

Better times

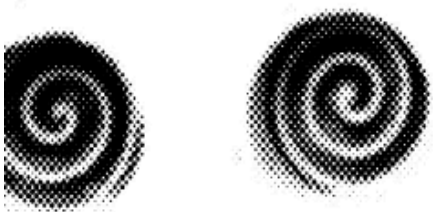
Temporary thesis on the October 2019 rebellion



CÍRCULO DE COMUNISTAS ESOTÉRICOS *



ascendente en crisis
luna en caos ♥



<<By the way, we cannot fall from this world: here we are once and for all>>

Christian Diestrich Grabbe, *<<Hannibal>>*.

The last forty years of modern capitalist development have left us an historic momentum in which our own capacities of understanding have been shaken as political form.

We come from a leftist political tradition. We have no doubt about this. But we are well aware that our position places limits in our active re-evaluation of its current positions, tactics, and strategies. The possibility of establishing revolutionary positions and against the capitalist society that crosses all of us requires the installment of language coherent with these ends; it has to be divorced from its past and incorporate it into its own practice. We renounce the left only to reaffirm its groundings, its content--not its form.

Language alone does not produce a reality. To consider that it does is to think that from the outside that language can still intervene when it has already been eliminated by the very same forces and relations of production. Is there anything left

untouched by the modern capitalist societies and that is not intimately tied to that historical reality, that is not determined by this? Is it possible to evade as an escape when all of our existence, including our resistance, has been colonized?

This writing is to interpret our historical and political reality. It is not a manifesto nor a program: we could not be more distant from these demands. We present this writing as a moment from which to launch from, precisely because the reality we are confronting presents us with the challenge to re-articulate, re-interpret what has been the last 30 years of political practice but from theory.

To depart from theory as a specific practice is not to subtract from the historical reality which determines in the most intimate ways our own experience: it is to realize this from a different vantage point. It arises as a necessity because the development of this history has eclipsed us all without the slightest argument to counter it. Our own tradition has been constructed on the basis of eliminating argumentation and critical capacities only to position itself as a moralizing view point. If we have opted to interpret our present, it is because

will not concede on the possibility that we can turn this world on its head.

To elaborate on theory is to distance yourself from reality only to return to it—to dive deep and find it another way, in another course.

We present problems without having solutions. We create problems because there is something that makes us suspicious of this reality. This has been the biggest critique of our actions. All of the leftists thinkers want solutions more than they want trouble because trouble or a set of troubles subtracts from the uncritical dead-end struggles they engage with. We respond that one specific solution only reveals the inability to transform the entirety of society. To forget the dead, we must first kill them.

We know that somewhere, in the streets, in schools, in universities, in the corporations, in a grocery store, in a bar, in a market, in a small home or in a small apartment, there is someone waiting for the call. We must insist that we do not bring solutions to their desperate existence because we too live a desperate existence. Our commonality is our misery, our

unhappiness, our daily compelled reality. If we had the magic potion to end this destiny, believe us, we would have done so. We are still at the phase of being capable to articulate what it is that happens to us and how it happens. And we realize this from the unreasonable point of those that are unsatisfied with this reality, with the unwavering desire to live an unalienated life.

This is a position that is formed in a specific territory, in a unique city. Hopefully, someone can find, here, common elements to understand your own making, in other cities, in other countries, in other continents. Welcome home to all those that have no home, to a momentary space from which to draw lessons and predict your next move like a game of chess. Here we are not comrades, we are people in a very specific time and space. We lack strong organizations, we lack aggressive permanent forces. But the same things that divide us bring us together, we write against those things and because of them.

Originally, we began to write this two months before the October 2019 rupture of Santiago and which later would extend to other parts of the territory: Valparaiso, Concepcion, Punta Arenas, Iquique, Copiapo, La Serena-Coquimbo, Rancagua and

many more cities. We write this now in the heat and smoke of the current struggles that are unfolding. Struggles that we lost but from which we draw vital lessons to continue forming our forces and our strategies, no longer in counterattack nor caught on the backfoot. We were one step away from taking on the offensive but we lacked the power, the tools, and the necessary conduits to make this a reality.

We knew a tension existed that reverberated throughout our city. We knew the tensed rope could rupture at any moment. We knew something was happening: there were numerous warning signs that something was happening. It engulfed us but not without warning.

That is our self-critique: the tension ruptured in our faces without having to know what more to do except to deploy the same four or five tactics we know well from a long time ago. But this was insufficient.

We now return to a necessary recomposition, rethinking.



<<Identity has only truly been such or has fully existed when it has endangered itself by giving itself entirely in dialogue with other identities; when, by invading another, it has allowed itself to be transformed by it or when, by being invaded, it has tried to transform the invader. Your best way to protect yourself has been just to risk it>>.

Bolivar Echeverria, *<<La Identidad
Evanescente>>.*

Thesis 1

“Evade, don’t pay, another way to struggle”: Activism has taken a qualitative step towards cyberactivism, which is defined as the connection between different subjects and which is determined by its identitarian administration. It is after all a mediated reconciliation medium of the subject with the object. It is the capitalist overcoming of classic alienation.

Context

On Monday, October 14th a series of online platforms surfaced to call for the mass evasion of fees for public transportation in Santiago. “Evade and don’t pay as another form of struggle” was the rally cry students deployed to incite protests against the \$30 peso subway fare hike; this once again increased the cost of circulation for everyday people. Just days before, the Economy Minister, Juan Andres Fontaine had announced that people could “enjoy” lower subway fare and “save money” if they simply woke up earlier to take advantage of lower subway fares.

Santiago has the one of the highest costs of public transportation in Latin America, resembling the costs of European and American cities. Comparatively, wages in Santiago are nowhere near those of these cities. Another indicator of structural poverty.

Concrete collective actions began as soon as the morning of Thursday, October 17th. Students brought several subway routes to a halt on several occasions. Direct attacks against the barriers, against the outnumbered guards; leaps and chants. Hordes jumping turnstiles. Rebellious joy.

The reaction of the forces of law and order spared no minute. Private guards (pinkertons) hired by the private company with “a public character” and anti-riot police attempted to repress the actions. Chases and skirmishes were everywhere. Students moved quickly, shutting down subway stations, facing repression, and facing arrests. The former president of the board of the Metro, Clemente Perez, went on national TV to explain the strategy of the students had failed—that they were small groups and had no capacity of generalizing their actions. A handful of stations are shut down.

The students' capacity to organize was underestimated. The state believed their message had triumphed.

Social media took hold as a true form of mass communication. It is the epoch of the meme. And these students knew how to deploy this. They're skilled in prevarication as a daily powerful tool. From the usage of drawings with captions that responded to other interests to the sale of tactical gear to engage in direct street fighting. They deployed standard social media language of hashtags, abbreviations, etc. to make visible concrete or inferred demands, a tactical move or a specific direct action.

From this point, they attach subjectivity and a specific identity to these social media platforms. Facilitating both the formal and informal access to this information to enter the sites of struggle. They make the general administration theirs without transforming it.

Just like practice comes standardized, so does theory. One can protest everything, be against everything just as much as you can be against nothing or even make these very contradictions coincide. The fragmentation in our society is

visible in our own praxis. Take for example feminism, veganism, environmentalism, antifascism, decolonization, indigeneity, etc. Have we forgotten anti-capitalism or is it simply a term that cannot be embraced for its tautology?

Without delegitimizing every one of these fragmented identities, which hold their own truths, this is not about encasing them to one end or to find “intersectionality.” What this is about is finding their common foundations and not where they are at now. The totality of our existence is not bound by these fragmentations but rather by our common end.

Cyberactivism has produced qualitative changes in the understanding of struggle—you live struggle not the other way around. To abandon all utopian direction, where you imagine a future that is yet to be visible, is to only be left with the present fire. Tomorrow will be another struggle. Another identity to co-opt because we have given up on the revindication of the totality of our misery and its communizing possibility. It is a subjectivity that fails to come to full fruition and for this very reason it becomes something else. It is re-articulated in diverse

ways with camouflage techniques—where it appears, it also hides.

The politics of the meme are bountiful and powerful but only under the identitarian and capitalist administration. It is a prole web that is yet to fully realize its own full construction. It lives in its own process of constitution and destitution.



<<People who do not venture out to sea pay the price of never having felt the glow of danger and, in the best of cases, they know only half of life. What these types of people might call the “good life” is simply not good enough. We cannot be content with just one segment of life, regardless of how safe and adapted to it we are, when with a little effort we could draw the complete circle.>>

Lewis Mumford, *<<Story of Utopias>>*.

Thesis II

“State of emergency.” The social rupture is not predetermined and it lacks specific logics of action because it only responds to itself and has no basis in overcoming itself: it is a product of its own historical conditions of accumulation that at a given moment “erupt.” The overflow is the first step that is self-consumed after remaking itself quickly. The overflow is channeled as its opposite and through coercion.

Context

On the morning of Friday the 18th, the first encounters between protesters and the forces of order take place. Collapsed subway stations located on the different lines that make up the circulation network. There are buses that emulate these routes. The atmosphere is tense because of the police surveillance of all the subway stations.

The corporate media deploy all their agents to report the different events that are happening, one after another, in different parts of the city. Beatings, acts of customary police brutality, human avalanches. After noon, the subway worker unions say that they will not continue working because their safety is being compromised: the lines begin to be progressively closed until late in the afternoon so that none are left in operation.

The State Internal Security law will be applied to those who are detained for these acts.

The only thing that this measure achieved was to unleash the first street confrontations in the center of Santiago. The problem now is not the subway. Barricades, stones. All a

rhetic and a tradition back in the public space. There are no molotov cocktails and it is not a minor detail.

Thousands of workers are forced to walk home. From time to time, they drink and throw something at the bonfires they find on the route. It is no longer just groups of students: it is what we traditionally called “class.”

Towards nightfall, the confrontation is on a large scale in the center of Santiago: barricades every two streets, the main avenue destroyed, fires in several banks and the corporate building of the NEL (National Electric Company) burning like a flare reaching the sky. Subway stations burned to the core, as well as some buses. It is declared that there will be no transportation system during the weekend. People in liquor stores buy alcohol and a demonstration that overflows like rivers on a bridge when it rained heavily in the capital, a decade ago.

The first messages arrive that something is brewing in La Moneda. The police disappear from the streets. A state of emergency is declared on television.

What started as a demonstration now ends in riot. One that had not been summoned but that keeps all the components of a proletarian revolt. Who cannot understand why the stations and buses of the public transport system are burning? The same ones that could not understand why at the beginning of industrialization machines were burned. General Ludd, our old comrade from so many lost battles, now greets us smiling as he rides through Santiago de Chile.

The fire that fueled the outbreak has a logical path within institutional policies. His answer in the form of a riot no. No one could have foreseen that the fire would be unleashed. Not even the most radicalized who felt the tension that existed in recent months. The answer, spontaneous and organic, has no loose ends: it just happens.

The logic of the event is the eruption in the “natural” course of history. That is why there are celebratory dates, to remember and to remind us that at some point things and their rhythm deviated to a certain direction that was not planned. Perhaps this explains why the event is never expected and just “happens”

from one moment to the next. It is a flame that appears on the retina and leaves traces.

The event, viewed from this perspective, always turns out to be an excess. It cannot agglutinate, it cannot drive, and it is willing to be self-devoured: this is its power and its downfall.

The only way to conduct the event as it exceeds the rhythm and natural passage of things is through coercion: a call to do to center order, because its origin is dangerous, because it delivers and takes away. There is something sacrificial in him, which quenches his thirst at the cost of his own death, as in a shipwreck on the high seas when he decides to drink salt water knowing its consequences. The order of things is suspended and criticized, without any demand, without claim.

The only way out that can be offered is its re-politicization so that it has a meaning for the future, near or close. You can be prepared, forewarned, with all the tools accumulated and ready, but never ready. Never.



<< As it happens when one attempts to put back together fragments of a broken vase that must fit together in the most minor details, although its preciseness is not required, it is also preferable that the translation, instead of attaching itself to the original meaning, restores even in the most minor details the meaning of the thought in its own language, so that both, in the same way as the shards of a vase, can be recognized as fragments of a higher language>>

Walter Benjamin, *<<The Task of the Translator>>*

Thesis III

“Curfew”: The re-politicization of the outburst is only possible when assigning it a meaning that can, once again, cause it to spill over unto itself. The contradiction between the horizon of reality versus the horizon of potential that opens the way for the re-politicization of the outburst results in the tactical positioning of the forces, which requires taking a precise position for and within conflict. The point is not about organizing it, but rather of recognizing it in order to find a facet of it that can be redirected, radicalized, because the objective and subjective elements of the discontent which are recognized as structural are present: they only need to, spontaneously, create and find their own form.

Context

On Saturday, October 19th the forces entered into a contradiction: nobody understood why it was happening but everybody knew precisely why it occurred. The forty four years of modern capitalist development during its neoliberal phase made an overreaching demand of the desiring individual whom

does not know how to meet their own desire and cannot thus reach any satisfaction.

Supermarkets and stores looted, more Metro stations and buses are torched. Barricades across all of central Santiago and along some of its peripheral and impoverished zones. General Ludd now carries the spark and passes it to Valparaiso and Concepcion. Who would care about private property when they are face to face with the flames and the possibility of doing away with something that is always promised but never achieved? One could risk even their own life. This could resolve itself in multiple ways: either we live communally or return to the barricade. There is no more.

Scene one: near Santa Lucia Hill surrounding a burnt out bus. Since the morning, the people gathered there and danced around it to the rhythm of the blows they inflicted on it. A bus, that machine dedicated to the circulation of people, now is transformed in a way that returns to its occupants the control of its own body, even if just for a few seconds. They climb atop the burnt out structure, jumping on it, hitting it, driving it without a destination because it does not move: a blow against the

circulation of commodities of which we have become. An aging street musician plays his harp.

Scene two: in Plaza Italia, a place that is the neurological center of post-dictatorship Santiago, the soldiers arrive. They are guarded by the cops (carabineros). The people rebuke them, faces uncovered, and tell them off. They don't belong here. The riots spread all along the Alameda. Six buses are torched near the south. There is no lack of those that claim that they were placed there intentionally to be burned. Does that matter in this moment? What matters is that they burned and it does not matter who did it.

Scene three: a looted supermarket in Cerrillos. Products of primary necessity are taken. They take televisions, varied products, between blankets, diapers, one or another home appliance. Some are returned to the barricade. Many are thrown into the barricades. Alcohol is taken and drunk; it is also saved for later. The rejoicing is contagious, there's dancing and singing.

The three examples described here have one thing in common: the inversion of the state of exception that is lived

along various parts of the city is a game in which the forces find themselves, and mysteriously, come together. This is the inversion of the “normal” state of exception. The communities of people brought together coercively invert the situation: they find each other and create their own communication. There’s smiles, gestures, grazing of bodies from which a subjectivity emerges that before that moment did not exist. It is a mutual recognition which establishes a dialogue among pairings. A speech delivered by several persons if we want to describe it as such.

The looting and the fires, as in other demonstrations, expose a sickness in the culture in which we are absorbed into since long ago. What can the poor do who cannot be anything other than poor and that as a compensation can have money, “well or badly acquired”, that makes them believe of living as rich? What can those middle classes whose only access is credit, and cultural artifacts that in some accounts award them a lifestyle with the promise of ceasing to be poor and to think, at face value, that social ascent exists only as a result of their own merit? Here they stopped living together in order to live in

apartments of forty square meters located in the center, while others pay for the bill at the supermarket in monthly installments, just as those that were displaced to the periphery “with some luxuries” but have sacrificed liberty for security, because the enemy is the Other.

This new communication expands. It burns and consumes itself. Under these conditions of communication, the contradiction between desire and its dissatisfaction is disrupted, the screw makes a turn. The introduction of conflict is a matter that requires taking a position: either an offensive is made or there is a strengthened retreat.

The curfew set for the night of Saturday is a key moment in communication, in the dialogue that is taking its first steps: that insurmountable fear of conflict in a society accustomed to silence is rejected up to the point where the soldiers dive headfirst into making arrests. The dirty war begins with intimidations, persecutions, beatings, shootings. Helicopters flying low. The first records are made of possible deaths. Once again we have deaths. The trauma, the elaboration of the trauma, transforms into an impulse.



<< It is completely false and contrary to history to represent the legal action of reform as an extended revolution and the revolution as a concentrated reform. A social revolution and a legislative reform are two different dimensions not because of their duration but because of their essence. The secret of historical change through the use of political power lies precisely in the conversion of simply quantitative modifications into a new quality or, to put it more concretely, in the transition of a historical period from one form of society to another>>

Rosa Luxemburg, *<<Reform & Revolution>>*

Thesis IV

“General Strike I” the “traditional” or “classical” proletarian organization in terms of the “working class” differs structurally from the popular spontaneous mobilization: they have competing objectives and methods. If a point of no return is reached, in which the spontaneous popular movement prefigures and transforms itself into a non-bureaucratic organization of an effective and real class according to the height of its times, a civic, citizen movement is transformed, whose only horizon is the conquest of the State without exceeding it, which means a capitalist restructuring but from its "human" side, also enabling the growth of the "reaction" that takes multiple nuances.

Context

Sunday 20th after the curfew the demonstrations gather on the main avenue and surrounding areas. The process of cleaning the streets has started. The looting of grocery stores remains a

constant throughout the day. The midday corporate media outlets begin to give the first glimpses of understanding that the violence has everything to do with the last 40 years for neoliberal capitalism. This requires the political caste to have to make its first structural analyzes or, at least, to take into account that it is the "model" that is in crisis. They've arrived too late: everyone has already made this diagnosis almost 20 years before.

Additionally, the analysis from the left, which has grown in the academic space of universities, makes its appearance with columns in their magazines. As they maintain Leninist operating structures without knowing that they are, and seem to want to raise banners without any troops. They cannot be avant-garde conscious of any movement because they are so detached from any organic position. They resemble mime actors making gestures without being able to make effective communication. But their words carry weight. This will become evident in the days to come.

Late into the day, elements of the new popular movement (feminists, prole movements, etc) were still active while

barricades were erected— the first call to a general strike is for Monday, October 21st. The miners and dock workers unions, the last bastions of the traditional or classical workers movement, are the only ones to respond to the call. No one else.

This point is crucial because it is at this juncture, this call to a general strike with no response, that the overflow movement spontaneously began to manage its forms of communication and therefore to create in a still informed way its subjectivity and identities begins to re-channel to the margins of the traditional mobilization of citizens: a river to lead it to its course when it overflows, it must be controlled, diverted and returned to what it was in the beginning.

The first demands appear and they are the same ones raised by the social movement in the last two decades: end of the AFP (pension system) and Isapres (privatized healthcare) system, free education and most recent Constituent Assembly. The end of the police state and the exit of the military from the streets are tacked on.

However, one should not be overly suspicious of the new social movement: something is brewing that even urgency

cannot appease. Urgency has that tone that must be embraced as well as rejected. In everyday life you can solve certain material conditions of existence: hunger, poverty, immediate misery. Others may come, but something small is better than nothing. The matter cuts through subjective conditions of existence: can there be something more after the urgency? The recognition of subjective conditions is not external, it is not ascribed or in addition because it is historical: it develops in its own time, sometimes slowly and slowly, few times accelerated and untimely. It is formed in communication, in dialogue, in the movement.

The president of the Diego Portales University, the technocrat- “philosopher” Carlos Peña, gives his analysis of the situation on open television. "Party", "orgy" are the epithets he uses. For him they are negative: thank you for agreeing with us without making any gesture and without question. The meaning of the party is precisely the interruption of the linear time, of productive time, to erupt another time, of joy, of enjoyment, in which life happens, re-actualized. The festive time is the time that burns, the time to jump to another "order". It is necessary

to differentiate the "philosophers" of those who philosophize with hammer blows.

Piñera's response in the dark of night, "we are at war and the enemy is powerful." Indeed, we have long been at war for some time. The difference is that it was recently that both sides realized this. For their part, they declared war on the new popular movement. The latter declared war on the government. We have known for a long time that we are at war: in a war for forms of non-alienated life, against reification, against the state, the commodity and the total commodification of life. For Anarchy; for Communism. But our war has no echo. It is dried up and we know it.

Meanwhile, fires in supermarkets leave people dead. Suspiciously, three deaths appear in a supermarket in San Bernard. The dirty war is shamelessly starting. The first neighborhood self-defense groups start forming against the hordes of thieves, criminals who will loot your neighborhoods but they never arrive. The "yellow vests", those that became popular in France as claims against the cost of living and not for another life, it is these spontaneous organizations where they

swarm ordinary citizens who are not afraid to occupy the force as self-defense against an imaginary but very real enemy, against a powerful enemy. Television feeds them like cattle. They reproduce on the periphery, marginalized or self-marginalized. They are a breeding ground for the most reactionary forms of the right. Over time, we are sure that they will grow in number, but not in content. They have no other than quantitative possibilities. And it is dangerous in the present and, perhaps, in the future.

The overflow is re-channeled: it becomes a citizen and appeals to the republic.

«¿De qué aguas nos venimos viniendo?
Y ancestral se derrumba la respuesta:
de la nube que estalla en llamas
de la incandescente lava que se llora
de la última estación cuando aún eran las ventanas
del viaje que casi no fue
de ellos que nos engendraron
y de esas
las almas en pena que nunca nos supieron».
Verónica Zondek, «Biografía».

Thesis V

“We are at war”: The autonomous popular uprising in transforming into an urbanized uprising reconfigures the conditions of its rise and limits its possible actions. This negative byproduct is a self-sabotaging reflex towards traditional or classical forms of the 20th century popular movement. It prevents the development of new languages to interpret an historical moment which has surpassed it. The urban movement is backward at its own expense: it burns its sails to establish a new order.

Comments

In the evening of Sunday the 20th, the war becomes verbal. By morning this backpedal takes off and ironically declares "we are not at war, we are united". Echoes of the old hymns of the last thirty years. The agenda always put off, the one always present but never fulfilled, it takes its place when the party is over and it's time to establish a new order, but better this time.

Inequality is the problem. The problem lies in the distribution of the pie. The problem is political caste. The problem is the lack of trust in institutions. The problem is systemic abuse or taxation. Anything can be a problem but nothing really is so problematic. A terse "The people united will never be defeated" reverberates like a swan song. The people appear as a subject and as a slogan. The people "as subject and representation" which a friend taught us so well when previously analyzing the same problem. "Chile despertó" is the battle cry, a hashtag, a slogan, a banner.

Appealing to the people is always an appeal to a pre-political element because it seeks bonds which predate politics, understood as the way in which the individual is realized in and with the community. The appearance of the people in the 19th century as a Volk, as a nation, demonstrates there is something within which contains their origins: language, blood, race, customs or culture are ties which must be maintained and that oppose deviation. Appealing to the people is to appeal to that unbreakable unity that absorbs the individual in a heritage. The

20th century transformed and defined the people with the "popular classes", the "lower classes", "the poor of the world" finally naming them the proletariat. A grave political error but tactically and strategically in line with Leninist interests to be the vanguard within the proletariat: the "people" must be politicized from outside, given a program, led to their emancipation.

The proletariat is the class which has formed and become conscious of its social position in the capitalist mode of production dictating the totality of life. It is a necessary political definition which aligns class interests in self-improvement, in its abolition as a class because it knows where it is situated in a certain historical moment of productive relations: it is the bet for a different totality of life. Proletarian consciousness is the consciousness of needs, of the desire for self-abolition and of the material and subjective conditions which produced it. It is an identity when aware of itself, seeks to destroy itself. Are we in a position to assume that we are indeed in a "class struggle" or is it simply a slogan to which we must cling zealously so that the possibility of "revolution" does not slip away? In a world in

where the capitalist mode of production has monopolized all existence is it still possible to speak of "classes" or do we need new ways of interpreting these historical events? Rich and Poor describe a relation of magnitude, of degree, of stratum, concerning profit from the extraction of surplus value. What would happen if the rich were eradicated from the world? Would we arrive at a distinctly different world where the poor would find new meaning in their social condition? It is not simply a matter of terminology, but that contemporary capitalist development has reached a point such that the "traditional" lexicon -proletarians and bourgeois, class war- falls short in explaining its dynamism: what has actually transformed is the classical class struggle itself due to changing conditions in which capitalism has developed rapidly over the last fifty years. The foundation remains intact, but the specific ways in which that foundation manifests itself are different. The emergence of new semantic terrain is necessary for the materialization of proletarian consciousness.

"Chile despertó" (Chile woke up) inherently conceals a negative aspect, of critical importance, which must be

uncloaked. Wake up from what? From a nightmare to enter bad dream. There are qualitative differences between these activities. The nightmare suggests an immobility, a fear, something which overwhelms and traps us. The bad dream suggests wiggle room to alter the conditions of the dream, opportunities exist to broaden the playing field, a source of optimism. But a bad dream ends with an awakening. It perceives the dream shrouding reality.

The problem is the collision in this rise of the social-democratic agenda, sort of from the left, which comes roaring out of the confirmation of progressive left democrat presidential candidate Cura Pizzaro and the candidacy of Gladys Marín, who “coincidentally” in recent times has risen to become a symbol of struggle for some. Leninist recuperation of the autonomous popular movement to install a social agenda is legible in leftist code: A more just world, more humane, but without altering the existing order.

This is the so-called return of law and order. The word origins of the word police can be traced to the Greek *politeia*, the relationship between citizen with the State to which they

“belong”, as well refers to the legal system which necessitates the “social contract”. Current forms of policing operate in this manner. To be against the police is to put in crisis, to question, both the “social contract” and the relations which hold it together. The street movement that ends up throwing rocks or whatever is at hand is symbolic for this reason: it critiques the order we are flung towards. Those who reject the barricade, plain and simple, are in favor of the present order. Let’s rid ourselves of pacifists and those who, whether consciously or not, embrace the police precisely because they’ve revealed themselves as defenders of the current order. Nor should we place too much faith in those who attack police for abstractly and materially representing the dominant class of the population but fail to question the present order. “Paco cafiche del Estado” is nothing but a contradiction in terms. Violence because it does end up supporting the order to be faced and attacked.



<<Thus, from the perspective of a radical critique of value, even the "real" socialism of the past is seen as a commodity-producing system typical of a process of "straggling modernization" in the East and South run by state bureaucracies; a system which, through mediation with global market processes and competition with the West, to develop productive forces at the post-Fordist level of capitalist development, had no choice but to collapse. Since then, as a consequence of the crisis and globalization, social reforms have been dismantled>>

Roswitha Scholz, <<The Commodity Producing Patriarchy>>

Thesis VI

“Strike II”: The reconstruction of the social-democratic imaginary with its practical forms and theories acts as a brake on the revolutionary moment, which has lacked the capacity to suggest another path. The recovery and fortification of the State as a condition for new “social contract” which installs social democracy increases the likelihood of future rebellions, which will be more frequent because of the introduction of a previously unseen social relation: the spontaneous community. Rebellions will serve to build experience until capable of going on the offensive.

Comments

The call for a General Strike issued by the most outspoken groups in recent years (CUT, No + AFP, Academics, certain unions, etc.) had the impact they were probably looking for beginning Friday the 18th, but in the days of the spontaneous popular uprising they were in meetings, only poking their heads out on Tuesday the 22nd. Comfortable in their bureaucracy, and predictable in their actions and objectives, they ignore any

discussion of revolution without so much as a sneer nor ounce of consideration, while to the autonomous popular movement it resonates. We effectively forego the chance to enter a pre-revolutionary moment to enter the de facto reformist one. This becomes crystal clear when the call for a new constitution becomes a universal and core demand during a Constituent Assembly, also when street violence is denounced and the disgraceful tone of “peaceful protest” emerges on the heels of family-friendly spaces, which are the opposite of a party. The party isn’t fun because it implies the suspension of order.

One hundred people dancing to the rhythm of electronic music in a plaza can be nothing other than fun, but never a party strictly speaking. Fun isn’t the opposite of seriousness, but instead of the party.

A more complex element is of human rights violations in the present but which are nothing new. The only difference between the situation in which we find ourselves and what happened before is that now the brutality of police is visible and

does not remain hidden or as isolated events. Smartphone cameras and digital platforms act as tools of dissemination. Let us learn from this to foster anti-police sentiment. Policing as an institution exists only to maintain order, and order is inherently repressive. Let us utilize them as tools against order.

The response of the government is a package of measures which fail to meet the expectations of everyone. The counter-action is a large march from the Plaza Italia to Santa Rosa along the boulevard, where police fences are situated. At this stage the ensuing confrontation with stones is a recurring theme.

Two days of social democrat strikes, projects for constitutional charges against Chadwick and Piñera. The soccer team supporters groups call a truce, the new nationalists call for corporate nationalization of social demands, neighborhood assemblies against police and military violence, cultural-artistic events. The "biggest march ever" where the official register counts 1.2 million people in the Plaza Italia and once again the cry of Constituent Assembly. The government, inserts itself in the protest, but against "the thugs" who only do damage, and declares everything will be back to normal by Monday. So ends

the curfew. Rich and poor people cleaning the walls of a week's worth of graffiti and posters, which are quickly restored. Torched buildings and more barricades. Events to pull together resources and not allow a die-down. Everyday Plaza Italia is filled and sees riots.

Normality will not return quickly. Normality is a state of affairs which becomes tolerable but is doubtfully ever desirable: it is conformity by coercion or contract, but is never voluntary. When something breaks, even if repaired, it cannot be the same again: it always lacks what gives it proper movement.

What has endured and is holding up along the march towards new conditions for social struggle opened up in this short time, is the formation of spontaneous communities: from the many tasks carried out at a barricade and the relays produced, to the sharing of water and remedies against tear gas; from the spontaneous pot banging on the street to the ferocious and singular shouting at police; from the formation of neighborhood assemblies to the return of the communal

kitchen; from asking “how are you” and embracing to the collectivization of images, which rarely bear signatures, in the streets and digital platforms.

Spontaneous communities constantly grow stronger. It weaves through the City and returns to the hood just to return to the City. It passes into a state of constant agitation and the expectation is that it won't permanent: at a point it must rupture and transition to a more advanced stage. Spontaneous communities become stronger.

Normality was altered and questioned but not the order: it only became apparent to those who repudiate its source.

Now what's left is to keep exposing the source of this order until it is broken.



<<Instead of the indefinite concluding phrase of the paragraph, "the elimination of all social and political inequality", it ought to have been said that with the abolition of class distinctions all social and political inequality arising from them would disappear of itself.>>

Karl Marx, << Critique of the Gotha Programme>>

Post Festum

We've written up these six theses for the purpose of discussion and the visualization of actions for the present and future, based on events which unfolded particularly in Santiago de Chile during October 2019. We are only vaguely certain of how the process developed in other parts of the country, but we sense it has more or less taken on similar tones.

Criticisms of "the blueprint" are also underway in Bolivia, Ecuador, Lebanon, Hong Kong, India, New York and Kurdistan. Something is breaking at distinct points around the globe. Something is beginning to unfold and no "real socialism" or "authentic capitalism" can perceive it. An ingenious line

sprayed on more than one wall and shared on many a Facebook or Instagram account says “Neloliberalism was born in Chile. May it die in Chile too.” It cannot become reality here alone. It must happen everywhere.

Modern-Capitalism’s reorganization in the lands governed by the Chilean state is unfolding this very moment. The revolution was postponed but its seeds have been sown. It is important to continue nourishing them as we do with plants, newborns and lasting bonds: everyday, always.

This battle was lost, but it was a partial defeat. There were wins we must work to build on, as well setbacks to be evaluated.

The time for communism to take root everywhere as theory and practice is at hand.

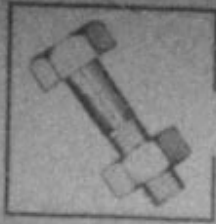
For those killed, tortured, wounded and sexually assaulted during the rebellion, as well as for those who for the first time and felt part of something, and especially those who have been at war for a long time and need to rethink their tactics. For ourselves.

Against social Leninism. Against totalitarian capitalism.
Against pseudo-democracy.

With all our failures and triumphs.
Nothing is in vain, everything can be changed.
For anarchy & communism.

<<Abandon hope all ye who enter here!>>

Circle of Esoteric Communists
Santiago, November 2019



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