy positivas también. Fue importante en mi vida pero en este momento ya no po'. Además que ya es una ciudad excesivamente cara. El teatro, por ejemplo, la entrada al teatro cuesta cien dólares. Entonces ¿quién puede pagar eso? Bueno, los turistas, la gente de dinero, por lo tanto el teatro que se hace es para ese público. Y luego, bueno, dejó de interesarme el teatro sobre todo en New York, incluso de *off-off* Broadway. Realmente es imposible. Es tan excesivamente cara, tan extraordinariamente cara que no vale la pena venir allí en malas condiciones. Y luego lo veo muy diferente también. No solamente que Chile ha cambiado sino que ha cambiado New York también. Lo veo muy diferente New York también. No es la misma ciudad y no me siento identificado con esa ciudad tampoco. Es un problema grave, no. Y como decíamos el peligro de identificarse con un Chile que ya no existe, el peligro de la memoria, no, que afortunadamente yo he estado viniendo durante estos cinco años y luego cuando me fui después del golpe de estado, bueno, siete años que no vine, no. Ahí fue un plazo largo. Pero aparte de eso he estado viniendo constantemente. Entonces en este momento no tengo claro lo que voy a hacer, no. Tengo esperanza con esta segunda edición del libro y tengo otro libro listo para publicar, veré que pase con la obra del teatro. Voy a seguir viniendo, pero no me hago ninguna esperanza de que voy a poder volver. Voy a ver cómo se van desarrollando las cosas, no. Y la idea que, bueno, pienso yo realmente cuando llegué a Cincinnati, me vino una depresión espantosa, no. Y la Universidad incluso era muy conservadora. Y lo encontré como un gravísimo error haberme ido allí, no. En Inglaterra, en Escocia tú tienes un sistema diferente que el sistema norteamericano. El norteamericano está lo que se llama *tenure*: seis años de ser *Assistant Professor* a uno lo reevalúan, le revisan y ahí ven si lo dejan de planta. Si uno no es aprobado por el consejo, uno tiene que irse. Entonces en Ohio me dieron el *tenure* rápidamente y eso me atrapó en un momento. No me alegré mucho cuando me lo dieron, no, porque era una forma como de quedarme ahí. Todo el mundo me dijo hay que estar loco para dejar un *tenure* en este momento que está muy difícil. Bueno, para todo el mundo, en Estados Unidos también, es muy difícil encontrar trabajo. Le tenía odio Cincinnati, pero podía caer en una ciudad peor como Mississippi, por ejemplo, o Alabama, no eso sí que es horroroso, no. Lo pensé bien y, bueno, me fui quedando allí, pero muy a mi pesar y muy descontento y pensé que había cometido un grave error y eso había afectado mi carrera como creador y en fin me refugié en la poesía y hasta que sucede este milagro de hacer una película, entonces yo pienso si hubiese quedado en Nueva York o en otra parte probablemente nunca se habría tenido esa posibilidad, no, y luego me han sucedido otras cosas, no. De repente me llegan e-mails preguntándome si yo soy él que escribió el libro. Recibo satisfacciones así, digo, bueno, en realidad es un error mío pensar que a estas alturas ya nada va a suceder en la realidad. Es que muchas cosas pueden

suceder todavía. No sé cuál. Mi actitud ha cambiado. No estoy de acuerdo con la actitud de algunos amigos aquí penquistas que es totalmente negativa en cuanto a Concepción particularmente, en cuanto a la cultura en Chile. Quizás porque yo veo que es un proceso que se está sufriendo a nivel mundial también. No es solamente Chile. Pienso que hay dos opciones: o quejarse y no hacer nada o ver, bueno, cuál es la realidad exactamente, qué es lo que puedo hacer con más tranquilidad. Eso más o menos la respuesta. [*laughs*]

Q
¿A qué te refieres exactamente cuando me dices que no te identificas con Norteamérica?

A
Primero que he estado tanto tiempo allí. Tengo amigos norteamericanos. Y buenos amigos en realidad. Pero hay un límite. Hay un límite y un punto donde ya más allá no se puede avanzar, no, por ambos lados. Llegué yo a los 24 años a Estados Unidos de formación latinoamericana. En Nueva York que era difícil decirlo porque la gente es muy diferente, es tan variado pese a que como yo dije también es como una acumulación de grupos aislados, no. Tiene también ese defecto. Es cierto que es una acumulación de culturas pero sí existe la posibilidad de alternar con todo tipo de gente, no. De Latinoamérica, de Europa, de todas partes, no. Eso da la idea de no estar en Estados Unidos, estar en un lugar muy especial como un espacio que es como una síntesis, no, de muchas cosas, de muchos lugares. Pero en Cincinnati, por ejemplo, en Ohio, en general, en *Midwest*, incluso en el mundo académico, es una cultura tan diferente, tan pragmática, no. Por ejemplo, noto cosas que me han afectado y lo noto cuando vuelvo a Chile o cuando voy a Europa, el arte de conversar, de discutir qué lo que estoy haciendo en literatura, el norteamericano piensa que el profesor de literatura o el escritor, no, que es su trabajo y no tiene por qué estarlo compartiendo con nadie. Entonces eso hace que la comunicación en ese aspecto sea muy limitada. Todo lo contrario en Latinoamérica donde probablemente hablábamos demasiado, no, pero el placer de conversar y hasta las tres de la mañana discutiendo literatura, te fijas. Eso en Estados Unidos no se da, no. No existe. Está muy claro. Es mi trabajo. Y es mi posesión. No tengo por qué compartirlo, no. Y el miedo de que pueden copiarme también. Hay una cosa como utilitaria, pragmática en la cultura norteamericana que simplemente no comprendo. Me llevo mucho mejor con cualquier persona europea que con un norteamericano. Realmente pienso que hay punto que yo no comprendo en cuanto a las relaciones personales, por ejemplo, la mentalidad del norteamericano y lo veo en la Universidad misma. Como dije, mis compañeros, incluso los compañeros hispanos que tengo dado de estar mucho tiempo allí, entran en un sistema de competencia con el cual no me identifico. Y es muy fuerte el hecho que uno está en competencia, no. Vienen las evaluaciones todos los años y eso está clarísimo. Es una competencia terrible, no. Mucho más de lo que uno piensa. Eso puede suceder en todas partes del mundo pero también es difícil tenerle confianza a un norteamericano. ¿Mm? También. Ésa ha sido mi experiencia, no, que pueden ser muy amables pero llegado un momento de convivencia, como dicen, no, todo lo arreglan con, "*I'm so sorry*", o te pueden dar una puñalada por la espalda. Son exageraciones pero hay algo en eso. Noto que no tengo que ver mucho con ellos. Nunca he vivido mucho en Europa realmente pero sí he viajado mucho. Probablemente como no he vivido, no debería generalizar pero aun cuando sean países tan diferentes como Alemania, de una forma u otra - no sé por qué - hay un contacto más profundo del que puedo sentir con un norteamericano. También sobre todo del *Midwest* que es bastante conservador, bastante provinciano, bastante ignorante, no, en cuanto lo que sucede en el mundo. En fin, pienso que yo vivo allí, tengo mi trabajo allí pero no soy de allí, eso está clarísimo. Con el miedo a veces de estar tanto tiempo fuera de mi país, llega

un punto - lo he conversado con muchos - que del golpe nos convertimos en extranjeros en todas partes y llegamos a Chile, estamos desconectados, o Argentina o México, dónde fuera, y es como que uno se quedó sin país, no. Y en fin. Y luego, claro, si uno viene, como te dije, se encuentra con un Chile muy diferente, uno realmente no logra encajar bien. Sé de casos, todo tipo de casos: gente que después de mucho tiempo ha logrado reintegrarse; gente que nunca pudo que tuvo que volver y volver con un resentimiento, no, a otros países, no. Todo tipo de cosas, no. Pero en el caso mío, pienso que eso sería cuestión de tiempo, no. Bueno, ya no puedo escribir ese poema nostálgico angustioso porque ya veo las cosas de otra manera. Entonces es importante la escritura y es importante no olvidar que eso sucede también en Chile y en Estados Unidos también a diferencia de Europa o países como México, España. De aqui no se conserva memoria de nada. Absolutamente de nada. Es una sensación muy extraña, no. En cuanto a arquitectura, no hay nada interesante pero está la explicación de los terremotos pero aun así nunca, nunca hubo preocupación. Todo es imitación en cuanto a arquitectura que se hace en Europa o en Estados Unidos. Y entonces, bueno, he llegado a esa conclusión y particularmente en Concepción no hay esa conciencia de un pasado o de mantener una identidad. Todo lo contrario. Se olvida fácilmente. El teatro de la Universidad de Concepción vivió una época extraordinaria. La gente joven de teatro incluso lo vi en una presentación de un libro de Julio Escámez. Se mencionó el hecho que hubo una especie de conferencia sobre el Teatro en Concepción y en el público había gente que había sido fundadores de esto como Orieta Escámez. Yo también había estudiado en Ictus pero no estaba ahí en ese momento. Y, bueno, ni se le preguntó nada. Ni se les invitó simplemente por no saber. No saber. Y no se trajo exactamente las personas más indicativas y eso ya produjo una tensión muy grande, no, pero que yo no lo veía como una mala intención de excluir sino simplemente porque no se sabe lo que se hizo, no. Tampoco hay que caer en la cosa de que todo el pasado era mejor. El escribir es una forma de rescatar también ese pasado. Bueno, estuve viendo dos películas que se hicieron en Concepción y yo no tenía la más remota idea que había existido cine en Concepción en la época del cine mudo. Sabía que el cine chileno había sido muy importante en el cine mudo pero después que vino el cine sonoro, y el cine mexicano, argentino, europeo y norteamericano se hundió. No pudo competir. Pero yo no sabía que en Concepción había bastante. Entonces vi dos restauraciones y, claro, es una Concepción totalmente diferente. Obviamente porque una era de los años ‘30 y en casi un siglo ha cambiado mucho. Pero era un cine del cual yo no tenía idea que realmente existiera, no, y quiénes eran esos actores. Tratábamos de adivinar quiénes podían haber sido. No reconocimos a ninguno. Y además como las copias son tan malas, no parece el reparto tampoco, no. Ni se sabe quién la dirigió. Pero quedó, la película no está completa. Una película que debió haber sido de hora y media. Lo que tenemos es una hora donde obviamente faltan pedazos, saltos de narración de la película. Y la otra es una documental que es muy interesante de toda esa época de las minas de Schwager, toda una época, no, y es muy bien lo que han hecho, no, de recuperar eso, no. Sí. La obra de teatro que escribí estaba desfasada porque está ambientada en otro momento, no. Además se refiere a cosas muy específicas, aparecen personajes que son personajes políticos de Izquierda. Hablan con el código, con las palabras, con los términos que se usaban durante la época de Allende, no, y cuando la leía en Chile, tuve que hacer lecturas muy clandestinas porque era peligrosísimo leerla, no. Me criticaron mucho eso. Me dijeron que, “Esos términos no solamente no se usan sino que no quieren ni siquiera hablar de ellos”. Noté que ya entonces yo por estar en el extranjero estaba recordando un Chile. Para que la obra hubiera funcionando bien, habría tenido que venir aquí y trabajar con un grupo, un taller, porque ya mi experiencia es diferente. Incluso lingüísticamente era diferente en cuanto a las expresiones, la manera de expresarse y todo. Muy diferente. Y, claro, el teatro depende

del contexto. Yo estaba en un contexto muy extraño, muy interesante como Nueva York pero entonces me salía extraño también. Porque en Nueva York la leí y le hicieron bastantes críticas que era un texto imposible de hacer que se podía trabajar, pero había que cambiar muchas cosas para que pudiese llegar y nunca la hice. Entonces cuando me preguntan de ese texto. Ahí lo tengo guardado. Tendría en un momento que, y lo voy a hacer no sé cuando, sentarme y releer todo eso y ver de allí qué puedo rescatar y reescribir. Pero, volviendo al comienzo, no, sí estoy seguro que para un dramaturgo es muy difícil emigrar. A menos que sea emigrar a los diez años o llevar toda una vida afuera, no, ya haberse integrado por completo. Eso es lo que sucede también con muchos chilenos y, bueno, con todo extranjero que ha llegado por diversos motivos a Estados Unidos. Bueno, los hijos ya ni siquiera quieren hablar en español. Entonces, cuesta pensar que con padres chilenos estos niños son absolutamente norteamericanos y se identifican con Estados Unidos. No en todos los casos pero frecuentemente no quieren saber nada por el español ni quieren volver a Chile ni nada porque obviamente ellos crecieron así. En ese caso... si ése hubiese sido mi caso probablemente hubiese escrito en extranjero pero ya llegué allá con una formación determinada y, como dije, siempre se crea ese problema de identificación, que es lo que le sucede a la mayoría de la gente en extranjero, pero hay otro factor también en el caso mío. En cierto modo, no era mi primera elección. Estados Unidos no estaba en los primeros lugares de, nunca lo tuve mucha simpatía. Nunca me gustó mucho. O sea, yo pensaba, España tampoco porque, bueno, sí después España cambié, cambié mi actitud porque España ha cambiado también, pero en esa época cuando yo salí todavía estaba Franco. Pero sí pensaba en Francia, Inglaterra, Alemania. En algún lugar en Europa o Argentina, pero claro. Buenos Aires, me atrajo mucha esa cuidad. Siempre pensé en ciudades así. Nunca pensé en Estados Unidos. Entonces llegué con una actitud también de parte mía que pienso fue un error pero no podía haberme sentido de otra manera sobre todo por la participación de Estados Unidos con la dictadura. Llegué con una actitud de rechazo y esa actitud de rechazo me duró hasta que llegué a New York donde disminuyó porque la experiencia fue diferente. Y luego, bueno, con el tiempo he ido apreciando que tiene cosas positivas también. No todo es tan blanco y negro, no como lo veía yo en un comienzo, que es lo que sucede a muchos latinoamericanos, no: un rechazo total y absoluto. Entonces me parece que es un error también. Un error. Y, bueno, entonces eso impidió probablemente que me integrara más en un comienzo. En un comienzo exactamente por esa actitud. No sé qué hubiera pasado si me hubiera ido a Europa. Ya no lo puedo saber, no. En fin. Y París, claro, fue mi opción número uno. Estuve varias veces y era el París imaginario que teníamos todos. En el fondo es una ciudad muy bonita pero yo no sé si hubiera sido mucho mejor vivir allí. Más difícil obviamente porque es aun más difícil encontrar trabajo en los Estados Unidos, no, también, no, por lo menos en nuestras áreas. Londres me atraía por el teatro. Por supuesto, no. Y he estado muchas veces y es inútil pensar qué hubiera sucedido, no, o si me hubiese quedado que era la otra alternativa también. Tengo muchas dudas y quise volver, la cuestión estaba tan terrible que me volví otra vez a terminar el doctorado y me quedé hasta que lo terminé y entré la ruta académica.

Q
¿Has seguido el desarrollo de la política cultural? ¿Cuál es su impacto?

A
Sabes que de eso me he venido a enterar ahora aquí, no. No estuve muy al tanto de eso. Y luego la realidad es que tenía conocimiento muy general, siempre muy escéptico en cuanto a ese tipo de actividades pero no sabía mucho y es ahora que me he enterado

incluso y me voy lleno de formularios para llenar con posibilidades de hacer cosas aquí, no. Entonces lo vengo sabiendo ahora y eso, por ejemplo, es una posibilidad, no. No de venirme inmediatamente pero sí me encantaría tener un proyecto. Eso sería una buena manera de ir volviendo de a poco, no, con un proyecto, no. He tratado muchas veces en la Universidad donde trabajo conseguir fondos para proyectos y nunca me ha resultado porque siempre tiene que ser cosas total y absolutamente académica de investigación. Entonces cuando propongo algo creativo, me dicen, "¿Por qué? Si esto no es un departamento ni de teatro, ni de música, ni de creación colectiva." Son terribles. En fin. Pero entonces, bueno, voy a ver. Espero que sí que resulte, no. Tengo que pensarlo. Lo tengo que estudiar. Y sí, claro, indica que hay una preocupación que antes no había. Eso sí, no. Cinco años atrás. Hubo becas de alguna forma u otra, no, pero por lo que me han contado, que es poco todavía, me da la impresión que es un buen síntoma, no.

Q
¿Cuál es el espacio que Chile necesita, que tú necesitas para que este recurso intelectual, para así decir, estos chilenos que están flotando afuera de Chile puedan encontrar una entrada?

A
Sabes que no sabría cómo contestarte. Te podría decir que sería un espacio que habría que crear, no venir a ocupar. En mi caso particular, mis padres han muerto. Mi espacio son los pocos amigos que tengo, no. Voy a la Universidad de Concepción y es una sensación rara que yo me formé en esa Universidad tanto como en pedagogía como en teatro, no, y es una sensación bastante rara, no, porque lo siento como que es mi espacio afectivamente. Me siento más identificado con eso que cualquiera de los otros espacios donde he estado como la Universidad de Pennsylvania, por ejemplo, donde saqué el doctorado finalmente, no. Yo trabajé en Barnard College en New York y luego Cincinnati. Esta Universidad la siento más como mía pero luego entro y no conozco a nadie, excepto unos dos profesores o tres y luego veo, no sé describir cómo, los estudiantes son diferentes. Una vez me invitaron a hablar en una clase, una sensación bien extraña porque, bueno, me encontré con un grupo diferente por las preguntas que hacían. Fue bastante interesante pero de repente vi un estudiante allí que de alguna manera era exactamente igual que yo y produjo una sensación bien especial, no, y quise después al final preguntarle, acercarme, ir a conversar con él. De repente noté que yo tenía una visión desde afuera, pero necesitaba más tiempo que el que tenía para realmente comprender ese grupo de estudiantes que obviamente tiene que ser diferente a 25 años atrás. Esa otra mentalidad, con otros profesores, otra situación, no, pero no he tenido la oportunidad como profesor. Tendría que venir a hacer clases y estar un tiempo con estudiantes y todo. No sé cuál sería mi espacio. Habría que crearlo simplemente. No lo hay. No lo hay. No lo hay. En Cincinnati, creé mi propio espacio que es mi departamento, donde me aíslo a escribir y leer y tengo mis espacios también, no, pero son como burbujas y mías, no duraderas y, bueno, no pensaba yo venir a Chile en este momento. Pensaba venir después por lo del libro pero la película en Colombia se va a estrenar esta semana y se postergó un mes. Dije, "Bueno, ¿para qué voy a ir a Colombia si se postergó la película? Ya conozco Colombia." Se me ocurrió la idea de cambiar el pasaje y vine mucho antes de lo que esperaba. Pero cuando iba a llegar a Concepción, dije, "Ya, ¿adónde voy a llegar?" Por eso llegué aquí a este hotel y me siento rarísimo en mi ciudad. Por primera vez en mi vida estoy en un hotel y, claro, me han ofrecido amigos pero prefiero estar en un hotel para tener una independencia a llegar a la hora que quiero y puesto que es poco tiempo puedo organizarme mejor que estando en casa de amigos, no. Pero fue una sensación extraña. Otra sensación muy

extraña, fue ir a ver mi casa que ya la vendimos donde yo viví desde dos años de edad, no. Ver otra gente allí fue una experiencia bien fuerte, muy violenta. Ya no es mi casa, no. Se vendió a otra gente viviendo allí, no. Bien difícil describir la sensación. Iba preparado así que no me deprimió pero de todas maneras fue una sensación extraña. Por otro lado, fue una manera de ver, es un pasado que ya no existe y la casa significa eso. Se terminó un período y si quiero volver, tendría que empezar de cero y crear mi propio espacio. No sé cuán fácil, cuán difícil sería, no, pero habría que crearlo, tal cual en estos momentos creo que no existe, tanto para la gente que vive en el país como fuera. Aquí en Concepción sobre todo la gente de teatro encontrar siquiera un espacio donde ensayar, no, es dificilísimo. Ha sido dificilísimo hasta el día de hoy, la gente ha tratado de hacer teatro. No sé qué más responderte al respecto. Curiosamente en el libro que estoy escribiendo en mi carrera de investigación - que yo separo de la parte creativa aunque podría ser creativa también - estoy trabajando los espacios también en el cine, el espacio gay. Estoy trabajando sobre ese tema y estaba lidiando mucho con los conceptos de espacio que hay en teoría. Desde el punto de vista espacial, Concepción, que me hicieras esa pregunta es curioso que justamente combinara con lo que estoy haciendo en cine, no, no en cine chileno, obviamente no hay que yo sepa ninguna película donde se presente eso o puede que sí tangencialmente en algunas cosas que se han hecho ahora último que es lo que quiero investigar en Santiago. Pero sí en España, sí en México y en Argentina y eso me alegró que me haya permitido trabajar en cine y no en teatro. Aun les molesta que yo actúe porque para la otra película tuve que pedir permiso sin goce de sueldo para poder ir a hacer la película en Colombia, no. No les gustó nada. No les gustó nada. Bueno pero explíquenme entonces a ustedes sí les parece muy bien que yo escriba sobre cine pero no puedo hacer cine. ¿Cuál es la explicación para eso? Segundo, que para poder escribir sobre cine, hay que tener experiencia. Como en el teatro ¿no? Hay que tener experiencia también en cuanto a lo qué es actuación, la producción de una película. Son niveles que quiero incluir. No voy a trabajar solamente sobre los guiones y las fotografías que tenga de las películas. Ahí hay un diálogo en la academia norteamericana que yo no comprendo y no voy a comprender nunca. Pero la idea de la especialización es terrible, destruyente realmente. Al punto que tengo tres currículums diferentes dependiendo de qué voy a hacer. Si quiero postular a algo en cine o en teatro, tengo uno donde menciono muy poco la parte académica. Tengo otro académico donde pongo en misceláneo la parte de cine y de teatro, y tengo otro donde sencillamente no menciono. Todo depende, no, consejos que me han dado, no. Tuve problemas en un comienzo: ¿qué es esta persona que actúa, que dirige, que escribe poesía, que luego hace investigación? ¿En qué está exactamente? ¿Se va a dedicar o no? ¿Se va a especializar? Y volviendo a la pregunta, creo que son espacios que hay que crear y uno no los puede venir a crear desde afuera. Tienen que crearse desde adentro, no. Venir con un proyecto, no. Es otra cosa también. Nunca venir con una idea preconcebida de lo que va a ser. Ésos son muchos errores que yo he cometido también, no. Llegar dispuesto a que eso surja de la realidad misma si no va a funcionar. Supongamos que vuelva a hacer teatro y vuelvo con el mismo criterio que tenía antes en cuanto a la visión nostálgica de un pasado, bueno, creo que iría en un camino equivocado. De hecho me sucedió en una oportunidad, no. Un diálogo difícil con la gente de teatro. Porque yo insistía recuperar un momento. Intentamos ensayar una obra y no resultó. Y ahora entiendo, claro, que ellos tienen otro ritmo de vida. Ya no es el teatro como lo concebíamos en esa época. Nunca se le concibió como una manera de sobrevivencia o de ganar mucho dinero. Siempre había fondos de algún tipo o todos trabajábamos en otra cosa, estudiábamos. Pero ahora no. Para un grupo de teatro como El Rostro para sobrevivir tiene que hacer clases de actuación en diversos lugares, hacer muchas obras infantiles, cosas comerciales. Ya es otro ritmo. Es otro ritmo. Entonces naturalmente esa

magia que tenía, el teatro, esa mística que tenía la ha perdido, pero yo no lo puedo criticar por eso porque si yo me hubiese quedado la habría perdido también, no. Sigo pegado en un pasado que es muy fácil. Seguro que la mayoría de la gente que ha vivido en el extranjero, ya sea como exiliados, como inmigrante por mucho tiempo, no, han cometido el mismo error: quedarse con el país que uno dejó, no.

Q
¿Cómo sitúas el arte dentro del proceso de desarrollo nacional y cómo te posicionas dentro de ese proceso?

A
¿Posicionarme yo en ese proceso? Es justamente el problema. No sé cómo lo haría, no. Como digo, hay que desarrollar una perspectiva desde adentro, no. Hay que aprovechar el aspecto positivo de haber vivido afuera aun cuando la experiencia a través de la poesía, no necesariamente el teatro. No estoy seguro, no, pero obviamente que es importante porque una de las cosas que sufrió mucho durante la dictadura es la área cultural artística, de creación y ese daño se nota fuertemente. No puedo concebir una cultura sin desarrollo artístico realmente profundo, no. Veo que se está tratando de hacer. Lo veo, no. Veo síntomas buenos, no, aunque todavía sea incipiente, sean pocos, como sea. Una de las cosas que me ha angustiaba también de venir sobre todo a Concepción en la época de Pinochet era que la vida artística prácticamente era inexistente. No había. Habían unas cosas pero muy poco, no, y sin ningún apoyo, en condiciones muy difíciles. Cuando nosotros estudiamos, estábamos mucho más expuestos a la cultura, al arte que lo que estaría un estudiante ahora, por ejemplo, no, pensándolo de ese punto de vista. No teníamos las ventajas pero afortunadamente no teníamos las desventajas del Internet, por ejemplo, o de la televisión, no. La televisión sí pero eso es uno de los puntos, no lo digo tan sólo porque sea el área la cual yo trabajo, el área en la cual me desempeño pero una de las cosas que me angustiaba en Chile, no, era esa interrupción del proceso artístico que lo vi muy mal por mucho tiempo, no, por mucho tiempo. Obviamente por una dictadura lo primero que sufre es el teatro. Las primeras escuelas que se cierran en las universidades son las de teatro y las de sociología. Bueno. El teatro es uno de los que más sufre al respecto, no. La dictadura va creando una mentalidad utilitaria en todos sentidos, no. Me parece que el arte cumple un papel fundamental, fundamental, y espero que estos síntomas yo veo ahora último, no, efectivamente se desarrollen. Efectivamente que hay una preocupación mucho mayor al respecto. En Santiago en un momento me angustiaba cuando abría la cartelera y no reconocía a casi nadie porque son actores jóvenes. Eso es un buen síntoma. Hay mucho teatro muy interesante, no, y sí hay mucha gente joven haciéndolo, y mucho cine también, eso me sorprendió aun más, entonces eso sí es muy, muy positivo.

Interview with visual artist, second generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo artístico y tu relación con Concepción.

A
Yo tengo una idea. A mí me parece que Concepción tiene de todo para ser una, no sólo todo lo que ya es, más todavía, digamos, como lugar, como centro cultural, como lugar para vivir y desarrollarse personalmente. Tiene de todo. Hay universidades, hay una actividad comercial importante, hay actividad cultural significativa. Pero hay un problema: hay un desconocimiento del propio Ser, del propio Yo, del penquista. Y también es un mal endémico porque es nacional. Siempre estamos pensando que lo de afuera es lo mejor y no asume su propia realidad, disfrutando de sus logros, disfrutando de los progresos y de lo especial que es vivir en este lugar. Conversaba con un australiano y me decía, "Concepción es como Sydney". Afortunadamente, decía, Sydney jamás ha perdido una esencia de pueblo y la ciudad es vivible y es harmónica en ese sentido. Claro, aquí un poco más frío que Sydney pero eso tal vez puede mandar un poco la actitud de la gente pero me decía, "Concepción podría ser la Sydney de este lugar de Sudamérica porque Sydney es una ciudad espectacular. No hay otra." Algún día iré a Sydney. Me interesa. Un lugar bien bonito.

Q
El orden no importa. Lo importante es que me narres tu experiencia como artista, tus lazos con Chile, tus lazos con Concepción. ¿Cómo ha sido la acogida aquí en Concepción de tu trabajo? ¿Cuáles son las intenciones detrás de tu trabajo?

A
Mira, yo soy un ser muy ambicioso y tal vez eso, en términos de moverse y querer llegar a tal vez a comunicar algo y a sentir que eso llegó y tiene un recorte de retorno. Entonces, claro, yo estudié, me formé como artista aquí en la Universidad de Concepción y en esa época desconocía completamente lo que era ser un artista. Cuando llegué, tenía otra idea de lo que era ser un artista. Para mí, un artista era pintar lindo y pintar lindo significaba pintar bien los paisajes y tratar bien la luz. Hasta allí llegaba mi concepto de la plástica. Entonces todo lo que era el arte moderno era una especulación brutal sin mucho asunto en esa época. Entonces me cerraba a esta idea del arte abierto. ¿Qué es lo que es? En realidad no tenía idea de lo que era arte. Llegué odiando a Picasso. Dalí me parecía un loco más. En realidad me gustaban sus pinturas pero no sentía una cosa allí de interés intelectual fino. No obstante, tenía la idea de transformarme en un artista plástico. Al final, cuando salí de la escuela de arte, me daba cuenta que el taller de un artista podría parecerse muchísimo a un taller de un químico o un físico porque habían distintas esencias, jugabas con el calor o con el frío, con ácidos, podías trabajar con metal. Te interesaba la presión de una prensa, por ejemplo para obtener un resultado equis. Era un mundo inmenso y además extra o mejor dicho la parte más jugosa del asunto era que se involucraba con la filosofía y con la historia y con muchas cosas que en realidad jamás había pensado que el arte podía ser o tener un aspecto tan completo. En ese momento, mi ambición, en sentido de la ambición, quedaba bastante satisfecha y en realidad consideré que tenía poca vida para mi ambición enorme y me repliqué hacia adentro, hacia una búsqueda interior, una búsqueda espiritual, dando tumbo porque la idea estaba clara adentro de una nube porque en realidad había que despejarla y saber qué era lo espiritual que me interesaba,

o sea, no tenía que ver con una iglesia en particular ni ese tipo de cosa. Era una búsqueda intensa. En todo caso sentía la obligación de buscar intensamente en este sentido espiritual. Y, bueno, hice un recorrido por algunas iglesias y sectas las cuales me enseñaron a conocer diversas posturas a la par dentro de la misma plástica no había una conexión, no había una amalgama todavía entre la intención de vida, de persona con lo que iba viviendo en cuanto al espíritu. Y tampoco tenía la idea de hacer un arte determinado para una secta o una iglesia. No era la idea. Hasta - ¿qué sé yo? - de alguna manera sentía que el arte tenía que tener, debía tener un motivo principal digamos muy, muy fuerte, muy impregnante. Me fui buscando. Primero estuve en iglesias protestantes, conociendo, conversando, discutiendo. Con amigos judíos también. Curiosamente nunca con musulmanes pero sí con la iglesia de la llamada New Age. Y escuchamos la música y todo ese tipo de cosa. No sé. Era un viaje, en realidad. Era la necesidad ansiosa imperiosa de buscar y buscar y buscar. Luego cuando viajé a Alemania y viví en Alemania, fue un período en el cual no tuve contacto con guías espirituales pero sí el no saber el idioma y no poder comunicarme me obligó a meterme muy adentro mío y hacer una especie de introspección y la cotidianidad me mandaba, la sobreviviencia me mandaba a hacer ciertas cosas que a la postre fueron significando hitos importantes. Por ejemplo, en Alemania yo me acerqué lo más que pude jamás imaginar a mi esencia indígena. Acá en Chile por moreno que sea jamás me relacionan con un indio y yo tampoco vivo esa realidad. Estando en Alemania - ¿qué sé yo? - mi sobrevivencia me mandaba a tocar la quena, instrumento del norte - ¿no cierto? - de Chile, Argentina, Bolivia y Perú, a tocar la quena en la calle y así me iba convirtiendo más indio de lo que podía haber sido jamás acá en Chile. Y eso me gustaba. O sea, me puse el poncho. Me puse el chullo. Me puse el disfraz de indio pero a la vez me iba reconociendo como tal. Mi abuelo era mapuche completamente, pero aquí uno como chileno se desconoce esa cualidad de indígena. Allá la empecé a enriquecer, digamos, a cuidar y empezó a crecer. Luego cuando me fui a México decir que yo tenía un pariente mapuche era para la risa porque allí parezco europeo, ¿me entiendes? Entonces igual era como volver un parte, digamos, a Chile pero con otra característica. Ahí lo importante, digamos, de este juego fue, era divertida esta comparación. Era divertido yo encontrarme diciendo, “Bueno, mi abuelo era mapuche.” “¿Y a mí que?” en realidad, los mexicanos. Aquí se hablan no sé cuantas lenguas - trescientas, dicen - distintas en México. El mismo Ciudad de México salen dieciséis lenguas distintas. Entonces, “¿A mí qué?” Claro con la única salvedad que yo podía decir: “Soy indígena del sur”. Bueno, lo interesante de esa estadía en México fue reconocer otras verdades, otras cosas. Enfrentarme, por ejemplo, al contacto con personas que te miraban distinto. No por tu apariencia externa sino por tu cualidad, digamos, lo espiritual. El mexicano es muy sensible. No todos, por supuesto, pero hay muchos artistas en México pero de repente aparece un chaman que no anda en vestido de chaman y te reconoce una cualidad interesante y te da un toque y ve cómo tú reaccionas y sigue y avanza y sigue, hay una comunicación ahí. Te va adoptando y yo me hice adoptar. Entonces yo creo que buena parte mía de adiestramiento en esta ansiedad de conexión con la cualidad espiritual del ser humano se dio en México en manera muy intensa y ahí también con la obra de la pintura. Entonces tú me preguntas de alguna manera si me siento más chileno o más europeo o más mexicano. Me siento parte de todo un poco, pero también creo que algo que más define es ser un ciudadano del mundo y criado en el siglo veinte donde la televisión para mí fue dar la vuelta al mundo en un instante. La ventana que me mostraba lo que estaba sucediendo en la luna a miles de kilómetros de la Tierra o lo que estaba sucediendo al otro lado del planeta o una pelea de box de un chileno en Tokio o la primera operación de corazón en Valparaíso o Santiago, digamos, la segunda

aquí en Chile digamos. Entonces esa cultura, yo cuando me acerco a las raíces no puedo olvidar que mis raíces también son parte de la tecnología y de los bites y de la iluminación que ya sobrepasó las velas hace muchos años aunque se siguen usando las velas. Entonces es "con", no "o". Y allí ¿cuál es la conexión con la plástica? Bueno, la plástica, tú viste mi exposición que está abajo, hay una cantidad de elementos que son transculturales, son elementos, hay escrituras que parecen que no fuera español. En realidad no es nada. Parece árabe o parece chino o parece hebreo. En los textos pongo cosas que sí se entiendan porque me interesa que se lean y otras veces los tapo a propósito. Esto es porque también hay una conexión con lo social: destapar mensajes, destapar realidades. Y es vivenciar de alguna manera la falta que me hace ciertas realidades que fueron omitidas para mí, o sea, a propósito. Yo en mis pinturas no estoy denunciando una muerte, no estoy denunciando - ¿qué sé yo? - una atrocidad del ser humano. Tal vez a lo que más llego es a denunciar el asesinato cultural con este tipo de actitud, cuando tapo cosas.

Q
¿Cómo te relacionas con el resto de los artistas chilenos de tu generación? ¿Te sientes identificado con lo que hacen? ¿Hay un trabajo en común? ¿Van ustedes hacia el mismo objetivo?

A
Más me pasaba antes. Mire, lo que pasa es que en este momento estoy en un período de cambio. Bueno, los artistas siempre están en un período de cambio pero hay un eje en el cual llegué. Y esta exposición aquí en Concepción no es ninguna casualidad. Yo vivo en Santiago pero yo pertenezco a una generación de artistas plásticos de acá en Concepción que se dio con una intensidad sin parangón en la historia de la plástica en Concepción ni en Chile. En Chile existen tres polos de la cultura: está Santiago, está Concepción y Valparaíso. Bueno, acá en Concepción en los años ochenta se dio un eje importante. Salieron algunos grupos: el grupo Grisalla. Otro grupo Taller Bajo Techo. Y personalidades como la mía, digamos, que sin estar en un grupo haciendo, digamos, comunidad, nos destacábamos. Obviamente no era solo, hay otros personajes también. Pero si estoy en Santiago y me identifican con Concepción y me dicen "Grisalla", yo digo "¡Qué bueno!" Porque en realidad no les voy a explicar. Soy amigo de los Grisalla, amigo de los Bajo Techo. Ya no existen los Grisalla ni Bajo Techo pero, claro, hay un factor en común: Concepción. Y el factor común también está en la escuela de arte en Concepción. En ese período si bien no había un maestro que iluminara al resto o a los artistas plásticos que se estaban formando, lo singular del asunto estaba en que entre nosotros, iluminados mutuamente, y yo te digo no es una invención ni es una especie de idolatría, es la pura y santa verdad porque el único maestro que podría haber estado iluminando el resto era parte también del movimiento. La diferencia era que era un poco mayor que nosotros. Porque tampoco hubo una dirección así como filosófica como, "Vamos a hacer esto ya porque ésta es la línea a seguir", digamos, como cuento plástico pictórico para generar un movimiento. Jamás se pensó en eso.

Q
Si me pudieras contar sobre la formación en la Universidad de Concepción. Hiciste una distinción entre la formación en el extranjero, los énfasis que les dan.

A

La formación que tuvimos nosotros en la escuela de Concepción era bastante técnica y muy centrada en el dibujo, en el dominio del dibujo. Y eso hace una diferencia entre las demás escuelas de arte de este país hasta el día de hoy. La escuela de Concepción tiene, digamos, esa particularidad. Hay otras escuelas acá en Chile que tiene algo similar que es la escuela de la Universidad Finis Terrae que la ordenó un profesor que se fue de aquí a Santiago. También eso es interesante porque desde provincia se fue a la capital a hacer una escuela de arte o a ordenar el cuento. Interesantísimo. O sea, es una conexión y se le dio mucho énfasis también a la parte del dibujo, dibujo como tal, como dominio de sus cualidades plásticas, digamos, cierto - no rigor - sino atención en la facturación del asunto, en el hacer. Como nada es estático, la personalidad de la escuela Finis Terrae también tiene su sello distinto. Y el color también fue muy riguroso para nosotros. Teníamos un maestro, Eduardo Meissner, que nos dio una formación del color con una metodología de Bauhaus. Entonces, eso fundamentó todo lo que tú conoces. Ahora, hay un factor interesante, factor social: en aquella época estábamos terminando lo que es el período de la dictadura. De alguna manera también sentíamos que venían nuevos aires, venía otra cosa distinta y en esa época tal vez a nosotros del movimiento plástico de ese momento se nos pueda apuntar con el dedo que no nos comprometimos socialmente, al menos no demasiado. Pero sí estábamos apuntando tal vez con una conciencia superior. Era como un poco lógico. La cosa iba a cambiar igual y tal vez sentíamos con mayor certeza que iba a cambiar a tal cual como está hoy, que los espíritus idealistas de la época si hubiesen visto la foto de hoy, hubiesen dicho, “Euch, así no lo quiero”.

Q
¿Qué crees le falta a la formación de artistas en Chile?

A
Creo que a la formación de artistas le falta una pregunta que es fundamental al momento de entrar a comprometerse con la plástica. Es: “¿Qué quiero yo del arte? ¿Qué tiene que ver conmigo el arte? ¿Y hasta dónde?” Eso más que nada. Mira, no lo voy a explicar porque en realidad esto dice mucho: “¿Qué quiero yo del arte?” Y tal vez con esa pregunta, uno se clarifica o se enfoca con respecto a esto que no sabemos. En el arte no sabemos qué es, no tenemos idea qué es el arte realmente. Le damos nombre a unas cosas estéticas que le llamamos que es arte pero no le podemos poner una escarapela y decir esto es arte.

Q
Cuando estás aquí en Chile y te relacionas con aquellos artistas que nunca han viajado, ¿sientes que hay una diferencia? Si tú pudieras lanzarme algunas ideas sobre cuáles son los puntos de convergencia, puntos en común entre un grupo de chilenos y otros.

A
Bien difícil tu pregunta. Bueno, hay cosas en común pero a ver si te logro satisfacer un poco con esto. Uno se pregunta ¿qué es lo chileno? ¿Qué es ser chileno? Y a veces la respuesta está en, “Bueno, nosotros decimos ‘garabatos’, nos comemos la ‘s’”. Te das cuenta, por ejemplo, yo no me como tantas “eses”. Las aprendí a pronunciar, no sé, un poco tal vez por querer comunicarme más claramente con otra gente que no hablaba “chileno”. El chileno es prácticamente un idioma, un dialecto. Y no es un dialecto porque sea mal hablado no más. Las groserías es mal hablar pero hay otras cosas que tienen que ver con una raíz étnica. Nosotros no decimos “trabajo”, mira nosotros, no decimos

así solamente porque se nos ocurrió. Hay una razón étnica ahí con los mapuches. Esa palabra o ese sonido es indescriptible para transformarla en una letra que debiera ser digamos. El idioma chileno debiera tener una letra especial, no cierto, para designar ese sonido. Entonces actualmente la gente dice, “trutro de pollo”. Sin embargo la palabra “pierna” en mapuche es “trutro” y de ahí viene. Entonces ahí hay una cuestión que en parte es un desconocimiento del entorno, de la realidad. Ahora ¿en qué nos parecemos? Fíjate que estando en Europa yo jugaba mucho cuando andaba paseando en Roma o en Bélgica y mirábamos la gente decíamos, “Éste es chileno”, sin siquiera escuchado. Hay una manera típica de caminar inclusive, como arrancando del terremoto que va a venir. Entonces hay ciertos factores comunes, digamos, de identidad. Son desconocidos porque no nos fijamos. Hay también un sentido solidario humano de tribu tal vez que lo tiene todo el mundo pero acá se da con una intensidad superior y a veces tiende un poco a formar ghetto. Cuando el chileno está en extranjero tiende a pensar que su cazuela es mejor cosa que nada y eso está bueno. Es chauvinista pero está bueno, digamos, porque es un factor de unión. Esto demanda un montón de otras cosillas en el medio. No soy sociólogo, pero por ahí digamos va un poco la cosa.

Q
Si pudiéramos ahora discutir acerca de la política cultural. ¿Cómo la sientes? ¿Cómo crees que se están produciendo espacios de expresión, exploración en el arte, espacios de intercambio? ¿Qué tanto están funcionando?

A
Funciona. Funciona en relación a los que, a los que están gobernando este asunto, no el Gobierno del Presidente, sino los que están encargados del cuento plástico, los que recibieron la misión. Funciona y funciona muy efectivamente. Ahora la pregunta es si es tanto más adecuada o no. Entonces, y tanto más adecuada o no de acuerdo a esta realidad y no a lo que está sucediendo en la Meca del arte, en Nueva York, sobre todo porque lo que está pasando en Nueva York ya pasó en relación de lo que se está haciendo aquí hoy. Y este interés de hacer del arte una cosa pesada, intelectualoide más que intelectual. Tal vez yo no digo que está completamente obsoleta, es interesante pero no es todo, entonces si tengo que hacer una crítica en realidad es por ahí, digamos. Funciona pero si es más adecuado o no está en cuestión. Es bueno que tengamos ese cuestionamiento también, ahora lo mejor sería que esos cuestionamientos fueran escuchados o bien publicados. Hay opción ahora, una opción muy democrática que me encanta que es en Internet, tú puedes - qué sé yo - escribir todo lo que quieras y nadie va a decir nada.

Q
¿Y qué te parece todo este proceso de llenar formularios? ¿Te ha tocado hacer eso?

A
Sí claro y afortunadamente nunca me han dado ningún FONDART. Es bueno, fíjate, bueno que exista. Creo que lo más valioso del FONDART está en que tú ordenas tu proyecto de tal manera que si no tienes financiamiento sabes exactamente cuánto vale y cuánto cuesta. Ahora sufrimos, y no solamente en el terreno del arte, sino sufrimos el síndrome del “proyectisimo”. Aquí para casi todo hay que hacer proyectos, para todo. La necesidad de tener confianza en las capacidades y cualidades de un ser humano. Por ejemplo, darle la misión a alguien, “Ya anda, hazlo, yo confío en que tú lo vas a hacer bien”. Está en juego tu prestigio también. Entonces si vas a hacer una tontera, el único

que pierde eres tú. Yo con ciertas atribuciones digo, “Por favor no me preguntes nada, haz tu trabajo y hazlo bien”. Me recuerdo que en Alemania me sucedió algo interesante. En algún momento, la Municipalidad de Munich tiene un departamento de Cultura y el tipo a cargo de los de habla hispana - es muy específico y probable que haya habido uno encargado para los orientales - entonces me dice que vaya a conversar con él y yo sabiendo que era una muy buena oportunidad pero sin creer realmente que iba a decir, “¿Sabes que? Puedes hacerlo.” Y me demoré dos semanas no creyendo en que era cierto lo que estaba sucediendo. Eso, digamos, era una tontera pero al final estaba respondiendo a una cosa aprendida, digamos, que no me la creía. “Mira, en realidad me interesa. Aquí está el dinero, tenemos que hacer estos trámites, estos papeleos ya. Ándate a pintar o a hacer la escultura. Es interesante.” Acá hubiese tenido que hacer un proyecto. Hubiese tenido que presentar la fotografía.

Q
Si pudiéramos discutir un poco sobre el impacto del trabajo artístico así en términos muy generales, en términos también muy personales. ¿Cómo te posicionas dentro de la sociedad a través de tu trabajo?

A
Mira, yo llegué al final del año ‘99 acá a Chile de vuelta. Cuando me fui, cuatro años antes a principios de ‘96, ocurría que había estado exponiendo en buenos lugares de Santiago. Tenía, digamos, un reconocimiento. Yo ya vivía en Santiago. En algún momento sentí que me quedó chica la capital de provincia y me fui. Me fui para Santiago y resulta que estos amigos y toda la gente que se relacionaba con la plástica podían decir, “OK, conozco su trabajo y me gusta” o “No me gusta”, etcétera. Acabo de cuatro años, me costó prácticamente un año entero rehacer todos los contactos que nunca estuvieron perdidos porque yo durante todo el tiempo que estuve afuera yo estuve viajando a Chile en forma periódica, inclusive haciendo un proyecto hermosísimo en Puerto Varas con unos talleres que hicimos para jóvenes, una cosa hermosa que yo creo da para otra entrevista, es genial, una cosa muy linda que hicimos. Entonces esta proyección que necesita un artista para ir dándose a conocer y conocer su trabajo, tuve que empezar de cero y a meterme o involucrarme con alguna galería que cuando llegaba a la galería principal o la de primera línea me preguntaban, “¿Quién eres tú?” Nunca quisieron ver mi trabajo. O sea, me preguntaban, “¿Quién eres tú? ¿Dónde estuviste en el diario? No te hemos visto jamás. Un poco menos.” Porque eso importa mucho acá y no me ha pasado a mí no más pero le ha pasado a mucha gente. Entonces cuando estuve en extranjero, en México, que sé yo, en Alemania: “Veamos el trabajo”. Mira, en México el director de la galería en la que trabajo, en la praxis me dice, “Yo no quiero ver más catálogos, más nada. Vamos a ver los trabajos. Vamos a ver los originales, eso quiero ver. Si me gusta, se queda. Si no…” Así y en Alemania igual: “Si me gusta, se queda y si no…” Entonces, aquí cuando llego a superar ese problema. Uno. Y de a poco la galería tampoco se puede desconocer. Y yo no le sigo el juego a este asuntito del marketeo fácil vía la prensa. No lo desecho porque sería ridículo. Pero no le voy al jueguito fácil. Y empiezo a hacer mi trabajo y a ponerlo aquí, a ponerlo allá. De pronto empiezan a preguntar. Por Internet hay unos trabajos publicados también, entonces me llaman. Empieza a suceder lo que tenía que suceder. Y cada vez va creciendo y eso me agrada mucho porque yo no me he visto encandilado por el escenario de las tablas. Entonces eso es bueno. Creo que me hace bien a mí y le hace bien a mi trabajo también. Ahora venir a hacer una exposición a Concepción también es no perder el contacto con las raíces. Yo sé que acá voy a vender muchísimo menos que

estando en Santiago. De hecho, estos trabajos que están allí abajo ya los querían comprar antes de traerlos, entonces eso no se vende. Alguien llegó al taller de visita y le digo, “Eso no se vende, está para una exposición en Concepción”. El artista tiene que vivir de algo. Yo no le hago feo a eso, no digo no al dinero, es malo. No, porque me ayuda a vivir, está claro y eso.

Q
Sobre la democratización del arte, el acceso al arte. ¿Cuáles son tus percepciones al respecto?

A
Bien. Yo tengo la idea fija de que el impacto tiene que ver un poco con despertar la sensibilidad de la gente. Eso es fundamental. Se necesita más obras circulando y se necesita un acercamiento sensible a la obra. Esto no significa, digamos, que vamos a querer todo lo que se presenta frente de nuestros ojos sino que significa que vamos a ver y vamos a tratar de establecer ese camino una y otra y otra y otra vez más en relación con la obra, la obra cosa. Llamase diseño, ¿que sé yo? Llamase grafica, escultura, pintura, danza, música. ¿Por qué tengo esa creencia? Porque de alguna manera lo he comprobado en carne propia. Mira, en México tenía dos talleres: uno en la casa que era el patio de la casa donde vivía y el otro en la escuela. En el patio de la casa en frente en el segundo piso vivía una viejecita que su rango de movimiento en la ciudad eran cuatro o cinco cuadras, calles hacia el norte, otras tantas hacia el oeste, igual en todos los puntos cardenales. Ésa era su vida: cocinar porque de eso vivía - tenía unos pensionistas que venían a almorzar en su casa - cocinaba y rezaba porque iba a la iglesia que estaba cerca. Y se cambiaba de una iglesia a otra pero todos los días iba a rezar. Cierto día yo estaba pintando y ella - recién nos estábamos conociendo - entonces me dice, “Muy bonito, señor, muy lindo. Yo no entiendo mucho de estas cosas. Lo encuentro muy lindo. Me parece que tiene algo que ver con las iglesias y cosas así.” Efectivamente lo que yo estaba pintando tenía que ver con esto. Había sacado una cosa de un monumento católico en México y mezclándolo también con un templo mexicano antiguo. Entonces esto me enseña una cosa: no sólo que la pintura estaba dándole en el clavo con la sensación que quería imprimir sobre relación con lo religioso-espiritual sino que la sensibilidad de esta señora que tenía una cultura de unas pocas cuadras alrededor de la Ciudad de México estaba de alguna manera adiestrada. Entonces ¿de dónde viene esto? Viene del contacto directo con la obra. Estoy seguro que una mujer de acá, no por menos preciarla, de la misma condición de ella hubiese dicho, “Si, me gusta, muy bonito”, y se va y no hubiese hecho tal vez la conexión o tal vez una conexión que estaba más disparada de lo que era el asunto de la pintura.

Q
¿Cómo sientes el tema de la sensibilidad del público chileno? ¿Se ha trabajado? ¿Se ha despertado?

A
Ahora te voy a conectar con la cosa del proyecto en el sur. Hay un interés y eso es importante de relacionarse con la obra, con el arte. Importante. Intenso. Es genial que suceda esto. Podría importarnos más ganar dinero y ya. Pero sí y esto te lo digo porque los jóvenes, yo hice clases a jóvenes también. En mi época, los artistas eran unos locos. Cuando yo fui a hacer clases tenía un poco ese temor que los alumnos me vieran como un loco más pero no sucedía, fíjate. Habían muchos que seguían pensando igual y no

están tan perdidos. El asunto es el siguiente. Hay un afán por relacionarse con la obra y meterse dentro de la obra también y que la obra esté, si hay un acto artístico, que sé yo, que ojala el escenario esté metido en la parte plástica también. Y esta idea, digamos, de conformar una especie de un todo completo. Eso yo creo está y los jóvenes lo sienten. Estoy hablando de jóvenes de cuarenta pa' abajo, con esta intensidad. No sé si con la edad se va perdiendo un poco eso… todavía no llego a los cincuentas. Pero sí. Y fíjate que esta necesidad, digamos, de dar espacio y dar lugares para que la gente se conecte con ellos. Yo tuve la oportunidad de hacer unos talleres como te contaba en Puerto Varas, unos talleres que no era una academia de arte; nosotros no íbamos a enseñar a un largo proceso porque no, porque duraba diez días. Lo que comprometimos era lo siguiente: contacto con la obra y hacer obras, con una guía. Soltar, digamos, la parte emocional a lograr un resultado con la obra plástica. Entonces esa cosa la hicimos durante ocho años en la Décima Región, en Puerto Varas precisamente. Y empezamos haciendo un taller de pintura, luego seguimos con pintura y grabado, después teníamos pintura, grabado, xilografía, grabado metal, video, escultura. En este lapso de ocho años, hicimos un mega lugar con el único problema, y por eso mismo murió, que se armaba y que se desarmaba cada año. Se logró un patrimonio. O sea, hay obras que están en poder de la Secretaria de Educación de la Décima Región y es un patrimonio que está allí. Ahora en cuanto a los intereses y esto raya dentro de las políticas del Gobierno, sí bien este proyecto fue apoyado en todo caso por los fondos de FONDART. Yo nunca fue responsable del proyecto directamente. Yo llegué a gestionar. La parte más responsable que tuve fue de fundar filosóficamente qué era lo que íbamos a hacer. Dar las líneas, directrices para realizar el proyecto. Entonces, eran otros los que administraban la plata, entonces el problema está en que la gente que está a cargo de la cultura actualmente o ocupan los cargos ministeriales y todo eso no saben de este proyecto y de la importancia que tuvo. O sea, se murió también porque el Gobierno no quiso seguir financiándolo. Tampoco un seguimiento, tampoco una exigencia de dejar un documento escrito. O sea, que el Gobierno o el encargado de cultura, un tipo inteligente, llegue y diga, "¿Sabes qué? OK, le financiamos la cosa, pero que esto quede registrado." Los registros que están son materiales que nosotros mismos imprimimos para promover el proyecto con iniciativa propia no por una exigencia y hacíamos de todo. O sea, el problema también era lo que aquí en Chile se llama "el circo Chamorro". O sea, el trapecista vende la entrada y vende el maní.

Q
¿Cómo sientes el trabajo interdisciplinario? ¿Alguna vez has participado en un grupo interdisciplinario? ¿Cómo ves esa modalidad de trabajo?

A
Parece genial. Mira, hay un artista belga, no me acuerdo si hizo frente al Louvre o frente a otro museo, pero hizo una cajita de acrílico con todo un asunto, un tubo con ácidos de colores. Metía materia orgánica por un lado y se iba transformando, pasando por todos los tubos y al final salía un recibo. Entonces a este proyecto le llamó "la maquinita de mierda". Me parece genial porque para llegar a eso, cumplir con todo, una montonera de cosas, estéticamente se manejó con la construcción de la caja, los elementos, los colores que hay adentro, qué sé yo, pero un conocimiento científico bastante grande y aplicado para pudiera cumplir el ciclo y finalmente esta maquinita llegar y cumplir el proceso.

Q

¿Cómo se podría generar espacios interdisciplinarios? ¿A quién le corresponde generarlos? ¿Hay una cuestión de iniciativa personal? ¿Cómo sale esta idea de trabajar en equipo, por así decir?

A
Mm. Es raro porque me estás poniendo en un plano en el cual no me había dispuesto, pero yo creo que establecer el nexo primero que nada entre artistas y científicos y vamos a ver qué pasa. Como mezclar un loro con un gato. Vamos a ver qué pasa. Ahora, ¿quién debe empezar? No sé. Yo creo que la cosa tiene que ser mutua. Yo tengo mi plan completamente. O sea, mi intención la puedo abrir a ese aspecto. Ningún problema. De hecho te das cuenta, por ejemplo, trabajé con una técnica en cáustica que es antiquísima y que usaron los egipcios, los griegos, los romanos. De alguna manera, ese papel se va a mantener en el tiempo con su color mejor que si estuviera enmarcado en el mejor de los marcos sólo por tener la cera. Los colores no van a cambiar.

A
¿Cómo ves el futuro de Chile?

A
Sí, bueno, hay futuro. ¿Sabes qué? Hay muchas escuelas de arte actualmente en Chile y creo que es bueno que así sea. Aunque no terminen todos siendo artistas porque eso es realmente imposible. Mira, lo voy a explicar con un ejemplo también mexicano. En México, cuando ocurría la guerra, el grupo dominante no mataba a los artistas. Mataban a los guerreros. O los sacrificaban, sacrificaban a los príncipes o a los sacerdotes del antiguo dominio. Pero los artistas quedaban y quedaban vivos para servir al nuevo arte y esto da la razón de por qué haya tantos artistas en México o por qué el mexicano sea tan sensible. Hay una razón genético histórico. Ahora, conversando del tema también me acuerdo un poco para reafirmar éste. Volviendo a hacer un repunte con el rol del Gobierno, yo tengo clarísimo que los gobiernos siempre van a tener el poder sobre el arte. Ha sucedido y va a seguir sucediendo. Entonces la idea también es que los artistas inteligentemente, y aplicando sus cualidades, fueran lo suficientemente concientes como para no venderse al sistema o, si se venden, se venden caro. O sea, ¿a qué me refiero? Que le cueste al que quiere celeste que le cueste. Tú bien conoces la historia de Mozart quien convivía con ese sistema tan rígido ¿no cierto? Y en un dominio absoluto prácticamente de la Iglesia Católica. Él era masón y una de sus mayores creaciones, *La flauta mágica*, es completamente masónica y muy simbólica y tiene que ver con el ser humano y su potencialidad creativa y espiritual. Entonces ahí está mi respuesta. El futuro va a estar protegido si nosotros somos más sensibles y si le damos más cabida al arte dentro de nuestras vidas. Yo no tengo una visión negativa del futuro. Mi propósito sí como artista y en mi parte docente - actualmente no soy un profesor de una carrera de universidad pero sí siempre hago docencia - cada vez que hago una exposición hay algo que se entrega, algo que queda. Está precisamente en esto, en apuntar hacia una sensibilización del ser humano. El texto, por eso también elegí escribir yo mismo el texto. Se lo podría haber encargado a un crítico pero quise escribir yo mismo el texto para profundizar precisamente las cosas que a mí me importan, haciendo docencia...

Interview with visual artist, first generation

Q
¿Cómo llegaste a ser artista?

A
Yo viví en Santiago mi adolescencia. Estudié allá en un excelente liceo y para mí la pintura fue desde chica una pasión. Entonces en ese colegio afortunadamente tenían talleres de estos optativos que ahora tienen en todos, pero eso era como, el colegio dependía de la Universidad, entonces era como progresista. Tenía talleres electivos y yo siempre elegía arte, elegía pintura, elegía escultura y siempre, bueno, ya, en los cursos superiores cuando ya quedaba poco para terminar, mi idea era salir y estudiar bellas artes o estudiar arquitectura. Está conectado. Pero resultó que me enamoré - cabra chica - me enamoré apasionadamente, me salí del colegio, me casé, me embaracé y tuve mi hija y se acabaron los proyectos. Cambiaron, digamos, el proyecto de vida cambió. O sea, me aluciné, enamorada pero profundamente de mi hija y de mi hombre y, bueno, de ahí de repente salió un trabajo para mi marido que era pianista. Nos venimos a Concepción. Yo tenía 18 años y con guagua. Y bueno, todo maravilloso como es la vida con agridulce también. Pasó el tiempo acá, entonces tuvimos problemas de pareja, sufrimientos y qué sé yo. Bueno, yo tuve otro hijo después. Bueno, el tiempo pasó. Me pasaron muchas cosas en el plano humano. Caí en una gran depresión, bueno, también producto de que yo no estaba haciendo nada de lo que me interesaba y yo estaba creciendo. O sea, yo mientras estaba casada, empecé a crecer y querer otras cosas. Bueno, el hecho es que después de salir de la depresión, me puse a estudiar pintura con un profesor particular que era Iván Contreras que es famoso ahora. Estoy hablando del año ‘74 y me puse a estudiar pintura y me cambió la vida. Y empecé a dedicarme a pintar pero para mí no más. O sea, entre los niños y la pintura, entre el marido y la pintura. Pero también pasaron otras cosas y me separé a los 33 años, bueno, con todo lo que eso implica, con dificultades. Bueno, mi marido un siete porque se portó estupendo. Fuimos amigos hasta su muerte que fue el año pasado. Fuimos los mejores amigos. O sea, la cosa se puso muy tensa mientras estábamos casados pero después - se casó, se separó, qué sé yo - fuimos siempre amigos toda la vida. Una persona muy querible. Bueno, el hecho es que cuando me separé me pasaron miles de cosas en lo humano, con los hijos, qué sé yo. Yo seguí pintando. Entonces ahí tomé también unos cursos de la otra cosa que me interesaba mucho que era la pintura infantil. Estudié con un psicólogo que tenía talleres. Sus especialidades eran la pintura infantil y la psicología. Y me atreví a poner talleres, a instalar un taller en un departamento. En ese tiempo, no había acá de ese tipo. Me fue bastante bien, bueno, bastante bien dentro de lo que se puede, pero entonces también me ofrecieron en un colegio. Empecé a hacer talleres en colegios, en los binacionales, después más adelante hice proyectos para niños de escasos recursos. Me contrataron. Trabajé en proyectos ecuménicos con niños, siempre con niños. Y pintando siempre, pero muy, muy no como yo quisiera a dedicarme a la pintura ciento por ciento. Nunca lo podía hacer pero ahora, bueno, estoy tratando de dedicar harto tiempo a eso. Y, bueno, de ahí también fui cambiando un montón de cosas. Me dediqué mucho a la cosa más social en el tiempo de la dictadura. Trabajé en una organización que se llamó PIDES, Protección a la Infancia dañada por los Estados de Emergencia, que se hacía cargo de los niños de los asesinados, de los detenidos desparecidos; después ya, cuando pudieron retornar, de los retornados, con toda la problemática de los niños. Y yo dirigía el departamento de talleres y hacía el taller de pintura. Yo organizaba los talleres de arte en esa institución

aquí en Concepción. Entonces mi vida ha estado como bien cargada para ese lado, aparte de la pintura. Y, bueno, trabajamos en derechos humanos para que te diré; íbamos a las marchas y todas esas cosas de esos tiempos. Con mucha conciencia social, pertenecí a grupos de mujeres. También, bueno, se organizó en ese tiempo el sindicato de artistas que era para la gente; en realidad ahí estábamos los artistas que no teníamos nada. O sea, no teníamos trabajo, no teníamos previsión, no teníamos nada. Que eran de todos, eran de teatro, eran cantautores, eran todos los que éramos un poco marginales que no estaba ninguna, porque hay una cantidad de pintores que son profesores de universidad, por ejemplo, de la APEC. El grupo al que yo pertenezco, la mayoría son profesores de la universidad o profesores de otras partes o gente que no necesitan una cosa así como más gremial. Ahora no existe el sindicato de artistas; se deshizo el año '92 por ahí pero, gracias al sindicato, yo conseguí esta casita. De otra manera imposible porque postulamos ahí como grupo, una oportunidad muy buena que nos hizo lograr eso, que nos dieran el subsidio y toda la cosa y logré esta casa. Sino estaría, andaría de pieza en pieza como era antes. Yo arrendaba por aquí, yo arrendaba por allí. Bueno, entre paréntesis, tengo dos hijos maravillosos que son - uno está en Iquique trabajando y mi hija trabaja en La Serena en la Universidad - que son un siete. Y mi marido siempre los ayudó mientras ellos necesitaron. En ese sentido, yo no tuve que mantenerlos a ellos. Lo que hacía era por mí porque. O sea, yo tenía que mantenerme yo porque ellos se independizaron rápidamente. Se casaron - qué sé yo - entonces toda la parte que te hablo yo no tiene que ver con yo haya tenido que mantenerlos. Hay otros casos que son terribles: una colega que tuvo que mantener a cuatro hijos; el marido no le dio un peso, entonces no es ese caso. Es menos trágico, digamos, menos terrible. Bueno, como te digo, mi actividad muy tendiente siempre a los niños y sobre todo a los niños de escasos recursos a entregar esta parte que no tienen ellos derecho, o sea, no tienen cabida, porque no tienen plata para meterse en academia ni nada. Hicimos acá un intento en Chiguayante. Trabajé dos años en una escuela de arte creada para las escuelas subvencionadas que eran justo para estos niños, pero no resultó. Quedaron los niños allí con muchas ganas. Estas cosas son siempre como inconclusas, terribles porque no hay dinero para continuar. Bueno, pero entonces hace algunos años que me estoy tomando mi arte en serio y estoy dedicándome porque a mí me hace mucha falta. Esto es una necesidad, principalmente una necesidad de expresarse, una necesidad de decir cosas. Yo las digo por medio de la pintura. Yo pertenezco a dos agrupaciones: la APEC, Agrupación de Pintores y Escultores de Concepción, y los Chiguayante Nueve que somos los pintores de Chiguayante, que somos en realidad los artistas plásticos de Chiguayante porque los otros también son artistas plásticos y le pusimos "Chiguayante Nueve" porque cuando lo creamos éramos nueve. Entonces eso ha sido muy rico estar en estas instancias porque hacemos unos intentos - en realidad, todavía estamos en eso - en hacer conversaciones de arte, en contar lo que estamos haciendo, que son cosas muy diferentes, somos todos diferentes. Hacemos exposiciones conjuntas y nos reunimos de repente. Empezó como muy rico pero después, todo el mundo tiene otras cosas, te fijas. Tienen que tratar de subsistir, entonces no hay tiempo. Hay que trabajar hasta tarde y no nos ha resultado mucho. Igual el APEC, siempre hay proyectos de hacer cosas. Se hacen charlas. Se está retomando, se hacen charlas. Se hizo una en el museo de la Plaza Acevedo. Nos prestaron una sala y se hizo unas charlas sobre la historia del mural en la zona, en la Octava Región. Muy bien hecho, documentado con fotos de los murales que hay en Chillán, que hay acá y con la historia que ellos conocían. Entonces eso queremos retomarlo, que cada uno aporte para los otros. Sería rico que resultara. Yo te digo que hasta el momento yo llevo tantos años que estoy media escéptica porque hemos tratado tantas veces de hacer cosas y te fijas. Yo

siempre trato de ser bien entusiasta y de aportar y de repente te cansas porque llegan a reunión dos personas, tres personas. Uno hace un esfuerzo sí y no resulta por algo. Ahora el qué es lo que falta, tú dijiste una frase: "una sociedad desarticulada". Y te digo que también creo que ahora mucho más que antes del '73. Yo, como viví esa época, realmente la cosa cambió demasiado profundamente y todavía no se ha compuesto, no se ha recompuesto esta cosa de confianza, de mirar para adelante, de hacer cosas que había antes pero con mucha fuerza y ahora no está tanto. Está tratando de levantar cabeza el arte en todas las áreas, yo creo, pero lo ha no logrado, bueno, como yo tengo una larga historia, yo conozco la historia de antes, entonces conozco, me acuerdo de lo que se hacía en arte aquí en Concepción. Claro, después salieron miles de artistas y todo. Muchos se van a Santiago. Los que nos quedamos, tratamos de hacer cosas acá. Entonces más o menos eso es lo que yo te puedo contar de mi impresión. Ahora, yo soy más bien solitaria en mi trabajo. Yo no sería, por ejemplo, que hay como muchos grupos acá que se agrupan para trabajar juntos bajo un techo; incluso se creó uno que se llamaba los Bajo Techo que se fueron a un lugar todos bajo un mismo techo; estaba el Luis Cuello allí, el Óscar Concha. Y, bueno, sí po', los Grisalla, por ejemplo, que ahora son de Santiago. Ahora están más o menos cada uno por su lado pero igual se juntan de repente pero yo no sé. Nunca lo he intentado tal vez porque a lo mejor soy solitaria. O sea, no soy solitaria. Me gusta juntarme con gente pero no me gusta trabajar con alguien al lado. Y mi temática también es muy personal. En realidad, mi temática son los paisajes, eso es como para afuera pero en realidad yo tomo el paisaje como pretexto para expresarme porque me interesa mucho el color. Yo me expreso con el color más que la forma. Entonces mis paisajes son simples pero los colores ponen el dramatismo, el sentimiento de lo que yo quiero decir. Y, como digo, yo trabajo de sola. Compartir con la gente, sí, conversar sobre lo que hacemos, pero creo que la pintura es como más solitaria que otras artes. Por ejemplo, los poetas se pueden juntar y porque además conversan, leen, y es hablado, es con el lenguaje. En cambio, éste es un lenguaje distinto, es silencioso y es solitario.

Q
Me gustaría que profundizaras esta etapa que me has descrito: este Concepción de antes del '73, el Concepción durante la dictadura y el Concepción de ahora.

A
Yo no lo tengo tan claro porque yo, antes del '73, era bastante menos participativa en el arte porque yo estaba recién estudiando. O sea, el '73 ya había dejado de estudiar pero estaba recién metida en eso y yo ahí en realidad me aboqué más a la cosa social que la cosa artística. Entonces lo que yo te puedo decir del antes y del después es como espectadora, no como actora del arte, de la cultura, sino que yo veía como la Universidad traía teatros, traía música, traía no sólo de Santiago, traía de afuera, y venía Claudio Arrau, venía Marcel Marceau, entonces teníamos - bueno, esto era años antes, o sea, antes del '73, te digo claro - no solamente entre el '70 y el '73 que salió Allende sino que de mucho antes, de cuando estaba el rector más fantástico de la Universidad, además que era muy artista, entonces estaba muy preocupado de la cultura. Entonces él trajo a todos, traía Nicolás Guillén. Nosotros nos codeábamos con todos ellos que ahora, imagínate, no están ellos pero hay otros que podrían venir y no los traían. Entonces ésa es mi visión como espectadora del antes y del después. Y el después es como triste. Es apagado y oscuro, es desconfiado, es egoísta. O sea, la gente se empieza a transformar en eso, o sea, todos yo creo, aunque uno hace esfuerzos por no ser egoísta. Yo siempre he tenido esta cosa de, sobre todo con los

niños, de entregar y de la justicia. O sea, yo con derechos humanos trabajaba en eso. Entonces yo lo que siento que también tuve esa visión cuando el otro día hablé con un profesor de violín que era de la orquesta que se fue exiliado a Venezuela y llegó acá y encontró otro Chile. Absolutamente otro. Me contaba el otro día que sus amigos ya no estaban. O sea, estaban pero que era otra cosa. O sea, él comparaba lo que pasaba allá en Venezuela, como lo acogieron, como lo despidieron y como lo recibieron sus amigos de acá. Entonces era un tipo súper solidario también, de repente conversamos. Yo lo conocí. Como mi marido era músico, yo conocía la gente de la orquesta. Entonces me decía que no hay comparación. Yo le decía pero ¿por qué no te vas de nuevo? [*laughs*] Que terrible vivir así en una situación de desarraigo. Yo le decía, ¿por qué no forman un cuarteto, no sé, de cuerda? Nadie quiere. Nadie le interesa. De la pega se van a la casa y no quieren hacer ninguna otra cosa. Entonces eso yo lo recibo, te fijas. Por eso te doy esta visión que yo siento que no hay una recuperación de Chile. No hay una recuperación de la cultura ni el ser humano. Eso es lo más terrible. Porque todo es más mezquino. Como te digo, es mi visión - conversando con mucha otra gente te darán otra, a lo mejor.

Q
¿Y el trabajo con niños?

A
Bueno, es el mundo que a mí me gusta porque los niños son una maravilla. Desgraciadamente, ahora estoy trabajando con puros niños ricos. [*laughs*] Igual los niños de todas maneras son maravillosos. Pero te digo que la diferencia entre trabajar en un lugar en que los niños nunca han tenido acceso al arte: son como esponjas, que están *así* ávidos. Y gozan y disfrutan de todo. Entonces eso es un placer maravilloso para mí, impagable. Lástima ahora no estoy en ninguno de esos mundos pero igual los niños en sí son una maravilla, un mundito maravilloso. Pero te digo que la diferencia entre unos y otros es grande, es enorme. Los que nunca han tenido acceso desde luego son menos desarrollados. Pero cuando tienen la oportunidad, expresan cosas, otras cosas. No las mismas que expresan los otros niños, te fijas. Entonces uno ahí pueda ver las historias. No sé si tú viste una película que están dando ahora que se llama *Machuca*. Es una maravilla esa película. Allí hacen esa integración de los niños. Yo encuentro maravillosa esa película, muy buena.

Q
Y trabajando con niños ¿cómo sientes que ellos se están situando en este contexto de desconfianza, en este contexto egoísta?

A
Mira, yo - como te digo, trabajo en un colegio inglés - yo veo ahí mucha competencia. O sea, ahí prima la competencia, cosa que antes que era notorio, no era para nada notorio porque yo también trabajé en colegios. El ‘72 empecé a trabajar en un colegio. Claro, esta cosa no es así que en el ‘73 - ¡paf! - y todo pasó ahí. ¡No! Es como con todo lo que produjo el golpe militar, es lo que produjo que la gente se pusiera así. Porque tú no sabías si podías hablar con el de al lado porque podía ser del otro bando, te fijas. Una desconfianza horrorosa, un miedo. Entonces yo pienso que los niños tienen que habérsele también transmitido eso, pero lo que sí también se les inculcó durante la dictadura es esta cosa de la competencia. El deporte antes que el arte. El arte se fue a las pailas. Un apagón cultural siniestro. Y eso es muy difícil de salir, de levantar cabeza

de eso. Cuesta yo creo muchos años. O sea, mucho tiempo. Más que años, a lo mejor. Porque además que hay mucha gente que se siente muy cómoda porque no conoció lo de antes. O sea, los mismos jóvenes. Tú eres distinta porque tú has estudiado, tú estás metida en el tema. Claro. Son como contados los que se interesan. Cuando han sido de familias que han sido afectadas o que han sido muy metidas, no en la política, en realidad en la justicia. Entonces ésos tienen conciencia. Tienen algo de conciencia, claro, ellos a su modo; lo expresan de otra manera. Nadie va a tener la posición mía si tiene 30 años. Pero también los hay de 30 años, los hijos de mi hermana, por ejemplo, que estuvo exiliada y que es socióloga muy politizada. Está trabajando en el Gobierno. Entonces esos niños, esos jóvenes son diferentes. Pero, la mayoría son así po', como es la época y lo terrible que yo veo. O sea, lo que a mí no me gusta, esta cosa de competencia que hay. Esta cosa también de que si me ponen nota trabajo bien y, si no, no importa. Tengo que decir que los voy a evaluar para que trabajen bien. Yo les digo pero si creía que ustedes se metieron a este taller porque les gustan pintar. ¿Y por qué entonces lo van a ser más mal si yo no les pongo nota o no los evalúo? Enojados unos porque yo hice, sin decirles nada, selección de trabajos y exposición para que los vieran los papás y algunos niños no tenían nada que mostrar. Para cumplir con la directora le dije, "Mira, me parece que estos no deberían poner pero igual", y estaban más avergonzados y sabes que esa clase yo dije ya con este trabajo, o sea, después, "Señorita", o sea, "Miss, Miss, no nos dijo nada que íbamos a exponer". "¿Y por qué tenía que decirles? Ustedes siempre tienen que trabajar igual si expongan o no expongan, sea con notas, sin notas." Ya hoy día este trabajo me va a servir para evaluación. Sabes tú que sacaron unos trabajos estupendos. Entonces no puede ser eso. Es terrible. O sea, los valores no existen, o sea, no se les han logrado inculcar y, dentro de mis talleres, *trato* de inculcar la solidaridad, compañerismo, la generosidad, qué sé yo. Pero es que *no*, es que, es decir, son muy pocos los que son así. Son así de naturaleza, digamos. Entonces yo también por eso comparo mis talleres de antes a los de ahora. Ahora obvio que el mundo ha cambiado y también tengo que adecuarme yo que ya no es la Blanca Nieves, ni los cuentos de hadas, ni nada, sino que son los monstruos de la televisión, los monos horribles japoneses, todas esas cosas. Tengo que también adecuarme a eso porque eso es la realidad de ellos. Pero no me gusta. [*laughs*] No me gusta nada. Ésa es mi visión muy personal, pero no es tanto tampoco porque yo converso con mis amigas lo mismo. O sea, amigas que son de mi generación y que son activas porque, claro, hay muchas mujeres de mi generación que les importa un pito ninguna cosa y les da lo mismo y lo único que quieren es tener muchas cosas y comprar muchas cosas. [*laughs*] En todas las generaciones existe, claro. Y tampoco ni siquiera, oye, esa cosa de disfrutar de lo hermoso que hay en la naturaleza, en las cosas pequeñas. Son como de otra especie para mí. O sea, yo a lo mejor soy la distinta. Yo sé que soy minoría. Yo con mi pensamiento pero yo soy feliz viviendo en esta casita sin tener muchas cosas pero tengo muchas otras y he ido descubriendo y creciendo y entonces eso de saber que en la vida tú puedes seguir creciendo siempre hasta el final. Tener conciencia de eso y disfrutar de los momentos, del presente y aparte de eso de tener generosidad con el resto del mundo, de tener conciencia de justicia, de tener esa cosa que - no sé - de alguna manera por lo menos yo o gente como yo de esa generación la obtuvimos en nuestra casa, en nuestro ambiente - no sé - en nuestro colegio, en nuestros estudios, con nuestros amigos de antes. Para mí, es muy decidor eso de este profesor de violín que llegó del exilio y se encontró con otro Chile. Con la misma gente, fíjate. A los mismos se los cambiaron.

Q

Si pudiéramos discutir ahora la política cultural de Lagos. ¿Qué es lo que se discute dentro del circuito de ustedes, dentro del círculo de creadores?

A
Mira, yo siento - porque a veces he ido a estos *cabildos culturales* que se han hecho, obviamente que en este Gobierno se han empezado a instaurar - y me han decepcionado. Yo creo que las intenciones son buenas. Las intenciones del Gobierno son buenas. Ha hecho cosas que yo encuentro que son como, por ejemplo, El Día de la Cultura, *un* día de la cultura. Que significaba: que salían a la calle los de teatro, y era *un día* o unas horas. ¿Pero por qué un *día* de la cultura? ¿Por qué no el *Siempre* de la Cultura? Poner una cosa de cultura y de arte siempre. O sea, no que sea un día al mes. Parece que eso ya está cambiando, se ve distinto. Se hacen estos cabildos y la gente habla y habla y habla. Presentan, van ponte tú los de teatro, los de literatura, va un representante de cada uno y habla y dice los petitorios de cada uno y todo se diluye en la nada. Eso es lo que yo siento. Ahora yo creo que por ejemplo los FONDARTs se han perfeccionado tal vez porque ya no se los están dando solamente a la gente, que de repente era terrible, gente que ni siquiera necesita que le den un FONDART porque tienen más plata que pelo. En cambio, los proyectos que se hacen con esfuerzo y de gente que lo necesita para poder desarrollar sus programas artísticos y no les salen po'. Y no se los dan porque entonces los pitutos. Eso ha ocurrido siempre, no digo que sea de ahora, pero ahora no debería ocurrir, digo yo. O sea, ahora debería haber. Hace cuatro años que no participo porque ya me aburrí porque participé mucho y entonces es tiempo que tú gastas, plata también porque tenía que hacer cosas y todo. Sobre todo, energía. Y como uno tiene que guardar sus energías para todo lo que tiene que hacer en el poco tiempo que le queda, entonces es que ya no. Pero como te digo, yo creo que las intenciones del Gobierno son buenas. Creo que se está perfeccionando en cierta medida. No he ido a ir a hablar con la Moira. La verdad es que estoy un poco cansada, entonces ya no voy. Ya no asisto a estas cosas y antes andaba metida en todas pero hay un momento en que uno se cansa y yo digo, bueno, que las cosas las hagan la gente más joven que yo porque yo necesito mi tiempo para otras cosas. O sea, necesito mi tiempo para pintar, mi energía sobre todo para pintar y para trabajar porque necesito trabajar y, si además voy a los cabildos culturales, entonces no tengo tiempo, se me acaba la vida. Uno aprende también a usar bien el tiempo porque antes uno tiene todo el tiempo del mundo por delante. Ahora yo sé que no y no te lo digo con amargura ni con nada porque la vida es así pero es así no más. Entonces uno se empieza a racionar. Y por eso te digo que la imagen que tengo del Gobierno es que tiene buenas ideas pero a veces equivocadas y la gente que nombra a veces no es la que debería, que nombra para estos puestos digamos por ejemplo en las provincias. La Moira está perfecta. Encuentro que está súper bien la Moira. La Moira es una mujer súper activa, inteligente; además es buena pintora. Sí, pero yo creo que ahora ya no debe ni pintar, con toda la pega que tiene po'. Pero ella sí estudió arte. Nosotros todos los años participamos para el Día Internacional de la Mujer. O sea, en realidad hasta el año pasado se hacía una exposición de mujeres en la Intendencia, en la Municipalidad, pero ahora la Alcaldesa no ha hecho nada por eso, porque ella es momia po'. No sé de qué Partido. No está ni allí. Era bien bonito y siempre la Moira participaba ahí.

Q
Háblame más de los cabildos.

A

Es que no puedo hablarte mucho. Tú tendrías que hablar con Mario Sánchez para eso. El Mario Sánchez es Presidente de nuestra agrupación. Él te puede hablar porque está metido en todas y va representante de nosotros y yo creo que está en esto de la cultura que dirige la Moira. No es el "cabildo de la cultura". Cabildo es lo que se hace una sola vez y esto es lo que está permanente, que permanentemente hay representantes de las agrupaciones artísticas. Si hablas con la Moira te va decir todo. Ella dirige los cabildos po' y todas estas cuestiones culturales. Como te estoy contando, estoy un poco cansada y tengo la sensación que las intenciones son buenas pero que los resultados no se ven y no se ven no porque sea falla de Lagos sino que es porque a lo mejor está mal distribuido lo que se hace en los otros planos o no se ha elegido la gente adecuada. No sé. Tampoco se trata de puro pedir. Hay que aportar ideas para poder resolver, porque también debe ser agobiante para él que está dirigiendo que le llegue puras peticiones y ningún aporte porque la cosa es que hay que aportar porque estamos todos en este juego ¿no? En este baile. Entonces, como te digo, eso me pasa, me ha pasado a mí con estos cabildos o con estos seminarios que se hicieron recién. En la Universidad, creo que era.

[…]

Nos juntábamos los plásticos, los escritores y entonces todos discutíamos problemáticas que habría que cambiar y cada grupo nombraba a un representante que iba y exponía. Entonces, como te digo, eran como petitorios. Bueno, también dando la forma de solucionarlo. O sea, esto está mal y podría hacerse esto, esto otro. Por lo menos el grupo de nosotros fue así y después entregamos esto y nunca pasó nada. O sea, nunca después pasó nada. Ahora, habla con Mario si tú quieres. Tiene poco tiempo él pero es un tipo que está bien activo en la cosa plástica, social también. Con él teníamos la escuela de talento que se llamó de acá de Chiguayante que no resultó. Ahora me están llamando para que vaya pero yo no sé. Estaba muy mal organizado sino es mejor organizado. Como te digo, mis energías las estoy ahorrando, entonces no sé si voy a participar. Toda la vida me he sacrificado por lo que yo creo justo o por lo que yo creo que puede dar fruto pero, después de la experiencia que tuve en esta escuela, me da como lata. O sea, siento que no vale mi sacrificio porque se diluye en la nada después. Pero lo que sí sé que Mario es como representante cultural de muchas cosas y él hace, por ejemplo, acá en Chiguayante una cosa con la lectura con los niños, también un grupo de lectura de enseñar a leer más. Y, bueno, siempre está ahí, siempre lo nombramos además como tiene pasta para eso y le gusta. Entonces es una persona súper valiosa. Es pintor también. De los más consagrados podrías hablar con Edgardo Neira que es pintor. Más intelectualizado el Edgardo, excelente pintor, profesor de filosofía también. Bueno te nombro Edgardo porque me encanta como pinta. Me parece muy interesante como persona. También está él que fue mi profesor que ahora está jubilado: Iván Contreras. Albino Echeverría, Jaime Fica. No sé si tú quieres hablar con la gente como de la vieja guardia. Bueno, también a lo mejor te puede aportar mucho Albino Echeverría. Trabaja en la casa del arte. Él es el encargado de la casa de arte. Sabe muchísimo Albino.

Yo creo, siempre he creído que esto del arte y la cultura hay que inculcarlo desde el principio. O sea, yo pienso que habría que empezar con los niños, de partida, pero de verdad, no a hacer tallercitos por aquí por allá sino que de verdad, que la cultura y el arte, o sea, el arte fuera una parte importante del currículum del colegio. Pero importante. Importante en todo. O sea, es que *vivan* el arte los niños, que *vayan* a los

conciertos, que *vean* pintura. Que todo esto está como incipiente, se está empezando, se está empezando a hacer pero lo ideal sería que de verdad se tomaran las riendas por ese lado y empezaran desde jardín infantil para arriba a inculcar el arte como forma de vida, además como forma de conocimiento. Entonces yo creo que de ahí adelante. Si ya los niños crecieron empezar luego, empezar pronto con eso. También lo mismo en las poblaciones con la gente que no tiene acceso. Yo siento que hay como un intento de hacerlo. Nosotros mismos hacemos eso. Llevamos nuestras exposiciones a los pueblos vecinos, a Penco, a Tomé. Bueno en Tomé hay mucho arte, también tú podrías, hay un grupo.

Q
¿Y cómo es la recepción?

A
Muy buena po'. Excelente. También hay eso que te digo que hay en los niños, esto de estar como esponjas. Igual nosotros cuando los Chiguayante Nueve hacemos exposiciones en la biblioteca acá, hay una sala linda y va la gente, los mismos alumnos nuestros, los que eran alumnos de nosotros. Entonces hay una recepción muy cálida, muy rica de la gente más humilde, de la gente que no tiene acceso a ir a otras partes, a otras salas. Entonces yo creo que ésa es la forma de que la cultura y el arte se hagan parte del país. Empezando desde el principio y dándole la real importancia que tiene. Se hacen unos intentos pero no son suficientes. Lo que se ha hecho durante Lagos es bastante buen, se ha hecho más que en otros gobiernos pero tampoco es suficiente. Yo siento, por ejemplo, cuando viene una persona, una muchacha joven de Francia, como para ellos es natural el arte. Todos saben un instrumento. Conocen de pintura más de nosotros, más que los que estamos metidos en el arte y son estudiantes no más. Entonces eso tú tendrás que verlo también porque tú vives allá. La diferencia entre la cultura que tienen ya metida en el hueso y lo que es acá, que muchos niños no han ido a la casa de arte nunca. A los niños de Chiguayante los llevamos nosotros y, bueno, estos son granos de arena que uno puede aportar: invitar a los niños a las exposiciones, mostrarles reproducciones, lo que yo hago en mis talleres, en fin, pero somos una o dos que hacemos lo mismo. Eso como estrategia del Gobierno. Que parta de ahí.

Iván con Albino ellos pintan mucho los pueblos. Entonces llevan a los pueblos sus pinturas después. O sea, más que nosotros todos vamos para allá sino que ellos hacen eso, van y nosotros tratamos también como agrupación de hacerlo, como grupo, como colectivas. Se produce esto en una sala que es un poco intimidante para la gente. O sea, no es que vayan en masa a verlo sino que yo creo que el arte que podría ser más accesible en ese sentido es el teatro, por ejemplo, que el teatro fuera a hacerse en las plazas. Se trata de hacer pero que fuera como un sistema de siempre, no que para el Día de la Cultura se vaya, eso es lo que te decía. El Día de la Cultura entonces viene el teatro y se arma en la plaza y después pasa todo el mes y no hay nada. Entonces una cosa como constante, que hubiera un sistema gubernamental que fuera así. Además que el problema también es que hay una costumbre que los artistas actuamos gratis y somos los más pobres de todos. Entonces los de teatro tienen que hacer funciones gratis. La gente pide exposiciones y nadie las paga. Una vez alguien me preguntó, "Oye ¿cuánto pagan por exponer?" "¿Estai' loca? ¡Poco menos que tengo que pagar yo para hacer una exposición!" Le parecía increíble. No sé si ella había pasado mucho tiempo fuera parece. Claro, porque se sabe que eso aquí es así po'. Entonces, a nosotros nos cuesta hacer esta labor porque nadie nos da ninguna remuneración por eso. O sea,

puro amor al arte, exactamente. Entonces también partir por ahí po'. O sea, reconocer el valor y respetar a los artistas y pagarles lo que se debe, a los actores de teatro, no sé, a los cantantes. No, los cantantes están más protegidos, parece. Pero a todos: a los músicos...

Q
Me hablabas de los niños como esponjas, pero ¿cómo reacciona el adulto, una persona madura?

A
Mira, ahí tengo yo poco que decirte porque lo que he visto acá, por ejemplo, es en la biblioteca: llegan los papás de estos niños que han sido alumnos nuestros con un respeto, con una admiración. Se hacen habituales de la sala porque es lo que tienen a mano y ahí no sólo presentan los Chiguayante Nueve. Es casual que vivamos en Chiguayante, nos unimos porque vivimos en el mismo lugar pero todos somos diferentes, de distintas edades, hay mucha más gente joven que en APEC, gente que están empezando pero todo de una calidad y un entusiasmo fantástico. Hemos logrado así como afeitarnos y llevar exposiciones. Bueno, ahora estamos tratando de activar todo esto porque está medio muerto, de mostrar, hacer cosas. Hay un jardín infantil aquí en Chiguayante que nos pidió a los Chiguayante Nueve que prestaremos obras para que los niños se acostumbren a ver obras de arte. Me parece fantástico y yo llevé dos obras. No sé si habrán seguido porque la idea es que siempre estuvieran mostrando. Éramos como cinco mostrando y se acabó ésa. No sé si tienen otra. Encontré estupenda la idea porque de eso se trata, te fijas. O sea, aparte de hacerlos a ellos pintar, que también vean y aprecien lo que es el arte. Es que de repente salen como chispazos de cosas como te digo. ¿Cómo sería el Chile del futuro? Yo siento que el futuro hay que empezarlo ahora. Ahora hay que empezar a construir el futuro de los que van a ser adultos y ésa es la forma po'. Además darles cosas de buena calidad. ¿Qué pasa cuando un niño se lo pasa metido en la televisión y ven esos horribles monos japoneses?

Q
¿Cómo percibes la interdisciplinariedad entre las artes?

A
Bueno, a mí me gusta la literatura, el cine me fascina, la música. O sea, me gustan todas las artes, el teatro y cuando hay algo acá yo voy. Si hay teatro o si hay conferencia de algo. Y me extraña que los pintores no van a nada. Bueno, hay uno que otro, te digo, uno que otro, pero no me encuentro con mis colegas en estas cosas. En el cine, jamás. Es cierto que hace tiempo que no voy porque es un poco caro para mí. No voy ahora pero, como te digo, yo siento que no hay en todos este interés real por todas las artes. O sea, no necesariamente a uno le va a gustar todo. Por ejemplo, a mí de las artes la que menos me gusta es la danza clásica. Me gusta la danza moderna, me encanta, el cine me fascina, la literatura, entonces siempre estoy en ésa o estoy leyendo y lo que me sorprende es que no hay ese intercambio, porque si me invita a una amiga que es músico y yo voy a la Sala Lessing a escuchar música, ¿tú crees que me encuentro con un pintor allí? Me encuentro con ninguno. Mientras se estudie arte, hacer este intercambio. Y estoy absolutamente de acuerdo. A mí, por ejemplo, yo uno mucho la literatura con la pintura para los niños. Yo busco poemas, los hago ilustrar un poema o un cuento corto. Siempre y ojala tuviera a un actor para que les contara el cuento

también. Ojala tuviera esa cosa, te fija. Claro, porque yo lo cuento de otra manera. No tengo la mímica para interesarlos tanto. Siempre pienso en eso e incluso la música. Encuentro que es súper rico, por ejemplo, poner música para que los niños pinten. Bueno, uno mismo escucha música cuando está pintando. Para mí, está eso, te fija. O sea, yo soy de intercambio. Yo no he encontrado eso realmente. Bueno, de repente también los pintores nos ponemos temas, las obras de Neruda, por ejemplo, o un poema que uno elija. Pero se ha hecho poco. Se hace eso que un poeta se une con un pintor, entonces el pintor o la pintora pinta inspirándose en el poema. Con literatura se ha hecho bastante pero no lo suficiente, pero como te digo no hay, por lo menos en mi grupo, en el ambiente en que yo me muevo de pintores, no hay gran interés por las otras artes. Están muy metidos en su mundo, en su metro cuadrado. Pero yo no me he movido en los ambientes más jóvenes. No sé cómo es ahí. A lo mejor, hay más intercambio. Pero, mira, nosotros somos la APEC, la agrupación de pintores y está la agrupación de escritores que podría haber una comunicación pero no hay. Así que por casualidad yo conozco a alguien que es escritor pero no es la idea. Es que haya entre las artes, no entre las personas, digamos. Estoy absolutamente de acuerdo que debería ser todo uno, pero no es po'. No es. Yo estaba casada muchos años con un pianista que era absolutamente de todas las artes. O sea, los dos en eso éramos súper afines. Nos gustaba todo: el teatro, la música, la pintura le fascinaba. Entonces de ahí me acostumbré que todo fuera como lo mismo. O sea, arte es arte po'. Tú vai', no sé, a lo que sea porque es que te hace vibrar, pero yo no sé si los otros pintores no van porque no les gusta, porque están muy metidos en su cosa, porque son, no sé. Bueno, salvo excepciones pero, como te digo, estoy muy de acuerdo en eso. Me encantaría que existiera, pero se hacen intentos pero, como te digo, en mi campo de enseñanza yo lo uso. Música no porque no tengo los medios, digamos, para ponerles música. Cuando tenía mi taller lo hacía po', cuando era dueña de mi… siempre en mi casa he querido para los niños pero no tengo infraestructura porque tienen que pasar por aquí a lavarse las manos. No tengo un taller-taller. Entonces, en el taller de uno puede hacer lo que quiere, cuando uno lo maneja y tiene los medios también. Para mí, la clave es que todo tiene que nacer desde la infancia. Mientras más chico mejor. Tiene que nacer en un ambiente de cultura, en un ambiente donde se le inculque el arte como algo natural, que puedan experimentar, pintar, aprender. Después verán si quieren seguir con eso o no, pero tener el conocimiento, saber de qué se trata, saber algo de música, *algo* de música, saber por lo menos leer música. Es como bien elemental. O sea, yo afortunadamente sé porque estudié violín cuando chica, entonces yo leo música, leo literatura, veo cine pero es porque también nací en un ambiente así po', inquieto en ese aspecto, entonces que eso se generalizara. Yo creo que allí estaría la clave. Pero ¿cómo hacemos eso? ¿Qué se te ocurre? Que el músico aprecie y guste de la pintura y al revés el pintor de la música y del teatro y de todo. O sea, yo también tengo algunos colegas, miento cuando digo ninguno. Hay un escultor que va a todo, a todo, a todo, a todo, y es súper culto y todo. Y tengo mi amiga también que es escultora que también es amplia. Justamente uno se acerca a las personas que son afines a uno, tienen intereses y como culturas parecidas pero no los había contado a ellos porque son mis amigos. El grupo de pintores son colegas, no amigos. Existen unos y otros que sí, que han tenido también educación de ésa. Entonces yo creo que todo viene de la educación. Entonces es difícil educar a un adulto en eso porque ellos ya están formados. Es mucho más difícil inculcarles los valores. Respecto a involucrarse con las otras áreas del arte considero necesario hacer un esfuerzo porque también realmente no tiene por qué gustar todo pero entenderlo por lo menos. Y *valorizarlo*, ésa es la palabra.

Interview with folkloric musicians, first generation

Q
Cuéntenme sobre su trabajo como folkloristas.

A1
Yo trabajo con jóvenes de 14 años a 18 años y lo que es la parte folclor les cuesta. Cuesta realmente un montón tratar de incentivarlos porque ellos manejan otros conceptos. Manejan el rock, la música romántica. Tocar la música nuestra lamentablemente aquí en Chile o hablar de folclor es hablar de categoría derechamente rasca. O sea, de menor nivel.

A2
El hermano pobre de la música es el folclor. Así se lo toman los jóvenes.

A1
Claro. Entonces por ese lado, los adolescentes tienen otra visión. La verdad es que yo vengo del lado coral, de los coros. No es que mirara en menos el folclor. Sólo que el hecho de ver que el folclor aquí de repente sigue un cierto estereotipo: el folclor tiene que ser de una cierta forma. Y las personas de renombre dicen que el folclor tiene que ser así. Cuadradito. Pero yo no soy así po'. La parte coral es más abierta. Me permite experimentar mucho más.

A2
Nosotros nos damos cuenta que nuestro folclor se puede enriquecer sin dejar su raíz de lado. Se puede enriquecer haciendo harmonización de voces. Se puede enriquecer instrumentalmente y no deja de ser folclor.

A4
Lamentablemente no pudiste ver *Las tres pascualas* que yo te iba a invitar. Preciosa, hasta lloré. Emotivo. Muy bonito. Muy melancólica la obra porque ponía la luna, la laguna, todo. Fue espectacular. Era como estar viviendo la época. Y las canciones tan tristes.

Q
Cuéntenme de ustedes, de sus intenciones, de sus motivaciones, de sus proyecciones, de su proceso artístico.

A1
Estuve metido en música romántica por varios años y de repente empecé a cambiar mi sistema y me integré a un conjunto folclórico que eran dos niñas y dos guitarristas hombres. Eran cuatro. Venían del sur del país y aquí en Concepción se les retiró uno porque entró a carabinero. Hizo un curso de carabinero. Fue llamado. Entonces quedó esa vacante y como ellas me conocían a mí, por intermedio de la radio me habían escuchado, me llevaron para que yo me integrara a ese grupo y con ellos estuve como unos cinco años. También me sirvió de escuela porque aprendí mucho de los jóvenes guitarristas que venían y me hice muy amigos de ellos. Aprendí muchas cosas y con el correr de los años llegó una época en que después ya tuve que retirarme definitivamente de la música porque me casé. Mi vida cambió y mi esposa fue de otra, digamos, tenía otro pensamiento referente a esta cuestión: o vivimos de la música o

sencillamente nos dedicamos a lo que realmente queremos ser. Entonces mi esposa en ese sentido, como dice el refrán, aquí hay que ser franco, no cierto, me dijo, “O esto o este otro”. O te dedicas a la música pero que esto te de para que vivamos o sencillamente la dejas y te dedicas a tu familia y a un trabajo que nos mantenga estable, a ti, a mí y a tu familia, a tus hijos. Entonces yo tuve que optar por lo que más me convenía a mí que era mi familia, mis hijos, mi mujer y además me rayó la cancha porque a mí me vio en varias situaciones con otros grupos donde habían niñas jóvenes. En esa época creo que estuve 25 años sin tomar un instrumento. Yo dejé la música de frentón. Lo digo sinceramente. Después cuando ya yo quedé solo porque mi esposa desafortunadamente falleció en el año 1985 y yo me quedé solo con mis hijos, dos, tres chicos. Entonces por ahí fui haciendo mi vida solo y conocí a los coros que tenía Marcelito. Me llevaron por ahí amistades de aquí del barrio. Me llevaron a que participara de algo porque yo no podía continuar solo. Se dieron cuenta y me empezaron a ayudar de esa forma. Me metieron en otros grupos de adultos mayores primero y después fui a caer a uno de los coros de Marcelo y por allí dentro de eso conocí gente con quienes nos hicimos muy amigos: de señoras de edad, de otros señores, hasta que conocí a Clarisa. Por ese medio conocí a Clarisa yo. Dentro de mis amistades un día me dijeron, “Vamos a tomar once donde la señora tanto que canta por ahí y que tiene un conjunto”. Me enamoré de ella. Y ahí retomé el folclor. Yo lo volví a retomar. Y aquí estoy hasta el día de hoy.

A3
Hay un dato adicional que lo estamos sabiendo ahora. Gracias a ti, Alejandra, estoy escuchando, estamos escuchando historias que no habíamos escuchado antes.

Q
¡Qué bien! Me alegro. Qué lindo.

A1
La verdad es sí. Me enamoré tanto de ella como del grupo y nuestro profesor desgraciadamente falleció, pero él nos enseñó muchas cosas que yo y ahora después de viejo vine de aprenderlas: la unión entre un grupo y el respecto entre las personas mayores y el respeto por lo que hacemos. Y además yo lo vuelvo a repetir aquí - ¡qué feo es que lo diga! - yo le prometí antes que él dejara de existir le prometí en vida a él que íbamos a continuar con esto. Porque nos pidió casi en el lecho de muerte, nos pidió, “No separen nunca el grupo, cabro. No deshagan este grupo.” Sinceramente yo lucho porque sigamos con esto. Porque de folclor nos enseñó mucho ese hombre.

A3
Este grupo tiene una trayectoria de largos años. Nosotros como conjunto empezamos a funcionar el año 1987 más o menos. Anteriormente éramos el conjunto Tradición que era muy bueno, dirigido también por el amigo Alfredo que en paz descanse. Y él nos impregnó tanto de este quehacer que yo me enamoré. Ésa es la verdad. Yo me enamoré de esto. Yo te contaba telefónicamente a ti que antes de conocer nuestra música, yo cantaba canciones internacionales, otro tipo de temas. No estaba involucrada con esto del folclor, sin desconocer que todos estos temas que cantamos ahora yo los escuché desde niña. Pero no era mi fuerte, digamos. Mi fuerte era cantar canciones de aquellos años, pero al conocer al director del grupo y a empezarlo a escuchar - conversarnos de cada cosa que nosotros estábamos presentando - esto a mí me enamoró. Me enamoró y yo soy una apasionada por el folclor. Es tanto que a mí se

me nota y siempre me dicen, “Tú eres una apasionada del folclor. O sea, tú vibras con esto.” Pero, claro, empezar a conocer tanto, el por qué de tantos temas que nosotros hemos cantado. Nosotros tenemos un amplísimo repertorio de temas. Y más encima que un director con una sensibilidad como él tenía, nos dejaba pero nos mataba cada vez que nos entregaba un tema. Aquí estamos todos presentes y todos en algún momento hemos llorado por la entrega de un tema. Conocía nuestra fibra. A cada uno él nos conocía muy bien y sabía el tema que nos iba a entregar y sabía que nosotros lo íbamos a poder entregar con la sensibilidad de cada uno. Así como tú dices que nos escuchaste ese día con un tema que habíamos ensayado una sola vez. ¡Una sola vez! Y que nos dijimos, tenemos que ir al escenario y tenemos que hacerlo de la mejor manera. Entonces empezar a conocer el por qué de nuestra cueca. Yo no tenía idea que nuestra cueca tiene ascendencia foránea.

A1
Nuestro director nos daba pauta de cómo era todo esto.

A3
Nuestro director siempre decía toda música es una transculturización. Diferentes temas hemos interpretado, hemos hecho bailes de salón, hemos trabajado Sur, hemos trabajado Norte, Zona Central y más al Sur. Entonces uno se va involucrando en esta cosa de querer saber y de querer conocer más y así surge el gran respeto por lo que hacemos porque de nosotros depende nuestra música, nuestra cultura y nuestra cultura no es solamente el canto. O sea, eso lo aprendí yo con nuestro director. Nuestra cultura es todo. Es todo. ¿Por qué? Yo te decía telefónicamente ¿por qué ir de repente ir a un seminario, por ejemplo, y escuchar a una antropóloga? Yo dije, “Pero ¿qué tiene una antropóloga que ver aquí?” Claro que tiene que ver. Mucho que ver. La antropóloga nos explica por qué nosotros empezamos a bailar. ¿Por qué empezamos a expresar nuestra música? Nos conversa tantas cosas que realmente uno queda, como te digo... Yo estaba realmente en un abismo de no conocer nada. Y uno empieza a conocer cuando uno empieza a conocer la historia de Chile. ¿Por qué llegan bailes de salón aquí a esta tierra, nuestra tierra? ¿Por qué se baila una *polka* en aquellos años? ¿Por qué llega la mazurca? ¿Por qué llega el patiné? Tantos bailes. Sajuriana. Bailes que tenemos de ascendencia española.

A4
De Francia. De tantos países.

A3
¿Cómo llegan? Claro, uno empieza a entender que justamente en los años del auge de salitre llegan al norte de nuestro país grandes grupos a presentar sus bailes y nosotros los empezamos a recibir. Así se empieza a impregnar el pueblo de esa música, música europea que con el correr del tiempo cambia. En aquellos tiempos la gente veía bailar una mazurca, veía bailar un patiné, veía bailar una *polka*, veía bailar, qué sé yo.

A1
Un aire. Todos esos son bailes.

A3
El pueblo los empieza a recepcionar, a recibir y los empieza a aprender a su manera.

A4
¿Tienes más o menos idea de las cantidades de bailes que hay?

A1
Por ejemplo, en cuanto a la cueca, hay como cuarenta estilos. Es una expresión de personas de acuerdo al sector donde vive. Y la geografía histórica del terreno impregna el estilo de la cueca. Por ejemplo, en el norte está la cueca nortina. En el sur la cueca chilota. En los puertos están las cuecas porteñas.

A4
La porteña que es una variante de la cueca.

A3
¡Son todas diferentes!

A1
La cueca rural. La cueca urbana. La cueca de Valparaíso que se llama cueca Chora.

[*laughter*]

A4
Sin ir más lejos, la cueca que se baile en el norte es súper lenta por el calor pero la cueca del sur es súper rápida por el frío.

A3
Es una cueca de tierra. Uno empieza a entender los bailes de tierra, bailes de aire. Pero ¿cómo bailes de aire? Claro, los bailes de aire son todos aquellos bailes en que el pie va al aire.

A1
En que se levantan más los pies.

A4
Tiene muchas raíces españolas.

A3
Tiene ascendencia española. El baile de tierra es apegadito a nuestra tierra. [*beats a rhythm on the table*]

A4
Ahí hay mucha raíz alemana en el sur.

A3
Entonces empezamos a aprender toda esta cosa sobre los bailes nortinos y la ascendencia que tienen, que no proviene solamente de aquí cerca. Si tú ves los bailes nortinos con esas mascaras, con esos atuendos vistosos, claro, son todos bailes que traen los chinos. Nuestra música tiene mucha ascendencia negra. Inclusive de los árabes porque tú sabes que a España también llegaron muchos árabes que también le dejaron a los españoles su música. Y así empieza a recorrer, empieza a llegar todo eso.

A4
Están los bailes de salón y después vienen los de medio pelo que eran los que bailaban aquellos que estaban mirando por las rendijas cómo bailaba la gente de salón para imitarle. Era el pueblo en este caso.

A5
El baile del pueblo era más o menos parecido al baile de salón pero era más bien de tierra, más tosco.

A3
Más tosco. Por ejemplo, los colombianos bailan la cumbia con sus trajes y toda una cosa totalmente diferente a cómo nosotros la bailamos. Nosotros la bailamos a nuestra manera. Tenemos nuestro estilo propio de bailar la cumbia. Nosotros como folcloristas creemos que ya es tiempo que la cumbia sea folclorizada. Debería pasar a ser uno de nuestros bailes folclóricos porque la cumbia nosotros la bailamos con un estilo totalmente diferente al colombiano.

A5
Pasa lo mismo con la música mexicana, que los correteados, todas esas cuestiones son súper importante en el campo, olvídate.

A1
Y la cumbia en Argentina también.

A5
Esa influencia se da más que nada en el norte de Chile. Las influencias del Norte, Centro y Sur son como bien marcadas. Esto que estamos escuchando, por ejemplo, es sureño y tiene hasta acordeón, un instrumento que viene también de Europa. De los alemanes. Entonces se empiezan a retomar esos instrumentos que los inmigrantes llevaron al campo y se comienzan a incorporar a nuestra música.

Q
¿De qué manera ustedes utilizan este capital cultural o fuente de conocimiento para establecer vínculos con otras personas y posicionarse dentro de la sociedad? ¿Cómo ustedes transmiten este conocimiento y al mismo tiempo se proyectan hacia el futuro?

A4
Claro. Bueno, nuestro trabajo incluye salidas a terreno. Yo tuve la oportunidad de salir a terreno, a encontrarme con la gente que sabiamente y por una cosa innata no más aprende todo esto. Yo no sé cómo la gente del campo aprende esto. Es una cosa de familia que se va transmitiendo de generación en generación. Las cantoras tocan la guitarra, tocan la guitarra en transporte, generalmente en transporte.

A1
Bueno. Yo soy el nuevo del grupo en el sentido de que yo recién me estoy involucrando en el trabajo del folclor y, pese a eso, no me considero folclorista porque yo no soy folclorista. Y menos mal que no soy folclorista porque he ido aprendiendo que el folclorista es como demasiado cuadrado en su apreciación, discúlpenme ustedes, porque supuestamente el folclor tiene que ser de una determinada manera y yo creo que con el correr de los años...

A4
Como te das cuenta, nuestro director se está rebelando contra todo lo que hemos hecho. [*laughter*]

A1
Es que pienso que las cosas evolucionan. Tienen que tener movimiento y, por la misma razón, no puede ser todo tan enfrascado en una sola cosa, entonces yo...

A4
No, de ninguna manera. Pero yo estoy de acuerdo totalmente con ese pensamiento.

A1
Yo también.

A6
Perdona que te interrumpa un poco, pero eso es mucho de lo que nos dejó nuestro director anterior. Alfredo era un folclorista abierto...

A4
No, pero Alfredo era muy purista.

A5
Sí era muy purista pero también se dio cuenta de hay que abrirse. Hay que abrirse.

A1
Pese a que este mundo del folclor es bastante nuevo para mí, la verdad es que yo respeto todas las opiniones de los grandes pensadores del folclor chileno, pero a mí no me impresionan porque yo tengo mis propias ideas así como cualquiera, o como ustedes mismos se las van a formar con el trabajo que van a hacer. Van a sacar sus propias conclusiones. El folclor tiene que estar dentro de ciertos marcos, y esos marcos se deben respetar porque si tú te sales de eso, entonces ya no es folclor. Eso yo creo ha ido estancando el que esta cosa se vaya masificando, se vaya expandiendo. De manera nosotros difundimos nuestro trabajo. Nosotros tomamos todos estos temas que hemos estado hablado y con el amor que cada uno siente. Por ejemplo, nos juntarnos sin ningún afán de lucro porque nadie recibe plata por esto, solamente algún aporte cuando nosotros tenemos alguna presentación porque a veces lamentablemente en Chile se peca de lo siguiente: cuando tú vas a hacer algo y no cobras, entonces eres malo. Lamentablemente.

A4
Y si cobras mucho te dicen: “No, como el folclor es el pariente pobre, no se les puede pagar más”.

A1
Entonces, frente a todas esas cosas, nosotros de repente hacemos oídos sordos. Lo que hacemos realmente lo hacemos con gusto, con ganas y con la idea de hacer una difusión en base a lo que cada uno de los integrantes sabe, de lo que cada uno de nosotros puede aportar al grupo. Se trabaja con ese un mínimo común. ¿Para qué? Para entregarlo y con gusto. O sea, para que la gente disfrute de lo que estamos

haciendo nosotros. Eso es lo que podemos hacer nosotros. Lamentablemente tampoco podemos hacer un trabajo de investigación porque nosotros, yo tengo otra profesión, yo no me dedico a esto. Cada uno de ellos también, entonces no estamos dedicados a esto profesionalmente. Lo hacemos con el amor y gusto de entregar algo bueno, deseando que la gente nos aplaude y reconozca el trabajo que estamos haciendo.

A4
Y en forma personal nosotros difundimos nuestro trabajo hablándole a todo el mundo que conocemos sobre el folclor. Pero es lamentable que los colegios, a mí por lo menos hoy día me dio pena escuchar a un joven de veinte años en el TVU. Le piden que identificara la música y le ponen una cueca, “La Consentida”. Muy conocida. Es la cueca que salió favorecida el año 2000 como la cueca más autentica...

A5
En el mismo concurso una niña de veinte años tampoco reconoció, “Si vas para Chile”. Y decía, “Pero yo tengo 20 años. ¿Cómo me puedes pedir que sepa esta canción?” Oye, pero “Si vas para Chile” es como la segunda canción nacional de Chile.

A4
Yo creo que más que nada la difusión que puedo hacer en este minuto y es lo que estoy haciendo. Recae en mi responsabilidad con mis sobrinos, fíjate. Yo les inculco. Yo canto con ellos. Les enseño el zapateo. Hoy día se vistieron de huaso. Trato de que se vayan encariñando con el folclor y eso para mí es harto porque ellos son la nueva generación, para que estamos con cosas. Los niños te recepcionan todo. Al chiquitito de cuatro años le encanta vestirse de huaso, a él de dos le encanta ponerse su sombrerito y hacer zapateo, entonces ya es un logro porque tú necesitas incentivos. Entonces, ¿qué hago yo? Tengo un sobrino de diez años, otro de cuatro, otro de dos y les encanta vestirse de huasito y escuchan las canciones que de repente les toco. Entonces en ese sentido hay que trabajar, irlos educando en cierto modo.

A5
Pero es muy pobre el círculo si tú lo ves. Es pobre.

A4
Tú también tienes una sobrina que se encariñó y se enamoró del folclor y eso hace ya un año atrás...

A5
Yo integré a mi hijo.

A4
Ya es un logro, ¿viste? Y así va creciendo.

A5
Y mis otros dos hijos también disfrutan del folclor.

A4
Pero es muy poco. Es muy poco. Es la nada misma.

A5

Durante este mes sí. Después nada. Después nada.

A4
¡Las mismas autoridades de Gobierno no saben bailar cueca! Salió en coro la cuestión pero es así. Me da vergüenza, te juro.

A5
El año pasado todo el mundo en la televisión se mofaba de cómo bailó Lavín, cómo bailó Ravinet la cueca para un evento. Y era como tan marcado porque ellos no saben, siendo que todos debiéramos saber bailar cueca.

A4
A mí me da rabia porque el Gobierno debiera estar, digamos, totalmente impregnado de lo que es el folclor y hacer una ley para que en los colegios los estudiantes desde chiquititos tengan un ramo de folclor. Incorporado a la parte musical. Pero que sea una parte importante.

A3
La otra manera que nosotros tenemos de difundir nuestro trabajo es arriba del escenario. Cuando subimos a un escenario, tenemos la posibilidad de poder conversar de repente un poquito con la gente - así hacer una breve reseña.

A4
Prácticamente nada. ¡La nada misma! La gente no escucha. La gente quiere puro huveo. Digamos las cosas cómo son.

A3
La gente no quiere hueveo, la gente no quiere huveo. Yo discrepo contigo.

A4
Cuando tú le entregas a la gente una reseña, por ejemplo, del baile que se va a llevar a cabo, la gente es increíble que está ávida de querer saber.

A5
Si es cortito, te pesca.

A3
Lamentablemente, como te comentaba a ti telefónicamente, falta una cosa a nivel gubernamental, que se imponga realmente nuestra música como un ramo casi obligatorio.

A6
Como era.

A4
No, así no era. Nunca ha sido. Nunca ha sido. No, no, no, no.

A5

Era una cuestión de suerte. En mi caso, cuando estaba en la escuela tuve un profesor que era folclorista y formó su grupo. Después tuve la suerte en el liceo de tener un profesor que le encantaba el folclor.

A1
¿Sabes?, yo creo que pasa lo siguiente: como no es una política de Gobierno, la existencia o no existencia de folclor en las escuelas va a pasar por el gusto personal del profesor o del director. Eso está claro.

A4
Sabemos de un grupo de folclor en ASMAR y depende del comandante, digamos, si a él le gusta el folclor, la sobrevivencia del conjunto folclórico. Y siempre hay cambios. Entonces llega otro comandante y el comandante no está ni ahí con la música folclórica, no le interesa en absoluto. Hasta ahí no más llegó el folclor.

A5
Todo depende de la cabeza cuando son instituciones grandes. O empresas en este caso.

A4
Fíjate que en Santiago se usa mucho hacerle esquinazos a los novios. Pero acá en Concepción lo ven rasca. Oye no. O sea. ¡Un esquinazo a una novia! Excepto si la novia es folclorista. Sabes tú que nosotros fuimos a dar un esquinazo el año pasado a unos chicos de México que se vinieron a casar a Chile. Oye, ¡estaban fascinados! Pero aquí los chilenos brutos, porque no se puede decir otra cosa, no aprecian eso.

A5
El esquinazo, por si no sabes, es un saludo que se hace. Es un tema alusivo. Es un saludo en la práctica.

A1
Diferente, por ejemplo, es cómo los mexicanos perciben su música. Luis Miguel en sus conciertos incluye canciones mexicanas. ¿Aquí en Chile algún cantante profesional incluye canciones chilenas? A excepción de Luis Jara...

A4
La Myriam Hernández que de repente también.

A5
Luis Jara el año antes pasado incorporó unos temas y le salieron preciosos. Realmente le sale muy bien. Pero esto se da muy ocasionalmente, muy puntualmente, como dices tú. No es lo usual. El chileno como que se avergüenza un poquito su folclor. Lo encuentra muy ordinario, muy de baja clase.

A4
La gente tiene vergüenza de bailar la cueca.

A5
Tú vas a una fiesta y, “¿Hay algún chileno aquí residente?”, tú tienes que típico decir.

A1
Preguntan para todos los chilenos residentes aquí en Chile.

A5
¡Imagínate!

A4
Al final uno termina diciendo, “¿Habrá algún carabinero?”, para que salga a bailar.

A5
¡Nadie! ¡Uno, dos, nadie más!

A4
Pero sin embargo una vez que el alcohol ha hecho un poco de efecto, salen a bailar como locos, me entiendes tú. Salen a bailar con una servilleta que es una falta de respeto horrible.

A5
La cueca no es ridícula. La cueca se tiene que bailar como se sienta más que nada.

A1
El problema es que también tiene su complejidad el bailar la cueca, entonces también es cierto que muchos no se atreven. Todo el mundo piensa, “Voy a ser el ridículo”. Por eso con el alcohol bailan y no les importa cómo salga.

A5
Se han concentrado en la cueca pero no tenemos solamente cueca. El folclor no es solamente cueca.

A4
Sabes tú que todo el mundo piensa que los grupos folclóricos sólo tocan cueca. Nosotros hacemos tonadas, canciones de amor preciosas.

Q
¿Qué tanto apoyo ustedes reciben?

A4
Nada.

Q
¿Cuál es la percepción de ustedes respecto a la política cultural? ¿Qué tanto espacio les da?

A5
El Gobierno tendría que dictar una ley que asegure que los niños desde que entran a la escuela hasta que salgan, incluso cuando estén en la universidad, tengan, por lo menos, un ramo electivo de folclor. Así como les meten religión, ¿por qué no les pueden meter el folclor? Para que los niños sepan por lo menos.

A4

Espacios hay muy pocos. Hay muy pocos. Fíjate que de repente a nivel de las municipalidades basta que tú les digas que cobras 40 mil pesos por una presentación para que te digan que es mucha plata. Ellos prefieren pagarle a otro grupo que no sea folclórico que venga de afuera aunque cobre lo mismo.

A1
Y justamente hablando de espacios, ¡no me han dado espacio para hablar! [*laughter*] Ya han tocado el tema. Concuerdo con que es fundamental que exista una política del Gobierno que ampare el folclor. Yo creo que ese espacio es el más importante de todos porque de eso depende que el folclor se pueda expandir mucho más.

A4
Sin desconocer que en este momento se ha dado bastante auge a toda nuestra música, teatro, todo el ámbito cultural.

A5
Pero en este momento tenemos que ensayar en la casa de ella, porque no tenemos donde ensayar. Ésa es la realidad.

A4
Mira, sin ir más lejos nosotros grabamos un CD el año 2000. Pedimos todas las ayudas a la Alcaldía pero no pidiendo ayuda así, "Oye, ¡dame tanto!" No. Nosotros ofrecimos entregar apoyo cultural a colegios, con enseñanza incluida, me entiendes tú.

A1
Nosotros fuimos a pedirle al Alcalde lo mínimo: que nos auspiciaran para poder hacer una presentación en vivo y mostrar nuestro trabajo. O sea, no estuvimos pidiendo plata para poder hacer la grabación.

A4
Sabes tú que sencillamente, como dicen por ahí, no nos pescaron. Estuvimos meses yendo y la carta no la había leído el Alcalde porque no tenía tiempo.

A5
Le llevamos hasta el CD que nosotros grabamos. Nos perdió el master. El master no apareció nunca.

A4
Hicimos un CD con mucho esfuerzo y mucho esfuerzo, con cariño y amor. Era el sueño de nuestro director. Pero no nos abrieron las puertas. Todo tuvimos que hacerlo nosotros solos. Les ofrecimos todo eso a cambio de nada realmente. No lo aceptaron.

A5
Y ofreciéndoles nosotros nuestra entrega, enseñar a lo mejor a niños a tocar la guitarra, a bailar, a cantar, darles a conocer lo nuestro. No se interesaron.

Q
¿Aplicaron a fondos a nivel nacional?

A5

No, a nivel comunal porque hay que empezar con lo mínimo. Tenemos que empezar con la parte comunal, después ir a la parte regional y después ir la parte nacional. Si no nos abrieron las puertas en la parte comunal, no podíamos llegar a la parte nacional.

A1
No, a nivel nacional se requiere mucho más recursos. Si hubiésemos tenido el apoyo de acá primero, habríamos podido a lo mejor buscar apoyo nacional.

A5
Ahí sí. Es como un escalón como para impulsarte. No nos dieron esa posibilidad. Ni siquiera creo que nos escucharon.

A4
Pero nosotros tenemos *todo* el ánimo, me entiendes, de poder entregar.

A5
Entonces ¿cómo avanzas? ¿Cómo? Te truncan. Lamentablemente tenemos que circular dentro de nuestras familias y en medio de amistades que encuentran que lo hacemos súper bien, que somos estupendos, pero ¿cómo avanzamos? No avanzamos más po'.

A4
Nos cortan las alas.

A5
No tenemos una identidad propia. Nosotros como país no tenemos una identidad propia.

A4
Mira, los chilenos son grandes imitadores de las cosas foráneas.

A1
Yo siempre les digo a mis alumnos que somos un país de copiones y eso viene de la época de cuando éramos colonia. O sea, de la misma colonia española, por ejemplo, y después lo *top* fue imitar todo lo de Francia, los términos franceses. Los mismos bailes. Los mismos bailes son transculturaciones de danzas europeas.

A4
Nuestra identidad no es pura.

A5
Tú podrías haber ido a la zona araucana. Habrías encontrado algo más puro, porque aquí nosotros realmente ya hemos perdido nuestra idiosincrasia como chilenos. Realmente es una pena porque nosotros gozamos con todo eso.

Interview with writer, second generation

Q
¿Cuál es tu rol como poeta?

A
Bueno. Históricamente, los intelectuales y los creadores en Latinoamérica han tenido que asumir una condición de, digamos, de artistas comprometidos. Es decir, el intelectual, el artista, el poeta, el pintor fundamentalmente han tenido que asumir la responsabilidad de hablar por la tribu, de hablar por el pueblo al cual pertenece, por la sociedad a la cual pertenece. Y ésa es una característica bien notoria de las sociedades latinoamericanas en donde tú ves que un García Márquez, un Cortázar, o incluso un Mario Vargas Llosa no solamente se quedan en el ámbito de la creación literaria como objeto de belleza, sino también como un instrumento que mediatiza el trabajo estético con lo social. Y, bueno, yo creo que en definitiva los poetas en Chile no escapan a esa realidad. En general, casi todos han tenido que tener una posición y hacer unas reflexiones en torno, digamos, a la sociedad y al tiempo en que les toca vivir. Es también como una demanda que está en el aire y que no solamente a ti los periodistas te preguntan por tu poesía, por qué escribes, qué sentido tiene esto, el contenido estético, sino que de alguna manera empiezas a operar como una especie de opinador de muchos otros temas y se produce ahí una especie de exigencia mayor en el plano de hablar acerca de la sociedad a la cual se pertenece. En ese sentido, digamos, yo tampoco escapo a esa realidad. No es que yo crea que sea la única posibilidad que tiene el poeta para situarse en términos sociales, pero es la exigencia del medio también. Muchas veces el artista opera incluso como un oráculo. Entonces le preguntan desde los sueños, ¿quién va a ganar la próxima elección? Ahora el tema, digamos, de haber vivido tanto tiempo en una dictadura militar muy fuerte también. Hizo que el arte tuviese una marca muy fuerte de compromiso político. Y eso todavía lo estamos procesando los artistas más jóvenes. Soy una persona que tiene 36 años ahora y que vivió, digamos, su adolescencia en plena dictadura pero no había, digamos, una conciencia tan desarrollada de este momento histórico. Por lo tanto nosotros somos poetas de una situación traumática en la historia de Chile pero estamos como en las secuelas históricas de este trauma, de este golpe y de esta dictadura. Gente que nació el mismo año ‘73 o después, y que no hay aparentemente ninguna responsabilidad con esa instante. Hoy día hay que asumir el costo, las secuelas, los traumas que quedaron a nivel de sociedad. Entonces yo creo que hoy día se está reflexionando en torno a esos temas y se está reflexionando también de una manera yo diría, digamos, poco menos restrictiva en cuanto a lo político. En dictadura, se era o no se era. Se estaba por la defensa o por la búsqueda de un orden político o estabas con la dictadura, entonces no habían términos medios. Y los términos medios eran, digamos, muy equívocos. O sea, nadie sabía si aquel quien no se pronunciaba era parte de la dictadura o era parte de los movimientos de resistencia o de oposición, digamos. Éstos son como los espacios, las lagunas tensionantes que deja un sistema político totalitario, en donde hay que radicalizarse y polarizarse. Yo creo que hoy día estamos en una situación, y hablo por mi generación a la que pertenezco, la generación de los ‘90, la generación literaria que se autodenomina “de los ‘90”. Somos una generación que ha tenido que bregar con todos los problemas que dejó este momento histórico y hemos tenido que salvaguardar cierta independencia ideológica en un contexto, digamos, en donde se instalen nuevos referentes de funcionamiento social. Hablamos de este neoliberalismo desatado en Chile en donde todo tiene valor comercial y en donde hay que situarse en el contexto

para poder sobrevivir también. Todo este sistema, por ejemplo, que tiene Estado ahora de promoción de la cultura a través de proyectos. Son proyectos, digamos, que son una copia de sistemas del Primer Mundo, sobre todo Estados Unidos, por ejemplo, en donde tienes que postular con tu idea y ver si un jurado te avala y te puede dar recursos para desarrollarla. Ha hecho que, de alguna manera, digamos, se burocratice la cultura en Chile. Y que de alguna manera también se convierta no en alguna cultura que busque la exploración profunda del arte, sino que públicamente entregue productos un tanto ligeros, un tanto, digamos, liviana cultura popular, en donde se está entre la batucada y la cueca, entre los elementos, digamos, exóticos de fuera del país y elementos folklóricos del país mismo. Por lo tanto, yo creo que lo que hay es un retroceso de la crítica o una paralización del pensamiento crítico al interior de las nuevas promociones de artistas, pero no porque los artistas quieran, sino que el contexto lo impone. Ahora, a nivel de la relación entre la actividad artística y lo que es la educación, a nivel formal en Chile, hay una distancia yo creo que muy feroz. Hay una brecha muy grande, porque las instancias gubernamentales, estatales, las reparticiones públicas que tienen que ver con la educación tienen una desconfianza muy grande en relación a los artistas. Los artistas que proliferan en Chile y que tienen una trayectoria no logran, por ejemplo, obtener el más mínimo trabajo que les permita sobrevivir y, por ejemplo, puede ser una instancia posible de conseguir un trabajo adecuado el mismo sistema educacional. Que el sistema educacional abrirá sus puertas, que se hicieran talleres concretos artísticos guiados por artistas al interior tanto de colegios, escuelas y liceos, incluso de universidades. Hoy día lo que está muy presente, digamos, en la educación chilena es una mediocridad, digamos, increíble. Los alumnos prácticamente ya no dominan el castellano, por ejemplo. Hablan con muy pocas palabras. El otro día, estaba, bueno, constantemente se están haciendo reflexiones en torno al castellano que hablan los estudiantes en Chile, y leía por ahí que hoy día ya los estudiantes se comunican con no más de 150 palabras.

Ésas son como situaciones bien dramáticas de la situación cultural en Chile, sobre todo con el ámbito de la educación formal. Pero también lo más dramático está en que el poder político no tiene la suficiente sensibilidad ni la suficiente capacidad crítica como para decir, “Bueno, hay un contingente de personas que podrían aquí estar apoyando, podrían estar tratando de generar, digamos, una nueva realidad.” Lamentablemente no se da pie para aquello. Ahora, esa desconfianza, digamos, hacia el artista es una confianza que está combinada, digamos, con otros elementos. O sea, el estatus, por ejemplo, del poeta en Chile es muy extraño. Por una parte, se le ve como una especie de oráculo, como representante de la cultura, como parte de esa tribu de sujetos que le han dado prestigio al país a nivel nacional pero por otra parte, digamos, se le considera sujetos totalmente alejados de la realidad: lunáticos, locos, iluminados, con arrebatos histéricos y con conductas, digamos, que no tienen que ver con la normalidad. Eso genera la desconfianza. Se tiene esa idea preconcebida, ese prejuicio.

Q
¿Cómo ves esta política cultural actual?

A
A mi juicio, digamos, es una política, digamos, no errónea pero errática. Yo diría que tiene puntos que pueden ser importantes y que han sido valiosos porque de alguna manera han rescatado a ciertos artistas, a ciertas iniciativas artísticas del anonimato y del magma de mediocridad que se vive en el país. Ahora yo creo que lo negativo está,

digamos, en el sentido de la competitividad. El arte hoy día está en una especia de carrera de caballos, en donde cada artista propone ideas y donde cada artista tiene que situarse incluso en el lenguaje burocrático del Estado para poder persuadir a los tecnócratas que evalúan todos estos proyectos que se presentan. Entonces ocurre que hay que insertarse en ese lenguaje para poder plantear tu idea. Tratar de pensar, digamos, tratar de situarte en la mente de la persona que va a evaluar para después si te ganas el proyecto hacer lo que tú quieres hacer, que de alguna manera es una trampa también porque tú planteas algo que se supone que es lo que ellos quieren, pero tú quieres hacer otra cosa, entonces ocurre algo muy extraño. O sea, esta cosa de la ambigüedad, esta situación de no plantear las cosas claras. Este asunto, digamos, de los concursos culturales es tal vez una iniciativa que tuvo su importancia en un momento y que hoy día se ha eternizado y complejizado mucho. Es decir que dentro de todos los concursos, de todos los proyectos que se presentan en Chile y que ganan, muy pocos son los que logran notoriedad y la notoriedad que se logra es mediante elementos de marketing, publicidad y no estrictamente, digamos, elementos que tengan que ver con lo artístico. Hay proyectos muy buenos, iniciativas muy interesantes, que no logran ningún tipo de repercusión pública ni en los medios ni en el Gobierno. De hecho, al Gobierno le interesa bien poco. Por ejemplo, digamos, el proyecto una vez que es aprobado - se le dio el dinero a la persona y haga lo que haga con el - bueno, lo único que interesa a la repartición pertinente es recibir un informe, pero no le interesa saber qué paso en términos cualitativos con ese proyecto. Entonces yo creo que una parte de los concursos de proyectos han levantado en algún sentido no calidad sino que la cantidad de iniciativas, pero ha limitado la calidad de las propuestas de arte porque el Estado en realidad no le interesa la calidad, la profundidad. Y por otra parte, está toda esta cosa de la discontinuidad de proyectos porque tú presentas una iniciativa que dura cinco meses o seis meses o más; el plazo mayor que te dan es tal vez de un año en el Consejo Nacional del Libro, pero no hay continuidad. Entonces una idea artística no tiene, en realidad, el arte no tiene un tiempo muy bien dado. Elementos como ésos que, me parecen, restringen el acceso mayoritario al disfrute cultural y a la iniciación en una reflexión en torno a la cultura.

Y el otro elemento que yo veo y que tiene que ver con lo que te decía con esto de situarte un poco en la cabeza de burócrata es que también tienes que situarte en el trasfondo ideológico de Gobierno: ¿qué pretende el Gobierno con todo esto? Entonces muchos de nosotros postulamos a proyectos que tienen que ver con el arte como algo masivo: hacer prácticamente, digamos, del arte una fiesta popular, que me parece es otra cosa. Es bueno que existan fiestas populares en relación al arte pero no es en sí mismo el arte. Y ahí se están confundiendo los conceptos porque sí por una parte el artista tiene la necesidad de socializar su trabajo artístico. Me parece bien que se les den las oportunidades para la socialización de su trabajo pero hay otros artistas que trabajan en la soledad, que están haciendo una puesta artística, digamos, que tiene que ver con la crítica al sistema, que tiene que ver con la crítica a los atavismos culturales del país y ese tipo de expresiones no tiene un eco muy significativo al interior de las políticas culturales en Chile.

Q
¿Cómo percibes todo esto de Santiago y estar fuera de Santiago?

A

Bueno, yo creo que ahí también hay algunos equívocos, que son equívocos de autopercepción, digamos. ¿Cuál es la provincia en realidad, no? Chile es provincia, es periferia de los países desarrollados. Concepción es periferia de Santiago pero, bueno, este juego de las periferias es muy confuso en el país. Evidentemente en lo práctico hay una especie de preeminencia y de predominio de las actividades y de las iniciativas culturales que se generan y se desarrollan en la capital porque ahí están todos los medios de comunicación, están los contactos, están los *lobbies*, están todas estos elementos que permitan que alguna iniciativa tenga una figuración pública notoria, aun cuando esa iniciativa en términos artísticos no sea muy valiosa. Eso es lo que nosotros desde la provincia detectamos como el arte fraudulento, en el sentido de que hay una copia desmesurada de lo que ocurre supuestamente en Nueva York, supuestamente en Londres, ¿no? [*laughs*] Hay un afán, digamos, por la novedad del Primer Mundo en términos artísticos, cosas que ya se dejaron de hacer hace años en los supuestos sitios de la vanguardia. Esto se da sobre todo dentro de las artes plásticas. En Santiago, es muy común encontrar exposiciones muy rupturistas, muy atentatorias, muy rebeldes. En realidad, son instancias más bien de provocación que de arte. Ahí nosotros desde la provincia miramos esto como una situación de mucha confusión. En la provincia, creo que también existe esta cosa del aldeanismo también, que tampoco es muy bueno para el desarrollo del arte. O sea, está bien que vivimos en la provincia pero no podemos encerrarnos en el ghetto de la provincia, así como no podemos encerrarnos en el ghetto de lo mapuche o en el ghetto de las identidades más delimitadas, ¿no? Así que por una parte hay esta tensión. Se produce constantemente esta tensión entre los artistas de provincia y los artistas de Santiago que además, digamos, es una tensión yo creo que provocada por el contexto sociocultural y político, ¿no? En Chile, digamos, la dictadura dejó como herencia una supuesta descentralización geopolítica, cosa de la regionalización. Entonces lo que se practica en las regiones es lo mismo que ocurre en Santiago, que la ciudad capital de la región sangra, absorbe y deja morir, digamos, todo lo que hay a su alrededor, pueblos pequeños en pleno proceso de desaparición, donde hay también elementos de identidad regional que se van muriendo por esta reiteración constante de los modelos. O sea, Santiago repite en su imaginación, digamos, afiebrada, copia elementos del Primer Mundo en lo cultural, lo artístico. En la región no ocurre lo mismo. Hay una reiteración constante de ciertos modelos nefastos. Entonces yo creo que estas tensiones y fricciones, a nivel de artistas que pertenecen a la provincia, de artistas que están supuestamente en el centro que sería Santiago, digamos, es también provocado por la situación global del país. Esta competitividad, por ejemplo, por los proyectos, por las becas ha generado, yo diría, un ablandamiento en el sistema crítico del país, porque todos los artistas están preocupados de la beca. Estamos preocupados del proyecto. No estamos preocupados por lo que se nos conoce. Tan simple como que un carpintero en vez de preocuparse por la casa que está haciendo, se preocupara por otro tipo de cosas: se ocupara de jugar bien el fútbol, cuando en realidad le pagan por hacer bien una casa. Entonces creo que el sistema de proyectos, el contexto competitivo, digamos, y de una competitividad bastante mediocre que se da a nivel de artistas, a nivel de gestores de cultura, creo que está empobreciendo bastante las expresiones culturales del país. No hay discusión, no hay crítica, no hay reflexión y lo que se da, digamos, se da de manera muy marginal, en los bordes. Esto en términos prácticos ha generado incluso una pésima convivencia entre los artistas y no por cuestiones de fondo sino por cuestiones mínimas, digamos, de la sobrevivencia a través de los recursos que otorga el Estado.

Q

¿Cómo te sitúas dentro de la sociedad?

A
Bueno, yo como poeta, digamos, que es por lo que se me conoce, que es el rol que cumplo, me trato de situar, digamos, dentro de una trama como lo planté el otro día. Soy parte de un tejido de poetas, de escritores en el país con la idea, digamos, un poco de tener alguna vinculación mayor con mis pares, con la idea, digamos, de no plantear esto de permanentemente del artista mayor o del poeta nacional, por ejemplo, que ya tenemos uno que es Neruda y que es suficiente con él ¿no? Nosotros creemos - hablo de un grupo de poetas del sur sobre todo y algunos de Santiago - que el tema del fetichismo, fetichista de querer posicionar a un poeta o a un artista como el único que está generando un discurso artístico, ya sea plástico, cinematográfico, poético, nos parece muy lesivo para la convivencia nacional, digamos. Consideramos que es necesario dar realce a la diversidad. Somos muchas voces, somos muchas personas que estamos escribiendo, cada uno con su particularidad distinta, cada uno con su proyecto y esto enriquece obviamente, digamos, a la cultura nacional. Yo por lo menos, digamos, no quiero situarme como un poeta que intenta, digamos, captar por sí solo, digamos, todo el pulso del mundo porque eso me parece una cosa muy burda ya a estas alturas. En ese sentido, digamos, trato de extender, digamos, vasos comunicantes con los demás artistas y sobre todo también pensando en mi condición de persona de origen mapuche, como te decía, no encerrarnos en el ghetto de la identidad, ni en el ghetto del provincianismo, pero no perder de vista que también pertenecemos, que tenemos un arraigo, que tenemos una vinculación, ¿no? Ese justo medio que es difícil lograr, digamos, ¿no? Y que en el arte es mucho más complicado porque hay veces en que uno pretende, digamos, mediante la radicalidad hacer estruendo y tener figuración que es una de las hambres del ego del artista, digamos. O sea, se trabaja con el ego en esto, con el Yo, con todos los elementos buenos y malos que tiene una persona. Entonces creo que en ese sentido, digamos, el Estado - no digo el Gobierno - el Estado, los poderes instituidos, saben perfectamente donde tienen que pulsar la tecla. O sea, si a ti te dicen, “Mira, vas a viajar a Nueva York”, ese artista ya se siente como por sobre los demás por el hecho de ir a hablarle a tres estudiantes en una universidad norteamericana. ¿Qué es eso? Y eso yo le he vivido porque igual he tenido la oportunidad de, no de viajar mucho, pero fui a Estados Unidos el año 2002, invitado por seis universidades norteamericanas. En realidad, fue una serie de actividades que me consiguió un amigo, un amigo norteamericano. Entonces uno ¡claro! Yo leí ante de personas, no más de 80 o 100 personas, igual tampoco es mal número porque en Chile uno siempre lee frente a diez o veinte personas pero estas cosas, digamos, ocurren por ciertas situaciones azarosas. En general, la gente que sale del país vuelve al país con otro tipo de estatus, lo cual enrarece aun más la convivencia. En ese sentido, yo creo que hace falta plantear estos problemas que son internos, que son domésticos que son la ropa sucia en la medida de poder, digamos, limpiar el aire que significa básicamente convivir en el país y significa, por ejemplo, crear espacios reales en que los artistas puedan entregar, digamos, su trabajo, sus postulados, sus ideales a la comunidad. Hoy día los espacios están cerrados. Lo único que te entregan son una cantidad de plata si ganas un concurso pero, por ejemplo, el tema de la educación formal, digamos, es un tema todavía muy limitado para los artistas, donde los artistas debieran estar. O sea, está bien que exista una profesora de Castellano que pueda hacer un taller de poesía, pero sería mucho mejor que lo diera un poeta o un escritor, lo cual no tiene nada que ver con quitarle al trabajo a la profesora pero en ese sentido yo creo que poco a poco, digamos, se está tratando de generar un clima, digamos, de entendimiento en ese

plano. Si el Estado, digamos, no genera las instancias, los artistas tienen que tratar de generárselas. Te hablo de los artistas que tienen esta vocación de vincularse con el mundo, con la comunidad. También es respetable que aquellos que no quieran hacerlo estén en su lugar y estén en su espacio y traten de hacer lo mejor posible lo que hacen pero, bueno, nosotros como grupo de poetas mapuches - te estoy hablando de varios porque nos reunimos de manera informal - estamos creando instancias de comunicación con las comunidades mapuches tanto urbanas como del campo, como campesinas, generando instancias que nunca se habían dado, por ejemplo, que un pintor de origen mapuche exponga sus pinturas en el bosque al lado donde vive la comunidad o que hagamos un recital de poesía en plena pampa, que la gente llegue y que escuche, entiende y comparta con los poetas de carne hueso. Entonces, tratando de crear una vinculación mucho más estrecha, mucho más humana también donde un poco derribar el mito del artista inalcanzable, digamos, porque no nos parece que eso, digamos, tenga que permanecer, digamos. Creo que tal vez una de las cosas que compartimos casi todos los artistas jóvenes en Chile es esta vocación por humanizarnos un poco más con todos los defectos y las virtudes que eso conlleva en el sentido de derribar esta cosa fetichista, cosas mediáticas, porque en estos tiempos, ¿quién puede tener la verdad absoluta? Creo que por ahí va un poco en términos muy erráticos de esta conversación las cosas que podemos optar allá en Chile.

[…]

… de su propia situación porque lo contrario, digamos, se va a seguir en este estado de conservadurismo y lo nuevo que puede ser muy sencillo no se acepta únicamente porque hay que escribir no sé cuantos papeles, una burocracia enorme, para poder instalar un grupo de teatro, por ejemplo. Para poder conectar la enseñanza técnico-profesional con algunos elementos del arte, pensando por ejemplo que si se trabaja con las manos también es posible trabajar con otro tipo de materia pensando también que el arte en Chile tiene un soporte tan material. Por ejemplo, la poesía en general es una poesía que habla de la materia, del paisaje, de las relaciones humanas. En general, la poesía en Chile no es muy abstracta, no se trata de temas metafísicos sino que de cosas más inmediatas. Entonces de repente, digamos, unos poemas de Neruda, ¿por qué no leerlo, por ejemplo, en una clase de metalurgia, por ejemplo, no? Y la vinculación entre los poetas y los científicos está cada vez más cercana porque se trabaja con el misterio, y ahí está la búsqueda, ¿cierto?

[…]

Este poema pertenece al poeta huilliche Pablo Huirimilla, un poeta que vive en Osorno. Se llama “Canto de guerrero”.

Canto de guerrero

Yo cazador, recolector urbano, de chaqueta de cuero, pintado a la gomina nacido de la chingada de Pedro de Llaso, con una harmónica música entre los dientes.
Hablo tartamudo por los muertos de mis antepasados, con el ceño partido parco de palabras, se me ha perdido el carné de identidad.
Miro a los gangsters que nos buscan en el sueño por cortar el gas de los eucaliptos y encender fuego con las velas de mamita virgen.

Hablo ahora, torcida mi boca por el aire, dando vueltas hasta que se queme el humo y el agua siga cayendo, estiro en el río el árbol con un trozo de Lican.
Que la muerte no vuelva con aquel pájaro de la ciudad que augura de noche.
Siempre es el otro en el reflejo trizado de una fotografía.
La palabra “castilla” o “chileno” nada puede expresar.
Se vacía en el pozo en que la mordedura me tirita.
Sólo puedo ser con ella en la infancia en que un columpio podría apretar mis manos junto al ciruelo florecido con la raíz hacia adentro.
Es entonces la realidad, una cicatriz del hombre que recuerda los viajes hacia el mar con una venda en la semilla y la música de nuestros huesos hacia la muerte.

Interview with visual artist, second generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo de investigación.

A
Se trata de como en el fondo los procesos culturales van definiendo una estética. En definitiva hay una oligarquía en Chile que estableció un tipo de estética como patrón cultural para las escuelas. Entonces lo mismo que ellos están haciendo en términos más generales, lo que son las intervenciones de los espacios públicos, por ejemplo, sobre todo para conmemoraciones como el 11 de septiembre, 21 de mayo, ¿qué sé yo? Hay muchos graffiteros y cosas por el estilo que es un fenómeno nuevo que está ocurriendo y mucha acción de arte. Eso mismo, eso no llega a la escuela. No es discutido por los profesores, por los profesores de arte. Entonces lo que se les enseñan a los alumnos es un patrón estético. Es una forma de aprender el arte que es una cuestión que no tiene nada que ver con lo que ocurre realmente. Entonces por eso es que un poco fui dejando la parte del arte para meterme en la cosa como de la educación porque creo que ahí hay mucho que hacer.

O sea, el tema de la integración, lo mismo que tú me dices. ¿Sabes por qué? Porque creo que allí hay un campo por eso yo creo que es al revés de lo tuyo. Pero tú eres profesora. Allá hay un campo. Es como una semilla muy fuerte porque tú cuando trabajas en lo que tiene que ver con mirar. Ahora ésta es una cuestión que estoy haciendo yo y espero tener, hasta el momento no he seguido mucho financiamiento porque a nadie le mucho interesa mucho el tema y yo creo que esa falta de interés también es una forma de represión. Es una forma de represión. Es una censura porque, en definitiva, este tipo de manifestaciones sí son reales. ¿Te das cuenta? O sea, son lo que le llamen ahora “conocimiento situado”. No sé si has leído Giroux y McLaren. Ellos hablan todo que lo tiene que ver con los conocimientos situados, los conocimientos reales. Vienen de la pedagogía de liberación de Paulo Freire. Entonces dice que las personas aprenden, todas las personas aprenden lo que potencialmente pueden aprender pero no es una cuestión ni sicológica, ni de capacidades, sino que tiene que ver con cómo tú proporcionas ese aprendizaje, cuánta pertenecía tiene para ti. Por ejemplo, tú te fuiste a estudiar inglés a lo mejor porque había una, o lo que tú me dices, una presión familiar para que tú estudiaras inglés pero de alguna forma te vas derivando a lo que tú quieres igual. Todas las personas tienen ciertos intereses como casi innatos pero que se construyen también en sociedad. Se construyen con el Otro. Ya. Eso es lo que tú debieras estudiar en arte en el colegio. No aprender a dibujar académicamente, que fue lo que yo viví en una escuela de arte. Yo tenía que pasar por cinco horas de dibujo diario, dibujo académico, dibujar y que todo te quedara igual, etcétera. Para algunas personas puede ser muy importante, para otras no, pero tú pierdes toda la riqueza de lo que tiene que ver con esa frescura del diario vivir. Entonces en este tipo de manifestaciones como son los graffitis, las acciones de arte, y eso está entrando fuertemente ahora en Chile. Y ¿qué es lo que pasa? Cuando tú trabajas en educación, tú puedas hacer cosas concretas porque yo no soy tan teórica. O sea, me agota un poco la cosa teórica, teórica, teórica. Y si tú trabajas con el sistema educacional, es concreto. Son personas reales. No es hablar de Freire, qué sé yo. Claro, tú puedes hacer una tesis de trescientos páginas, fantástico. Entonces hemos ido tomando ciertas acciones súper concretas. En cambio, este otro grupo que está trabajando, que mira las acciones, son súper teóricos. Porque van a la fotografía, entrevistan a los cabros que las hacen y es súper interesante lo que están sacando de ahí pero a mí me interesa el tema de la educación. O sea, entonces ese conglomerado, esa cantidad de conocimiento que ellos

están obteniendo allí nosotros vamos a tratar de traspasarlo al sistema educacional. Entonces tenemos acciones súper concretas. Este verano en enero nos juntamos con veinte profesores de arte de la Región Metropolitana para discutir esta problemática que no está en los programas de estudios. Entonces vamos a tener registro de estas acciones, qué sé yo, para discutirla y para sentarme con un profesor y decir, "¿Y qué opinas tú?" Porque algunos dicen, "Ésos son mamarrachos". O te dicen, "Esos niños son vándalos. Todos los graffiteros son vándalos." Y después tú empiezas a entrevistarlos a ellos y ¡las cosas que dicen! O sea, son…

Q
Profundas.

A
Pero el área que estoy trabajando es del arte no oficial. Ni de galerías. Si tú haces un estudio comparativo entre lo que opina un artista formado desde la institucionalidad al autodidacta, son… Porque yo hice el salto inverso. Yo fui formada en la institucionalidad y lo que estoy haciendo es una crítica de la institucionalización y cómo se hizo esa institucionalización. De hecho, sacamos un documento el año pasado porque, como te digo, igual acá no me han dado financiamiento. Y el proceso de institucionalización de la educación artística en Chile se hace con fines súper claros. Es de una política muy clara que tiene que ver con la oligarquía chilena que establece un patrón cultural. De hecho, está estipulado cómo se hace. Es por decisión de este grupo oligarca que se establece la escuela de arte en la Universidad de Chile. No es que haya un grupo de artistas que dice, "Formemos". No, no. Se establece desde el Estado, un Estado que en definitiva está avalando la oligarquía. Y esta oligarquía quiere un patrón cultural súper claro. De hecho, cuando se inaugura la escuela de arte, que son los finales del siglo XIX cuando se inaugura la escuela de arte, la decisión es traer a un tipo que se llama Ernesto Kirchbach que es el director de la escuela de arte que es un tipo de origen bávaro. Y lo que hace este tipo es implementar un sistema de enseñanza que es el de la Escuela David en Francia y ése es un modelo súper academicista porque la Escuela David es una escuela que como referente estético lo que tiene es Napoleón. Y Napoleón - cuando tú empieces a hacer un seguimiento es impresionante - Napoleón lo que hace es imponer también un sistema estético que era la copia del modelo Neoclásico - el "clasicismo francés" lo que se ha llamado. Y ése es el que se impone en Chile en un momento cuando en Europa estaban empezando a emerger todo lo que era el Impresionismo y en Chile se instaura ese modelo. Entonces cuando tú miras, por ejemplo, lo que hacían los artistas en la escuela de arte, las primeras dos, tres generaciones, lo que ellos hacen es un dibujo súper cerrado, súper académico, trabajo de empaste súper claro. O sea, es súper académico. Y los temas que tocan, si tú miras los primeros trabajos de la escuela de arte. Incluso está Pedro Lira, quien fue alumno. Después, Pedro Lira suelta esta cosa y llega a ser director de la escuela de arte y suelta, transforma fuertemente la escuela de arte pero el trabajo de ellos, por ejemplo, las temáticas eran Vulcano comiéndose a no sé quién. Es una cosa así que eran de la mitología griega, los temas, las temáticas. O sea, no trabajaban en nada que tuviera que ver con la temática nacional. Claro. Si tú miras los trabajos de Valenzuela Puelma, las temáticas son absolutamente ascéticas. O sea, son temáticas que no tocan nada cotidiana sino que tienen que ser tremendamente abstracta y que remitan a otro mundo. Eso en términos de lo que es la temática y en términos de lo que es la factura, es extremadamente académico. O sea, súper realista. Ahora después la "generación del trece" le da un vuelco enorme y es la primera generación que se autorepresenta. O sea, cuando tú empiezas a mirar la "generación del trece". Por ejemplo, las temáticas. De hecho, ellos hacen una

revolución adentro de la escuela de arte. Tenían que pintar para los profesores que también fueron directores: Kirchbach, Cicarelli. Los primeros tres directores los traen y los imponen. O sea, el Gobierno los va a buscar y los trae. Pero el Gobierno los trae porque, en definitiva, hay una oligarquía que lo que quiere definir es su modo en lo estético en Chile y ese modelo estético todavía permanece en lo que es la cultura oficial. En todo lo que es en el fondo la enseñanza del arte institucionalizada, permanece. O sea, súper fuerte. Tú miras las imágenes y las imágenes son súper contundentes. O sea, no te queda duda. Entonces eso ha permeado porque actualmente la escuela de arte sigue formando a los alumnos igual. No ha cambiado nada. Y en el sistema educacional, en las escuelas, se sigue enseñando arte así también. Cuando tú haces entrevistas, por ejemplo, yo cuando recibo mis alumnos de arte, entonces lo primero que los pregunto, les digo, "¿Cómo era tu profesor de arte en el colegio?" Entonces dice, "Mira, era bueno porque me enseñaba a dibujar". "No, en realidad era malo porque nunca me enseñaba a dibujar." Entonces tú le preguntas, "¿Qué es dibujar bien?" Dibujar, dibujar bien, o sea, estoy hablando de dibujar, que una manzana se parezca a una manzana. Ésas son las representaciones que tienen ellos de lo que es un buen profesor de arte. Y eso lo que el modelo reproduce dentro del sistema en la escuela. Entonces jamás nunca se habla de arte popular. O sea, todo eso no existe.

Q
¿Cuál es tu percepción sobre los planes y programas estipulados para arte por la reforma del '96?

A
Hay un cambio pero el cambio es muy pequeño. O sea, no alcanza a ser radical. Hay un cambio, por ejemplo, respecto a… Esta reforma actual es liderada nuevamente por la oligarquía chilena. De hecho, de los estudios en educación que se hicieron, hay doce o catorce trabajos de investigación que en definitiva se hicieron para implantar la reforma porque la hipótesis ya estaba hecha. O sea, fueron a validar la hipótesis solamente. No fueron a hacer investigación acción. No fueron a mirar el sistema por dentro. Fueron a validar algo que ya tenía presupuesto, ya estaba escrita la reforma. Fue creo de las catorce investigaciones, doce las hizo la Universidad Católica y toda el área Cultura, y toda el área Arte, fue liderada por Luis Hernán Errázuriz y él es del Departamento de Estética de la Universidad Católica. Él estudió en la Universidad de Londres en todo caso y sí él hace un muy buen estudio. Tiene un libro que se llama *Arte, un área marginal* o algo así dentro del currículum pero él mira el problema artístico como un área marginal en términos de distribución horaria. Igual el libro de él es bueno y tiene cosas bastante buenas y yo creo que lo que logró él es, por ejemplo, a ver, en Chile cuando se instaura la educación artística, se instaura primero como "Dibujo". Esto en el sistema escolar. Entonces durante cien años tú tienes la clase de Dibujo. Cuando yo era chica - tú no porque tú eres mucho menor que yo - cuando yo era chica, yo estudiaba Dibujo. Tenía, no sé, Matemáticas, Castellano, tenía "Dibujo y artes manuales", no, "Labores" se llamaba. Ya. En el Decreto 300 que es el que pone Pinochet, lo que se llama "Dibujo" pasa a llamarse "Artes plásticas", que es lo que debes haber tenido tú en el sistema educacional. Pero nuevamente la orientación está vinculada con hacer un nexo con lo que son las artes manuales. Siempre la cosa de la artesanía. Ya. Nunca la reflexión. Siempre la artesanía. Esta reforma, la del '96, logra hacer un salto y la instaura como "Artes visuales". Y sí tiene algunos avances. Por ejemplo, dentro de los planes y programas, se pide algo de reflexión estética, se explicita que se vea historia del arte. Pero es el modo en que se explicita esto. O sea, primero, los profesores no tienen formación para ver historia del arte. No tienen

formación para hacer semiótica. O sea, tendría que ser un profesor de filosofía, me entiendes, y la formación de ellos ha sido tremendamente técnica. Incluso sigue siendo en la escuela de arte tremendamente técnica. ¿Cómo le pides tú? Lo pones en un programa y después los programas de perfeccionamiento para profesores que se hicieron son muy débiles y en definitiva habría que hacer una reestructura total del sistema de formación de profesores, que es lo que estoy tratando de hacer acá y nosotros estamos tratando de hacer dos cosas. O sea, yo estoy trabajando con veinte profesores de arte y son profesores que están en el sistema, gente de 55 años de edad y que han empezado a replantearse. Todo esto ha sido súper duro para ellos porque de decir que el cabro lo que está haciendo es monos cuando hace graffiti - que es un delincuente porque me viene a ensuciar la calle - a empezar a hacer una reflexión de que el arte puede ser un espacio compartido para todos y que tendría que ser lenguaje, que en fondo son lenguajes culturalmente compartidos. O sea, un tipo de 55 años. ¡Es difícil! Le es tremendamente difícil. Pero hemos logrado algo. Nos juntamos. Nos sacamos los ojos. Nos decimos cosas terribles pero hemos logrado, en los últimos dos años, algo con ellos. Por último, hay una discusión. No está cerrado y sí estamos trabajando más fuertemente en el tema de la formación de profesores. Ahora. Tengo en este minuto doce alumnos de arte, a ellos yo los estoy poniendo con estos profesores con los que estoy trabajando también. Porque no tiene sentido que los ponga con otro. Pero tiene que ver con resignificar el tema del arte desde otro punto de vista. Y para eso se requiere mucho estudio, mucha investigación y hay una censura explícita desde el sistema no se quiere. Yo lo que estoy haciendo aquí, lo estoy tratando de publicar hace tres años y no me han querido dar la plata acá… En general, las universidades lo que están haciendo es validar las estructuras de poder no más, validan el Estado, validan el Gobierno, validan la oligarquía. Entonces de repente tú les dices, “No, fíjate que tienes que validar a los marginales”. Si lo que hay que hacer es meterlos a todos a presos y seguir segregándolos y tirándolos para La Pintana. ¿Me entiendes? Si, incluso, si tú miras la estructura de Santiago, es súper desigual, porque en provincias se dan menos pero en Santiago es tremendo. En Santiago, si tú haces un estudio incluso de la intervención de los espacios, mira, Santiago como es: Las Condes, Providencia, o sea. ¿Sí o no? Y cuando se radican las poblaciones que se instalan en otras partes, se radican hacia los sectores pobres. No se integran. Nunca se integran. Tú anda a decirles que compras un sitio en Las Condes para poner erradicados. O sea, se te tira la población completa encima. Un alcalde jamás lo haría. De hecho, una discusión muy grande ahora - no sé si tú sabes sobre la Comunidad Ecológica que está acá en Peñalolén. Bueno, es una comunidad que compró gente de Izquierda, exiliados que volvieron a Chile y se compraron un sector allá en la parte más alta de Peñalolén, una parte muy bonita e hicieron una comunidad ecológica donde corre agua. Todo un sistema de casas que se hacen toda de barro. Maravilloso. Espectacular. Muy lindo. Entonces ellos tenían una estructura muy democrática entre todo esto y de repente como a seis kilómetros se les instaló una toma. Se instalaron dos mil gallos adentro, estuvieron cuatro, cinco años ahí instalados y de repente, bueno, se negocia y los tratan de sacar de ahí y un grupo de gente que había comprado, no sé, seis o siete de hectáreas dentro de esta comunidad, ofrece vendérselas al Estado - porque ellos ya no querían quedarse a vivir ahí - para que hicieran casas ahí, casas con subsidios, o sea, casas *council* po’ y toda esta gente muy de Izquierda dejaron la escoba. Empezaron a salir en la televisión, que les iban a bajar los valores de los terrenos, que no quieren la gente ahí, que en realidad esta cuestión estaba pensada de otra forma. O sea, argumentaron muchas cosas pero en definitiva no queremos los gallos metidos aquí adentro. O sea, hay una estructura del pensamiento del chileno de segregación, de todo lo que te parece distinto es peligroso.

Q
¿Pero eso no es una cuestión que vino con el '73?

A
Bueno, tenía diez años no más. Desde mi experiencia que te puedo decir, yo no alcancé a vivir tantos años antes. O sea, a los diez años no es mucho el análisis que puedes hacer. No lo sé. Yo creo que no. Yo creo que Chile fue siempre un país sectario. Yo creo que siempre, a ver, a mí lo que me da una pena espantosa, ponte tú, Ricardo Lagos, el actual Presidente de Chile. Él hizo su tesis doctoral en el año '64 respecto a la mala distribución del ingreso en Chile. Hoy día la distribución del ingreso es peor que en el año '60 y él hizo su tesis y él es Presidente. Chile es el país que tiene más mala distribución de ingresos de Latinoamérica. Y eso ha sido una cuestión, una constante histórica. Chile es el país de menos tolerancia yo creo en Latinoamérica también. Se acaba de aprobar una ley de divorcio, que es una ley de divorcio como bien ahí. Tienes que estar no sé cuantos años separado...

[…]

... una estructura de tolerancia, tolerancia, tolerancia que viene de la Segunda Guerra Mundial pa'delante. Piensa tú que en el fondo cuando llegan todos los hindúes y los pakistaníes y todo, de alguna forma se mezclaron. Encuentro que el inglés medio es súper tolerante en general. Es mucho más tolerante que nosotros a la llegada de otra cultura. Pero cómo desde que llega la Thatcher al poder, si tú empieces a mirar, porque en fondo ¿por qué llega la Thatcher al poder? ¿Qué cosas van ocurriendo reales desde que llega la Thatcher al poder? De alguna medida, se empieza a privatizar la Educación, privatizar la Salud, cosa que en Inglaterra no existía y cómo eso como construcción cultural comienza en Inglaterra, este mismo proceso que ha ocurrido acá: te empiezas a encerrar en tu núcleo, a ser menos tolerante. Claro, los niños que tienen hoy día doce años que están en formación en las escuelas en Inglaterra van a ser menos tolerantes que los que eran hace veinte años en una escuela. Porque en el fondo ha ido ganando eso como principio sino no tendrían los Gobiernos que han tenido y los canales de participación políticos son cada vez menores. Hay menos gente interesada. En la década de los '70 en Inglaterra, era una cosa llena de *hippies*. O sea, por algo tiene tantos chilenos. Una política de apoyo a los chilenos exiliados tremenda. O sea, yo te digo yo estoy súper agradecida. O sea, yo a Inglaterra no llegué exiliada pero mi hermana llegó exiliada. Oye, la habrían matado en Chile. Y fue recibida, volvía a estudiar, le dieron donde vivir, le pusieron un trabajador social. Después ella se casó, se separó de él. Seguramente tú no sabes esa historia pero, o sea, estuvo llena de oportunidades. De hecho, se casó con un médico inglés. O sea, si pones a pensar de ella era una mujer exiliada chilena. ¡Se casó con un médico! Y una familia bastante conservadora. Pero él se casó con ella. Pero yo creo que eso se ha ido perdiendo. Poco a poco. Entonces, eso tiene incidencia. O sea, los currículums no son inocentes. Entonces le van quitando a las escuelas de arte todo lo que tiene que ver con la reflexión, la historia del arte, el cómo te sitúas, cómo hacer los contextos. Se lo van quitando. Entonces los tipos empiezan a pintar monos para que sean bonitos, que sean vendibles. Porque es lo que te resignifica que es el importante. Y entre ser eso y ser publicista, ¿cuál es la diferencia? Porque yo creo que en Inglaterra también antes había un apoyo más grande a los artistas.

Q
Si pudieras contarme sobre tu vida como artista en Europa. ¿Cómo fue ese proceso de expresarte?

A
Para mí, fue súper provechoso, fíjate. Fue un *shock*. Primero fue un *shock*. Porque salía de la pobreza de Chile, o sea, la pobreza de recursos, de miradas, de pocos textos, de textos súper ajados. Yo salí en los '80, o sea, no había Internet, entiendes. O sea, tú lo que podías ver era lo que veías en libros, libros que ya habían sido remirados por 400 generaciones donde no llega nada de arte moderno porque ahora sí llega pero en los años '80, no. Ya. Y de repente llegar a un mundo donde - *¡wow!* - estaba todo ahí, donde tú podías ir a comprar libros, los libros ni siquiera eran caros. O sea, donde había un despliegue de todo, o sea, liberarías espectaculares llenas de papeles, materiales, o sea, todo, todo, todo, todo. O sea, como la bacanal del arte, ¿me entiendes? O sea, pasar de la pobreza al todo. Tú quedas como medio choqueado al principio e hice muchas tonteras respecto a mi producción. Yo creo que como que me extasié, ¿me entiendes? O sea, tanto material, tanta cosa. Quise probar material, o sea, como ser rico, digamos. Y después, me resitué y volvía a trabajar porque en el fondo el arte tiene un componente político, o sea, tiene que tener un significado. Después ahí me resitué y empecé a trabajar de hecho con materiales mucho más pobres. Volvía a mi trabajo antiguo y en Inglaterra me costó mucho los canales para poder entrar, ingresar, pero tampoco tanto. O sea que creo que es más difícil para un inglés tratar de entrar acá que lo que es para un chileno tratar de entrar por allá. Por lo menos en esos años. Tampoco era tan difícil y, bueno, después me fui a Suiza y lo que me dio también fue una apertura al mundo. O sea, estar en países donde tú miras todo el mundo, miras África, Asia. Acá no ves nada. Ves Chile no más. Entonces tenía informaciones de Bosnia, no sé, me entiendes. Entonces empecé a trabajar otros temas. O sea, me di cuenta que en definitiva la tortura, el hambre, no sé, igual son temas súper sentidos pero que eran temas de todo el mundo. No eran temas chilenos. Me acuerdo que la última exposición que hice en Suiza la hice sobre niños mutilados por la guerra pero eran niños de, en ese minuto, de yugoslavos, niños yugoslavos, sí. Y en el fondo el tema niño, cualquier niño de cualquier parte del mundo, digamos, que está sometido a la guerra. Y yo creo que es fuerte para uno. O sea, para un latinoamericano que no ha salido de acá llegar allá, tanta información, tanto, es fuerte. O sea, primero te mareas y después tienes que recentrarte y, bueno, la verdad es que se vio interrumpido. Después participé en el Festival de Cambridge, qué sé yo, pero después se vio interrumpido este incipiente trabajo por una cuestión mía personal que fue mi separación, no, y mi vuelta a Chile y tener que entrar en la dinámica de ganarte la vida acá.

Q
¿Cómo ves el desarrollo artístico-cultural en Chile en este momento? O sea, todo este esfuerzo y estos dineros que yo, como vengo de Conce, para mí una cuestión espectacular. Subirme al Metro y ahora salía una cita de Adorno.

A
¿De Adorno? ¿Del teórico Adorno? No te puedo creer. Er, sí, yo creo que sí. O sea, hay, a ver, desde el año cuando Lagos fue Ministro de Educación, él al Ministerio de Educación le adosó un departamento que se llamaba División de Cultura y en esta División de Cultura, yo creo que se hicieron políticas que iban a reconstituir Chile de una depresión de veinte años producto de la dictadura donde no se había invertido nada. Entonces ahí se invirtió dentro de lo que puede invertir un país como Chile también, no. Y de hecho eso es lo que transformó ahora en el Ministerio de la Cultura po' que se llama no sé qué que está en Valparaíso, no. Pero yo creo ahora eso ha tenido bastante impacto. Por ejemplo, todo lo que ha sido el surgimiento del cine chileno es producto de eso que se inició el año '89,

creo, o ‘86, por ahí, no sé. No, no, noventitanto. No sé cuándo. Es cuando Lagos se hace. Sí. Ahí había una cosa que se llama el Fondo Nacional de las Artes o algo así que tú concursas.

Q
El FONDART.

A
Sí, el FONDART. Pero el FONDART ha tenido cosas muy positivas y muy buenas, como el surgimiento del cine y los canales apoyan a mucha gente que no ha tenido opción pero sigue siendo extremadamente académico. Eso es lo que te digo yo. Los proyectos siguen siendo para las personas que pueden llenar ese formulario. ¿Me entiendes? Estos cabros, lo que te digo, estos graffiteros, todo lo que es el arte popular o el arte marginal no tiene cabida ahí. No tiene cabida. Y no hay nadie que lo recoja y a nadie le interesa recogerlo tampoco. ¿Te fijas? Y hay una cosa muy irónica en general. Muy irónica. Tremendamente irónica que es de una sutileza. Por ejemplo, tú puedes, hay una cosa que, hay muchos Pinochets con cachos, por ejemplo, en muchas partes. O sea, muy dentro de todo lo que están sufriendo estos cabros se dan espacios para reírse de su propia…

Interview with musician and cultural manager, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trayectoria musical.

A
Soy fundador del grupo Inti-Illimani. Estuve treinta años con ellos, viajando por todo el mundo y por supuesto que la experiencia que tengo como músico es muy interesante, porque realmente la música, o el arte en general, es un elemento que aglutina. Es muy importante para el espíritu, para el alma de la gente. Entonces mi experiencia ha sido muy rica desde el comienzo cuando empezamos cantando en Chile en las universidades, en las escuelas, en las fábricas, en los lugares de trabajo. Era un trabajo maravilloso porque uno estaba alimentando el alma y el espíritu de la gente, que es muy importante. Y a través de nuestra presencia, se podía también aglutinar la gente para escuchar un mensaje, no cierto, no solamente nuestro sino que un mensaje político, un mensaje que, de otra manera, era difícil que llegara. Nosotros con las mismas canciones pudimos comunicarnos con la gente para explicar de qué se trata el proceso de la Unidad Popular. Tenemos una obra que se llama *Canto al Programa* donde se explica las cuarenta medidas del Gobierno de la Unidad Popular.

Y, bueno, después me retiré del Inti-Illimani. Por supuesto el canto es una de las cosas que uno no puede dejar y, he seguido en escenario más pequeños, ya es una dimensión humana más simple, pero siempre preocupado de colaborar con el desarrollo cultural, con el momento de esparcimiento de la gente. Últimamente hice un disco que estoy presentando en lugares pequeños con jóvenes, jóvenes que están iniciándose en la música. Yo siempre soy preocupado de atenderlos, de asesorarlos, de ayudarles, de compartir esas experiencias que yo creo no me pertenecen sólo a mí porque yo soy producto de una época, no cierto, de una situación histórica y me siento en la obligación de devolver esos conocimientos; por lo menos compartir las experiencias para que sirvan a la gente que no las vivió y que se está iniciando en esto de la música. Aquí mismo en este espacio yo los fines de semana organizo música y siempre estoy preocupado de traer algo distinto, algo diverso, algo que le interese a la gente. Y son generalmente jóvenes los que vienen a participar, a cantar y estoy en permanente contacto con ellos, haciendo de mi vida una actividad cultural permanente. Incluso en el segundo piso tenemos una sala de arte. Yo la he creado para hacer difusión de pinturas y traigo de Ecuador pintores o invito pintores chilenos que han estado en Ecuador o que tienen que ver con Ecuador... Entonces, para mí la vida es eso. Es una permanente búsqueda del desarrollo de la cultura, tanto la música como en otras disciplinas, ¿no? Y eso me llena el alma porque es, no sé, siento que es parte necesaria de mi naturaleza. Y felizmente estoy rodeado también de gente que comparte estas ideas: esta cosa de fortalecer nuestra identidad cultural, sobre todo ahora último con la globalización que es una amenaza. Entonces yo siento que estoy cumpliendo con mi deber. O sea, yo estoy haciendo algo positivo que me incentiva muchísimo. Felizmente, como te digo, tengo hijos que entienden la situación y comparten esa opinión. Y mi esposa igual. Entonces estoy, me siento fuerte y protegido dentro, en mi entorno.

Q
¿Cuál es tu percepción sobre Chile actual? ¿Cómo se está desarrollando esta vida artística-cultural?

A
Sí. Después del oscurantismo de la dictadura creo que, aunque no ha sido fácil, sí es más o menos claro lo que hay que hacer. Ahora lo que hay que hacer por supuesto necesita soporte económico, no cierto, y Chile es un país tercermundista. Es un país pobre, donde la cultura siempre tiene que esperar otras prioridades para poder ser atendida. Entonces todo lo que se hace, o que se está haciendo, que son unas buenas ideas porque hay políticas culturales, políticas públicas, pero si no tienes tú los medios para cumplirlas, te quedas en la intención y eso es que yo siento: que se está quedando en la intención, aunque se hacen cosas. El FONDART es una cosa importante pero no es suficiente y, bueno, creo que si no salimos de la pobreza, no cierto... desgraciadamente no se están cumpliendo las metas que se han trazado en el papel para satisfacer las necesidades culturales de este país.

Q
¿Aún no se satisfacen?

A
No. De ninguna manera. Hay intenciones. Hay cosas que se hacen, por supuesto, yo repito el FONDART, pero no es suficiente. No es suficiente y no lo veo tampoco que a corto plazo. Mientras seamos tercermundistas, vamos a tener siempre este problema y Chile desgraciadamente tiene una identidad cultural bastante débil y es muy influenciable de lo que viene de afuera. Y eso se ve en todos los aspectos. No nos sucede a nosotros los ecuatorianos, los peruanos o bolivianos donde somos fuertes y tenemos una identidad más fuerte por la misma cultura indígena, por la cantidad de indígenas que tenemos y por la importancia que tuvo la cultura antes de la guerra con los españoles. Chile es un país muy pobre en ese sentido. Entonces el chileno, como ejemplo, va a Argentina la semana, vuelve hablando como argentino, va a España y vuelve hablando como español y eso no nos pasa a nosotros.

Q
¿Cómo, a través de tu arte, te posicionas en el mundo, en tu sociedad y estableces vínculos?

A
Sí, por supuesto, yo tengo una posición. O sea, yo creo que el arte es el reflejo del alma, del espíritu de las personas. Entonces, si yo hago algo, tengo que por fuerza reflejar una situación actual que me pertenece. Y ésa es la visión mía del mundo, entonces no es gratuito. O sea, yo no puedo mentir en el arte pero, cuando uno miente, se nota inmediatamente. Entonces, el artista expresa su obra a través de su espíritu, no cierto. Por eso es que, se puede cambiar el mundo luchando. Haciendo arte, se puede luchar para cambiar el mundo.

Q
¿Cómo ves la situación del arte en Chile? ¿Hay un horizonte común? ¿Hay algo que articule a los artistas?

A
Mira, yo voy a ser bien severo porque cuando yo llegué a Chile, el chileno era distinto. Llegué el ‘72 y ser extranjero en Chile en ese momento era un privilegio. Uno lo pasaba muy bien y la gente era muy generosa. Pero eso cambió. Eso cambió. En este

momento, hay xenofobia, hay... El chileno ha cambiado mucho. Se creen los jaguares de América, se han puesto prepotentes, son creídos. Nosotros antiguamente hacíamos bromas con los argentinos porque eran pesados, eran sobrados y ahora las bromas son hacia Chile. Yo puedo comprobarlo cuando viajo por Sudamérica. Entonces eso, eso cambió. Y eso se transmite y se ve también en las pequeñas agrupaciones de folkloristas, no cierto, de sindicatos, de grupos humanos que se forman para crear algún colectivo, que puede ser también tanto de cualquier expresión de arte y hay mucha envidia, muchos celos, mucha competitividad. Eso es así y así no se va a llegar a ninguna parte. Entonces dentro de la idiosincrasia del chileno están estos defectos que se han agrandado y que nos van a impedir realizar acciones en conjunto. Creo que esto es el mal mayor que tienen los chilenos en este momento. Y eso imagino se debe precisamente transmitir afuera. Yo creo que afuera es difícil que los chilenos se pongan de acuerdo en algo porque no tienen una identidad fuerte, una identidad que la defiendan con orgullo. El chileno siempre quiere demostrar lo que no es porque tiene complejo de raza indígena y siempre está tratando de pertenecer al Primer Mundo y eso es absurdo porque si no tiene sólida su base ideológica o cultural, está mal y desgraciadamente es así.

Q
¿Cómo ves el trabajo interdisciplinario?

A
O sea, yo no tengo problema porque yo me comunico con naturalidad con toda la gente de la misma manera y me interesa porque tengo claro lo que quiero. Ahora, si un científico tiene dificultades para comunicarse, por ejemplo, eso yo creo que es la desconfianza que se tiene aquí al interior; la poca confiabilidad que se tiene de la capacidad de la otra persona y tratándose del arte es algo más subjetivo todavía. Entonces es fácil caer en eso de no creer en las capacidades de quien tienes al frente y si yo soy científico, "¿Cómo lo voy a dar la credibilidad a este artesano?" Por ejemplo. Y esos son desconfianzas, son defectos que existen en Chile, y yo personalmente no tendría problemas. A mí me gusta participar. De hecho, yo tengo un grupo que estoy en este momento apadrinando. Con ellos estoy haciendo conciertos, los voy a llevar a Ecuador para que crezcan ellos como personas y como músicos. Y yo simplemente por el gusto de volver a mi patria y compartir con ellos esos momentos. Para mí, es suficiente eso. No estamos ni siquiera esperando una remuneración, nada. Lo hago porque me gusta, porque yo quiero colaborar con ellos, quiero pasarlo bien y en la vida uno al final no se lleva nada. La vida hay que vivirla ahora y ser feliz ahora y tratar de hacer las cosas ahora y disfrutarlas.

[…]

Entonces, desgraciadamente en este mundo competitivo de exitismo es complicado porque uno lo primero que hace es calcular cuánto va a ganar, qué voy a obtener y ahí entonces se parte mal. Creo que es importantísima la participación por medio el arte en los comunitarios. Hay ejemplos muy interesantes acá de los indígenas de Chiloé. Yo conozco varios grupos. O pehuenches que se organizan para difundir sus productos directamente y sus artesanías y todo eso, pero son, digamos, pequeñas células, no, que están funcionando. Una organización a nivel nacional existe en la teoría pero no tiene, digamos, la credibilidad de parte de todos que participan en estas cosas. ¿Por qué? Porque, muchas veces, las directrices no son las más indicadas, porque no han sido

consultadas, porque las quieren imponer de arriba, y eso es un paternalismo que también existe en el Gobierno. O sea, las políticas públicas, si no son consultadas en la base, son imposiciones, son paternalismo. Y eso también sucede. Se peca mucho de eso.

Interview with director of a Regional Council for Culture and the Arts, second generation

Q
Podrías explicarme eso de la cartografía cultural.

A
Mira, ésta partió como una idea el año '97. Esta idea de armar una cartografía cultural de Chile que tenía dos componentes: uno era el mapa de desarrollo cultural de alguna manera y el otro era un gran directorio con gente vinculada al arte y la cultura, organizaciones, personas naturales y qué sé yo. Y de ahí se ha venido construyendo esto que se llama la cartografía cultural compuesta por este catastro de artistas, verdad, y lo que se está haciendo ahora es actualizar y reordenar los datos. Obviamente el poder recoger esa información en todo Chile es una tarea compleja. Las mismas personas se inscriben, te fijas. Entonces aparecían personas y lugares que no eran, personas que habían fallecido. Bueno, en fin. Nosotros también en la Región hemos trabajado formando nuestro propio catastro regional con mayor información, para saber qué están haciendo, dónde están ubicados. Un poco para pensar en el desarrollo cultural regional es fundamental saber quiénes son los actores que están participando en el proceso, entonces eso es básicamente lo que busca y también facilitar la comunicación dentro de los mismos actores, verdad, como poder plantear proyectos conjuntos, iniciativas, etcétera. ¿Mm? Ésa es como la finalidad de este catastro. Nosotros esta información la tenemos dentro de nuestro portal que es www.culturabiobio.cl. Ahí está por lo menos nuestra cartografía general, nuestro directorio que tiene la posibilidad de ir incorporando permanentemente mayor cantidad de personas que quieran estar en esta actividad. Aquí en el fondo es un tema amplio que recoge a todas las personas que de alguna manera creen que hacen un aporte al desarrollo cultural.

Q
Si pudieras contarme un poco sobre tu trabajo como pintora. Porque ha habido un antes y un después. ¿Cómo ha sido este proceso de apertura?

A
Bueno, desde el año '83, en realidad, o desde poco antes hasta el año 2001 más o menos, sí yo desarrollé una carrera importante en el tema de la pintura y del grabado en la Región y fuera de ella también. Estudié licenciatura en la Escuela de Artes Plásticas de la Universidad de Concepción y ya posteriormente el año '96 me especialicé en el tema de gestión cultural por tanto desde entonces no estoy trabajando en la actividad de las artes visuales, ¿mm? Ahora aquí hay un importantísimo número de artistas realizadores, de gente que está pensando en proyectos de desarrollo vinculados al tema cultural y artístico importante con buena formación, con capacidad de reflexión - importante - y que es un número además que está trabajando de manera simultánea dentro de la Región y eso, bueno, hace que sea muy dinámica, o sea, bastante especial en esa perspectiva y también hace que haya mayor demanda, si tú quieres, no, del tema de políticas públicas y básicamente de los mecanismos de financiamiento que el Estado Chileno ha construido desde el año 2000 en, desde el año '92 en adelante, ¿mm?

Q
Cuéntame sobre esta Primera Convención que se hizo en Valparaíso.

A
Bueno, desde los años ‘50, verdad, se venía aspirando en Chile cómo poder tener una institucionalidad cultural, un Ministerio, algún órgano, verdad, del Estado que se preocupara del diseño de políticas culturales. Eso no se materializó hasta que se retoma la democracia en Chile el año ‘90 y desde el año ‘90 entonces en realidad los Gobiernos de la Concertación dentro de sus temas de preocupaciones centrales estaba el poder pensar en el tema del desarrollo cultural como un eje importante en este tema y pensar en el diseño de institucionalidad acorde con lo que en Chile necesitaba en esos años. Hay un salto cualitativo en el tema del desarrollo público, del desarrollo institucional. Por primera vez, Chile ya no deja la tarea del desarrollo cultural o de la extensión a universidades públicas solamente sino que efectivamente toma el tema de hacerse cargo de generar políticas culturales destinadas a toda la comunidad. Y en ese sentido aparece, desde el año ‘90 en adelante, bueno, durante la dictadura por supuesto también pero ya más oficialmente desde el ejecutivo, distintos espacios de encuentro y construcción de esta nueva institucionalidad cultural que tenía que tener varias características especiales: no podía ser sólo un Ministerio, te fijas. Y después de un proceso, yo diría, muy rico, muy interesante desde el ‘90 en adelante, el año ya 2001 empieza a generar un, bueno, desde ese año entonces se empieza a generar, verdad, esta discusión de cómo instalar una institucionalidad cultural y al final se logra - después de un proceso bien largo en realidad - se logra proponer que aquí la institucionalidad cultural más apropiada para el tema de desarrollo cultural de Chile era generar un Consejo que tuviera rango ministerial. O sea, que tuviera el rango, verdad, como pa’ poder dialogar en el tema de políticas públicas dentro del Estado de manera importante pero en el fondo que tuviera otro componente y que a diferencia de las otras políticas públicas: de Salud y de Vivienda, etcétera. En el fondo aquí era muy importante la opinión, la experiencia y la visión que los distintos mundos de la cultura se tenía sobre eso. Por eso se creó el Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes que es un órgano colegiado que tiene un equipo central de técnicos y profesionales, verdad, a cargo del desarrollo de políticas regionales y que lo que busca también es generar la visión, la opinión y pensar en conjunto con el mundo cultural cómo eso se va implementando. Por eso se crea el Consejo que tiene este ejecutivo, verdad - pero además incorpora en un Directorio Regional a personas que son propuestas por las mismas organizaciones culturales, verdad, y un Comité Consultivo. Por tanto la dirección de este servicio si tú quieres a nivel nacional y también regional, porque en cada una de las Regiones existen estos Consejos Regionales, es que efectivamente la construcción se haga desde lo colectivo, ¿mm? Un salto cualitativo de democratización y participación absolutamente relevante. No hay ningún otro organismo público en Chile que tenga este tipo de composición.

Q
¿Cómo se ha dado la eficiencia dentro de este proceso?

A
A ver, ha sido un proceso corto pero yo diría bastante interesante. Al cumplirse un año que fue el 23 de agosto cuando se promulga la Ley, verdad, el Ministro, la institucionalidad pensó en generar una Convención Anual que es una reunión de trabajo, con la idea de repetirla todos los años para ir ajustando este diseño de políticas, evaluándolas permanentemente, con el objetivo de poder fijar los ámbitos de incidencia de la política de esta institucionalidad pública, ¿ah? Que no es todo el proceso de desarrollo cultural sino donde efectivamente hay, verdad, injerencias directas en estos ámbitos. Fue una convención muy interesante donde participaron todos los Directorios de todo Chile y por

supuesto el Directorio Nacional, verdad, más los Comités Consultivos, más las Direcciones Regionales. Alrededor de unas doscientas personas más o menos que son distintas personalidades de los distintos mundos culturales de todo Chile donde se trabajó una metodología, yo diría, bastante eficiente con la idea de poder plantear en perspectiva, verdad, a lo menos el proyecto de política cultural entre el 2005 y 2010, ¿mm? Con tareas inmediatas y temas al más mediano plazo y esto fue en calidad de recomendaciones de todas las mesas de trabajo que se hicieron básicamente porque el Directorio Nacional tenía que tomar esas recomendaciones y en el fondo ordenar estos temas y ver exactamente eso. Así que yo diría nosotros creemos que esta modalidad hasta ahora ha sido eficiente, que ha generado en realidad participación y opinión desde la diversidad, ¿mm?

Q
¿Cómo ha sido recepcionado esto aquí en Concepción? ¿Es muy temprano como para hablar del impacto de todas las actividades que han organizado? Por ejemplo, los debates estéticos que se realizaron hace poco.

A
Mira, son parte de un proceso. Nosotros ya hace mucho tiempo que habíamos empezado no solamente con la instalación del Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes en diciembre del 2003, pero este espacio de la política siempre había estado dentro del Ministerio de Educación en los últimos doce años. Por tanto es la División de Cultura en el fondo la que pasa a conformar, verdad, este Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. Nosotros ya veníamos trabajando desde la División de Cultura una cantidad de temas que básicamente tenían que ver con el fomento y la difusión de las artes en este sentido, donde los debates estéticos se instalan en el tema del marco de las artes visuales - directamente en ese ámbito, verdad - de poder dialogar, conversar, conocer experiencias, instalar nuevas modalidades, nivelar el tema de los discursos, verdad. Bueno, ésos son los temas que evocan. Son espacios de formación básicamente y de intercambio de experiencias con los actores que allí participan. Por tanto esto ha sido parte de un proceso muy interesante que comenzó ya hace tiempo y que lo hemos hecho sostenidamente con la idea de generar varios temas ahí: uno que tiene que ver básicamente con elevar los niveles de la discusión y el nivel de las propuestas donde además no nos interesa solamente que se trate el tema de la discusión como un buen ejercicio intelectual sino que nos interesa que eso se vaya materializando, verdad, en proyectos, en iniciativas de más largo plazo, con más peso, que incorporen otros elementos interesantes, que lo hagan sustentable en el tiempo, etcétera. Y eso se ha hecho también en distintos ámbitos del desarrollo artístico propiamente tal pero también, por otro lado, hemos venido trabajando distintas iniciativas que tienen que ver con el reconocimiento de la Región, con la valoración y con la puesta en valor y la comunicación del patrimonio regional, ¿mm? Y ahí hemos desarrollado una tarea muy importante que es la dirección de Biblioteca Archivos y Museos que es una institución, una de las institucionalidades públicas más antiguas de Chile, del año '29, que tiene a cargo el tema del desarrollo de las bibliotecas con estos convenios que firman con los municipios. La idea de tener una red de bibliotecas públicas, una idea muy potente en ese sentido, también con los museos de la Región si bien todos los museos no dependen en la dirección de la Biblioteca Archivos y Museos. Aquí hay una red de 19 equipamientos de exhibición, de los cuales solamente dos son públicos en este caso que es el de Cañete y el Museo de Historia Natural de la Plaza Acevedo. El resto son municipales, privados, de otras instituciones como la Armada, ¿ah? Pero ya hay una red, entonces nuestra idea es cómo trabajamos en colectivo, generamos circuitos para la difusión, para la participación

de las personas. Allí hay otro gran mundo. Y un tercer tema que básicamente tiene que ver con el desarrollo cultural, la participación y la descentralización. Entendido el tema de la descentralización más bien en generar las condiciones para poder pensar en estos tipos de proyectos, en estos tipos de iniciativas, verdad, que se desarrollen de manera sostenida y no solamente episódica o de encuentros - que son muy importantes - pero que en el fondo a la larga no es la modalidad que va a permitir instalar un desarrollo sostenido o generar mayores temas. Eso apoyado con los mecanismos de fomento que nosotros disponemos desde el Estado Chileno y que básicamente son los mecanismos los fondos concursables, como el Fondo del Libro, el FONDART con sus distintas modalidades, el Fondo de la Música que está vigente este año 2004 que se abrirá en unas semanas más. Esperamos, si es que se aprueba mañana la ley del cine, contar con lo mismo para audiovisual. Por tanto ahí tenemos un conjunto de instrumentos, verdad, de financiamiento que se pueden concatenar, articular con otros financiamientos públicos y privados. Tercer tema importante también, ¿ah?

Q
Cuéntame sobre los cabildos.

A
Mira, los cabildos culturales es una iniciativa que partió el año '97. Con la idea de poder pensar también en cómo incorporar a la comunidad en general en generar participación. Fueron espacios realmente relevantes en el sentido de que hoy día lo que constituye los Directorios de los Comités Consultivos de la nueva institucionalidad cultural partieron… los cabildos fueron un espacio de invitación y de construcción para lo que es hoy día la nueva institucionalidad cultural. Por tanto mucha gente sigue preguntando, "Bueno, ¿por qué los cabildos no siguen ejecutando?" Efectivamente hoy día existe una institucionalidad cultural que tiene esa misión, digamos. En el fondo se abrieron a partir de muchos de los encuentros, seminarios y los propios cabildos nacionales, regionales, provinciales, comunales, etcétera, o por ámbitos de desarrollo. Por tanto eso fue un insumo realmente relevante para la creación de la nueva institucionalidad cultural pero hoy día en el fondo no tiene más sentido. Existe la representación suficientemente amplia en el sentido dentro la misma institucionalidad cultural que no hace pensable que se tenga que mantener este modelo, digamos, de participación, ¿mm?

Q
¿Y qué tanto vínculo hay entre ustedes y el Ministerio de Educación? ¿Trabajan en conjunto? ¿Cómo está funcionando eso?

A
A ver. Por supuesto. La nueva institucionalidad cultural dentro de su constitución establece que aquí quien preside en este caso el Directorio Nacional es el Ministro, Weinstein en este caso que es Ministro de Cultura, pero además aquí participan Ministerio de Educación y el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. Son parte de nuestra institucionalidad, ¿ah? Lo mismo al nivel regional. O sea, si tú quieres, el Directorio está compuesto por siete miembros de los cuales dos son del sector público, verdad, y el resto, los cinco son de organizaciones y de mundos culturales de lo privado, ¿ah? Son personas ajenas, digamos, al servicio público - no son funcionarios - donde está la Directora Regional de Cultura y las Artes y la Seremi de Educación.

Q

Tengo harta curiosidad de echarle un vistazo a los planes y programas de estudio, el currículum de Gobierno, para ver qué tantas cruces de ideas hay entre el Ministerio de Educación y lo que hacen ustedes. ¿Qué me puedes decir al respecto?

A
A ver, lo que pasa es que nosotros no tenemos incidencia en el fondo en el tema de aplicación o en el desarrollo de planes y programas, ¿ah? O sino sería duplicar las funciones del Ministerio de Educación, ésas son sus funciones: poder en el fondo proponer políticas de educación, desarrollo en todos los ámbitos. Lo que nosotros sí hacemos con el Ministerio de Educación es el desarrollo de proyectos conjuntos que lleven, verdad, a poder precisar, mejorar, instalar de mejor manera el ámbito - nos interesa, por supuesto, todo el proceso educativo como un gran proceso cultural, ¿ah? - pero sin duda las habilidades, las experiencias, las experticias están en el Ministerio de Educación y no así en el Ministerio de Cultura en este caso. Lo que sí hacemos es un trabajo conjunto con la idea de poder avanzar, de manera de poder instalar la reforma educacional con una mirada que tenga que ver con un eje esencial para nosotros que tiene que ver con la educación de la sensibilidad, ¿mm?

Interview with writer, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo y tu vínculo, cierto, con Concepción, con Chile.

A
Bueno, mi vínculo con Chile es obligatorio. [*laughs*] Soy chileno. Yo pienso que mi trabajo en general, tanto mi trabajo distractivo cotidiano como mi trabajo de ganarme la vida, el pan, el vino, el tinto, la leche, de mis hijos, etcétera, siempre ha estado vinculado con cuestiones culturales. De hecho, mi primera ocupación, cuando todavía era estudiante en la Universidad Austral de Valdivia, fue en la Biblioteca Central de esa Universidad. Ahí estuve varios años. Después fui director de un pomposamente llamado dirección de extensión y radiocomunicación de la Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad Austral. Bueno, te contaba que mi primer trabajo profesional fue en la biblioteca de la Austral donde estuve varios años y después de ahí me fui a la Facultad de Bellas Artes donde dirigí una dirección de extensión cultural y radiocomunicación. Publiqué algunas revistas, unas monografías. De ahí pasé a la dirección de extensión de la Universidad Austral donde trabajé con un personaje muy conocido y muy prestigiado que es Luis Oyarzún. Y después vino el golpe del '73 y me fui a, bueno, primero a Lima donde estuve siete meses. Ahí no hice un trabajo regular. Después en Rumania donde sí trabajé y formalmente - en el sentido que no tuve contratos con empresas o con revistas o editoriales - pero trabajé con revistas y editoriales en traducción de libros de autores rumanos al español. Ahí, bueno, mi trabajo todos esos años estuvo centrado básicamente en eso: colaboraciones con revistas, colaboraciones con editoriales, etcétera, etcétera. Y después en España una actividad profesional mucho más suelta, más libre: colaboraciones esporádicas con editoriales también y con revistas literarias, etcétera. Y de vuelta a Chile durante mucho tiempo prácticamente en la nada - "en la nada misma", como dicen los jóvenes - hasta que se me ocurrió crear este boliche de libros hace diez años: el año '94. De modo que, como te he ilustrado casi todo mi trabajo, todo mi trabajo ha estado relacionado con cuestiones estrictamente culturales y básicamente del libro.

Q
Podrías profundizar un poquito más sobre qué significó para ti estar fuera de Chile.

A
Debemos considerar, en primer lugar, que yo salí como consecuencia del golpe de estado del año '73. Es decir, eso marca ya una manera de estar fuera de Chile, de hacer una vida en un lugar que uno no ha elegido. Y tuvo esa singularidad persistente de sentir este hecho atrabiliario y violento que es tener que abandonar un país, un espacio, un conjunto de situaciones humanas, situaciones históricas, geográficas, etcétera, que se configuraron hasta ese momento el espacio personal, en fin la patria. Este hecho, indudablemente que marcó ese estar afuera, fue un proceso bastante difícil, complejo, doloroso, el establecer la realidad, establecerla para uno mismo para su cotidianeidad de estar en esa situación y yo diría que, en el caso mío, la poesía, esa vieja constante y persistente que era para mí el ejercicio, la escritura fue un elemento decisivo en el modo resolver mi situación personal. ¿De qué modo? Por una parte, y no hablo aquí de los siete meses que viví en Lima que fueron meses con algunas características muy propias por esa parte el primer impacto del exilio, el más duro, el más incomprensible, pero también era el primer impacto de la enorme solidaridad que yo viví, gocé fuera del país,

sobre todo Lima donde llegué a mis amigos, llegué a una historia de trabajo más o menos en común con otros escritores, llegué a la amistad de otros que sumaron a una acción viva que existía en Lima en cuanto a perfilar la acción de mucha gente en el plano de la solidaridad con los chilenos que había ahí. En el caso mío, el grupo con el cual yo conviví y trabajé en esos meses fue un grupo de excepcional de calidad humana. Bueno, eso yo lo he consignado en algunas publicaciones mías en las que comento mi llegada a Lima y mi vida en Lima. Entonces, por otra parte, ahí se confundieron estos dos aspectos: el golpe terrible de la tragedia chilena que se vivía ahí en los momentos recientes y, por otra parte, la apertura de un signo de enorme afecto, como te decía recién, de solidaridad. Bueno, lo otro fue en Bucarest cuando yo llegué a un espacio ya mucho más desconocido y donde fue más agudo este enfrentarse a la realidad de tener obligatoriamente que armar y rearmar una vida en un lugar ajeno. Decía que siento la poesía me ayudó a resolver ese asunto. Alguna vez he dicho incluso que la poesía me salvó porque llegó un momento en que ya tuve que enfrentar abiertamente esta situación e intentar resolverla favorablemente y lo hice a partir de la escritura. Así yo me escribí un largo poema en el cual yo hacía la historia de mi confusión, por llamarlo de alguna manera, y esa historia se inscribía, se comentaba en las escrituras sucesivas y me ayudó a resolver un montón de preguntas que yo me hacía. Muchas de las cuales por supuesto no fueron contestadas ni serán contestadas nunca pero no era ése el punto, pienso. Yo creo que a veces una buena pregunta ayuda mucho más que una buena respuesta. Y en otras ocasiones yo he dicho que lo que busca mi poesía, por ejemplo, no son respuestas sino preguntas, que ya tengo muchas respuestas a mi haber pero lo que necesito son preguntas. Ésas son las que me van a indicar si mi posición frente a muchas cosas es acertada o no.

Q
Y después de pasar esta experiencia fuera de Chile ¿cómo fue tu retorno? ¿Cómo fue la acogida? Porque afuera creaste un espacio, un espacio interior, vínculos con otras personas.

A
Tal vez no dije pero en Rumania mi trabajo, mi acción cotidiana fue tremendamente positiva, fue estimulante. Yo allá, bueno además de aprender el idioma, estudié. Comencé un doctorado que no terminé porque tampoco me interesaba la gestión académica pero esto me permitió una vinculación con la sociedad, sobre todo con la sociedad cultural rumana de una enorme intensidad. Trabajé y traduje a los grandes poetas rumanos. Creo que conocí a los más importantes, impactantes poetas rumanos que por lo demás son grandes poetas en cualquier nivel internacional. La poesía rumana es reconocida como una de las más intensas y complejas y variadas de la poesía europea, por lo menos en aquellos decenios. Trabajé mucho en ese sentido, como te decía, colaborando con revistas, con editoriales, participando en encuentros con los poetas de la zona europea. Participé en otros congresos a los que me invitaban como poeta chileno, por supuesto. Bueno, fue un trabajo, una vida muy ocupada, muy intensa, muy entretenida, con mucha y grata comunicación humana, no solamente profesional con los poetas sino en general una comunicación humana de mucha frescura y de mucha entrega por ambos lados. Después estuve en España tres, cuatro años. Allí seguí haciendo unas cosas distintas ya, un trabajo que era un poco más vocacional con editoriales, con revistas, pero en Madrid fundé un sello de editoriales que se llama Ediciones Literatura Americana Reunida que era un sello básicamente solidario porque se trataba de perfilar desde *Lar*, desde este sello el confuso y desarmado

panorama de la literatura chilena del exilio. No era la solución, por supuesto, pero era algo con la cual queríamos contribuir a esta búsqueda. De hecho, no solamente había un confuso peregrinaje de muchos escritores sino que de muchos no sabíamos nada: no sabíamos si estaban en Chile, si vivían en extranjero, no sabíamos si vivían incluso, y por lo tanto no sabíamos en qué estado estaban sus escrituras. Bueno, esta editorial y una revista que fundé del mismo nombre, la revista *Lar*, quería contribuir un poco a eso, a encontrarnos. Era una manera de fijar un punto de reunión, por decirlo así. Eso fue tal vez lo más significativo que hice en España, que traté después de trasladarlo a Chile. De alguna manera lo hice pero ya con dificultades de otro tipo, con una interferencia brutal de la dictadura. Yo llegué el año '84 a fines, todavía con todas las restricciones políticas de provisiones y de censuras, etcétera, etcétera. A pesar de eso, logré publicar varios libros pero me significaron también castigos, castigos duros. Publiqué, por ejemplo, el libro de Joan Jara sobre Victor Jara: *Victor Jara: Un canto truncado*. Yo le puso *Un canto "no" truncado*. Los primeros libros de Allende, sobre Allende, es decir sobre el período de la Unidad Popular, lo publicamos nosotros. Publiqué un libro de Patricio Manns. Bueno, gestioné la publicación de varios pero el primero fue un libro de Patricio sobre Violeta Parra cuando toda esta gente, eran nombres absolutamente prohibidos en el país como Antonio Skármeta de quien publiqué *Soñé que la nieve ardía* en fin. Pero esa gestión audaz me valió también castigos bastante dolorosos y crueles, y deteriorante de punto de vista profesional. Me robaron miles y miles de libros, un número completo de la revista *Lar*. En fin. Y eso después hizo que declinara bastante y se debilitara sustancialmente lo que yo quería hacer en ese plano. Y en cuanto a mi relación con Chile, yo diría que todavía me siento un poco extraño en el país. Creo que el exilio más duro lo estoy viviendo Chile o lo viví en Chile en los primeros años de mi regreso, aun cuando lo único que yo quería hacer desde que salí de Chile el año '74 era regresar a Chile. Y sobre todo porque quería hacer ver que yo vivo donde quiero. No es que no quisiera vivir en el extranjero pero si yo vivo en extranjero es porque yo quiero vivir en extranjero, no porque me mandan a patadas. Y, bueno, llegué a Chile después de esos años, de doce, trece años y, claro, encontré un país que no era el país que yo conocía, lo encontré otro país, otro país con el cual poco a poco me estoy reencontrado en todo caso. Pero por supuesto que era un espacio distinto.

Q
Cuéntame del Chile de antes de la dictadura.

A
Claro, es en Chile que - no sé si voy a mezclar la idealización pero la idealización también es una realidad y pienso que objetivamente lo que yo recuerdo de ese Chile es, bueno, algo muy cercano a lo real aunque ya sabemos que la memoria es un elemento muy selectivo. Uno recuerda lo que quiere recordar y en muchas ocasiones privilegia o deforma o transforma los hechos. Pero mi recuerdo de ese Chile predictadura era un Chile mucho más solidario, mucho más abierto, mucho más ingenuo tal vez, por supuesto con menos posibilidades tecnológicas, etcétera, etcétera, etcétera. Pero era un Chile más vivible, sin los espantosos vicios creados - no sé si por la dictadura o por los tiempos que vinieron después en todo el mundo - pero yo creo que no existía, o si existía era casi en un ámbito doméstico, todos estos impulsos posteriores como el arribismo desenfrenado, el exitismo, la pugna con el otro, el ver al compañero colega no como compañero o colega sino como un rival, etcétera, etcétera. Es decir desde el punto de vista humano, yo recuerdo un Chile más vivible donde se podía conversar mejor, además eran posibles lo que llamemos las utopías que para los jóvenes era, tal

vez, un sueño un poco deformado de lo que se podía hacer pero que existía naturalmente en muchos de la juventud de ese tiempo. Sí creíamos en la posibilidad de un mundo perfectible, creíamos en eso. Ahora se cree menos, pienso yo.

Q
¿Cuál es tu percepción respecto a la política cultural? ¿Qué te parecen los trabajos que el FONDART está financiando y todo su proceso de postulación?

A
Yo, en general, soy positivamente crítico de esta gestión. En primer lugar, creo que todavía no existe una política cultural y no sé si existe en alguna parte una política cultural como un ejercicio de programar cosas y de diseñar esto que se llama "política cultural". Yo creo que las políticas culturales son más bien el resultado de una largísima gestión que se hace, que se va desglosando en infinitos modos de operar. Yo creo que es muy difícil diseñar una política cultural *teóricamente*. Ahora ¿cómo se hace acá este intento? Que yo creo que es honesto por supuesto en muchos gestores de estas políticas culturales. Ya que has mencionado el FONDART que lo adjuntamos el Fondo del Libro. Yo pienso que si bien son iniciativas importantes, yo considero nefasto que un país base su política cultural en hechos concursables. O sea, una política cultural no puede ser algo concursable. Estos concursos estarían bien si, además de eso, hubiera una gestión sólida que permitiera pensar y saber que cualquier gran proyecto, vigilado como quieran y con todas las pruebas que las autoridades quieran, pero lo que es un gran proyecto va a existir porque es un gran proyecto. Fuera de eso, podrían venir después aquellos otros, aquellas otras gestiones que necesitan el aval de esta supuesta política cultural o estas gestiones que se hacen a nivel más general pero no se puede basar el hecho cultural, el trabajo cultural de un país en concursos. Eso para mí es nefasto. Eso crea frustraciones, crea rencores, crea desconfianza, desesperanza. Imagínate, en un concurso se presentan dos mil personas y se aprueban treinta o cuarenta. ¿Qué pasa con los otros? Y los demás han hecho buenos proyectos, han trabajado meses en eso. Muchos de esos proyectos ¿sabes lo que ellos hacen habitualmente? En la mayoría de los casos, o por lo menos debiera ser así, no son proyectos que se hacen para ganarse un millón o dos millones o diez millones de concursos sino que forman parte de un proceso anidado ya en el interés de la gente. Entonces para mí ésa es una parte peligrosa de estos concursos. Por una parte, que sea la base de la gestión cultural, que no hay otra cosa sustentada y lo otro toda la amargura que crea, la frustración, la desesperanza en la gente. Bueno, yo creo que tal vez esas políticas se hacen a partir de esto, situación tan contradictoria: que entregan algo pero crean también otros espacios de desesperanza en la gente. A lo mejor ésa es una forma pero, no sé, me parece una forma bastante cruel en todo caso para mucha gente.

Q
¿Cómo ves el futuro de Chile?

A
Con mucha inquietud. Lo que veo, lo que presiento no me gusta nada. Ahora, explicarte eso cómo, no sé. Pero basta con leer los diarios, ver la televisión y mirar y escuchar la radio y ver las calles. Ojala que, desearía enormemente equivocarme pero yo no veo respirar bien a este país. Yo veo un país bastante moralmente muy deteriorado en que ocurren cosas escalofriantes, espantosas y todo eso se borra porque después aparecen

las noticias de la farándula que no sé qué cosa. O sea, no veo un país establecido en los puntos de apoyos morales.

Q
Si me pudieras comentar sobre ese espacio que tienes aquí al lado: el centro cultural. ¿Cómo ha sido recepcionado?

A
Bueno, son pequeños rasguños que le hacemos a la realidad y felizmente acá ha habido una coincidencia de muchas personas que hemos coincidido en el pensamiento de un centro cultural. Y no solamente eso sino que hemos tal vez expresado esta idea con tal inocente optimismo que hay varias personas que se están integrando y otros que preguntan de qué se trata para ayudar. Sí hay un espacio, por supuesto, un espacio de reserva, yo diría en la gente. También eso es bueno decirlo, gente que al saber de esta iniciativa, dice, “Bueno, ¿yo qué puedo hacer para ayudar?” ¡Eso es maravilloso! Ahora, claro, nuestra fuerza es pequeña y nuestra posibilidad es precaria pero son signos, son signos que lamentablemente permanecen en el ámbito de un grupo pequeño pero, como te digo, es un rasguño que le hacemos a la realidad, a la desesperanza de la sociedad para instalar ahí una pequeña bandera de resistencia. Y lo que será este centro, bueno, está por verse. Eso ya es una cuestión de nosotros, responder a este sueño nuestro, a esta audacia y a la esperanza de alguna otra gente, pero yo tengo confianza.

Interview with visual artist, first generation

Q
Cuéntame sobre tu trabajo. Tus motivaciones, intenciones…

A
Es tan amplia tu convocatoria que no sabría qué podemos abarcar pero, bueno, yo llevo más de veinte años como fotógrafa y, claro, me ha costado bastante. Mira, yo pertenezco a una generación, digamos, donde las mujeres siempre han tenido muchos problemas profesionalmente. Como fotógrafas somos una minoría pero absolutamente grotesca. Además, yo soy autodidacta. Yo viví en Inglaterra también. Yo viví muchos años en Inglaterra y llegué a Chile como en los finales de los sesenta. Entonces yo vine muy entusiasmada por la Unidad Popular, digamos, que era mi atracción. Entonces hay todo un enfoque muy político, muy social pero también como, de alguna manera, algo desconocido por la edad, te fijas, la falta de experiencias que es vivir seis años fuera. Entonces tú llegas como un poco con un idealismo muy generalizado, por decir así, o muy demasiado utópico todo, no. Y, bueno, mi único título universitario, soy licenciada en Educación Básica, entonces, y eso también lo pude reformular aquí con las leyes que creó Allende, entiendes, de poderme titular con facilidades. Porque yo no había terminado la universidad cuando me fui, te fijas. Yo recién alcancé a estar como un año en la universidad. Entonces me tocó como hacerme, te fijas, como reeducarme. Todo fue una gran reeducación esa vuelta a Chile y luego viene el golpe militar que es devastador para todos, el miedo, la irrupción en los espacios. Ésta es la misma casa en donde yo vivía en aquellos tiempos, te fijas. Fuimos allanados brutalmente. Entonces esa cosa de los espacios privados que es muy... Bueno, la suerte, el lujo de tener una casa grande, no, pero esto de vivir en espacio así encerrado por obligación… eso era una experiencia muy particular y luego viene esta necesidad de la calle, te fijas, del espacio de afuera, de incursionar como especie de testigo así con la cámara lo que sucede en la calle. Y en esos momentos es cuando yo me hago, me convierto en fotógrafa en realidad, porque lo otro era como muy secreto, muy privado, toda las cosas de los niños siempre por tímida, por ignorante porque no tenía estudios, entonces aprendiendo, cierto. Y viene toda esta época de ocupar la calle de la manera que se podía ocupar, no, como resistente, como resistencia de alguna manera de parte de los que nos quedamos acá, los que éramos contrario a Pinochet y que estábamos acá. Entonces el asunto de mi trabajo de fotografía, te fijas, entra mucho desde lo social. Y siempre tuvo un acento muy fuerte y lo tiene. Lo tiene todavía pero como más camuflado, te fijas. Hoy en día estoy tratando de independizarme de alguna manera exactamente de la dependencia que tengo con ese modelo, no, y, bueno, también me interesa y me ha interesado siempre, te fijas, no de apropiarse tanto de las cosas, no, como autora y el trabajar con... Por ejemplo, para mi primer trabajo invité a una escritora-periodista y fue una experiencia desde todo punto de vista muy enriquecedora, desde todos los puntos de vista. Además hice una obra de teatro con uno de los mejores directores de teatro que había en este país, te fijas. Después viene el trabajo con D. que es para mí una de las mejores escritoras que tenemos. Entonces también y son cosas que salen espontáneamente. Yo no sé si es una casualidad esto de trabajar entre mujeres, te fijas, o hay una intencionalidad atrás casi racional. [*laughs*] Y que también ha sido súper enriquecedor para mí y también para los otros porque he ayudado como a confundir un poco esta cosa tan inflexible, te fijas, de las áreas. Ese libro con D., por ejemplo, es un libro súper incómodo, entre otras cosas, no sólo por el tema, sino porque no se puede catalogar. ¿Dónde cabe? ¿Te fijas? ¿Cabe dentro de

literatura? ¿Dentro de fotografía? En las librerías, no saben dónde ponerlo. En las bibliotecas tampoco. Entonces ese gesto de proponer confusión de alguna manera me interesa, te fijas. No el confundir gratuitamente sino es como hacer preguntas, te fijas, siempre. No entregar algo digerido ya para que... Cosas que nunca están terminadas. De hecho, yo todos mis trabajos los llamo “ensayos”. Siempre los he llamado “ensayos” y tomo esa palabra como literalmente, no. Estoy ensayando algo antes de que esté terminado. Y, bueno, a mí me gustaría que tú me preguntaras cosas más concretas...

Q
Si pudiéramos discutir la noción de impacto social del arte.

A
Bueno, desde luego yo creo que eso es uno de los factores más fascinantes que tiene el arte. Que tiene esa capacidad de transformar al que lo mira, al que quiera acoplarse al cuento, el gesto preposicional, de proponer siempre. Pero hablarlo en general, te fijas, me gustaría como siempre ir más a lo particular porque aquí en Chile el arte sigue siendo muy elitista. Siempre ha sido. Y entonces hay para algunos y sino ¿cómo lo hace para llegar? Te fijas, y cada vez que lo has hecho es la experiencia más extraordinaria. Eso yo lo hago mucho, ir con mis trabajos. ¿Qué sé yo? La experiencia que yo tuve con este trabajo de los últimos kaweskars cuando estuvo esta exposición en el sur, es increíble que para ellos... Además tengo que considerar que la fotografía en Chile siempre ha tenido una posición muy dudosa, te fijas. Entonces que sea arte, mira, hasta por ahí no más para mucha gente. Tampoco me preocupa. Es un tema que no me preocupa y no quiero gastar tiempo en esa discusión. Me da lo mismo, te fijas. Pero sí me interesa ver la reacción de la gente antes, al menos, *mi* fotografía o lo que me ha tocado testimoniar de otro caso. Y que tiene esta capacidad tremenda de incluir, es incluyente, que el otro se siente reconocido o interpretado. Yo hago talleres ahora justamente con la División de Cultura que tiene unos programas para Regiones. Entonces algunos talleres de fotografía en escuelas de muy pocos recursos, de escasísimos recursos en, que sé yo, en Arica, en varias partes, en el sur. Ahora lo estoy haciendo en Coquimbo y ha sido una experiencia extraordinaria porque no es sólo los niños directamente, o sea, lo que pasa con ellos, sino lo que pasa con la familia, lo que pasa con los profesores, lo que pasa con la comunidad en general cuando empiezan a darse cuenta que este tesoro que están como trabajando sus hijos tiene esta capacidad de transformación que los apasiona. Me ha tocado trabajar con niños de muchos problemas de disfunción familiar, de mucha violencia. Entonces lo que hace el arte con ellos. Como yo los hago trabajar con... La fotografía mía es como documental entrecomillas, entonces esto de obligarlos a trabajar con lo que tienen ahí, te fijas, que son otras personas. Entonces llevarlos a ver a otras personas ha sido una experiencia para ellos extraordinaria. Tú te das cuenta de lo que no conoce la gente, que no conoce lo que está a un metro de distancia. Entonces hay todo un factor humano que a mí me atrae mucho, que me emociona mucho en este aspecto como más de la enseñanza de lo que yo hago. Pero también veo los resultados de, por ejemplo, en mi exposición. Yo recibo unos comentarios muy impresionantes, así de gente como muy conmovida porque la gente tiene mucha vergüenza de hablar de emociones siempre; y entre más académico, más intelectual, más difícil todavía. Entonces ha sido interesante ver que justamente por ahí iba mucho la cosa, lo que pasó con muchos espectadores.

Q
¿Y has mantenido un registro de todo este impacto que está teniendo tu trabajo?

A
Mira, siempre hay. Porque, bueno, mucha gente que me conoce me manda mails o qué sé yo pero también hay un librito en la exposición, no, donde la gente anota cosas que es divertido verlos a veces. Tampoco ando detrás de ese tipo de gratificación. Es anecdótico para mí. Pero de repente llama la atención. Yo no sé si te responde un poco lo que estamos hablando a tu pregunta.

Q
Sí. Me da un ejemplo muy claro del fenómeno que estoy tratando de entender.

A
Además es una sorpresa exponer porque mi fotografía ha sido, yo he tenido problemas de censura mucho, te fijas. Durante la dictadura, por supuesto. Entonces mi primer libro fue completamente censurado, te fijas. Entonces yo he vivido en un mundo de mucha censura y me llama la atención que de repente, por ejemplo, esta exposición mía tiene una noventa por ciento de retrospectiva. O sea, son fotos que de alguna manera yo las he mostrado. No sé cómo, pero se encarga el mundo de ahora de señalar como si nunca las había mostrado, como si fuera todo nuevo. Lo que me hace pensar es que nadie estaba preparado para mirar mis fotos no más antes, te fijas. Son las mismas. Entonces ahora las ven y ahora dicen, “Pero ¡qué estupenda la foto!” Cuando hace un tiempo atrás, no...

Q
No enganchaban.

A
Nada. O sea, hay un cambio. O sea, este país ha cambiado algo. Yo creo que de partida hay más información sobre fotografía, por ejemplo. Es interesante eso. No puedo todavía llegar a una conclusión definitiva pero... O sea, se ha puesto muy siútico este país, te fija. Tremendamente americanizado y *snob*. Tiene todos los grandes defectos americanos, te fijas. Y la pobreza continúa igual pero nadie la ve, te fijas. Todos miran de cierto barrio para arriba. Entonces es muy, muy extraño para mí lo que ha pasado con mi exposición, palabra que es cierto que ha sido muy extraño.

Q
Me parece interesante lo que acabas de decir: que Chile antes no estaba preparado para ver tu fotografía.

A
Claro, porque todo era como “el Chile lindo”, te fijas. La fotografía de paisaje, la fotógrafa anecdótica, la fotografía para viajeros. Y eso que en Chile, digamos, el cine es más reconocido. El cine ya hoy día hay una especie de *boom* con el cine chileno. También hay mucha ayuda, te fijas, al cine. O sea, el FONDART ha hecho... hay un cambio ahí tremendo, un apoyo notorio. Ese es otro factor, te fijas, con estas políticas culturales de la Concertación como que ha habido cambio, bastantes cambios. El mismo FONDART es una cosa fabulosa que se creó. Ahora los resultados, te fijas, bueno, siempre hay quejas. No hay vueltas que darles. Nadie va a estar nunca contento pero hay grandes avances y con esto de descentralizar un poco Santiago. Yo creo que es una idea como símbolo muy buena.

Q
De qué manera específicamente te has beneficiado con toda esta política cultural.

A
Bueno, de partida, participar mucho más y, bueno, también he tenido apoyo del FONDART, te fijas. O sea, bueno, de partida es un gobierno con el que me interesa también, te fijas, colaborar, así que por varios motivos yo siento que hay recepción, entiendes, está receptivo, y es como más abierto. De todas maneras. Es que no se puede comparar con tiempos de la dictadura, te fijas, porque es tan grotesco lo de la dictadura, tan absurdo era todo. Hay que pensar que con esta especie de transición hacia la democracia ha ido creciendo esta cosa como más en serio, de que la cultura necesita espacio, necesita tiempo, necesita dinero. Entonces hay hoy día una acogida y una sensibilidad total, abierta y más inteligente, te fijas.

Q
¿Cómo ves Chile del futuro?

A
Como una especie de sucursal de Estados Unidos, lo veo. Es un estado más de Estados Unidos. El enclave, que dice Armando Uribe. Chile es un enclave de Estados Unidos. O sea, hay que tener mucho ojo, mucho cuidado. Y sí están sintiendo demasiado estupendo aquí. Hay prepotencia, mucha discriminación, hay cosas que dan mucho susto así. A mí me preocupa... Yo no sé qué podemos hacer, fíjate, con este Chile que viene. Yo creo también que, bueno, además yo tengo posturas políticas muy claras así que también me aterra mucho que se instale la Derecha. Eso me preocupa mucho porque, además, yo creo que toda la cosa cultural no viene de la Derecha, entonces de ese punto de vista específico también hay otro gran peligro. Espero que no haya que preocuparse de eso próximamente.

Q
¿Qué crees necesita nuestro sistema educacional para despertar esta sensibilidad hacia el mundo, esta sensibilidad hacia quienes somos?

A
Sí. Faltan muchas cosas. Lo que pasa es que... Mira, yo pienso que hay una ignorancia muy generalizada, hay un problema de, cómo decirte, de información que falta, que les falta a los estudiantes. Da mucho susto su ignorancia. Me toca trabajar con gente de universidades y me llama profundamente la atención lo ignorante que son, lo poco que leen, lo poco que se preguntan, una indiferencia... Sobre todo yo me muevo con estudiantes universitarios que son de una cierta edad, que uno podría exigir mucho más, te fijas. Con los chicos de educación media, educación básica de provincia uno es menos exigente por su edad, su condición, que tampoco creo que se justifica para que sean ignorantes pero lo que no perdono es a estudiantes de universidades privadas, por ejemplo, que no conozcan Santiago, no conozcan el centro de la ciudad. Mira, es una sorpresa la falta de lectura, la falta de... Entonces creo que hay mucha desinformación y no sé cuánto echar culpa para atrás: a la formación misma de los profesores. En fin, creo que falta mucho todavía que hacer con los estudiantes. Yo creo que falta mucha responsabilidad. Eso es algo que me llama la atención. Los encuentro profundadamente irresponsables a los estudiantes.

El mundo de la lectura está en peligro porque todo se da tan fácil y se le entrega todo tan fácil con esto del Internet, tú aprietas a un botón, está todo hecho. Yo tengo amigas profesoras en la universidad que están espantadas porque los alumnos imprimen prácticamente, sacan una tarea, un trabajo y van imprimiendo pensando que nadie más se va a dar cuenta, cosas así. Oye, pero qué terrible. Yo no sé cómo se puede solucionar. Yo creo que tiene que ver con los medios de comunicación del mundo en que vivimos. En mi tiempo las pruebas, los exámenes no eran como ahora. Ahora tú haces un *tick*. Está todo como redactado ya. O sea, tú no piensas. Tú elijes una especie de fórmula. Lo encuentro súper desconcertante. Yo encuentro que es un milagro poder convivir con ellos. [*laughs*] Porque de así de lejanas pueden ser las comunicaciones.

Q
¿Cómo ves el trabajo interdisciplinario? ¿Alguna vez has trabajado...?

A
Sí, pero no con científicos. Solamente con literatos, poetas.

Q
¿Y cómo ves esa posibilidad?

A
Por eso me encanta tanto Nicanor Parra con quien también somos amigos. Él, entre físico y profesor de Matemática, es uno de los poetas más grandes que tenemos. Ahí se junta y cobija a la vez...

Q
¿Cuál sería el espacio ideal que permitiría la colaboración y el intercambio?

A
No sé. Realmente qué pregunta más difícil. Yo creo que ese espacio hay que armarlo con mucho cuidado desde dentro de la educación. No creo que se pueda como inaugurar un espacio así sin previo cuidado, sin previo cultivo. Claro, por ejemplo, es poca la gente que destaca eso que junta Nicanor Parra. No he leído otro trabajo sobre esta capacidad, que se da en Nicanor como una autogestión en vez de una labor de dos ciencias o dos campos que los juntan. Y lo demás, como te digo, lo mío ha sido siempre con áreas muy afines porque yo pienso que la poesía está muy cerca con la fotografía. Son muy cercanas.

Q
¿Me podrías explicar un poco más esa “proximitud”?

A
Sí. Mira, yo creo que esto de trabajar con tantas alegorías o metáforas. Creo que trabajamos un lenguaje, una aproximación a las cosas que es muy semejante. Hay una cosa en la forma de aproximarse a lo externo o a lo interno también que es de esta manera: siempre como haciendo metáforas, no. Además, esto de que la fotografía específicamente de los tiempos de la dictadura, alguien hablaba, por obligación tuvo que ser metafórica por la cosa de la censura. Escuché eso y pensé si valdría la pena investigarlo. Yo creo que en algunos casos sí, pero es un tema para desarrollar.

Interview with sociologist and member of the UNDP research team, second generation

Q
¿Cuál es el rol del *Informe de Desarrollo Humano*?

A
Lo que me parece a mí más valioso rescatar es el informe como una instancia de observación de la sociedad ¿ya? Justamente lo que nosotros destacamos en este informe era que la sociedad mantenía una especie de distancia entre lo que entendíamos que era Chile, en función de la tradición y la mirada heredada, y lo que estaba pasando realmente con las relaciones sociales y con la cultura en el Chile de hoy. Entonces, ahí nuestro rol es justamente ofrecer un espacio de reflexión y de discusión sobre estas transformaciones. Entonces, ahí yo creo que el informe tiene el rol esencial de poder poner preguntas sobre la mesa, poder poner miradas críticas, mostrar el otro lado de la luna ¿no cierto? Hacer un poco remecer a los actores públicos en torno a ciertas preguntas que hasta el momento no estaban siendo puestas sobre la mesa. El tema de la reflexividad me parece central, me parece central que existan instrumentos como éste, puede no ser el *Informe de Desarrollo Humano*, pero que existan otras entidades. De alguna forma, el espacio que viene a llenar el informe tiene que ver también con una situación de déficit de capacidad de observación de la sociedad por parte de la propia sociedad y eso tiene que ver con el rol que han ejercido en los últimos años las universidades, por ejemplo, los centros de estudios que de alguna manera han dejado de lado esa reflexión más crítica de la sociedad. Se han puesto muy en la lógica de estar siempre asociados a reflexiones más de políticas públicas concretas, de ser casi como consultoras - ¿no cierto? - muy en búsqueda de los temas para los cuales hay financiamiento. Hay una lógica muy empresarial de por medio que obliga a vender servicios ¿te fijas? Eso es una cosa interesante en términos de que permite constituir ciertos grupos de investigación pero tiene el déficit de que te obliga a formularte solamente aquellas preguntas que los que tienen la plata quieren hacerse. Entonces, por ahí se ocultan ciertas preguntas, o se dejan de hacer ciertas preguntas, se pierden ciertas profundidades que son súper relevantes. Entonces, el rol del informe en general, y de este informe en particular, relativo a la cultura fue tratar de poner sobre la mesa esas preguntas que no estaban siendo puestas y siempre de un punto de vista muy objetivo, con mucha, mucha investigación empírica, tanto de la sociedad como de otros informantes, considerando otros investigadores que existían también sobre el tema, pero siempre con mucha información para poder decir, “Aquí tenemos un tema que conversar”. Y eso fue el rol del informe fundamentalmente. Y lo interesante es que, tú algo mencionaste, el rol del informe no se juega solamente aquí en la oficina. La otra mitad de nuestra pega se completa con la dinamización de un debate público importante. Y en ese sentido nosotros hemos hecho con este informe, no te puedo decir ahora porque no me acuerdo, pero muchísimas presentaciones, charlas, seminarios, talleres a lo largo de todo Chile con los públicos más diversos ¿no cierto? Desde Ministerio, NG, empresas privadas, con los cuales hemos conversado a partir de los hallazgos del informe. Entonces eso es parte también del trabajo nuestro. Es no solamente poner las preguntas sino tratar de dinamizar ese debate. El que otros tomen nuestras conclusiones, las aceptan o las hagan pedazos, da lo mismo. El punto es que se genere una dinámica de conversación. Y nos sentimos satisfechos por la enorme cantidad de conferencias que hemos hecho, las cuales son solicitadas por la gente, no son buscadas por nosotros y - ¿qué sé yo? - el mismo hecho que el informe se ha

vendido, que esté agotado, es una cuestión rarísima en las publicaciones de Naciones Unidas, cierto, que se venda, y más encima, se agote. El hecho que se haya sacado esta publicación de divulgación masiva ¿te fijas? Entonces, da cuenta de que hay un interés. Nosotros tratamos de no creernos mucho el cuento. No es que seamos tan choros ni tan geniales sino más bien hay una necesidad de hablar ciertos temas. Se ha gatillado una necesidad de reconversar ciertas cosas que tienen que ver con los acuerdos básicos de la cultura. Hay una sed, una necesidad de entender, de comprender cómo los cambios que estamos viviendo afectan la vida cotidiana, cómo afectan la integración social. El informe es como una voz en un escenario, en un contexto en el cual las personas, los actores sociales, las personas como individuos tienen mucha necesidad de comprender, de ponerle nombre a los fenómenos, de discutir qué nos pasa en nuestras vidas cotidianas. Entonces, se enganchan las dos cosas, hay una buena confluencia de intereses ahí. Este segundo momento creemos es parte muy importante de nuestro trabajo. Y nuestro rol se agota ahí, en el sentido de que nosotros no somos los hacedores de políticas públicas. Al informe no se le puede juzgar por cuánta política efectivamente se hace o no se hace. Ojala que así sea, que incida, que tenga un impacto, pero hay roles distintos y eso es una cuestión súper importante de aclarar porque muchas veces la gente al final de las charlas nos dice, "¿Bueno, y esto se lo dijeron al Presidente y esto lo escucharon, les hicieron caso?" "Bueno, ¡es que sí se lo dijimos! A todo el mundo había que decírselo." De ahí a que esto se transforme en políticas públicas es otro cuento que no nos corresponde a nosotros. A nosotros nos corresponde ser lo más seductores posibles en nuestras apreciaciones como para iluminar el accionar de los que toman las decisiones, pero claramente el rol es distinto. Eso es por una parte. Por otra parte, hay que dejar siempre en claro que el tipo de impacto que este trabajo puede tener no es tan directo o tan lineal, en el sentido que alguien pudiera decir, "Bueno, a partir de esta idea, el presupuesto de la nación se gasta en una manera distinta". No es tan lineal. Muchas veces el mayor impacto que este tipo de instrumento tiene consiste simplemente en cambiar la manera de pensar de alguien y eso, que es menos concreto, es tal vez más profundo que hacer que alguien oriente un proyecto u oriente plata del tesoro público de cierto proyecto en función de algo. El hecho de ofrecer maneras de mirar el accionar propio de la gente que toma decisiones en el ámbito público es un impacto súper sustantivo y profundo pero que es menos medible, te fijas, menos observable, menos tangible y creemos que ahí también el informe ha tenido éxito poniendo esas ideas en la cabeza de muchos hacedores de políticas. Por ejemplo, en el ámbito de la políticas culturales, no cierto, una idea que nosotros hemos tratado de poner con fuerza es la necesidad de cubrir un aspecto más amplio de la definición de cultura, de no solamente acotarse a cultura como "bellas artes" o como "bienes y servicios culturales" más clásicamente entendidos, sino que comprender cómo la cultura también tiene que ver con las confianzas, con la manera en que nos vemos o pertenecemos al mismo país y con cuestiones mucho más amplias que permiten la convivencia, y que no son estrictamente expresiones artísticas sino que son visiones imaginarias respecto a la convivencia, a cómo vivimos juntos, el por qué somos todos chilenos y el sentido que tiene eso. Entonces, por ejemplo, hay una idea que implica simplemente tratar de poner un énfasis que haga ampliar el espectro, no cierto, de un concepto y en eso creo que hemos tenido algún impacto. Eso es difícil de ver y medirlo, te fijas, y por ese lado puede ser menos concreto. Existe una dimensión a la cual hay que poner atención cuando se habla de políticas culturales y nuestra propuesta ha tratado de avanzar hacia allá, más allá de las políticas culturales como tal. Me refiero a la preocupación por "la dimensión cultural de la política" que es otro cuento, ¿te fijas? Es decir, todo el tema de las políticas culturales es muy importante. El informe

trata ese tema, planteando cuál es la conexión de eso con esta noción de la cultura en el sentido más amplio. Más allá de las políticas culturales, había que preocuparse de la dimensión cultural de la política. Es decir, darse cuenta que la política en sí misma - la acción de construir sociedad, de construir país - tiene dimensiones culturales que no puedan ser dejadas de lado, como por ejemplo aquellas que implican la construcción de sentidos sociales, la construcción de sentidos temporales, te fijas, la misma noción de futuro, la misma noción de promesa, que son todas cosas que están puestas en entredicho en un contexto en que muchos de los ejes de la sociedad han cambiado. Todas esas dimensiones que son parte de la vida social no pueden ser olvidadas por la política. Creemos hay ahí una tarea muy importante a la que no se puede renunciar. La misma idea de justicia, la misma idea de progreso, todas esas nociones que parecían tan claras en un contexto anterior donde había cierta aparente certeza respecto a lo que significaban, hoy día tienen que ser resignificadas y eso creemos es la misión de quiénes están construyendo el ámbito de lo público. En ese sentido decimos, "Ojo con la política y su dimensión cultural". Así más o menos nosotros vemos el tema.

Q
En todo este proceso de construcción de políticas culturales ¿ha habido participación directa de ustedes?

A
En nuestro caso hay una colaboración directa. Ha sido muy afortunada esa relación. El equipo de Desarrollo Humano asesora al Ministro de Cultura en la conformación de su Consejo y las cuestiones generales. La asesoría se remite no a la concreción específica de planes y programas sino más bien a tratar de ver cómo se puede inspirar una cierta proyección en el tiempo y cuál es la acción y el rol de un consejo como el del Ministerio de Cultura que se está practicando actualmente, pero, claro, nosotros somos asesores directos del Ministro.

Q
El Consejo está conformado por un gran número de personas y entiendo que eso está ligado con el tema de la representatividad y espacios de participación. ¿Cómo ves la dinámica de articulación y agilización dentro de este enorme grupo?

A
Los procesos son tan importantes como los resultados. Tú dices la conformación de un consejo tan complicado como ése a lo mejor puede derivar en que sus resultados no sean tan rápidos como uno quisiera o tan efectivos. Ahora uno podría valorar también el proceso, es decir, la directa necesidad de incluir a mucha gente es un elemento valorable también en sí mismo, digamos. Obviamente, hay que buscar que sea además eficiente, pero me parece positivo que se incluya a distintas voces, distintas visiones. Sobre todo en un contexto en que las exclusiones son tan, tan complicadas, digamos. Imagínate.

Q
¿Tienes algún comentario más sobre la política cultural de Lagos?

A
Lo único es que es innegable el aumento, no cierto, de producción cultural. Es una cuestión que se constata. Es cuantitativo y claramente, y también es cualitativo. Todo el

tema del FONDART, que son políticas que venían no sólo de Lagos sino que el Gobierno de la Concertación. Ha sido súper, súper relevante todo el proceso que se ha dado con el cine por ejemplo últimamente donde se han descubierto maneras distintas de buscar financiamiento. Por primera vez se han hecho alianzas públicos-privadas, te fijas. Inauguraron nuevas maneras de generar o de gestionar la generación de productos culturales. Yo creo que ese crecimiento es innegable. Hay espacios para seguir creciendo y desde dónde se podrían levantar críticas, pero yo creo que no se puede desconocer la importancia que ha tenido, que ha tomado la cultura, incluso como tema de debate y como presencia pública de manera notable los últimos años, bien notable como se ha producido, además de la producción de bienes y servicios culturales. Una apertura cultural en términos de la capacidad de discutir ciertos temas en los medios de comunicación. La verdad es que posterior al informe, en los últimos dos ó tres años solamente se ha dado una cierta apertura en la cual temas de la vida íntima, temas de la vida de pareja, etcétera, han estado fuerte en los medios de comunicación y hoy día existen muy pocas barreras respecto a qué tema se pueden hablar o no se pueden hablar en televisión, cosa que repito hace tres o cuatro años era impensable del mismo uso del lenguaje, etcétera. Entonces creo que eso da un ambiente cultural propicio tanto para producción cultural, en el sentido de cultura estricto, como también para la apertura a la conversación respecto a la cultura en un sentido donde estén todos los temas de la convivencia y la tolerancia. Yo veo un ambiente interesante, el ambiente es muy positivo en esos términos. Es una oportunidad que hay que aprovechar, digamos, aprovecharla para llenarla con nuevos contenidos, con discusiones que sean de nivel y no simplemente meras parafernalias superficiales en torno a estos temas.

Q
Me preocupa el tema de la pluralidad. Pareciera que a veces se da prioridad a un tipo de arte o cultura que vende. Lo veo por ejemplo en los tipos de películas que está financiando el FONDART. Sin embargo, existe un sector que está afuera del círculo comercial. Hay otro sector marginal al que se le dificulta incluso acceder al proceso de postulación de financiamiento. E incluso he conocido varios chilenos en Londres que no tenían idea que podían postular al FONDART desde Inglaterra. O sea, también hay toda una cuestión de desconocimiento...

A
Yo creo que son pasos sucesivos porque hay un primer hecho: que pueden postular y eso es valorable. Después hay el tema decir, “Demos a conocer esto para que todos estén enterados”, que haya una situación de justicia en que todos puedan participar en condiciones similares. Yo creo que hay una serie de instrumentos que se están desarrollando, lo cual no implica que no haya problemas o cosas de mejorar, etcétera. A largo plazo hay que reconocer que ha habido una apertura importante, una construcción institucional también importante en miras de poder apoyar la producción cultural. Entonces en ese sentido me parece que hay más recursos, hay más producción, hay más productores, hay más cultores y como te digo hay una sensación de que es posible llegar a hacer producciones financiadas que sean además un éxito, pero que no necesariamente tengan que transar en sus principios. Creo que por ahí hay una oportunidad interesante. Te lo digo yo como un tipo que está afuera de eso. Obviamente que personajes que están dentro te pueden hacer todo un discurso respecto a las falencias, insuficiencias o eventuales discriminaciones que pudieran haber. Visto desde afuera, aparece como una oportunidad, una cosa importante de rescatar.

Q
Visto desde afuera también tengo la misma percepción pero cuando me acerco a la percepción subjetiva, están todos esos matices que creo es importante que se sistematicen y que se den a conocer también.

A
Podríamos plantear las siguientes preguntas: ¿cómo se relaciona la producción cultural con otro aspecto importante de la cultura que tiene que ver con los medios de comunicación? ¿Cómo es posible que haya una producción cultural importante, que se abra a muchos temas, que se abra a muchos creadores, y sin embargo tengamos un medio de comunicación masivo que se cierra, que tiende a centrarse en pocas manos, que tiende a perder diversidad? Por ejemplo, la pérdida de la capacidad de sectores de la no Derecha de tener un diario. Es una cuestión súper complicada hoy día. Sin embargo, los mismos diarios que están en manos de personas de la Derecha están obligados a dirigirse por la lógica del Mercado y en ese sentido muchas veces se subvierten los intereses de sus propios dueños, te fijas. Entonces, esto tiene mucho de oportunidad, mucho de amenaza, claroscuros y ambivalencias que hay que tener en cuenta. Es un tema complicado pero en general hay un momento propicio para esta conversación que es un mejor momento que hace tres, cuatro años y es importante tener en cuenta ese cambio y asumirlo como una ganancia también, como una oportunidad para enfrentar los desafíos que están aún pendientes.

Q
¿Podrías repetirme esta distinción entre el Ministerio de Educación, Ministerio de Cultura? ¿Cómo se logró?

A
Bueno, lo que yo conozco del tema es que justamente una de las preocupaciones era que las distintas ramas del ejecutivo tenía equipos diferentes relacionados al tema de cultura. El Ministerio de Educación tenía uno, el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores otro, y así. Entonces, lo que se buscó con esta configuración era centralizar o más bien coordinar las distintas entidades que estaban preocupadas del tema de la cultura en un solo gran ente que es el Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, cuyo Presidente tiene rango de Ministro: Ministro José Weinstein. Era una búsqueda por institucionalizar la generación cultural, la preocupación por la cultura en términos de darle una mayor capacidad de acción. Justamente la antigua desarticulación en ciertos ministros muchas veces conspiraba contra esa mayor capacidad de acción. Ahora, tú bien constatas esto no es la panacea. Existen una serie de desafíos en términos de gestión, por ejemplo, que son súper, súper importantes. En su momento no fue del todo fácil superar la resistencia al cambio. Pero ése fue el objetivo: reunir en un solo ente las distintas expresiones y entidades funcionales de esta rama del ejecutivo que estaban asociadas al tema de cultura. Ése fue el objetivo.

APPENDIX 4: VISUALS

▪AREAS OF STRUGGLE

1. Preservation as a people together with all their cultural heritage , which begins with the communal tenancy of the land .
2. The preservation of their language .
3. The preservation of the traditional community organisation system .
4. The preservation of collective methods of work .
5. The preservation of the artistic , musical , religious and ceremonial values .
6. The return of stolen land .
7. The abolition of law 2568 , and its replacement with a new law for Indigenous people with the active participation of the Mapuche themselves.
8. The granting of all civil and democratic rights enjoyed by the rest of Chilean society .

The Mapuche people are an integral part of Chilean society and understand that their rights will not be acheived until the whole of the Chilean society is free .

We call on political parties to include within their programes the just cause of the Mapuche people . This is not only a moral duty but a political one.

We view as contradictory the fact that the majority of the Chilean political parties give solidarity to numerous popular and ethnic struggles internationally but remain silent about the struggle of the Mapuche people .

We propose that a broad conference be held with the participation of political organisations both Chilean and British in order to discuss the Mapuche question .

We propose that a concrete cultural project run by one of the Mapuche base organisations be adopted and supported. Towards this goal we have taken preliminary steps .

We call for sustained solidarity with the just cause of the Mapuche people.

▪THE F.C.M.C. & SURAZO

The FONDO CANTO MESTIZO COMMITTEE is a charity project of a years duration created by the musical group SURAZO in order to help economically the Enrique Castro shanty town (cantegril) in Montevideo , Uruguay , and the Mapuche organization Folil-Che-Aflaial in Santiago , Chile .

The project consists of a Bankers account into which all the money the group can get in a year will enter . This money will come from live performance fees , the selling of the SURAZO cassette recordings , the organization of parties and cultural events and from the solidarity of anybody willing to help .

At the end of this year work (Aug 86-Aug 87) SURAZO and FONDO CANTO MESTIZO will organize a cultural evening were the amount collected will be revealed . The whole of this will be spent in creating a workshop for people living in the shanty town in Montevideo and for a school in the Mapuche region in the south of Chile .

We call upon Cultural workers and the latin-American community to give their support and solidarity .

▪CAN YOU HELP?

Support the activities of the FONDO CANTO MESTIZO COMMITTEE
Buy the Music , literature and craftwork on display in our events .
Buy the food and drinks on display .
Or just write a solidarity cheque on whichever amount you can afford to:

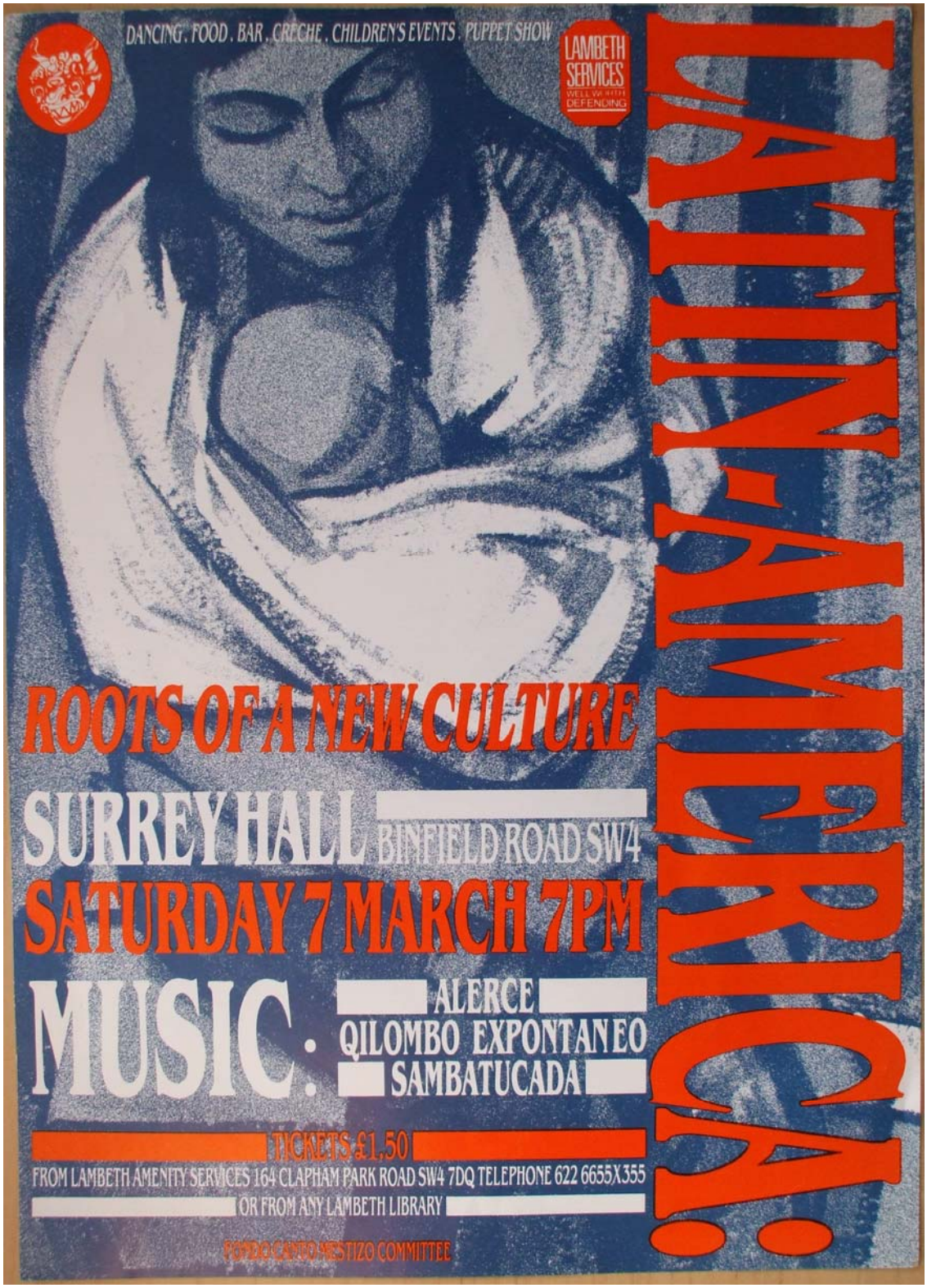
FONDO CANTO MESTIZO COMMITTEE

Fondo CANTO MESTIZO Committee

The MAPUCHES:

FOUR CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE FOR THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN

CHILE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FONDO CANTO MESTIZO COMMITTEE

ROOTS OF A NEW CULTURE!
ROOTS OF A NEW MUSIC!

LATIN-AMERICAN CULTURE WAS BORN OUT OF ABORIGINAL TRADITIONS + THE RELATIVELY NEW IMPOSED VALUES OF THE ARRIVAL OF COLOMBUS + THE AFTERMATH OF THE ONSLAUGHT + PILLAGE THAT HIS LESSER CONTEMPORARIES INFLICTED UPON THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE OLD LATIN-AMERICAN CONTINENT. THE INCAS, AZTECS + MAYAS LEFT ONLY ARCHEOLOGICAL REMINDERS OF WHAT ONCE WAS A FORM OF CIVILIZATION UNIQUE TO THAT CONTINENT. WHAT STILL REMAINS ARE THE TRADITIONS CARRIED ON BY DIFFERENT TRIBAL GROUPS. THE AIMARA IN BOLIVIA HAVE THEIR OWN TRADITIONS AS WELL AS A DISTINCT FLAVOUR OF MUSIC; THE MAPUCHES IN CHILE HAVE DEFENDED THEIR CULTURE + HAVE PROVIDED THE NATION WITH A RICH HERITAGE OF ANCIENT TRADITIONS.

EVERY LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRY HAS A DIVERSITY OF PEOPLE; SETTLERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD, PRINCIPALLY FROM SPAIN, PORTUGAL + OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. BRAZIL, URUGUAY + THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES HAVE LARGE POPULATIONS OF AFRICAN SETTLERS. THE RESULT IS BOTH A CLASH + SUBTLE BLEND OF CULTURES, EACH REGION BEARING ITS OWN DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS. IN PARTICULAR, HISTORY +TRADITION COME TO BEAR UPON THE MUSIC OF EACH OF THESE REGIONS.

THE NEW CULTURE EMERGING IS ONE OF CONSTANT DISCOVERY, OR REDISCOVERY, IN THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE IDENTITY + ETHNICITY. LATIN-AMERICA TODAY IS RIDDLED WITH MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS, WHICH PAY LITTLE ATTENTION TO CULTURE APART FROM ATTEMPTING TO SUPPRESS IT.

THE SEARCH FOR FREEDOM IS HISTORICALLY PRESERVED IN THE MUSICAL SOUNDS THAT COME FROM LATIN-AMERICA. THE SOUND OF THE PAN FLUTES TELL THE HISTORY OF THE ALTIPLANIC AIMARA, THE DRUM BEAT, THAT OF THE ZULU AFRICAN TAKEN FROM HIS HOMELAND, THE GUITAR HARMONIES THAT OF THE SPANIARD.

FROM THE 50's ONWARDS THE SOUNDS OF LATIN MUSIC BEGAN TO HIT EUROPE, IN PARTICULAR, THE RHYTHMS OF CUMBIA, SALSA + RIO CARNIVAL. AFRO-CARIBBEAN SOUNDS ALSO BEGAN TO TAKE IMPORTANCE. TODAY WE HEAR THESE RHYTHMS + HARMONIES IN ALMOST EVERY SONG ON THE RADIO.

DUE TO THE PRESENT SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN LATIN-AMERICA THERE IS A LARGE POPULATION OF EXILES LIVING IN BRITAIN; WITH THEM THEY HAVE THE EXPERIENCES THAT LEAD THEM TO BE CREATIVE, IN AN ATTEMPT TO PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE.

TODAY WE ARE PROUD TO PRESENT 3 OF THE BEST EXPONENTS OF LATIN-AMERICAN MUSIC PRESENTLY STAYING IN THE U.K. THEY ARE ALL BASED IN LONDON + PLAY REGULARLY IN + AROUND LONDON FOR THE LATIN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY + OTHERS. THEY REPRESENT THE DIFFERENT INFLUENCES PRESENT IN LATIN-AMERICAN MUSIC AS EXILES EXPERIENCE IT TODAY.

IN THE CREATIVE + INTERPRETIVE PERFORMANCES OF TONIGHT'S ARTISTS, YOU WILL NOTICE A DISTINCT VERSATILITY OF SOUNDS + RHYTHMS RANGING FROM FOLKLORE TO JAZZ. THESE SOUNDS REFLECT THE EMERGING LATIN-AMERICA, THE EMERGING NEW CULTURE.

WE HOPE YOU ENJOY THE SHOW,
FONDO CANTO MESTIZO COMMITTEE

SUMMER SALSA

SUMMER SALSA
THE BRITISH CONNECTION

FRIDAY 14TH AUGUST

Salsa is the modern form of a music once known as Afro-Cuban, it is the evolutionary product of Afro-Latin music. In Salsa we find many, if not all, of the cultural influences present in Latin America

SONIDO DE LONDRES

Music, dance, food and drink – an evening of entertainment not to be missed
Tickets £3.00, £1.50 Children + OAPS

Fondo Canto Mestize Committee with Lambeth Council Amenity Services

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

SPECIAL CELEBRATION

FRIDAY · 20 NOVEMBER · 7:15pm

SURREY HALL · BINFIELD ROAD · STOCKWELL · SW4

INTI-CHANGO

FONDO CANTO MESTIZO

Presents an evening of musical entertainment with:

GRUPO FOLKLORICO COLOMBIANO

LOS CUATRO COMPADRES (MEXICO)

SURAZO (CHILE AND URUGUAY) — **GUESTS**

SAMBATUCADA (BRAZIL)

EVENT COMMEMORATES ONE YEARS WORK IN AID OF THE ENRIQUE CASTRO SHANTY TOWN AND MAPUCHE PEOPLE CULTURAL PROJECTS. PRODUCED WITH THE SUPPORT OF GLA AND LAMBETH AMENITY SERVICES

TICKETS £2.50 (OAP AND CHILDREN £1.50 AT THE DOOR)
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FOUR DAYS OF LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

CUATRO DIAS DE CULTURA LATINO AMERICANA

SEPTEMBER 21-24 · 1988

SURREY HALL · BINFIELD ROAD · STOCKWELL · LONDON SW4
CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH · 11 POTT STREET · BETHNAL GREEN · LONDON E1

WEDNESDAY 21

MUSIC, FOLKLORE AND COOKERY WORKSHOPS WITH LATIN AMERICAN INSTRUCTORS
FROM 19.15PM · FEE £1
SURRREY HALL · BINFIELD ROAD · STOCKWELL · LONDON SW4

THURSDAY 22

TEATRO TRAVESURA WITH ***THE TOMATO AND THE CONDOR*** AND **ALFREDO CORDAL'S GROUP** WITH ***SEARCH***
£2.50 & £1.50
CONCESSIONS
SURREY HALL 19.15PM

FRIDAY 23

PENA AQUELARRE · GALA CONCERT
WITH
CARMEN MALDONADO
PATRICIA ROMERO
LOS RANCHEROS
LA CLAVE
£3.50 & £2.50
CONCESSIONS
BAR · FOOD
SURREY HALL 19.15PM

SATURDAY 24

RUMBA: A LATIN NIGHT DISCO
WITH **EL NEGRO MINAS DJ**
LATIN AMERICAN FOOD · BAR · £3
THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
11 POTT STREET · BETHNAL GREEN · LONDON E1 0EF

FOR MORE INFORMATION PHONE 01-622 6655 ext 355 OR 01-790 4158
BOX OFFICE
164 CLAPHAM PK RD LONDON SW4
TEL 01-622 6655 EXT 355

ORGANISED BY
FONDO CANTO MESTIZO
SUPPORTED BY

LAMBETH SERVICES · GLA

Wednesday 21 September 19.15pm

Alan Hayman

Ulises Garcia

The Surrey Hall

AFRO-LATIN PERCUSSION WORKSHOPS

INSTRUCTORS

Alan Hayman: A first class Latin musician who has run many percussion workshops. He is a member of the Latin band **Sambatucada**. Alan will be demonstrating the following rhythms: Afro-Cuban Salsa, Afro-Brazilian and Caribbean.

Ulises Garcia: An Uruguayan world class conga player. He is a member of the band **Surazo**. He will be demonstrating the Afro-Uruguayan percussion and Candombe.

Jorge Almonacid: He plays incidental percussion with **Surazo**. He will be demonstrating the Altiplanic (High Andean) and Amerindian percussion.

ANDEAN FOLKLORE

INSTRUCTORS

Milton Flores: A virtuoso charango player from Bolivia.

Vladimir Vega: An expert in Latin string instruments.

They will give an introduction to Andean instruments and folklore.

LATIN COOKERY

INSTRUCTORS

Elena Garcia, Jeaneth Medina and Sybila Cartens: Typical Latin American cookery.

Each workshop will run independently from 19.15 until 22.30. Application in writing is essential. The registration fee is £1. There will be limited availability, so book soon.

Teatro Travesura

Thursday 22 September 19.15pm The Surrey Hall

TEATRO TRAVESURA: The Tomato and the Condor: The puppet theatre company **Teatro Travesura** presents this highly acclaimed play which reflects their shared memories of the turbulent history through the Pinochet coup. The play is an allegory on today's Chile and it is set on the working women's patchworks.

Tickets £2.50 and £1.50 concessions (OAP and children).

SEARCH: Alfredo Cordal's Group. **In the Way of Manuel R:** A play based on poems by Alfredo Cordal dedicated to this hero of the Latin American Independence, who acted behind 178 different masks.

Alfredo Cordal: Writer, actor and director.

Sergio Regules: Uruguayan actor providing the English interpretation.

Isabel and Arantxa: Music and songs.

Paloma Zozaya: Captain's verses.

La Clave

PEÑA AQUELARRE
Friday 23 September
19.15pm · The Surrey Hall

Carmen Maldonado: The romantic voice from Latin America.

Patricia Romero: A powerful singer of political songs.

Los Rancheros: A Mariachi band from Mexico, singing all the traditional and most popular Mexican folk songs.

La Clave: The best salsa band in London, performing the true barrio style salsa and merengues. **La Clave** is formed by well known Latin American musicians such as Oscar and Pacheco from Colombia, Luis from Venezuela (lead singer) and a few British musicians.

Latin American crafts, food and bar will be available.

Tickets £3.50 and £2.50 concessions (OAP and children)

SURREY HALL · Binfield Road · Stockwell · London SW4

Los Rancheros

RUMBA: A LATIN NIGHT
Saturday 24 September
20.15pm until early morning

The Congregational Church · 11 Pott Street · Bethnal Green · London E1 0EF

Latin American DJ El Negro Minas: With the latest of the rumba in Cali.

Typical dance party to end the four days of cultural work and set in true Latin style with all the ambiance of a good disco, i.e. light show, good PA and good music. Latin American food and licensed bar. Tickets £3

For more information phone 01-790 4158

The Organisers

El Comite Fondo Canto Mestizo has during the last two years been actively promoting Latin American culture. The approach of the FCMC has been to present the best local Latin artists and bands and by doing so the FCMC expresses support for their work. They in turn help raise funds for our projects in Latin America. The first year of our work was dedicated to helping a shanty town in Uruguay, **The Cantegril Enrique Castro** and a Mapuche Theatre group formed and run by the indigenous natives of Chile.

Our commitments grow by the minute as many other organisations ask us for solidarity. The FCMC has been supporting the following groups in Latin America: Women's knitting workshop in Valparaiso, Chile; an alternative book publisher in Chile; El Teuco street theatre company, Santiago de Chile; independent artists, painters and musicians, Chile; Manos Unidas, Montevedeo; Movimiento por la tierra, Uruguay; Comité Cultural Mapuche, Chile; Canto Libre, Uruguay.

The Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee has organised several events which reflected its objectives and character. With the support of the artists and many volunteers the following bands and soloists have shared the stage with us: Surazo, Sambatucada, Sonido de Londres, Quilombo Expontaneo, Alerce, Los Cuatro Compadres, Grupo Folklorico Colombiano, Dade-Krama, Teatro Travesura, Edgar Villarroel, James Danton, and many others.

The Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee is now embarking on the most complex of its initiatives so far. Four days of Latin culture leading up to a concert on 12 October against the activities of the so-called Fifth Centenary. During the four days of culture from 21 to 24 September, we are putting together different aspects of Latin American culture.

Workshops: in Latin percussion and Andean music given by top musicians, and in Latin cookery.

Theatre: by two contemporary Latin groups — The Puppet Theatre Company Teatro Travesura and Alfredo Cordal's group.

A Peña: musical evening with the best of Latin American music. Carmen Maldonado the best romantic voice to come out of Chile, Patricia Romero a powerful singer of political songs, Los Rancheros from Mexico and the best salsa band in London, La Clave, who have recently been at the Bass Clef and many other venues.

To end this festivity we are having a proper **Rumba** with Latin DJ, lighting show, food and bar. By organising this event the Fondo Canto Mestizo keeps its aim of promoting local talent and presenting a true and vivid aspect of Latin American culture in England as lived by exiles and immigrants.

We believe you will enjoy the creativity displayed by all the Latin American artists and workers, as they are among some of the best exponents of Latin American culture presently in the UK.

The Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee

Organised by **Fondo Canto Mestizo** and supported by **Lambeth Amenity Services** and **Greater London Arts**

Application form

I want _____ tickets or places for day or workshop

Full name _____

Full address _____

_____

_____ postcode ____

I enclose the amount of _____

Send to Box Office, Lambeth Amenity Services, 164 Clapham Park Road,, London SW4 7DQ
Tel: 01-622 6655 ext 355

12 DE OCTUBRE

1492~1992 500 YEARS since the EUROPEAN INVASION of the AMERICAN CONTINENT

FONDO CANTO MESTIZO
Presents:

BOLIVIA MANTA
OSVALDO TORRES
DADE KRAMA

Speakers from

ABORIGINAL SOLIDARITY GROUP
MAPUCHE EXTERIOR COMMITTEE

HACKNEY EMPIRE

Wednesday 12th October 88 ~ 7.30 pm.
291 Mare Street. E.8~Tel. 01 986 0171.
Tickets £ 6.00 » UB40s, OAP, C. £ 4.50.

presented in association with
CITY LIMITS MAGAZINE
LONDON'S GUIDE

12TH OF OCTOBER

The arrival of the European invader to the American continent, the 12th of October 1492, started an era of oppression, misery and death for millions of human beings who lived there.

However, the Indian people have begun to recover their humiliated identity by creating their own organisations like the **South American Indian Committee (CISA)**, that represents the interests of the Indian population living in that particular region. The CISA is also a member of the **World Indian People's Organisation (CMPI)**.

Indigenous people around the world suffer similar experiences of oppression and robbery. For that reason the main objective of the CMPI is to share those experiences and to encourage solidarity amongst themselves.

The spiritual relationship with nature, the common experiences, specially the traumatic ones, have given spiritual unity to the Indian people. That spiritual unity will become unity of action one day.

FONDO CANTO MESTIZO COMMITTEE (FCMC)

FCMC has during the last two years been actively promoting Latin-American culture here in London.

The approach of the FCMC has been to present good quality concerts with local artists and also to look for deeper roots in order to help solve the problem of identity crisis going on in the American continent.

For this special concert we would like to make our people aware of the commemorative campaign started by Spain in order to celebrate the Fifth Centenary of Columbus 'discovery', the 12th of October 1492.

We say NO to the Fifth Centenary Celebration because it is the invaders celebration.
We say NO because it is a celebration of murder and slavery brought upon millions of human beings.
We say NO because it is a celebration of colonialism and imperialism.

THE SPEAKERS

On this opportunity we will have two speakers from indigenous organisations explaining their position.

Natasha Sivanandan — Aboriginal Solidarity Group
She will explain the situation of the aboriginal people from Australia and their relationship with other indigenous groups.

Reinaldo Mariqueo — Mapuche Exterior Committee
He will be talking about the Mapuches, Indian people from southern South America, and the role of CISA, the South American Indian Committee.

OSVALDO TORRES

Osvaldo Torres is a 'nortino' from the north of Chile (Antofagasta), born and bred in the zone where the sun and drought have been able to oust men and its traditions. He, as a witness and a chronicler of the life of those nearly forgotten people, buried with dust and indifference, has unearthed for us a new language. Aymara is also the language Osvaldo uses to communicate with those people of the high mountains and has allowed him to investigate and extract the essential material for his creation.

Osvaldo Torres is an original and fertile artist, restless and yet calm, seeker of the past, witness of the present and most certainly part and testimony of the future.

BOLIVIA MANTA

Bolivia Manta is a living link with the music and culture of their ancestors, the Quechua and Aymara Indians of the high plains of the Andes. Oppressed for centuries and excluded from cultural expression and political participation, the Indian way of life has been subjected to progressive mutilation by those who have imposed their language, way of thinking and religion. And yet nothing has ever stopped them from playing their music. **Bolivia Manta** bears witness to this permanent resistance.

Bolivia Manta's shows and recordings are an open door to a spell-binding world of highly expressive melodic refinement. They are a living proof of the force of music as cultural resistance.

DADE KRAMA

A group of African musicians playing ancestral music of the African continent. Traditional African music forms the basis of both their individual and collective creativity. The music they create is at once old and new. Old in the sense that they pay their respect to tradition and new as they aim ultimately to transform social existence.

Dade Krama aims to further the struggles of the African people by presenting a cultural front. 'Our music must agitate because of it's commitment to struggle. Cultural expression must become once again a weapon for liberation'.

Dade Krama symbolises the African's struggle for the right to determine their own future.

LATIN BENEFIT SAMBATUCADA

PROYECTO

surazo

GALA CONCERT

Friday 2 December, 1988
19:00 PM
£3.00

Mario BASILISCO
Patricia ROMERO
Alejandro SALAZAR

SURREY HALL

Binfield Road
Stockwell,
London SW4

Organised by
Fondo Canto Mestizo

Craft, Records, Food and Bar

PUKARAES INCAS Y FORTALEZAS INDIGENAS EN CHILE CENTRAL, 1470-1560

Leonardo Leon Solis

Published by FCMC Printed at Aldgate Press

Designed by M.T. Aguilo and C.Latinis

HOT LATIN EVENING

DANCING

SALSA

DANCING

Saturday 15
April 1989
19:00 PM

WITH

LATIN DJs

P R O Y E C T O

surazo

BOLIVAR

Surrey Hall Binfield Road Stockwell, London SW4

Tickets £4.50 and £2.50 (Children and OAP only)
From 164 Clapham Park Road SW4 7DQ
Telephone 622 6655 x 355
Craft, Records, Food and Bar

Organised by
Fondo Canto Mestizo

LAMBETH SERVICES

Saturday 15 April 1989

Proyecto SURAZO

Proyecto Surazo has come a long way from the original group Surazo formed in London in 1985, even though the core of its original musicians is still with the band now. They have grown not only by introducing new members but also by continuing to experiment in the search for a new sound, different harmonies, lyrics with meaning and rhythmic cadences.

They have added the word Proyecto to their original name to coincide with its relaunch with a much improved line up. Proyecto here means a constant search, with an open mind for new musical structures and forms.

Proyecto Surazo has created its unique style of Latin American Music. Their original musical material has a creative and progressive style bringing old traditional music to a modern context, with a strong percussive element, yet with a harmonic blend of flutes,strings,keyboards and sounds that take the music beyond its historical context. It is essentially Latin music with a percussion that finds its root in Africa.

Their track record includes concerts at the :Round House, Victor Jara Festival at the Piccadilly Theatre and Royal Festival Hall, support for Incantation and Latin Quarter at The Town and Country Club, Lambeth Country Festival, Surrey Hall, Theatro Technics, Sheffield University, Portsmouth Polytechnic and numerous solidarity events. The band has made professional recordings.

BOLIVAR

Bolivar was formed in Febraury 1984, by Jose and Rolando Ibata and takes its name from Don Simon Bolivar, who helped to liberate six South American countries in the nineteenth century. One of these countries was later named Bolivia, the mother-land of the Ibata's brothers.

The band is London based and consists of nine members including well known Latin musicians such as Oscar Ruiz, Luis Morales ,Andy Riva and the Ibata's brothers.

Bolivar was one of the bands chosen for the Colectors LP: Samba Con Salsa that presents the best Latin Bands in London. Their Merengue track is the most exciting track of the album. Bolivar performs regularly in the best Latin Clubs in London.

The songs presented by Bolivar are original, written by the Ibata's brothers, who have already accumulated a significant catalogue of songs which form the basis of the band's stage act, uniting traditional rhythms and styles from South America with European influences.

Fondo Canto Mestizo is proud to present an evening of Latin music and dancing with Proyecto Surazo and Bolivar who are unique among Latino Bands in this country.

Organised by Fondo Canto Mestizo

Supported by Lambeth Amenity Services

DANCING** Craft,Records,Food and Bar **DANCING

DANCING SALSA DANCING

Osvaldo 'Gitano' Rodriguez

Osvaldo Rodriguez, el Gitano, is one of the artists from that rebellious '60s movement called The New Chilean Song. He sang in Peña de Los Parra with all the creators of this movement such as the Parra Family, Victor Jara, Rolando Alarcon, Patricio Manns, Tito Fernandez and many others.

His musical influences are as wide as his repertoire, from English ballads to Argentinian tangos. He recognises influences from the following Latin American artists: Violeta parra, Atahualpa Yupanki, Carlos Gardel, Chico Buarque, Caetano Veloso.

He is a Latin American intellectual, well known as a writer (he has written four books), poet, painter, designer, singer, composer and a distinguished musicologist (doctorate in France).

Huellas

This group was formed in 1988 in Quito, Ecuador, and it was a band of five young musicians. They set up with the aim of searching for their Andean traditional roots and to strengthen its development with new melodies.

Huella has travelled throughout Ecuador and parts of Colombia, and now they are touring the UK.

They play the wind, string and percussion instruments that belong to the indigenous and mestizo (half-breed) cultures. Their music is so well played that wherever they play they have to many encores.

They play traditional Andean music from the highlands of Bolivia, Peru, northern Chile, northern Argentina and Ecuador. They play traditional Andean instruments such as kena, zampoñas and charangos.

Sambatucada

Sambatucada's influence easily outweighs their media profile. Their roots are firmly in the community — you've probably wondered what the racket in the distance is if you live near any neighbourhood that organises mini-carnivals, or you may even have one of their increasing number of budding Sambista drummers living in the bedsit next door. Yet while their sound revolves around the Brazilian samba, they are also prime exponents of the related Afro-Latin dances ....

'Pick of the Week' — City Limits

Sambatucada is a group of musicians from as far afield as Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Great Britain, who have devoted themselves to the diffusion of Brazilian sounds ranging from the exhilarating and sensual Samba from the Rio Carnival, to the exotic and seldom-heard melodies and rhythms of the North East, the Amazon and the music accompanying the mysterious rituals and dances of the descendants of the slaves in the forms of 'Macumba', 'Umbanda' and 'Candomble'.

Among others, they play rhythms such as Afoxe, Baiao, Bossa Nova, Capoeira, Chorinho, Forro, Frevo, Maracatu, Samba de Cancao, Samba de Roda, Pagode, Xote .... to name but a few.

Proyecto Surazo

A taste of Latin America comes to Watford on Saturday as part of the town's contribution to Central America Week, with a live performance by the band Proyecto Surazo. This London-based group was formed four years ago and the word Proyecto in its name means a constant search with an open mind for new musical structures and forms.

The group has created a unique style of Latin American music, bringing old traditional music to a modern context ....

The F. Observer, Watford

Music: Proyecto Surazo, a band in exile. Norma Cohen talks to them about their struggle to stay creative and active outside their own culture.

'Exile is a form of punishment. Many Chileans in exile have had to learn through experience and time that can have another face. Our taking part in solidarity events makes it possible to lessen the suffering of living between two worlds', says Carlos de Cordillera, sound engineer with the band Proyecto Surazo ....

Circuit, City Limits

Raul Valencia

Raul is a Chilean musician living in exile in London. He is member of the popular Bahareque Latin American folk group. He is well-known for his tireless contributions to many solidarity events. He will be playing accompanied by friends in a repertoire of his own songs written about his home town, Valparaiso. This talented artist will certainly prove a big attraction.

Los Mangos

This band represents the so-called Latin rock, a genre largely ignored by music critics. The ethnic music of the continent seems to be the only one being 'discovered' in spite of the fact that it has existed for hundreds of years.

Not much attention is given to Latin rock because rock itself is viewed as 'belonging' to the US and Europe and the insistence of having it sung in English. It is, however, a big success on our continents and musically it has created many interesting innovations and modifications within the genre. This particular band has members not only from various countries of the southern zone, but also Englishmen who all seem to enjoy what they are doing and doing it with undeniable panache and talent.

Yacumenza

This is a **Candombe Comparsa** which gathers together Uruguayan drummers and Latin American dancers. When they play and dance a **mini-Candombe Carnival** takes place with the most exhorting and contagious music and tremors, that leaves practically nobody seated.

The Organisers

The Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee is one of the driving forces of Latin American cultural work in London. Its aim is to promote local talent and to present a true and vivid aspect of Latin American culture in England as lived by exiles and immigrants.

The Fondo Canto Mestizo is repeating last year's successful Latin American Cultural Festival with a much improved bill. We believe you will enjoy the creativity displayed by all the Latin American artists and workers.

The future activities organised by Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee are:

- Pictures Exhibition with oil canvas from Claudio Francia and drawings from Osvaldo Rodriguez.
- Rumba Night on 25 November 1989 at Surrey Hall with **Proyecto Surazo** and **Bolivar**.

LAMBETH SERVICES WELL WORTH DEFENDING

GLA

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THREE DAYS OF LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

TRES DIAS DE CULTURA LATINO AMERICANA

September 14th-16th 1989

Surrey Hall, Binfield Road, London SW4

THREE DAYS OF LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

Workshop on Chilean Cultural Topics
University of London
Institute of Latin American Studies
Grupo de Historiadores Chilenos and Fondo Canto Mestizo
Thursday 14 September 1989

PROGRAMME

10.30 *Coffee*

10.45 Introduction and presentation by the Chair.

11.00 **Leonardo Leon**, Honorary Research Fellow, ILAS: **Alianzas Pueblos-Huilliches y las fortificaciones indigenas en la region de Valdivia 1552-1585.**

11.45 *Coffee*

12.00 **German Avalos**, Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso, Chile: **El gremio de los lancheros de Valparaiso 1890-1910.**

12.45 *Lunch*

14.30 **Dr Osvaldo Rodriguez**, Paris: **La nueva cancion Chilena, origenes y desarrollo.**

15.15 *Tea*

15.45 **Francisco Dominguez**, Lecturer in Political Economy, Middlesex Polytechnic: **Las bases de la democracia politica en Chile, previo al golpe militar.**

16.30 *Closing*

The meeting will be held in the Old Library, Institute of Latin American Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9HA. Tel: 01-387 5671

There will be limited availability, so attendance is by a previous registration. Apply to the address above or phone for an invitation.

Osvaldo 'Gitano' Rodriguez

'Gitano, why am I writing you this note since nobody who opens your book will need it, since anybody who enters your poetry will meet you from head to toe, with your voice and words, your roots and your uprooting?

Your poetry is Chile, which means that it is yours but that it belongs to many others as well, and I include myself among those many others since I have always been Chilean, Argentinian and Paraguayan and whatever else you like just so long as it is Latin American.

In every nationalist there sleeps a fascist, that's been proven. Ignore them, Gitano, let's step out down the streets singing and talking of your Valparaiso.

Extract from Julio Cortazar's letter, Paris 1978

Valparaiso: Port of Contrast

Friday 15 September 1989 · 19.00 · Surrey Hall, Stockwell

Slides, poetry and live music with

- **Raul Valencia**
- Proyecto **Surazo**
- Special guest **Osvaldo 'Gitano' Rodriguez**

Tickets £4.50 and £2.50 (children and OAP only) from Chile Democratico, 95-97 Old Street Road, London EC1 9JJ. Tel: 01-608 1920.
Bar, food and crafts.

SAMBATUCADA

Gala Evening

Saturday 16 September 1989 · 19.00 · Surrey Hall, Stockwell

- **Yacumenza**
- **Huellas**
- **Los Mangos**
- **Sambatucada**

Tickets £4.50 and £2.50 (children and OAP only) from Lambeth Amenity Services, Clapham Park Road, London SW4. Tel: 01-622 6655 ext 355

Organised by: Fondo Canto Mestizo Committee
Supported by: **GLA, Lambeth Amenity Services, Chile Democratico, Grupo de Historiadores Chilenos, Yacumenza.**
Bar, food and crafts.

CHILE: NEW PATHS
FONDO CANTO MESTIZO
GALA CONCERT
SURREY HALL SATURDAY 19TH MAY
QUIMANTU
OSVALDO RODRIGUEZ
PROYECTO SURAZO
RAUL VALENCIA

GALA CONCERT SURREY HALL

BINFIELD ROAD STOCK WELL, SW4

SATURDAY 19th MAY AT 7:00 P.M.

QUIMANTU OSVALDO RODRIGUEZ BAR, FOOD, CRAFT, RECORDS

RAUL VALENCIA PROYECTO SURAZO AND RAFFLE

ADMISSION £4.50 AND £2.50 (OAP AND CHILDREN)

CHILE: NEW PATHS

TICKETS FROM LAMBETH AMENITY SERVICES
BOX OFFICE : 978 8622 X3016

QUIMANTU

Quimantu are a group of chilean musicians who specialize in Southamerican music. They play the *The Sound of the Andes* using a variety of instruments including zamponas(pan pipes), charangos guitars, a variety of string instruments and a solid percussion, combining their own music with traditional melodies.

Quimantu have performed extensively in England and Europe playing at such venues as *The Royal Albert Hall, Festival Hall, The Barbican and The Palladium.* They have also appeared abroad in prestigious events.

Quimantu's exceptional music and talent are recognized and admired by outstanding artists like John Williams the classical guitarist, with whom they have toured and recorded many tracks including soundtrack for the films *Melancholy and The Honourary Consul.*

OSVALDO 'Gitano' RODRIGUEZ

Osvaldo Rodriguez, *El Gitano* is one of the artists from that rebellious' 60s movement called *The New Chilean Song*. He sang in *La Pena de los Parra* with all the creators of this movement such as the Parra Family, Victor Jara, Rolando Alarcon, Patricio Manns and many others.

His musical influences are as wide as his repertoire, from English ballads to Argentinian tangos. He recognises influences from the following Latin American artists: *Violeta Parra, Atahualpa Yupanki, Carlos Gardel and D.Caimi.*

Osvaldo Rodriguez the eternal wanderer since the coup, has been living in Chile for the last six months and he is starting an european tour with this concert.

Proyecto SURAZO

Proyecto SURAZO has created its unique style of Latin American Music. Their original material has a creative and progressive style bringing old traditional music to a modern context, with a strong percussive element, yet with a harmonic blend of flutes, strings, keyboards and sounds that take the music beyond its historical context. It is essentially Latin music with a percussion that finds its root in Africa.

RAUL VALENCIA

Raul Valencia is a very talented artist who has been well known for his tireless contributions to many solidarity events. He will be making a special guest appearance after his short spell in Chile.

The Organisers

The Fondo Canto Mestizo is organising, during the first quarter of this year, a series of cultural events, CHILE NEW PATHS designed to highlight the new circumstances as well as possibilities opening up with the democratic change taking place in Chile. Our aim is not to celebrate but to reflect on what the political future may hold.

The events are:

EXHIBITION : Claudio Francia and Osvaldo Rodriguez exhibit a series of intense and powerful drawings and paintings. 'VALPARAISO PORT OF CONTRAST', 8-18th May 1990, Oxford Polytechnic, Visual Art Department, Gipsy Lane, Oxford OX3 0BP.

NEW HISTORY : Workshop on Chilean cultural topics with lectures from: Leonardo Leon, Osvaldo Rodriguez, Francisco Dominguez and Eduardo Embry. 9.30-17.00 on 21st May 1990, London University, Old Library, Institute of Latin American Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9HA. Tel: 01-387 5671.

Organised with the *Association de Historiadores Chilenos (UK).*

The dictatorship has not finished. Its lives on in our conciousness, the inherited structures of our society, its laws. A formal restauration of democracy it is a big step ahead but will never be enough. Our future will be profoundly affected by the way we deal with Chile's recent past. Justice has to return, not just for the sake of tens of thousands who suffered years of lawlessness, but for the sake of history.

In the Chile we have to rebuild, every chilean should be able to find a place . But for some we will have to find the place they deserve. The sooner the better.

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PARA SANTOS Y HEREJES

Eduardo Embry

COLECCION DE POESIAS

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APPENDIX 4: VIDEO PROJECTS

Video_1.mpg

Video_2.mpg

Video_3.wmv

Video_3_trailer.wmv

Video_4.wmv