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Chilean Ephemera and the Politics of Knowledge

BY JULIA PALEY AND JUAN CARRERA[1]

During the seventeen years of General Augusto Pinochet's rule in Chile, thousands of documents created by politically and socially active shantytown organizations were burned, either by military authorities seeking to crush popular protest movements, or by members of the clandestine organizations themselves who hoped to avoid repression by army and police. Today, with the transition to an elected civilian regime, many popular-sector groups have begun to write the history of those Chilean social movements. While *poblador*[2] historians can rely on memory, interviews, and collective discussion to help them reconstruct the past, they, like academic historians, find that a broad spectrum of documents created during the years of military rule have been lost.

Remarkably, a collection of these missing documents exists in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in Firestone Library at Princeton University. For eight years (1983–1990), Princeton funded a *poblador* (shantytown dweller), Armando Gajardo Hernández, to collect pamphlets, leaflets, flyers, posters, articles,

[1] The authors thank Vicente Espinoza, Clare Ignatowski, and Gordon Whitman for their comments on this paper. Feedback from members of the Urban Studies Faculty-Graduate Student Research Seminar at the University of Pennsylvania, participants at a Princeton University Library colloquium, and attendees at the Latin American Studies Association meetings helped advance our thinking on these issues. Discussions with Astrid Arraras and Armando Gajardo were particularly helpful, and Doug Falen provided important assistance. Thanks go as well to LASA for sponsoring Juan Carrera's visit, and to Peter Johnson and Patricia Marks at Princeton University Libraries for facilitating research and publication of this article.

[2] A *poblador* is a resident of Chile's *poblaciones* (shantytowns). Unlike the words used to describe poor people in the United States (such as "underclass"), *poblador* has connotations of strength and of struggle for social change. Historically, *pobladores* have been active in social movements, particularly through land seizures. At one time employed largely in industry, many now do seasonal work, or work in the informal sector.

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documents for discussion, and photographs in Chile. In collecting these materials during Pinochet's military regime, Gajardo risked prison and torture. One incident illustrates the dangers he confronted. One day, some time after Gajardo's house had been raided by police, the Chilean secret police arrested him as he left the post office and confiscated the packages he had been trying to ship to Princeton. While driving him around the city, they questioned him, burned him with cigarettes, beat him, and threw him into a cell in a downtown prison. Gajardo repeatedly insisted to authorities that he worked collecting historical materials for Princeton, and mentioned all the well-known names he could. The next day, a fifteen-year-old cell-mate who had been released went to notify the economist Pedro Henríquez, who in turn called the United States Embassy. Finally, under intense pressure from a high officer of the embassy and from Máximo Pacheco, vice-president of the Chilean Commission for Human Rights, police authorities released Gajardo — but they retained the documents. Professor of Politics Paul Sigmund picked up the materials the following year on a trip to Chile, and these documents have now taken their place among others in Princeton's Chilean ephemera collection.

If these materials were so valuable that Chileans risked their lives to create and salvage them in the 1980s, they have taken on new significance in the 1990s. For an academic audience, the archives provide insight into the history of contemporary Chilean social and political movements. The ephemera collection at Princeton includes documents created not only by the military, political parties, and the church, but also by women's groups, small grassroots collectives, and indigenous peoples.

The Princeton collection is important for another reason. Worldwide, few archives contain information written by the poorest sectors of society. The rise of subaltern studies[3] — an attempt by an interdisciplinary group of scholars who study India to "read against the grain" of documents written by elites in order to grasp the experience of peasants and others who leave no written record — illustrates the extent to which researchers are frequently limited to studying evidence produced by literate elite groups. For academ-

[3] Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

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ics, the Princeton collection provides rare insight into broad-based political processes in Chile during more than twenty years.

This "history-from-below" potential of the collection is especially important given the nature of the transition to democracy in Chile. Orchestrated through negotiations between the military and political elites, the transition shifted the locus of political action from grassroots mobilization to formal institutions. Correspondingly, many published accounts of the political transition focus on institutions such as the military, the congress, and the central bank, without taking into account people's daily lives and the grassroots organizations to which thousands of Chileans belonged. Recently published accounts often emphasize the opinion that confrontational mobilization, both before the 1973 military coup and during the 1983–1986 anti-Pinochet protests, was a strategic mistake now superseded by compromise, consensus, and reconciliation among political elites. Today, to develop or locate an alternative analysis focused on the role and experience of *pobladores*, one must turn to other sources.

While the Princeton archives provide academics with rare access to the voices of popular sectors, *pobladores* have their own uses for this type of material. In the past few years, increasing numbers of popular libraries and information centers have arisen in the *poblaciones* (shantytowns)[4] of Santiago, making historical and cultural materials widely accessible. Furthermore, participants in the local history workshops that have formed throughout Chile document the experiences and strategies of people in their shantytowns.[5] Unlike several prominent political leaders who have advocated shifting attention away from the past to achieve national reconciliation ("There is too much that we have to do to construct a truly democratic society, advance development, and achieve social justice, to waste our energy in scrutinizing wounds that are irremediable"[6]), local histor-

[4] "*Poblaciones*," usually translated as "shantytowns," are actually very heterogeneous urban areas. Some were created by land seizures, others by pressure on the part of committees of the homeless, still others by poor people relocated to government-subsidized housing on the periphery of the city. Conditions in these neighborhoods vary according to the age of the community and the economic situation of its residents.

[5] See Ana María Farias, Mario Garcés, and Nancy Nicholls, *Historias locales y democratización local: Ponencias, debate y sistematización del seminario sobre historias locales organizado por ECO* (Santiago: ECO [Educación y Comunicaciones], 1993).

[6] Patricio Aylwin, *Discurso de S. E. el Presidente de la República, Don Patricio Aylwin Azocar, al dar a conocer a la ciudadanía el Informe de la Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación* (Santiago: Secretaría de Comunicación y Cultura, 1991).

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ians have insisted on remembering, analyzing, and recording the demonstrations, land seizures, and human-rights abuses of the past. Local history workshops emphasize lived experience and remembered actions in which *pobladores* were protagonists — not the aggregates of data, or objects of others' actions that they often appear to be in official reports. In this sense, local histories have often sought to affirm *pobladores'* identities as subjects of their own history. Some community leaders have also used historical research to analyze social movement strategy and to understand political processes. In an "information age," history workshops are one way in which *pobladores* have used their own knowledge as a source of power.

Documents such as those at Princeton provide one potential resource for grassroots intellectual work. Yet how can materials produced by and for popular sectors be available to them when stored in a library in the United States? And who will control the uses to which this once clandestine information is put? Because of the elite nature of the political transition, the question of who has access to information and who has the opportunity to generate knowledge is crucial to current relationships of power in Chile. While part of the Princeton ephemera collection is available on microfilm at the main public library in Santiago, questions of how community groups might gain access to and use this material are yet to be resolved. We address some of these issues at the end of this paper.

Given the complex questions raised by the archive, it is particularly significant that this article is written by two authors with very different relationships to social movements in Chile. Juan Carrera is a *poblador* from Santiago who has worked in popular movements for more than twenty-five years. His work as a community leader has included supporting land seizures, directing a union of the unemployed, and leading a local human rights committee. He was active in the "No" campaign preceding the 1988 plebiscite in which General Pinochet asked the country to decide whether he should continue in office. In the early 1990s, Carrera has been involved in efforts to create a new municipality in his zone of Santiago. In 1995, he presented a paper at the Latin American Studies Association's Congress and began work with the ephemera collection at Princeton. He plans to publish articles in both the United States and Chile based on these materials.

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In reviewing the documents at Princeton, Carrera found many he knew intimately — text he had personally drafted, typefaces he recognized, signatures of friends, photos of the "disappeared" whose families he worked with closely, and his own name on one of the documents. Indeed, during the 1980s, Carrera had known Gajardo, although he did not know at the time that Gajardo was sending materials to Princeton University. These two became reacquainted in 1995, after Carrera began planning to study the archive, and the two of them spent many hours in Santiago discussing the collection and the process of creating it. For Carrera, through whose hands had passed hundreds of these documents — and who had himself burned many of them — it was remarkable to reencounter them in the stately atmosphere of the Rare Books Room in Princeton University's Firestone Library.

Julia Paley is a cultural anthropologist from the United States who conducted ethnographic fieldwork in a Santiago *población* in 1991–1992. She studied the political transition in Chile through the experiences of local shantytown organizations, including a grassroots health group, a committee to protest the celebration of the five-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Columbus, and a local history workshop. Paley's forthcoming book tells how the professionalization of academic and political knowledge has affected relations of power in Chile, and describes the ways in which *poblacional* groups have used knowledge — gleaned from history workshops and their own surveys — to support emergent forms of organizational activity in post-dictatorship Chile.

Paley used the collection at Princeton in conjunction with her ethnographic research. The materials help to situate what happened in La Bandera, the *población* in which she worked, within much broader phenomena. Most importantly, the documents reveal the processes of popular social movements in the words and drawings of the women, indigenous peoples, workers, squatters, and others who lived them. In this sense, the archive provides the historical equivalent to ethnographic fieldwork: both are resources for understanding the points of view and unfolding strategies of leaders and organizations over time. Both participant observation and the ephemera collection provide a view-from-below which allows us to understand specific actors and processes.

Given the close association between knowledge and power, we

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consider it crucial that *pobladores* have direct access to information they themselves have produced, and essential that they be among those to interpret it. This interest inspired us to write the present paper. We offer the following text as a joint reading of the collection, and hope that many other readings — by both academics and *pobladores*, working separately and together — will follow.

THE COLLECTION

Princeton's Chilean ephemera collection consists mainly of the materials sent by Gajardo in the mid-1980s during the Pinochet dictatorship, and additional documents from the period of Salvador Allende's Marxist "Popular Unity" government (1970-1973). Various donations have resulted in a smattering of documents dating from the mid-1950s. The styles and material conditions of the pieces reflect the broad range of authors and audiences — political parties of the right, left, and center; the church, women's groups, squatters, workers, the unemployed, indigenous peoples, the military, human rights groups, international lending institutions, research institutes, and many others. They also reflect a broad range of printed media, including documents used as the basis for discussion, posters, flyers, pamphlets, bulletins, and even some cassette recordings and photos. The styles vary. Institutional and governmental reports often carry official signatures and seals, or colorful covers and logos. The pamphlets of non-governmental organizations frequently convey their messages through cartoon characters, in the tradition of popular education. Many of the hand-written flyers, with hand-drawn pictures, originated in the *poblaciones*. Some flyers still bear footprints from a day when they lay scattered on the ground, or contain personal messages scrawled in pen. These are documents of their time, voicing people's immediate preoccupations and reflecting the events of their lives, and they were produced with the often very limited resources available to their authors in styles appropriate to them.

As an entry point into the collection, we have chosen one question around which to organize our analysis: What is the relationship of the changing strategies of grassroots movements in the shantytowns to national and international politics? This question has immediate relevance to both of us. As a grassroots community

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leader, Carrera finds it important in his efforts to reevaluate and revitalize *poblacional* movement strategy in the post-dictatorship period. And Paley considers the question central to her anthropological study of the relationship among power, knowledge, and political change.

To answer our question, we need particular kinds of information. We need evidence of the purposes, tactics, and activities that local community organizations have used over time. We also need to see the changing approaches of political elites and institutions that form the context within which popular sectors act. Seen in relation to each other, these two sorts of data permit us to analyze changing strategies of the *poblacional* movement in relation to changes in national and international political power. For the period in which Gajardo collected documents, the Princeton ephemera collection provides the materials for both sides of this equation. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this paper, we will focus on documents from social movements, and in particular the leaflets and other materials emanating from organizations in the *poblaciones* of Santiago.

THE MOVEMENT IN MOTION

Those who write about popular movements tend to emphasize the heights of collective action. These authors — both academics and popular historians — focus on the grand demonstrations, the famous land seizures, the massive strikes, and the successful mobilizations for elections. In highlighting the peaks of activity, such accounts can be compared to snapshots that shed momentary light on the characteristics of a time. But as snapshots they reveal little about the dynamics and preoccupations underlying, preceding, and following the moments of mobilization; they offer few insights into the preparation, coordination, and motivation-from-within that makes moments of mobilization work.

Not surprisingly, the two periods for which the ephemera collection provides the most information on social movements are Salvador Allende's Popular Unity period (1970–1973), and the period encompassing the national protests against Pinochet's continued rule and the "No" plebiscite campaign (1983–1990) — two times of heightened mobilization and intense political activity. In each of these periods, one can see social movement strategies revealed in

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distinctive vocabularies and slogans, varying forms of organization, and differing ideological frameworks. From the slogan "Patria o Muerte, Venceremos" (Fatherland or Death, We Will Prevail) on a bulletin of the 1970 squatters settlement Nueva La Habana, to the humor of a campaign calling for Pinochet to resign, to the brochures of the "No" campaign in the 1988 plebiscite, the language and ideology, concrete demands, and forms of organization in each era are distinct.

An alternative to the snapshot approach is to envision social movements in motion, as movies rather than as stills. Local history workshops in the *poblaciones* do this when they consider a land seizure not only as a heroic moment to be reenacted at an anniversary, but in all the remembered details of its organization, decision-making, and contradictions. Academics do this when they study day-to-day organization in moments between mobilizations.[7] For both academics and popular historians, this approach requires us to see the movement *in* movement, and through history,[8] as part of ongoing processes.

The Princeton collection is one of the few scholarly resources to help us understand the Chilean *poblacional* movement as a process because it lets us read materials written by poor people themselves as mechanisms for their own action. Two documents from the protests of the mid-1980s illustrate the way in which the collection reveals debate and organizational process. The first, an instruction sheet, "How to Protest," shows the degree to which protests operated according to a pre-defined plan. Using cartoon characters and handwritten instructions, the flyer directs people to engage in a series of activities: to shut off electronic appliances at 9:30; keep their children home from school; refrain from doing chores in public or private offices; avoid taking buses; buy absolutely nothing; drive slowly; and at eight in the evening, to bang on pots (*toca las cacerolas*).[9]

[7] Vicente Espinoza, "Pobladores, participación social y ciudadanía: Entre los pasajes y las anchas alamedas," in *Proposiciones* 22 (1993): 21–53.

[8] We have been guided in our thinking about history by the work of Chilean historian Gabriel Salazar, *Violencia política popular en las "Grandes Alamedas": Santiago de Chile 1947–1987. Una perspectiva histórico-popular* (Santiago: Ediciones SUR, 1990).

[9] Banging on (empty) pots at suppertime began as a protest by Chilean women of all social and economic classes against the economic policies of Allende's government, and continued when Pinochet seized power. This widespread form of protest proved very embarrassing to both the left-wing and the right-wing governments that ruled Chile in the 1970s and 1980s.

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"Separating the corn from the cob, or, the thousand-and-one ways to resign," a humorous flyer saying "good-bye" to General Augusto Pinochet in several languages. While campaigning for the 1980 plebiscite on the new Chilean constitution, Pinochet promised to provide two million new bicycles for the poor. In the cartoon, Pinochet and his wife are shown pedalling furiously towards Paraguay, where many former dictators have found sanctuary. His wife says "Huff! Puff! Didn't I tell you that Chileans are ungrateful?" The General responds, "Shut up, Lucía, and keep pedalling." At the bottom of the flyer are the words "Join the campaign for the resignation. Participate!!" Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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"We know what we want," a flyer produced in 1988 to persuade women to vote against General Augusto Pinochet's continued rule in Chile. The right-hand panel, seen first when the flyer was folded, says "We know what we want: No!, vote of women." The left-hand panel, seen second, says "Vote No. Voting No means that we want to participate in the construction of a modern Chile where women will be valued not only as mothers and wives, but also as thinking beings who have a contribution to make." Women are shown scrubbing and repairing a map of Chile, and saying "We are going to leave this country impeccable." The middle panel, seen last when the flyer is folded, shows a woman in a voting booth, and says "Let's vote no, calmly and surely." The voter repeats "No, vote of women"; at the bottom of the panel, next to the "No" logo with its rainbow, are the words "The No is winning. Happiness is coming." On the inside of the flyer, three additional panels give reasons why women should vote "No." Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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In contrast to the relatively peaceful activities called for by the broad-based National Command of the Protest, a poster by the Command of Popular and Social Organizations depicts the unique character of the protests in the *poblaciones*. Unlike the other flyer, which gave explicit instructions on how to behave, this one says very little in print. The only words are "October — 6th Popular Protest" and the name of the convoking organization. But the drawing shows men and women raising their fists in defiance, a woman banging on a pot, a crowd throwing flyers into the air, and a barricade made of old tires, barrels, and wood. The flyer reveals the way in which *poblaciones* developed their own style of protest independent of instructions by a national coordinator, and the degree to which even seemingly spontaneous outbursts were organized and planned. Together with similar documents viewed over time and across social actors, these types of materials enable us to see processes of debate, dissent, and transformation in political practice. The flyers and posters are open to numerous interpretations, as we historians — academic and popular — seek to recreate the various logics driving these calls to action.

We juxtaposed these documents to create our own analysis. But in other sorts of materials the social organizations that created the pamphlets state their own analyses more directly. For example, in March 1987, the United Command of Pobladores (CUP), produced a booklet entitled "Document-proposal for the discussion of *poblacional* organizations." After defining a social movement, the booklet outlines a "political-social project" for *pobladores*. It asserts that telling the history of the *poblacional* movement is central to constituting a social movement. The booklet goes on to describe two approaches to organizing *pobladores*: a movement directed toward the present *coyuntura* (current situation) alone, versus one with a strategic perspective oriented toward the future as well. Such documents reveal the development of particular ideologies and strategies as elaborated by *poblacional* groups themselves. Other documents containing their own analyses include an editorial on "the necessity of having a bulletin" in a 1988 bulletin of a *poblacional* group, "Committee of Poblacional Action"; and a pamphlet entitled "Campaign against Price Increases" in which the authors — housewives and workers — create a budget for a minimum family basket of goods and compare it to the minimum wage (*"Sin Comentario!"*), analyze

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"How to Protest," a cartoon instructing people on ways of expressing opposition to General Augusto Pinochet's regime: "At 9:30, turn off lights and electric appliances"; "On 11 May, Chile protests: Keep our children home from school"; "Buy absolutely nothing"; "Do no work in either public or private offices"; "Don't take buses"; "At 8 p.m. all Chile bangs on pots"; and, to produce traffic jams, "Vehicles circulating at less than 30 kilometers per hour." Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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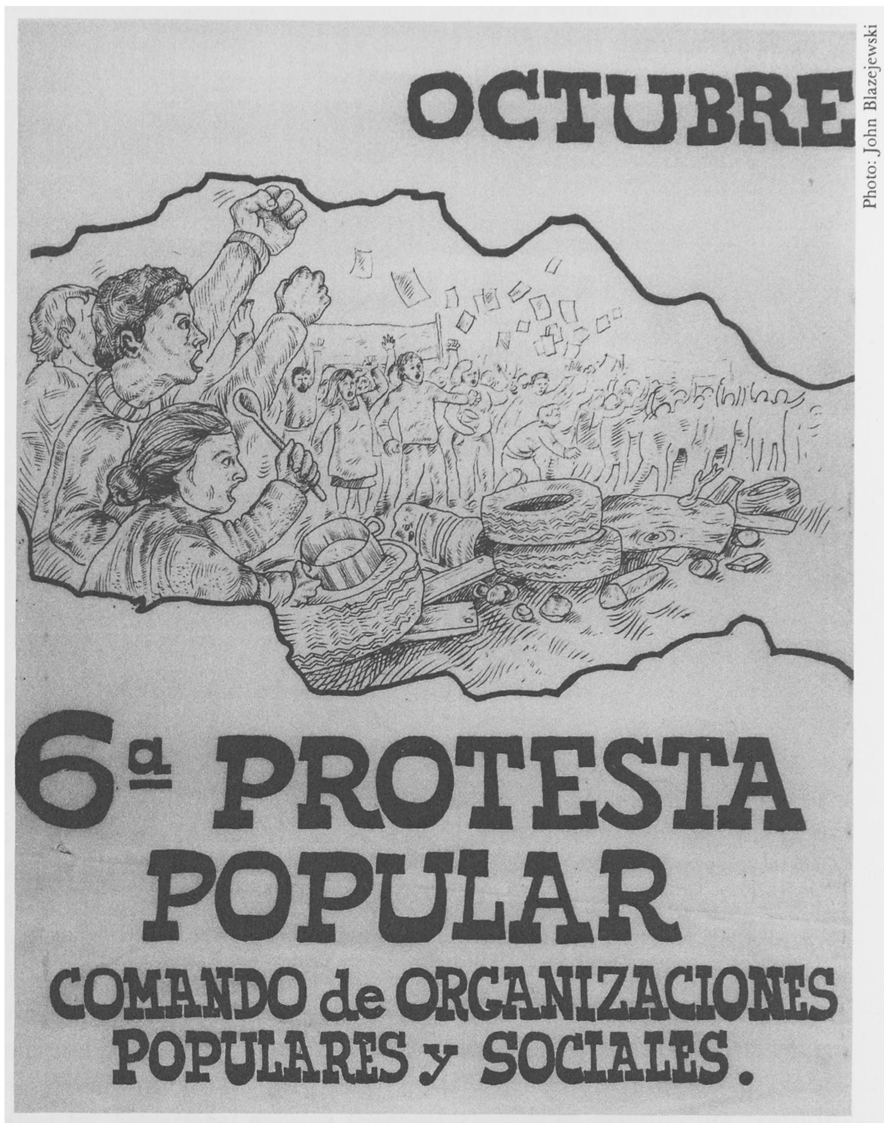

"October: 6th Popular Protest," a small poster by the "Committee of Popular and Social Organizations" illustrating the character of protests in the *poblaciones* (shantytowns) of Santiago. Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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the responses of officials to their demands, and outline a four-part plan of action to prevent prices from rising in the future. Each of these documents sets forth a theoretical framework for understanding a particular social reality and presents a strategic model, be it for the *poblacional* movement as a whole or for a particular campaign. Through such explicit analysis, one can trace disagreement and dissent, and discern changes in organizational forms.

We have seen that within the ephemera collection, the documents present voices and processes from below. Yet if the collection excels in revealing the day-to-day strategies of popular sectors at the heights of mobilization, it falls short in giving insight into the periods in between. Indeed, the focus on the Unidad Popular period, the national protests, and the plebiscite campaigns perpetuates an inaccurate view of Chilean history. It suggests that popular groups flourished in the Allende period, experienced a second explosion of activity in the mid 1980s, and culminated in a transition to democracy in 1990. But the collection misses three crucial periods of the *poblacional* movement — pre-1970, the early years of Pinochet's regime (1973–1980), and the 1990s — that would tell us much about transformation in the strategies of popular movements. By focussing on the heights of social and political mobilization, we lose sight of uncertainty, process, and change.

Let us take one period as an example. For the 1973–1980 period, just after Pinochet seized power, the collection contains official declarations of the military junta but few other documents from Chile itself. Instead, its materials come from Chileans in exile and solidarity groups abroad. An outside observer, noting the absence of documents during this period, might conclude that grassroots groups ceased to function after the military coup due to the harsh conditions imposed by the dictatorship. Facing severe repression, one might conclude, few Chileans could engage in organized activity, much less create documents and save them.

But despite the harshness of the regime, the struggle to save people's lives, to promote their safety, to press for the release of prisoners in concentration camps and jails, and to organize families of political prisoners and missing persons gave birth to new forms of organization and struggle for human rights in Chile. This struggle and organization was supported by the religious Peace Committee from 1973 to the beginning of 1976, and thereafter by the *Vicaria de la*

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¿CUAL ES LA RESPUESTA DE LAS AUTORIDADES FRENTE A LA GRAVE SITUACION QUE VIVIMOS ?

Por una parte, la DIRINCO entrega un IPC en porcentajes, que por más que nos dé explicaciones, nosotros, simples mortales, no las entendemos. Por otra parte, el Director de la DIRINCO, también hablando de las alzas por los medios de comunicación, nos daba dos "recetas" para enfrentar los precios escandalosos de las papas, el pan y las cebollas: primero-dice él- reemplacemos el pan por fideos, y (segunda receta) ¡no compren papas, pues!!

A la primera "receta" nos entra una pequeña duda: ¿alguien sabe si los fideos los regalan por ahí,?porque así si que podemos cambiar pan por fideos. Y a la segunda "receta" le falto proponer el reemplazante de las papas, pero también tendría que darnos un sustituto del gas, de la locomoción y otros artículos que han sufrido una "pequeña alza"

SOLUCION REAL DE PARTE DE LAS AUTORIDADES; NINGUNA.

═ // ═

¿ COMO PODEMOS NOSOTROS, TRABAJADORES Y DUEÑAS DE CASA, PARAR ESTAS ALZAS Y ASEGURAR LA ALIMENTACION PARA NUESTROS HIJOS ?

I.- FORMAR EL COMANDO CONTRA LAS ALZAS EN CADA POBLACION.

2.- HACER UN ESTUDIO REAL, NOSOTROS COMO JEFES DE HOGAR, DE UNA CANASTA FAMILIAR BASICA. PARA HACERLA LLEGAR A LAS AUTORIDADES DEL MINISTERIO DE ECONOMIA.

3.- EXIGIR A LAS AUTORIDADES QUE CORRESPONDAN QUE CONGELEN LOS PRECIOS DE LA CANASTA FAMILIAR BASICA QUE [illegible] HAREMOS LLEGAR, COMO UNA [illegible] DE TENER ACCESO A LA ALIMENTACION.

4.- MANTENERNOS EN ESTADO DE CONSTANTE ALERTA PARA DENUNCIAR CUALQUIER ESPECULACION.

Campaña contra las alzas

¡¡DEFENDAMOS LA ALIMENTACION Y SALUD DE NUESTROS HIJOS!!

¿NUESTRO PROBLEMA?

COMO DUEÑAS DE CASA ESTAMOS ENFRENTANDO TODOS LOS DIAS EL "COMO PARAR LA OLLA", Y CADA DIA SE NOS HACE MAS CUESTA ARRIBA. ESTOS ULTIMOS MESES YA HAN SIDO REALMENTE CRITICOS PARA NOSOTROS CON LAS ALZAS DEL PAN, PAPAS, CEBOLLA, VERDURAS Y FRUTAS EN GENERAL, Y PARA COLMO, NOS SUBEN LA LOCOMOCION, ¡PARA QUE HABLAR DE LA CARNE, POLLO Y PESCADO, !ESOS SON PRODUCTOS PROHIBIDOS PARA NUESTROS ESCUALIDOS BOLSILLOS DE LOS QUE ESTAMOS EN EL POJH, PIMO O GANAMOS EL SUELDO MINIMO.

¿COMO AFECTA A NUESTROS HIJOS EL ALZA DE LOS ALIMENTOS?

LOS AFECTA EN LA MALA ALIMENTACION QUE TIENEN YA QUE NO PODEMOS COMPRARLE LO NECESARIO PARA QUE CREZCAN SANOS Y SE DEBILITAN PERDIENDO SUS DEFENSAS, POR ESO VIVEN CON BRONQUITIS, RESFRIOS REBELDES, DIARREAS, TIFUS, Y LA YA OLVIDADA TUBERCULOSIS. ADEMAS ESTAN CRECIENDO CON MENOS POSISBILIDADES DE UN DESARROLLO FISICO Y MENTAL TOTAL LO QUE LES DEJA EN TOTAL DESVENTAJA FRENTE A LOS HIJOS DE LOS RICOS.

¡EL PAN NUESTRO DE CADA DÍA!

SACANDO CUENTAS, DAMOS UNA LISTA DE PRODUCTOS Y SUS PRECIOS LO QUE HARIAN UNA CANASTA BASICA MINIMA, PARA UNA FAMILIA COMPUESTA X CINCO PERSONAS. 2 ADULTOS Y 3 NINOS.

PRODUCTO	CONSUMO DIARIO O SEMANAL	VALOR UNIDAD	CONSUMO MENSUAL	COSTO MENSUAL
Leche	1 lt.	$95 1t	30 lts.	$2.880
pan	1 kg.	$106 kg.	30 kgs.	3.180
huevos	2 unidades	$13 u	60 uni.	780
azúcar	300 grs.	$110 kg.	9 kgs.	990
té	1/4 semanal	$360 kg	1 kg.	360
legumbres	1 kg. semanal	$250 kg.	4 kgs.	1.000
fideos	1,600 kgs.	$85 400 grs.	6,400 kgs.	1.408
arroz	1 kg. semanal	$115 kg.	4 kgs.	460
a ceite	1 lt, semanal	$240 1t.	4 lts.	960
harina	1/2 kg. semanal	$80 kg.	2 kgs.	160
carne	1 1/4 semanal (molida y cazuela)	$490 kg.	5 kgs.	2.450
pescado	2 kgs. semanal	$180	8 kgs.	1.440
verduras	se considera una cantidad diaria	$150 aprox.	-------	4.500
frutas	1 kg.(manzana)	$80 Kg.	30 kgs.	2.400
gas	11 kgs.quincena	$1070 galón 11kgs.	2 galones	2.140
locomoción	4 (2 pasajes adultos y 2 esc.)	$50 y 15 u.	40,40	2.600
jabón baño	1 quincenal	$100 (Le Sancy)	2	200
detergente	1mediano semanal	$100	4	400
pasta diente	1 mensual	$115	1	115
pasta zapato	1 mensual	$105	1	105

¡Sin comentario!... ← $28.528 !!

EN ESTA CANASTA NO VA CONTEMPLADO NI LA ROPA, GASTOS DE LUZ Y AGUA, NI DIVIDENDOS, NI UNA MISERA ENTRETENCION, NI UNA LOCOMOCION DEMAS.

¡ Y QUE PASA CON LOS QUE TRABAJAMOS EN EL POJH, PIMO o SIMPLEMENTE ESTAMOS CESANTES! INTERESANTE PREGUNTA PARA LAS AUTORIDADES

Photo: John Blazejewski

"Campaign against price increases. Let's protect the nutrition and health of our children," an undated flyer opposing General Pinochet's policy of ending government subsidies. It includes a chart entitled "Our daily bread." The text above the chart says "Adding it all up, we give a list of products and their prices that would make up a minimum basic market basket for a family of five persons. 2 adults and 3 children." The chart includes such products as milk, bread, eggs, sugar, and tea, as well as bath soap, detergent, and toothpaste. Below, an arrow leads from the total cost of the items to the hand-written remark "No comment," implying that wages were much lower. The text continues: "This market basket does not include clothing, the expense of electricity and water, nor housing payments, nor a miserable amount for entertainment, nor an extra bus fare. And what is to become of those of us who work in the POJH, PIMO [low-wage work programs] or who are simply unemployed! Interesting question for the authorities." Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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Solidaridad (Vicariate of Solidarity). During the same years, families of the victims (most of them women) carried out protests and demonstrations throughout the country.

While those affected by human rights violations mobilized, others began to feel the consequences of the new economic policy implemented by the military regime. Massive unemployment and hunger led *pobladores* to organize popular and children's dining halls. Soon after 1975–1976, committees of the unemployed emerged in shantytowns, and labor workshops arose throughout the country. There, participants produced crafts that depicted shantytowns and concentration camps, and engaged in such occupations as shoe repair, tailoring, carpentry, and plumbing. In addition to practicing skills, participants in the workshops shared their analysis of the social, political, and economic conditions they were suffering under, and sought ways to survive along with others. These various organizations were widespread: those who did not participate in labor unions, youth groups, or organizations of families of political prisoners and missing persons were in touch with the survival and training organizations instead. Sometimes these numerous local groups formed alliances with similar groups in other *poblaciones* or with other sectors of the city's population to coordinate their activities. Although repression was severe, grassroots organizations existed, and some of their crafts and documents were available through the *Vicaria de la Solidaridad* in Santiago.

The absence in the ephemera collection of documentation on *poblacional* groups during the 1973–1980 period raises questions about relations between the archive and political processes in Chile. During this time popular organizations were much less visible to outsiders. Rather than manifesting themselves in massive demonstrations and polished ideologies, these survival organizations struggled to defend the lives of their members against repression and hunger. They operated clandestinely and at risk, under a regime which tried to stamp out popular organizations. Far from the stylized and public mobilizations that preceded and followed them, these organizations had little public face.

Beyond the question of visibility to sectors outside of the *poblaciones* themselves, we speculate that the moments in which *pobladores* show up in the Princeton archives correspond to those moments in which segments of the political elites incorporated the activities of these

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"Laugh . . . It's Free," a cartoon opposing the continued rule of General Augusto Pinochet. It shows Pinochet addressing a crowd and saying "That's why, gentlemen, nobody will go to bed without eating this year." The crowd cheers as Pinochet repeats the slogan. Then a poor man asks for permission to speak, and the General says "Okay, what do you want, man?" The poor man responds "The problem is that I have not eaten yet." The General says, "Then don't go to bed, you jerk." Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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popular social movements into their own strategic plans. The time of Allende's Popular Unity government saw not only divisions but also cross-class alliances and mobilizations in Chile. For example, many of the land seizures carried out by *pobladores* during this time were supported and even actively encouraged by the socialist government as well as by centrist political parties. During parts of the 1980s, the political leadership of the opposition to Pinochet, including the centrist Christian Democratic Party, supported massive mobilizations in the service of ousting the dictatorship. At times when party leaders found value in social movements, a tremendous collection of materials occurred. Given political processes in Chile, it is not surprising that at these two periods popular-sector organizations show up in the archives.

This perspective allows us to view the contradictions of the archive. On the one hand, the collection identifies large-scale political processes and focuses on broad currents of social and political change. On the other hand, the popular flyers, bulletins, and leaflets that Gajardo sent from the *poblaciones* tell their own story of a logic from below, and reflect forms of organization that go beyond management by elites. While such materials and evidence of popular organization have been written out of many official and published accounts of Chilean history, they emerge in the archive at Princeton.

In this context, the absence of documents from the 1970s is important. In order to understand the changing strategies of *poblacional* movements, one needs to pay close attention to the moments in between the heights of social mobilization: the moments of uncertainty, of experimentation, of debate, and of tactical shifts. The question that interests us most is not what styles of organization emerged in the Popular Unity and National Protest periods, but what happened in between. What organizations were tried and discarded? What processes of ideological and cultural production were advanced? What debates took place about how these social movements should regroup? These questions gain all the more importance in the 1990s.

TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY: THE COLLECTION IN THE 1990S

Unfortunately, the 1990s present yet another gap in the documentation of the history of Chilean popular movements in the Princeton

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archive. In 1990, Princeton shifted the strategy it used to acquire materials for the collection. On the premise that formerly clandestine organizations of the opposition now had access to publication, government, and the media, Gajardo was asked to stop collecting materials. Princeton arranged for a book dealer, who had begun to collect for the university a few years earlier, to continue sending materials — mainly publications of government and non-governmental organizations. As a consequence, the supply of materials from *poblacional* groups dried up, while the sources of official publications expanded. This change in the strategy for gathering information had an immediate impact on the collection. In contrast to the popular-sector pamphlets of the 1980s, materials from the 1990s are dominated by documents produced by the government and sophisticated non-governmental organizations. Popular sector documents in the collection are exceedingly rare.

To give just one example, the category "Political Analysis" in the 1990s collection includes such documents as a statement on the state of the national budget by the finance minister; an address by President Frei on the anniversary of national television; and "Themes of Participation," a pamphlet published by the government. Pieces by non-governmental organizations include an electoral manual and a pamphlet on popular juridical histories. Flyers by popular-sector organizations are few and far between. A hand-written exception is from the 1992 land seizure at Peñalolén. It asks people to show solidarity with *pobladores* without housing. Amid a plethora of government-produced booklets, just a few leaflets from popular sectors hint at alternative political analyses and *poblacional* practice in Santiago.

The classification system for the collection changed in the 1990s as well. In the 1980s, folders had been organized by author: political parties, the military, *poblacional* groups, women's groups. In this way, one could see a wide variety of perspectives, and locate each actor speaking on its own terms. In contrast, materials from the 1990s are categorized not by author but by theme. Labels such as "regional issues," "agrarian issues," "education," and "poverty," refer to social science and policy categories that do not distinguish social actors.

The new classification system and the change in the types of materials may facilitate two systematic misreadings of the collec-

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tion. Users of the archive might think that grassroots organizations no longer exist, or have stopped producing written materials. Or, they might conclude that the documents present in the collection are the products of popular movements. Neither conclusion would be correct. For example, it would be a mistake to think that the publications of the *Servicio Nacional de la Mujer*, a government ministry whose publications are common in recent acquisitions, are parallel to those of the *poblacional* women's groups featured in the boxes of the 1980s.

Confusion generated by the archive reflects political changes in Chile itself. Broad support for the "No" campaign in the 1988 plebiscite created the impression that the opposition, as a whole, had at last defeated the dictator and gained control of the government, and that as a result popular groups could more freely express their opinions, analyses, and demands. But this reading of Chilean politics contains an error: it conflates government entities, and at times non-governmental organizations, with popular social movements. For example, foreign donors who supported popular organizations and non-governmental organizations during military rule now send the bulk of their funds through FOSIS, the government-created Fund for Solidarity and Social Investment whose publications are widely represented in the collection of the 1990s. Documents produced by a part of the state should not be confused with materials produced by *poblacional* organizations. As for the popular sectors themselves, far from gaining control of mass media and political institutions during the "transition to democracy," *pobladores* have largely been excluded from the institutions and political structures created during the transition.

While the collection from the 1990s lacks materials created by *poblacional* organizations, and while it could reinforce the inaccurate impression that government publications are documents of popular movements, the present collection can nonetheless be useful for those involved in social movements in a very specific way: the collection provides the material with which to analyze strategies of power prevailing in Chile. Anthropologists call this kind of research "studying up."[10] This means that rather than using the materials as a description of the transition to democracy, one can read them

[10] Laura Nader, "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up," in Dell Hymes, ed., *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 284–311.

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"from the bottom up" to understand how power functions in a new political era. For example, in the archive on labor reform a document produced by the current Ministry of Work and Social Provision shows the state as the arbiter between entrepreneurs and workers. The caption under a worker and owner shaking hands reads "Coming to agreement is always better than confrontation." One can use documents such as these to discern state ideology and practice.

The collection is less helpful, however, for understanding the *poblacional* movement in the 1990s. It is precisely our interest in comprehending the changing strategies of grassroots organizations in times of uncertainty that makes the current period so important for understanding popular movements in Chile. At this time of apparent demobilization, what kinds of organizations are emerging in the *poblaciones*? And how do members of *poblacional* organizations interpret the forms of power operating during the current democracy? While it is true that popular sectors neither mobilize nor produce materials at the rate at which they did during the years of national protest, their publications have not disappeared to the extent that the paucity of grassroots ephemera among recent acquisitions might suggest. Currently in Chile, participants in local history workshops gather information and create written narratives about the *poblaciones*; community health groups continue to circulate bulletins, pamphlets, and position statements; and residents advertise local events by pasting up posters in shantytowns. Mural art has taken on new forms, and street theater continues — phenomena that could be captured by the type of photography and cassette recording used in other parts of the collection. The mural displays reveal new uses of art, the importance of popular culture, and the collaboration of a new set of social actors who had not previously worked together. They show how the contents and forms of art being produced now differ from those of the 1980s; and they reveal a search for new forms of action, organizing, and interpretation.

The messages expressed in the streets and *poblaciones* of Santiago reveal transformation in social-movement tactics as *pobladores* alternate between clarity and confusion in diagnosing the power relations in a new political era. Understanding these moments of uncertainty and transformation is crucial to understanding power

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The cover of this pamphlet from the post-Pinochet elected government's Ministry of Work and Social Provision reads "Labor Reforms: Equity and development for a better Chile." In the illustration, the man standing between employers and workers wears a button that says "The State." The text of the pamphlet instructs labor and management on the norms of negotiation of labor disputes, and includes statements such as "They [the labor reforms] favor responsible collective bargaining both by the employer and by workers." On the last page, there is a cartoon of a worker and employer shaking hands, with the caption "To come to an agreement is always better than confrontation." Chilean Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Division, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.

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and social movements over time. The documents and cultural forms produced by *poblacional* groups are extremely important in a context in which *pobladores* largely do not have access to the media and means of publication. Both the content of the documents in the Princeton collection and the gaps in the archive provide insight into the processes of power and knowledge operating on and through social movements over time.

Because the collection is potentially so useful for understanding social processes in Chile and for providing information on popular social movements, Princeton would be wise to resume the collection of popular-sector documents. It would be important to locate documents from the pre-1970 and 1973–1980 periods to fill gaps in the collection. For the current period, active documentation such as cassette recordings, video (particularly of popular theater and cultural activities), and photography (especially of murals) would bring a yet more lively texture to the collection and make evident the wide range of activities occurring in the *poblaciones*.

An ephemera collection is a challenge to understand given that documents are presented without an explanation of their historical context. Therefore, a set of videotaped oral histories by Chilean *pobladores* would be an extraordinary asset to this collection. If residents describe their own personal and community histories on tape, or, alternatively, comment on the various pamphlets in the collection, they could provide a rich interpretive framework for the materials — something accomplished now only through brief written comments produced by research assistants in Princeton's Firestone Library. Finally, Princeton should assure that this ephemera collection is available to the popular sectors in Chile who created it by distributing it on paper to popular libraries and at history workshop collections in the shantytowns. By including *poblador* voices in the interpretation of the ephemera, and by returning such documents to those who engaged in their production, Princeton would provide users of the archive with a new perspective on popular experiences during the transition to democracy, and at the same time, advance the democracy of knowledge production and use in Chile.

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