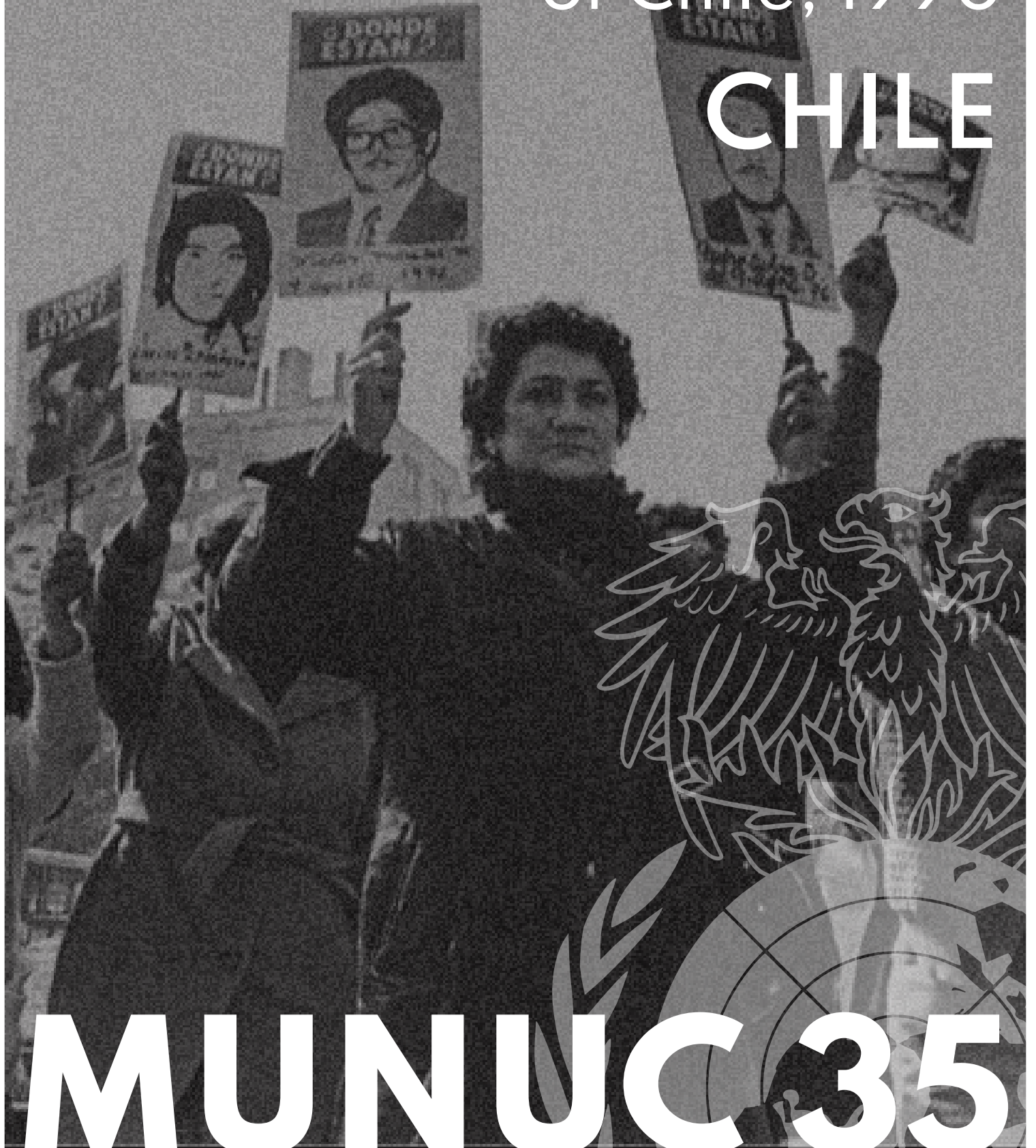


# The Democratization of Chile, 1990

## CHILE



Model United Nations of the University of Chicago

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## CHAIR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

Welcome to MUNUC 35! My name is Chritina Gao, and I am so excited to be serving as your chair for the Committee on the Democratization of Chile, 1990s. Isa and I are really excited to see the creative and intellectually stimulating debates you will all participate in as we move forward through Chile's history in the few days that we are together.

To kick things off, I am a current second year in college majoring in neuroscience and minoring in health & society on the pre-med track. I first got involved in MUN my first year when I served as an AC on the Cabinet of Jose Batlle y Ordóñez in MUNUC, and as an AC for Alphabet Mafia Go Brrrr: The Mattachine Society in our collegiate conference, ChoMUN. Aside from MUN, I am involved in peer mentoring through Maroon Mentors, and with Alzheimer's research on campus. In my free time, you can find me going on long commutes to random coffee shops around the city, making detailed plans with my friends to last us years, in the kitchen attempting to make a complex recipe from scratch, or waxing poetic about how I miss my home, New York City (though Chicago is pretty cool too)

As your chair, I will be running the front room of your committee, where you will be writing notes and directives, creating blocs, and forming the constitution of Chile. As a hybrid committee, we are adopting the elements of a GA committee and meshing them with the chaos that comes with a crisis committee. This may be challenging, but we are so excited to see what you bring into the front room using your backroom arcs. I am excited to see you all grow as delegates in your debate skills, writers in your backroom notes, and as people through your formed blocs while tackling issues such as workers' and women's rights.

Though this committee promises to be exciting and this weekend (hopefully) a fun time, I would like to bring your attention to the sensitivity of this committee. This committee begins right after the overthrow of Pinochet, a dictator in Chile, and as committee progresses, you will be asked to tackle a plethora of issues concerning rights of people. Remember that the democratization of Chile was a

real event, with real consequences, and due to its modernity, some delegates may have family members that lived through this time period. To this point, we ask you to be sensitive. Absolutely no racism, sexism, or anything of that sort will be tolerated, and disciplinary measures will be taken as needed.

With that being said, Isa and I are so incredibly excited to meet all of you and see all of the amazing, creative arcs and directives that you come up with. Please feel free to reach out with any questions or concerns. We look forward to an incredible MUNUC 35!

Best,

Chritina Gao

Chair, The Committee on the Democratization of Chile, 1990

chritina@uchicago.edu

## CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

I am very excited to welcome you to MUNUC 35! My name is Isa Rosario-Blake, and I will be your Crisis Director for the Democratization of Chile, 1990s. This committee will be very interesting for me running backroom, and I hope it will be exciting for you to participate as delegates. I am a second year in The College majoring in Romance Languages and Literatures and History with a minor in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations. Currently, I am on the competitive team at the University of Chicago, and I was an assistant chair for ChoMUN and MUNUC 2021. In my free time, I can usually be found zoning out while listening to music, biking, doodling, and reading. Outside of MUN, I casually attend meetings of OLAS and the French Club and occasionally a niche lecture.

Running a hybrid will give delegates the fast paced and forgiving feel of a crisis with the negotiations and long-form writing found in a GA. I will be overseeing the arc of the committee using crisis breaks and helping ACs respond to notes delegates write to the backroom to influence the committee. I look forward to all of your creative ideas! However, as someone who has experience on the college and high school circuit, I know sometimes creativity is used inappropriately. That will not be tolerated in this committee. One of the things Chrit and I are looking forward to in the committee is revising history to be more inclusive to the range of experiences in Chile than the original founders of this democracy were. Chile is home to many groups of indigenous people and other minorities whom we will be trying to give a voice in the writing of this constitution. When we jump to the modern era, we will be able to see how the Chilean feminism has transformed over time.

This constitution is particularly young, and it is important to keep in mind that the 1990s were only 30 years ago. There are millions of people alive today who were directly affected by and remember the period of instability this constitution resulted in, so be respectful of the gravity of the situation. Especially in the backroom, think about the impact your arcs have on living, breathing people and adjust your plans accordingly. No anti-Blackness, anti-indigeneity, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, racism, classism, or imperialist rhetoric will be allowed. Please also be respectful of

other delegates, so we can all enjoy this conference productively. We are looking forward to spending the weekend with you building a new democracy!

Best Regards,

Isa Rosario-Blake

Crisis Director, Crisis Director for the Democratization of Chile, 1990s.

## COMMITTEE STRUCTURE AND MECHANICS

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The Committee on the Democratization of Chile is a hybrid committee composed of elements from both traditional MUN committees and crisis committees. To keep this organized, the committee will be split into two parts. In the first part, which will consist of the first two committee sessions, delegates will assume the responsibility of drafting a constitution for the newly transitioning Chile. The constitution should ideally be at or around five pages. Delegates should aim to be concise, without limiting the content of the constitution. The dais will accept three versions of the constitution, but only one will be ratified. Should more than three versions be created, delegates will be sent back and asked to merge again. The modality for these two sessions will be GA, beginning with a speakers list and continuing through a series of moderated and unmoderated caucuses as motioned by delegates.

During the first two committee sessions, delegates will be allowed to write two notes per session to begin their backroom arcs to be utilized in the later committee sessions following the creation and ratification of the constitution. Notes are integral to a crisis committee, as they allow delegates to communicate with the backroom of the committee and establish events that will impact Chile – it allows the delegate to assume creative freedom and impact the committee in small or large ways, and will ideally allow for more debate to be raised and dealt with. Over the remaining committee sessions, the notes the delegate sends should form a backroom arc – a comprehensive end goal with each note building up to it. Delegates' first few notes should aim to gather the resources they need, whether it be material or people, to execute larger events within their arc. The third committee session will begin in continuous crisis – but with one surprise element attached – a time jump. During this time jump, we will be shifting this committee from the 1990s to the 2010s, an era in Chile's history marked by protests and something that can be seen as a response to the constitution you have created. Delegates will be expected to reprise their roles, but also be aware that we are now in modern history. Delegates will need to make use of the technological and social advancements that have occurred over the past two decades.

During the later committee sessions, note runs will occur multiple times rather than just once, allowing delegates to fully develop their backroom arcs and bring new developments to the front room in the form of crisis breaks. Delegates will also be writing directives (shorter documents that take some form of action that can include legislation or initiatives) in response to the different developments that occur. It is important to note that delegates will not be rewriting Chile's constitution during the crisis component of this committee. Delegates will ultimately shape Chile today through their front and backroom performances.



# TOPIC: THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF CHILE, 1990

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## History of the Problem

### *Entering the 20th Century*

The 20th Century saw the beginning of the Parliamentary Era after the Chilean civil war in 1891. While the civil war was supposed to be a turning point, and it should have put an end to election meddling, elite influence continued until the 1920s. The Communist and Socialist political parties transformed the political scene of the 1920s and 1930s as, for the first time, people outside of the elite class were looking to have a say in the country's government. We will focus on how the class system and global impact of the world wars manifested to create the series of events leading up to the 1990s.

In the 1930s, Japan-Chile relations had improved, and by 1940, trade with Japan represented approximately 5% of Chile's foreign trade. Yet, Chile severed ties with Axis powers in 1943 after the attack on Pearl Harbor and enforced Japanese internment.<sup>1</sup> In 2017, Chilean police published documents from WWII showing that 40 people were arrested over the course of the war for evidence indicating that they were supporting the Nazi regime, including plans to bomb mines in northern Chile. In the aftermath of WWII, Chile leaned further left in the political spectrum, and its organized labor had more power. However, the economic growth mainly favored the upper middle class and wealthy industrialists. Nonetheless, industrial political parties had more opportunities to collaborate with the government.

Jumping forward to 1958, the political environment was polarized, and three presidential candidates – Salvador Allende, Eduardo Frei Montalva, and Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez – had roughly equal support. Alessandri was a few percentage points ahead of Allende, but none of them had enough

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<sup>1</sup> Cover picture: Kena Lorenzini, "File:Agrupación De Familiares De Detenidos Desaparecidos De Chile (De Kena Lorenzini).Jpg," Wikimedia Commons (Wikimedia Foundation, November 10, 2022), [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Agrupaci%C3%B3n\\_de\\_Familiares\\_de\\_Detenidos\\_Desaparecidos\\_de\\_Chile\\_%28de\\_Kena\\_Lorenzini%29.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Agrupaci%C3%B3n_de_Familiares_de_Detenidos_Desaparecidos_de_Chile_%28de_Kena_Lorenzini%29.jpg); "Japan's Intelligence Network in Chile during the Second World War ..." Accessed August 30, 2022. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022009419884631>.

votes to constitute the majority as established in the Chilean legislation. Because of this, the decision of which candidate will be the president fell upon Congress. They chose Alessandri as the future president.<sup>2</sup> During his term, Alessandri tried to lower unemployment through a public works program but also capped wages.

After Alessandri's term ended six years later, Eduardo Frei Montalva was elected the new president. He led a big agrarian reform program allowing for a better distribution of land. More importantly, the Frei administration's reforms included changes to labor laws. Specifically, if a union had majority support in its jurisdiction, the employer had to negotiate with them. The results of collective bargaining were significant pay raises and an increase in rural workers' political power. During Frei's term, the Chilean university system also underwent a series of reforms. Strikes began at the Catholic University of Valparaíso and later spread quickly to other schools in the new artistic and socio-political environment of the 1960s. Student organizations were strong, which incentivized more social reforms. The rural workers remained in support of Frei's Christian Democratic party, but Frei's failure to reduce inflation and address the needs of urban laborers made his popularity go down and further polarized the country.

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<sup>2</sup> Onisspecial, Juan De. "Chilean Rightist Leads in Election; Alessandri Piles up Votes for President -- Pressed by Allende, Leftist." The New York Times. The New York Times, September 5, 1958.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1958/09/05/archives/chilean-rightist-leads-in-election-alessandri-piles-up-votes-for.html>.

## *The Rise of Salvador Allende*



*Salvador Allende*<sup>3</sup>

During the time of Frei Montalva, Chilean politics was separated into three wings – the right wing (represented by the historical elites), the center wing (represented by the Christian Democratic Party), and the left wing (represented by the Socialist and Communist Parties, as well as smaller leftist factions). Big support for the left came from a strong labor movement in Chile, especially among the northern nitrate miners and the southern textile and coal mining communities. These communities and movements aligned themselves with the Communist and Socialist Parties, which they believed best represented their views and values in the political sphere.<sup>4</sup>

Allende's platform focused on furthering the reforms Frei Montalva had begun. His policies included redistributing wealth, ending foreign control over the Chilean economy (which had been achieved by international investment in Chilean industry), and bringing democracy closer to its citizens. Allende's populist actions made it clear that he would be the winning candidate for the presidency. His appeal was only bettered by the fact that he led the Popular Unity Coalition which was composed of the Socialist and Communist Parties, as well as the smaller factions that made up the left wing of Chilean

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<sup>3</sup> "File: Allende 1970-1973.Jpg - Wikimedia Commons." Accessed November 26, 2022.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Allende\\_1970-1973.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Allende_1970-1973.jpg).

<sup>4</sup> An interview with Marian Schlotterbeck, and Marian Schlotterbeck. "The Rise of Allende." Tribune, September 4, 2020.  
<https://tribunemag.co.uk/2020/09/the-rise-of-allende>.

politics. All of this combined with the movements of the 1960s – including the peasant’s movement, the shantytown movement,<sup>5</sup> and the extremely active university reform student movement – led to Allende’s victory, the first time that the lower social classes won in politics. This victory also had huge significance in the international sphere as he was the first peacefully elected socialist president in the world.



*Rallies in Support of Allende<sup>6</sup>*

### ***Response to Allende’s Government***

While Allende’s government may have been the government that the people favored, his presidency was characterized by a plethora of both domestic and international challenges to his power. Internationally, it is no surprise that the election of Allende would upset Western nations. Other countries took steps to ensure that their version of democracy and way of life would prevail in Chile.

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<sup>5</sup> “Art in Social Movements: Shantytown Women’s Protest in Pinochet ... - JSTOR.” Accessed August 30, 2022. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/685086>.

<sup>6</sup> “Marchers for Allende.” The Library of Congress. Accessed November 25, 2022. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004666289/>.

Because of American businesses' interests in Chile, including the International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Corporation which at the time controlled around 70% of Chile's telephone companies, the American government had an obvious interest in making sure that Allende's government failed. ITT made financial promises to the CIA if the CIA was able to tamper with Allende's presidency. Although this offer was rejected and the CIA did nothing at the time, shortly after, the Broe proposals were created. These were a set of initiatives that aimed at causing economic distress in Chile before the next election. Among the Broe proposals were ideas such as the nonrenewal of bank credits, and the slow-down of deliveries of spare parts to Chile. Although the Broe proposals were also rejected, several testimonials reveal that the U.S. was still planning to interfere with Chile; despite their assurances of non-interference, talks were underway to cut the amount of funding given to Chile by the U.S.<sup>7</sup>

Despite pressures from foreign countries, in July of 1971, the Chilean Congress went on to nationalize the remainder of American ownership in their copper mines, effectively taking steps to ensure that the Chilean economy belonged to the Chilean government, rather than foreign individuals. In addition to the copper mines, ITT began to lose power as the Chilean government took over their existing telephone holdings. These actions were the results of Allende's economic policies: he redistributed income and increased government spending. These, at first glance, seemed to benefit Chile's economy as they led to a decline in unemployment and inflation rate. However, this initial success did not last long, as the currency devalued, private investments declined, and Chile's relationship with the U.S. worsened.<sup>8</sup>

Notably, Americans controlled 40% of the votes in the International Monetary Fund (IMF),<sup>9</sup> and the U.S. wielded its power to block approval of further loans to Chile. The consequences of refusing these loans would be felt by Chileans. In addition, while private U.S.-based banks (JP Morgan, Bank

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<sup>7</sup> "CIA Acknowledges Involvement in Allende's Overthrow." Transnational Institute, February 22, 2016. <https://www.tni.org/es/node/13624>.

<sup>8</sup> Chile - the debt crisis: Further reforms and Recovery. Accessed August 29, 2022. <http://countrystudies.us/chile/67.htm>; Kornbluh, Peter. "Declassifying U.S. Intervention in Chile." NACLA. Accessed August 29, 2022. <https://nacla.org/article/declassifying-us-intervention-chile>.

<sup>9</sup> "Finance and Development." Finance and Development | F&D. Accessed August 29, 2022. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2000/03/animat.htm#:~:text=During%20the%201990s%2C%20privatization%20efforts,appropriate%20safeguards%20for%20government%20property.>

of America, etc.) said that there was no influence by the U.S. government to reduce lines of credit, they would admit to reducing Chilean lines of credit, which contributed to the worsening economic conditions in Chile. With the economy on its decline, the Chilean people started questioning their president.



*Salvador Allende and Augusto Pinochet<sup>10</sup>*

Between 1972 and 1973, tensions in the polarized nation came to a boil as people protested and planned strikes in response to the present economic crisis. By 1972, Chile's real output had declined by 1.2% and the trade deficit had reached 3.5% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP).<sup>11</sup> On top of these, the unsuccessful attempts to increase its borrowing from foreign sources led to more unrest in the nation as more people lost jobs and consequently, faith in the administration. This eventually culminated in an attempted coup by Lieutenant Colonel Roberto Souper. The coup failed because General Carlos Prats was able to stop it in time, but it was not long before he lost the support of most of the army. Between June and September of 1973, it became increasingly obvious that if the

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<sup>10</sup> "In Pictures: The Military Coup in Chile." BBC News. BBC, September 11, 2013. <https://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-23992842>.

<sup>11</sup> Caputo, Rodrigo, and Diego Saravia. "Working Paper the Case of Chile - Becker Friedman Institute for Economics" Becker Friedman Institute. Accessed August 30, 2022. <https://bfi.uchicago.edu/wp-content/uploads/The-Case-of-Chile.pdf>.



economic condition continued to worsen, a coup could be successful. On September 11th, 1973, another coup was staged. At 9:10 am, Allende made his final broadcast from the presidential palace, stating “Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers!” before joining forces to defend the palace. At the end of the coup, Allende committed suicide and a new dictator was put in his place.<sup>12</sup>

### ***The Rise and Fall of Pinochet***



*Augusto Pinochet<sup>13</sup>*

Pinochet was appointed army commander-in-chief by President Allende 18 days before the coup that Pinochet planned and initiated.<sup>14</sup> He was chosen to be head of the new military junta and immediately began to silence those who did not agree with him. His regime arrested around 130,000 liberals who opposed the far-right government, and a significant number of people were tortured or disappeared. In 1978, Pinochet led efforts to make his administration appear like a liberal democracy. It was announced that 75% of voters supported his rule, and in 1981, a new constitution, written by the government he controlled, proclaimed him president for eight more years. Later, a

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<sup>12</sup> Devine, Jack. “What Really Happened in Chile: The CIA, the Coup Against Allende, and the Rise of Pinochet - JSTOR.” Accessed August 30, 2022. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24483554>.

<sup>13</sup> “File:Pinochet en Historia Política BCN.JPG.” Accessed November 25, 2022. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pinochet\\_en\\_Historia\\_Pol%C3%ADtica\\_BCN.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pinochet_en_Historia_Pol%C3%ADtica_BCN.JPG)

<sup>14</sup> “Augusto Pinochet.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed August 29, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Augusto-Pinochet>.

plebiscite confirmed his presidency. In 1982, the Latin American debt crisis hit Chile, and the immediate solution implemented by the Pinochet administration was to nationalize the financial sector. When Pinochet came to power, he followed the advice of Chilean economists known as the “Chicago Boys” and opened the economy, adhering to the free-market doctrine.<sup>15</sup> After 1985, the government changed to an adjustment program and began a debt-conversion plan that converted external debts into equities of Chilean private companies to reduce foreign debt volume.<sup>16</sup> Pinochet’s economic plans focused on short-term solutions that consolidated and legitimized power without focusing on the long run. Admittedly, Pinochet’s plans worked for a while, but redistributing debt and allowing too much foreign influence in the domestic economy had untold consequences, some of which are still felt by Chileans today.



*Protest in 1983 in Chile; sign reads "right to live in the country"<sup>17</sup>*

<sup>15</sup> McCarthy, Julie. "A Dictator's Legacy of Economic Growth." NPR. NPR, September 14, 2006. <https://www.npr.org/2006/09/14/6069233/a-dictators-legacy-of-economic-growth>.

<sup>16</sup> French-Davis, Ricardo, and Ricardo French-Davis. "Debt-Equity Swaps in Chile." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 14, no. 1 (1990): 109–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23598199>.

<sup>17</sup> "File:Protestas Chile 1985.jpg." Accessed November 25, 2022. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Protestas\\_Chile\\_1985.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Protestas_Chile_1985.jpg)



Despite these efforts, Pinochet soon discovered that they were not enough to better the economic downturn as public dissent continued to grow against his regime. On May 11th, 1983, the Confederation of Copper Workers organized the first national protest since the coup and kicked off years of protest in Chile. Initially, the majority of protesters were from worker organizations. In three months, this group grew to include university students, small business owners, center-left parties, and other individuals who opposed Pinochet, and it was during this time that violence against protesters began to escalate. Pinochet also tried to sway public perception by granting limited rights back to the people, such as a slight improvement in the freedom of the press.<sup>18</sup> Pope John Paul II's visit to Chile provided additional support for the protesters. During the Pope's visit, he denounced Pinochet's regime and heavily criticized the human rights violations committed by the regime. The Pope also called for a return to democracy, telling reporters that he believed that the Church should push for the overthrow of the dictator in Chile as it did in the Philippines.<sup>19</sup>



*Pope Jean Paul II in Santiago<sup>20</sup>*

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<sup>18</sup> "Protest during Pinochet's Regime." Omeka RSS. Accessed August 30, 2022.

<http://projects.leadr.msu.edu/latinamericancities/exhibits/show/housing--the-coup-and-pinochet/protest-during-pinochet-s-regi>.

<sup>19</sup> Suro, Roberto. "Pope, on Latin Trip, Attacks Pinochet Regime." The New York Times. The New York Times, April 1, 1987. <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/04/01/world/pope-on-latin-trip-attacks-pinochet-regime.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Gordonskene. "April 4, 1987 - Pope John Paul II in Chile: Shots and Teargas amid a Mass for Peace - Looming Trade Wars." Past Daily: News, History, Music And An Enormous Sound Archive., April 4, 2019.

As dictated by the 1980 constitution, a referendum to endorse or remove Pinochet was to take place in 1988, and Pinochet accepted it (some sources credit this decision to the Pope's visit). Campaigns supporting and opposing Pinochet were both strong, and the majority vote was against him, which was admirable considering the existing censorship. After that, he remained in rule for another year before stepping down, and he would remain Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces until 1998.<sup>21</sup> Pinochet attempted to cling to power after the 1988 referendum, but he did not have military, political, or international backing. The U.S. had also withdrawn its support for Pinochet in favor of another candidate, so Pinochet was forced to step down. Throughout his reign, Chileans opposed the regime, undermining his legitimacy bit by bit. In May of 1983, the Confederation of Copper Workers launched the first large-scale protest in several years. While political repression and the fear of torture or detainment kept many quiet, students still attempted to organize against Pinochet, along with residents of shantytowns who were attacked by the military.<sup>22</sup> Pinochet's rule was one of the most brutal for indigenous peoples and organizations. His regime seized indigenous lands from the Mapuche people and sold them cheaply to wealthy landowners. While the post-Pinochet government promised to return these lands, efforts were minimal and clearly not a priority for the new government.

The international community worked to hold Pinochet accountable for his numerous human rights violations. While visiting London in 1998, Pinochet was arrested by British police on behalf of Spain. Belgium, France, and Switzerland also later extradited Pinochet. It was ruled that he did not have immunity as a head of state, since both Chile and the United Kingdom had ratified the United Nations Convention against Torture. This case also brought to light the amount of information the United States and other countries had about human rights abuse in Chile as well as the support of repressive regimes and state terror by the U.S. in Operation Condor.<sup>23</sup>

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<https://pastdaily.com/2019/04/04/april-4-1987-pope-john-paul-ii-in-chile-shots-and-teargas-amid-a-mass-for-peace-looming-trade-wars/>.

<sup>21</sup> "Chile's 1988 Plebiscite and the End of Pinochet's Dictatorship." Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, March 16, 2018. <https://adst.org/2014/11/chiles-1988-plebiscite-and-the-end-of-pinochets-dictatorship/>.

<sup>22</sup> "Art in Social Movements: Shantytown Women's Protest in Pinochet ... - JSTOR." Accessed August 30, 2022. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/685086>.

<sup>23</sup> "The Pinochet Precedent." Human Rights Watch, November 16, 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/report/1998/11/01/pinochet-precedent/how-victims-can-pursue-human-rights-criminals-abroad>.

Within Chile, Pinochet still had some far-right supporters, and to this day, politicians still invoke his legacy as a force against Marxism. Some also believe that his economic reforms were successful and necessary. This committee begins just as Pinochet has lost power, and Patricio Aylwin has become the new president. We will simulate the building of a nation by drafting a new constitution focused on correcting the wrongs of past presidencies through the consideration of the working class, human rights protection, preserving indigenous rights, and other positive innovations delegates come up with. We aim to create a diverse body with different goals that will allow the creation of a stronger democracy.

## Statement of the Problem

### ***Power in a Post-Pinochet Chile***

The first election for a new president was held in December 1989, and Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin rose to power as he won the majority of the vote. Delegates will face the problem of creating a new constitution during the transition from Pinochet to Aylwin.

Historically, the military had a strong sway in politics in post-Pinochet Chile. Although elections did occur after Pinochet accepted the results of the plebiscite, it took time for Chile to move away from military-based control. The first few years after Pinochet stepped down, he remained Commander-in-Chief of the army, and he dealt with two Christian Democrat presidents. While Chilean political parties have traditionally been divided into conservatives, radicals, and liberals, it was after Pinochet that these divisions became the modern iterations that we see today.<sup>24</sup> The *Concertación* led by the Christian Democrats was the leading party after the end of the dictatorship, and it was made up of center-left and radical-left parties. The *Alianza* was the right-wing coalition that was supportive of dictatorship in the plebiscite. Finally, the far-left Juntos Podemos Más coalition, which was not favored in the electoral system, was made up of supporters of progressive social movements and the Communist Party. The *Concertación* coalition focused on rapid economic growth and other economic policies. Aylwin also staunchly supported the Chilean National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation which exposed the brutalities of the dictatorship. Chile was thus shifting back to a center-left government during this period. This committee, however, challenges you to think if this is the future of Chile that you wish for. Will Chile return to a center-left government? Or will the government and power develop differently?

### ***Foreign Relations***

While the U.S. endorsed Pinochet's 1973 coup because he was not a communist, it soon had to stand back and oppose Pinochet due to his human rights violations. Once Pinochet lost power, the U.S.-

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<sup>24</sup> "Voices of the Peoples: Populism in Europe and Latin America Compared ..." THE ORIGINS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE CHILEAN PARTY SYSTEM. Kellogg Institute, Accessed August 30, 2022, [https://kellogg.nd.edu/sites/default/files/old\\_files/documents/378\\_o.pdf](https://kellogg.nd.edu/sites/default/files/old_files/documents/378_o.pdf).

Chile relationship significantly improved, and Aylwin's free-market policies made him a good ally to George Bush. Japan became Chile's largest trade partner in 1991.<sup>25</sup> Both Aylwin and Frei visited Japan, and this committee should think about how to continue diplomacy when we move into the 21st century.<sup>26</sup> The 1990s also saw the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia, and there are ongoing attempts to establish a Free Trade Agreement with the Eurasian Economic Union. Chile was the first country in South America to establish diplomatic relations with China in 1970.<sup>27</sup> China has invested a lot in Chile, which many Chilean officials see as beneficial. Delegates at this committee will have the opportunity to reshape Chile's foreign relations and challenge the status quo.

### ***Economy and Workers' Rights***

Pinochet sought an extremely neoliberal economy and encouraged the privatization of all state-run firms and industries, including public goods like water. The new government sought to decrease the inequality produced by free-market reforms. One area they thought could easily increase social mobility and living standards was education. As a result, the Chilean government increased spending on education reform by 150% between the end of the Pinochet era and the end of the decade. Although the *Concertación's* poverty reduction measures saw some short-term success, they still failed to reduce long-term social inequality, which delegates will have to wrestle with. Delegates are encouraged to explore the pros and cons of various ways to address social inequality and be creative with their solutions.

Despite Pinochet's political oppression and neoliberalism, the political consciousness of a unified working class that characterized Chile in the 1960s did not disappear. Class divides were still significant in the 1990s, albeit with a weakened capability to organize into interest groups. While large labor organizations like the Workers' United Center of Chile (CUT) were forced out of institutional power during Pinochet's regime, labor organizing continued on a local level and played

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<sup>25</sup> Chile - the debt crisis: Further reforms and Recovery. Accessed August 29, 2022. <http://countrystudies.us/chile/67.htm>.

<sup>26</sup> "Bilateral Relations - Chile Abroad." Accessed August 30, 2022. <http://chile.gob.cl/japon/en/bilateral-relation/bilateral-relations/relaciones-bilaterales>.

<sup>27</sup> Jorge Heine. "Still Trailblazing? the Chile-China Relationship at Fifty." China Dialogues, September 8, 2021. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/cff/2021/08/23/still-trailblazing-the-chile-china-relationship-at-fifty/>.

a role in ousting Pinochet from power.<sup>28</sup> With the *Concertación* in power, major labor-friendly parties were back to the public's attention. Fast-forwarding to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there have been limited top-down reforms surrounding workers' rights,<sup>29</sup> but it will be up to delegates to determine how the new government will safeguard or limit organizing and worker protections.

### ***Social Movements***

Though Chile remained culturally conservative immediately after Pinochet, as a committee, we recognize how important it is to not only advance the economy and standing of a state but also to progress towards making a nation that promotes equal rights and fair treatment of individuals.<sup>30</sup> However, there remains a significant cultural stigma toward Mapuche practices, and little conciliation with indigenous people has occurred. Would a different government have created a better environment for the indigenous peoples of Chile? In this committee, we will push for the importance of women's and indigenous people's rights, as well as other social movements that may arise.

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<sup>28</sup> Shandra Bernath-Plaistad and Max Rennebohm, "Chileans Overthrow Pinochet Regime, 1983-1988," Chileans overthrow Pinochet regime, 1983-1988 | Global Nonviolent Action Database (The Global Nonviolent Action Database), accessed September 13, 2022, <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/chileans-overthrow-pinochet-regime-1983-1988>.

<sup>29</sup> Sherwood, Dave, and Natalia A. Ramos Miranda. "Chile's Response to Pinera's Reforms: A Strike and More Protests." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, October 23, 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-chile-protests/chiles-response-to-pineras-reforms-a-strike-and-more-protests-idUSKBN1X21Oo>.

<sup>30</sup> Vo, Steven. "Mapuche Movements in Chile: From Resistance to Political Recognition." Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, May 20, 2021. <https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2021/05/21/mapuche-movements-in-chile-from-resistance-to-political-recognition/>.



*Chile in a new political era<sup>31</sup>*

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<sup>31</sup> "Chile Is at the Dawn of a New Political Era." New Frame, October 27, 2021. <https://www.newframe.com/chile-is-at-the-dawn-of-a-new-political-era/>.

## Character Biographies

### ***Elisa Loncón, Mapuche activist and university professor***

As an academic and activist, Elisa realizes her role and importance in shaping the future of Chile. She is concerned with the state of indigenous rights in the nation, and following the fall of Pinochet, she sees the perfect opportunity to make sure that the rewritten constitution will advocate for the causes that she holds dear to her heart—Mapuche rights and education in Chile. As an academic, she has made dozens of connections both domestically within the University of Chile and in American universities as well. She has taught hundreds of students, as a full and visiting professor, imparting and learning from their thoughts on the cause. She believes that education is the best way to fundamentally transform society for the better, and she is not afraid of the obstacles and challenges that lie ahead.

### ***Catalina Santana, Mapuche activist and musician***

A musician at heart, Catalina is a young Mapuche activist following the overthrow of Pinochet. Her hope is that through her music and advocacy, she can carve out a Chile that is receptive and inclusive of its indigenous population. Through her work, she has attracted many followers amongst Chilean youth and is a prominent presence at social events with the children of powerful government officials (and often can be found with the Minister of the Interior's children). She is confident in the power of art—the melody and lyrics—to foster a more inclusive community, to criticize what is wrong, and to imagine a better future. Beyond music and performance, she is also ready to take action and mobilize her followers.

### ***Alberto Curamil, Mapuche and environmental activist***

As a Mapuche environmental activist, Alberto understands the importance of advocating for both of his identities. He has led protests and educated students about the importance of the environment. He is one of the leading voices in raising alerts about what the world may look like should people not address environmental issues. He has also raised awareness of the devastating effects of a decaying environment on indigenous individuals, not only in Chile but internationally. Through his work, he



has gained recognition and support from both indigenous groups in Chile and environmentalist groups in the international community. Alberto needs to find a way to influence the constitution writing process through the connections that he has built. For him, the constitution should promote not only a country that is more friendly to indigenous people but also a place where everyone can live and prosper safely and sustainably.

***Pablo Portales, Journalist and documentary director***

As a journalist first, and a documentary maker not quite second, Pablo recognizes his importance during this time period in Chile. He has spent the last 17 years documenting the injustices done to his fellow colleagues and capturing the rise and fall of Pinochet. It is now his time to shine—to show these injustices to the world and to advocate for journalists' rights in Chile. He believes that to ensure the protection of journalists and freedom of the press, journalists' rights must be written in the Chilean constitution. Through his career in filmmaking and journalism, he has connected with dozens of journalists and writers worldwide, and his ability to report in layman's terms has made him quite popular with the general Chilean public. What he needs to think about now is how to leverage his popularity and make sure that his opinions are heard.

***Alejandro Foxley, Economist***

As an economist who is nonetheless interested in politics, Alejandro is one of the most important people in rebuilding Chile after Pinochet's rule. His work during this time will provide guidance as to how Chile can bring its economy back on track. He has taught at many universities worldwide, such as Oxford University and MIT, and written and edited books on not only economic issues but also democracy. He has long been interested in international trade and how foreign affairs influence Chile's economy. In particular, he sees Chile's relationships with the United States and East Asian countries as highly important. Over time, he has met with many foreign government officials from trade and commerce departments and his insights into economics and trade have gained him popularity. His interests in both economics and politics will allow him to view the Chilean constitution from a rather unique perspective.

***Sola Sierra, President of the Association of Families of the Detained and Disappeared, communist, and human rights advocate***

Following Sola's husband's disappearance in 1976, she started advocating for an investigation to find out what happened to him. This consequently began her advocacy for the truth of what had happened to all those who had disappeared during Pinochet's regime. This is, without doubt, a dangerous endeavor. Nevertheless, her perseverance and dedication have helped her overcome the obstacles. Through her advocacy, she has gained the respect of countless journalists and families desperate to find out what had happened to their loved ones. As a communist, she is also dedicated to promoting the life of the poor. She will do everything to make sure that the human rights of each Chilean be protected in the new constitution.

***Ricardo Rojas, Ambassador of Chile to Japan***

Ricardo grew up in a wealthy neighborhood in Chile, and he believes that the best way to develop the country's economy was allying with the United States and other laissez-faire economies. He has always had a fascination with Japanese culture, and he wants Chile to take a similar path of development because Japan has been really successful. Clearly, an alliance with Japan might conflict with a potential alliance with China, so Ricardo will have to negotiate to make sure that the committee takes into account the potential benefits of continued trade with Japan. Ricardo also needs to think about how to maximize the interests of Chile in any potential partnership with Japan.

***Emilia Nuyado Ancapichun, Mapuche-Huilliche social and political leader and organizer***

Emilia grew up working with rural women and the Huacahuincul community, and in 2017 will be elected to be the first Mapuche congresswoman—but this does not come without struggle. Through her campaign, she has brought far more attention to injustices done to the indigenous peoples of Chile and has gained the support of indigenous groups worldwide. Police brutality, economic justice, and indigenous rights are very important to her. Emilia will definitely continue advocating for these rights in the drafting of the Chilean constitution, for there are perhaps no better ways to safeguard people's rights than explicitly including them in the country's constitution. She hopes that her supporters both within and outside Chile will give her more say on the committee.

### ***Paula Palacios, Black feminist organizer in Chile***

Paula is a Colombian woman who has lived in Chile for the past three years. She is a part of the Negrocéntricas collective, which focuses on organizing and uplifting Black women in Chile, and works with the Secretaría de las Mujeres Inmigrantes. She is interested in solutions to structural violence and advancing feminism, particularly with Afro-descendant women in mind. Frustrated by how Afro-descendant women have been unrecognized and left out by society, she is determined to fight for their rights to be included in and protected by the Chilean constitution. Ultimately, she hopes that this community can be recognized and gain its place in this society. In her past organizing efforts, she has built solid connections with Afro-descendant communities. She is ready to utilize her resources and experience to influence the direction of the new constitution.

### ***Azeneth Baez Rios, Chile's census committee member and advocate of the recognition of the Afro-descendant population***

Chile has long refused to include a category on its census that allows individuals to identify as Black or Afro-descendant. This has been frustrating and disturbing for Azeneth, a member of the census committee. Azeneth has worked to make sure that the census represented the Afro-descendant population of Chile. She is an important member of the census committee and her words are not inconsequential. Nevertheless, she knows that the recognition of the Afro-descendant population does not come with one more checkbox on the census, but that it requires a rather fundamental change in the social mentality of Chile. As a result, she has continued to advocate for the representation of Afro-descendent individuals in politics and policies in Chile. She understands the difficulty of this task but decides to keep fighting for it until the recognition of the Afro-descendant population is secured.

### ***Bernarda Guzmán, Ambassador of the U.S. to Chile***

Bernarda was born in the United States. She loves foreign relations, in particular issues concerning Latin America. She knows the complicated history between Chile and the U.S., but her main objective is to leave those issues in the past and try to help construct the best development path for the future. She also knows that Chile can be a great ally if it continues to liberalize its economy and

open up trade. In those hopes, she will work to make sure that Chile's economic model fits in with the well-tried model of the U.S. and other developed economies. Bernarda needs to prepare for push-backs from Chilean government officials and the general public and convince them that opening up the economy is also in the best interest of Chile.

***Juan Gabriel Valdés, Ambassador of Chile to the U.S.***

Juan Gabriel Valdés has lived abroad since a young age. He was chosen to be the Ambassador of Chile to the U.S. due to his experience in dealing with different cultures and adverse situations. He knows well the benefits of trade, but he also knows their detriments. Foreign Direct Investment can be a blessing and a curse in his eyes, and he tries really hard to make sure that the relationship between the U.S. and Chile is amicable and non-exploitative. He emphasizes the importance of relationships benefiting both parties. As such, Valdés generally acts as a mediating force between the superpower and a country that is on its way toward development. How to protect the interests of Chile while engaging the country in international trade is one of the most pressing questions for Juan.

***Luis Corvalan, Leader of the Communist Party of Chile***

As the leader of the Communist Party of Chile, he was an important figure in the election of Salvador Allende. He was active in political organizing and was a founder of La Unidad Popular (a coalition of leftist political parties). During Pinochet's regime, he was jailed and exiled to the USSR. He returned to Chile in 1988 and planned and orchestrated many protests, acts of sabotage, and even an attempted coup. Now that Pinochet is gone, he has a united Communist Party, international and domestic allies, and a shot to influence the constitution. He will use any method at his disposal to advance Communism, and his connections with domestic and international allies will be important.

***Enrique Krauss, Collaborator of Aylwin and Minister of Interior***

Enrique Krauss is a member of the Christian Democratic Party and was elected to various positions in the party during the dictatorship. He was a part of Aylwin's campaign before being appointed as the Minister of Interior under the new democratic government. As the Minister of Interior, he views

public security, public administration, and other internal affairs as his top priorities which he will also emphasize in the drafting of the new constitution. He has returned to public life after retiring from politics because he is concerned about unrest in Chile, particularly among young people. As a political veteran, he surely has much experience and some connections in the government to leverage.

***Enrique Silva Cimma, Leader of the Social Democratic Party and Foreign Minister***

As the Foreign Minister and a leader of the Social Democratic party, he wields a significant amount of power. He is not only a public face to the people of Chile but also integral in making sure that connections with other nations are rebuilt and put in place. He advocates for expanding Chile's influence on the world stage, while also leading his party domestically. He believes that workers should be paid fairly and is a staunch supporter of unions. Yet, he does not favor rapid change. On the contrary, he believes that it takes time for a society to adjust to new structures and that abrupt changes will only hurt instead of improving the country. He, therefore, advocates for progressive change done at a slower pace.

***Carlos Ominami, Minister for the Economy***

As Minister for the Economy, Carlos' role becomes more important than ever in a post-Pinochet world. He is directly responsible for bringing the economy back on track. He will continue to serve in this role for nearly twenty years, making him one of the established faces of the Chilean government. Through his work, he has established solid connections with a wide variety of foreign leaders and scholars, going on to teach at the University of Chile and visiting established universities worldwide. His economics research has received wide recognition around the globe. Now in politics, he needs to find a way to translate his economic expertise into policy agendas that will benefit the livelihoods of Chileans.

***Adrian Ramos, Ambassador of Chile to China and Trade Minister***

As the Trade Minister, Adrian understands the significance and intricacies of imports and exports better than anyone else. Because of his credentials, he has been hand-selected to facilitate Chile's

relationship with China—a country that seems to get more and more important by the day. How to advance Chile's interests in any potential partnership with China is at the top of his agenda. He also needs to consider how Chile's relationships with China may influence or be impacted by other foreign ties of Chile. In addition, he has another secret identity. He is gay, and he wishes to advocate for LGBTQ+ rights in Chile, even though popular sentiment at the time pushes back against this.

***Maria Josefa Morales, Feminist journalist detained during Pinochet's rule and LGBTQ+ activist***

Maria is a journalist and a feminist. Both of her identities made her a target during Pinochet's regime and eventually led to her detainment. Having lived and survived Pinochet's regime, she understands the horrors that occurred in detainment better than anyone else. As a result, she is determined to bring awareness to what has happened, campaign for women's rights, and fight for LGBTQ+ rights and equality overall. She believes that this is her mission as a survivor. She has attempted to keep in touch with the people she was detained with and has vowed to make sure to not allow their stories go untold. Maria will not let go of the opportunities presented by the new constitution to bring attention to the causes which she cares so much about.

***Vicente Diaz, Military man and leader of Renovación Nacional***

As a proud Chilean, he wants nothing but the best for the development of the country. Having lived through the adverse effects of Allende's progressive policies, he, alongside many Chileans, are scared of the possible repercussions of taking an ultra-progressive path. Therefore, although he and his party recognize that certain progressive changes would be beneficial, he is worried about the potential detrimental effects that certain policies encouraged by his counterparts may have. He will make sure to emphasize the possible pitfalls and ensure that any social, political, and economic change actually serves the interest of Chile. In particular, he knows the importance of a strong relationship with the U.S. so he will try to protect that.

***Aylen Cayancura, Likan Antai feminist and artist***

As a Likan Antai feminist hailing from the Antofagasta region of Chile, Aylen understands the importance of embracing both aspects of her identity in her advocacy. She embraces feminist ideals

while promoting the fair treatment of all of Chile's indigenous groups—not just the ones with the most attention. She is outspoken, but also creative, bringing tears to people's eyes with her art. She believes in the transformative power of art. She has gained international recognition among different art conservation groups. Her works have been displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Louvre. With a new constitution on the horizon, Aylen must bring art and politics together to advocate for the rights of women and indigenous groups.

***Newen Huenecura, Outspoken land rights activist, environmentalist, and anarchist***

As an environmentalist and land rights activist first, and an anarchist not quite second, Newen understands the importance of being loud and causing a slight disturbance, especially when it's for a cause that he cares about. He has led protests for reform, but he does not actually believe that the government should exist, and he will stop at nothing to get there. Through the protests that he has led, he has gained a large following, especially within certain university groups at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. No matter what actions he decides to take, he is surely going to be an unpredictable force and a source of disturbance. Nevertheless, he understands the importance of allies as well.

***Santiago Rojas, Teacher and advocate for educational equity***

An educator born into a family of academics, Santiago saw first-hand the power of education. Now, he sees all of the issues present in Chile as a product of educational inequity that spread throughout the nation, and he is on a mission to fix it. He does not see why other issues should be prioritized or fixed before education is, and he is a fervent advocate of increasing spending on Chilean schools. With students who work within the economic division of the government, he is sure to utilize these connections to get what he wants. The ties of his family in academia will be key connections for him as well. The question on his mind now is how to convince people who are outside of academia or relatively distant from education of the importance of educational equity.

### ***Cecilia Riquelme, Founder of Ayuquelen Lesbian Feminist Collective***

As a proud organizer for lesbian and, in general, female communities in Chile, she is outspoken in her mission towards gender equality. She believes in rather progressive ideals, or at least progressive for the time. She is no stranger to threats against her, especially after she participated in an interview stating her objectives in an anti-Pinochet magazine. This has only made her more energized in the fight for lesbian and women's rights. She has inspired many college students to be just as excited about the cause, especially at the University of Talca. She believes that young people are more likely to be open to progressive thoughts and can become an important force driving social change.

### ***Aucán Huilcamán, Minister of Cultural Affairs***

Aucán sets out to do exactly what his job describes, going to great lengths to ensure that it is done right. As Minister of Cultural Affairs, he will be directly responsible for the country's cultural policies, including those concerning subnational and indigenous heritage. Throughout his tenure, he has built close connections with community cultural centers, museums, and galleries, among other cultural institutions. He believes in making changes, but like many of his fellow cabinet members, he does not think that rapid, progressive change should take place; slower, more gradual change will be the most effective. He is also aware of the significance of cultural policies in such an uncertain time, especially their political ramifications. Ultimately, policy decisions would convey how the culture of Chile is defined and who partakes in it.

### ***Julia Carrasco, Catholic representative to the Chilean government***

Julia was educated in Rome and spent the vast majority of her childhood in or near the Vatican. As a consequence, Catholicism has become an important facet of Julia's identity. While she was in college, she realized that she also wanted to participate in politics and that the best way to do this was to return to Chile (after all, she is a Chilean first) and serve as a beacon of Catholicism at home. She thus went back to Chile and settled down. She is very passionate about spreading Catholic values and maintaining the Catholic Church's influence in Chile—but not as passionate as she is about making sure that democracy is preserved in any way possible.



### ***Joaquín Lavín, Economist and politician***

Joaquín Lavín showed great potential at a young age, becoming the Dean of the Department of Economics of the University of Concepción at age 26. He was young at the time of the dictatorship, and he lived firsthand the economic tranquility that some of Pinochet's reforms brought to Chileans while also recognizing the significant tolls. He studied abroad at the University of Chicago and used the models he learned there to write a book on the benefits of a liberal economy. Continuing his career as a politician, he later became a mayor and is now pushing for Chile to continue being an example—for the rest of the world—of a strong development path toward prosperity.

### ***Mario Waissbluth, Civil engineer, university professor, and political activist for education***

Mario grew up in the middle class and felt the effects of the dictatorship firsthand. He saw the ups and downs during Allende and Pinochet's time and was able to overcome the obstacles to eventually get his education and become a professor at the University of Chile. He founded an NGO called Educación 2020, with the hope to create a more equitable education system by the year 2020. He knows the importance of liberalizing the economy and protecting people's liberty. However, he also knows the detriments of it when applied to education (such as the privatization of public education). How to balance these factors is a major question for Mario.

### ***Hernán González, Former Minister of Finance and economist***

Hernán was born in the north of Chile and got his degree in mining from the University of Chile. However, he later pivoted and got an MBA from Columbia University. This expertise of his made him Minister of Finance during the dictatorship, and he pushed forward a lot of the reforms that allowed for inflation to come down to reasonable levels. In his view, the development of Chile must be carried forth with the utmost respect for human rights as well as a high degree of economic freedom that will allow all stakeholders to compete positively. He is aware that these two beliefs do not always go hand-in-hand, and reconciling the two through policy is his top priority.

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