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An Antifascist Biennale: ‘Libertà al Cile’ in and from Venice

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Abstract

The article analyses the section Libertà al Cile [Liberty for Chile] of 1974 Venice Biennale. Even if this cultural proposal against Pinochet’s regime had a significant role and was the most visible face of La Biennale per una cultura democratica e antifascista [The Biennial for a democratic and anti-fascist culture], a detailed study of this exhibition is still missing. The aim of this article is to contextualize Libertà al Cile within the project of the New Biennale and its new exhibition formula, as well as within the ties of brotherhood that united Italy and Chile by paying attention to the Italian political context of the seventies.

Résumé

Cet article a pour but d’analyser la section Libertà al Cile de l’édition de la Biennale de Venise de 1974. Même si cette proposition culturelle contre le régime de Pinochet a eu un rôle significatif et a été le visage le plus visible de La Biennale per una cultura democratica e antifascista, une étude détaillée de cette exposition fait toujours défaut. L’objectif de cet article est de contextualiser Libertà al Cile dans la nouvelle formule d’exposition et le projet de la Nouvelle Biennale ainsi que dans les liens de fraternité qui unissaient l’Italie et le Chili en prêtant attention au contexte politique italien des années soixante-dix.
Introduction

“(…) Chile is for the Biennale, today, much more than an act of dutiful solidarity and democratic faith. It is the open research, in the making, of a model, of one of the new ways of operating in a new cultural institution of international scope”. In this statement, with which Carlo Ripa di Meana, president of the New (Venice) Biennale, closed his contribution in the first issue of the weekly newspaper Libertà al Cile, one can see how the cultural ambitions of the New Biennale were intertwined with a political project of civil commitment. The Biennale of 1974, known as B74, is of particular importance for the local, national and international history of the Venice Biennale. It was not only the first one to be organized after the approval of the new statute (1973) and the pilot edition of the Piano Quadriennale di massima delle attività e delle manifestazioni (1974-1977) [The General Four-Year Plan of Activities and Events (1974-1977)], but it also had as a backdrop the protests of 1968, the struggle for the safeguarding of the lagoon city and the tense Italian reality of the seventies. Therefore, the understanding of the significance of the B74 passes through the conjuncture of these elements.

First, since the end of World War II the need for a renewal of the Biennale statute had been discussed. With the changes of 1973, the one implemented by the Mussolini government and in force since 1938 was replaced. The reformed Biennale was transformed into a permanent cultural institute that left behind its festival character, abolished prizes and began to work on a project basis. Each edition was to be set within a framework of reflection and headed by a topic or thematic axis that had to cross all artistic sectors (visual arts, cinema, theater and music), which until then had operated as autonomous fields of reference. In this way, interdisciplinarity was encouraged. In addition, the new statute defined the Biennale as “a democratically organized institute of culture”, whose plurality of voices was to be guaranteed through the Board of Directors, the President, the Secretary General and the Directors of the Sectors. The latter, nominated by the President, the Board of Directors and the Secretary General, were to work in collaboration with a Committee of Experts.

Secondly, the Piano Quadriennale, a structural plan drafted by the Board of Directors and intended to fill the new legal framework with content, defined that the Biennale should become an indicator of contemporary reality, operate with a clear anti-fascist orientation, and organize events of international interest. The thematic axis of each edition was to be discussed at international congresses and should be the result of a joint reflection between the Venice Biennale and the participating countries. Moreover, being framed within the project character of the New Biennale (as a permanent cultural institute), it would allow for the continuity of the research activity and the document-manifesto specified the desire to seek a “new relationship” with society and a “real relationship” between Venice and its region. The Biennale thus stopped being an island on an island. It was not only to physically leave the Giardini di Castello, extending its activities to a wider territory, but also to establish a new commitment with the city.

These developments take on additional significance if they are contextualized within the local and national

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1 This paper is the result of my research in the framework of the research project Re:Part. - Résistance(s) Partisan(s) : Culture visuelle, imaginaires collectifs et mémoire révolutionnaire /Partisan Resistance(s): Visual culture, collective imagination and revolutionary memory (Université Grenoble Alpes, ANR-15-IDEX-02) as well as my /révolutionnaire Ré.Part. - Résistance(s) Partisane(s) : Culture visuelle, imaginaires collectifs et mémoire (1976), and B77 (1977).


3 Carlo Ripa di Meana, “Perché Cile,” Libertà al Cile, October 5, 1974. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.


6 For a study on the new statute and the Piano Quadriennale see Stefano Collicelli Cagol and Vittoria Martini, “The Venice Biennale at its Turning Point” in Making Art History in Europe After 1945, ed. Noemi del Haro García, Patricia Mayayo and Jesus Cartillo (New York, Routledge, 2020), 90-93 and Stefania Portinari, Anni settanta. La Biennale di Venezia (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2018), 227-234.
realities of the 1960s and 1970s. For example, in 1966 an extreme flood had considerably damaged the city, demonstrating the fragility of the lagoon. As a consequence, the debate at that time intensified on the need for effective measures to safeguard Venice against the monoculture of the tourist industry, the city’s transformation into a city-museum and the depopulation in progress. Two years later, the exhibition Italia da salvare [Italy to be saved] was inaugurated at the Palazzo Grassi, which dedicated a special section to Venice. This exhibition took place while the Biennale was being contested, not only for its cultural and structural backwardness, but also for the biennale-tourism binomial. This protest of 1968 was followed by two meetings, Proposte per la Biennale. Una tavola rotonda, un progetto [Proposals for the Biennale. A Round Table, a Project] and Una nuova Biennale: contestazioni e proposte [A New Biennale: Protests and Proposals], which addressed the crisis of the Biennale and put the urgent need for its renewal on the table. This renewal took place in a climate of great political instability: from a series of terrorist acts aimed at creating a state of tension in Italy to short-term coalition governments that were subject to frequent crises. As an example, it is enough to consider that the Piano Quadriennale was approved a month and a half after the Piazza della Loggia bombing and a few weeks before the Italicus Express massacre. Furthermore, while the Biennale’s new statute (July 26, 1973) had been adopted during the quadripartite IV Rumor Government, the Piano Quadriennale (July 12, 1974) was embraced under the subsequent tripartite V Rumor Government. The approval of the programmatic Piano Quadriennale document a year after the new statute and in proximity to the inaugural date of the 1974 edition of the Biennale meant that there was not enough time to organize the event. Such time restrictions led not just to the rapid conception of the B74, which was considered together with the B75 a run-in edition that was to explore more experimental territory, but also laid the foundations for the 1976 edition, considered the one to proof success or failure of the new exhibition formula.

La Biennale per una cultura democratica e antifascista [The Biennale for a democratic and anti-fascist culture, 1974] was an edition with more days of activity (forty-four) than of preparation (thirty-four). The very reduced organizational time did neither allow the traditional invitation of countries, which would result in the pavilions at the Giardini di Castello remaining closed, with the exception of the Padiglione Italia, nor the work of the different artistic sectors on the theme of antifascism, except in a few cases. Events more properly related to the thematic axis (e.g. the performance Che cosa è il fascismo -What is Fascism-) shared the stage with others that, despite their relevance for the commitment of the Venetian institution, to its history and the city (e.g. the exhibition Ugo Mulas, “Le Verifiche” e la storia delle Biennali - Ugo Mulas, “Verifications” and the history of the Biennales - at the recently saved Magazzini del Sale), did not address the proposed reflection. In any case, the heterogeneity of the exhibition did not limit its ability to show the path that the Biennal had begun to follow.

The Libertà al Cile section (October 6–15), organized by the Gruppo permanente di lavoro per i convegni [Permanent working group for conferences], which would eventually have a significant weight in the B74, is a good example of this path that transformed the city into a space of denunciation and vindication, dialogue and solidarity in which Italian
and Chilean politicians, artists, intellectuals, students and workers participated. A quite heterogeneous and large public invaded the new places of the Biennale, contributing to the transformation of the Biennale into a cultural and artistic platform of solidarity.

Although constituting only a part of La Biennale per una cultura democratica e antifascista, this event was its most visible face. However, despite its contemporary prominence, Libertà al Cile still lacks an exhaustive study. The research carried out so far has delved into the institutional reform of the Biennale, deepening its relationship with the propelling impulse of the 1968 protests, and has offered a joint and comparative analysis of the four editions of the reformed Biennale. Furthermore, even though there is a bibliographic corpus on Ambiente, partecipazione, strutture culturali [Environment, participation, cultural structures], the 1976 edition to which the new exhibition formula would be applied in its entirety, and there are studies on the commitment to denounce authoritarian regimes, through the section Spagna. Avanguardia artistica e realtà sociale, 1936-1976 [Spain. Artistic avant-garde and social reality, 1936–1976] or La Biennale del Dissenso [The Biennale of Dissent], a detailed study of this first section, which is programmatic for the anti-fascist orientation of the New Biennale, is still lacking. Instead, Libertà al Cile has so far been studied either in relation to the context of international solidarity in Italy in the seventies or within a comparative context between the two run-in editions of the reformed Biennale.

The purpose of this article is therefore to offer an analysis of this event, contextualizing it, both, within the Italian political context as well as within the project of the New Biennale and its renewed exhibition formula. The study proposes a critical approach to the event as a scenario of resistance and collective practice that is inserted in international currents of resistance and can be regarded an echo of pacifist revolutions that opted for a democratic path—such as the Chilean one with Salvador Allende. In fact, taking as a starting point the importance and the echo that the Chilean events had in the Italian reality of the seventies, the political, cultural and artistic relations between politically coinciding movements in the two countries will be outlined, thus explaining the prominent place Chile had in the inaugural congress of the New Biennale. Once the geopolitical framework has been defined, this study then will investigate the decentralization-public binomial and the transformation of the Biennale into a laboratory that spread throughout the territory. The research carried out at the Archivo Storico delle Arti Contemporanee (ASAC) allows to elaborate these aspects with so far unpublished primary sources, highlighting further the participatory and horizontal aspects of the event and the political commitment, as well as the solidarity ties with Chile. In fact, by giving voice to the brigadistas’ testimonies, emphasis will be placed on how the Biennale became a space of vindication through artistic practices (from murals to music); furthermore, by explaining the Biennale’s information activities (the weekly newspaper) it will become clear how these two facets can both be understood as active tools of resistance. Finally, the legacy of Libertà al Cile is problematized and traced in other initiatives, which gave continuity to the first act of the Piano Quadriennale that had its ideological and programmatic basis the new, anti-fascist Venice Biennale.

Spaghetti with Chile Sauce

The Chilean events occupy a relevant place in the Italian debate of the seventies. Allende’s victory

represented the realization of the political dream that aspired to the affirmation of socialism through legality and democracy. In this way, Chile became a political laboratory, which generated that much interest that Henry Kissinger would express his sincere concern to Richard Nixon indicating that “the example of a democratically elected Marxist government (. . .) would surely have a great impact—and also a precedent value—in other parts of the world, especially in Italy”.16

Actually, art and culture played an important part in the Chilean developments, during as well as after the triennium 1970–1973, and it is possible to trace a dense network of artistic, cultural and political relationships, some of which strengthened already pre-existing ties. Such connections can be well observed in the Operación Verdad [Operation Truth], a program of international exchanges that aimed at dismantling the smear and delegitimization campaign carried out by Allende’s political adversaries. For example, on one of these exchanges, in 1971, a European delegation including many Italians traveled to Santiago de Chile, among them the communist senator, writer and artist Carlo Levi, the historian and Marxist art critic Giulio Carlo Argan and the socialist and journalist Lelio Basso. Of these three, Levi and Argan participated in the artistic solidarity movement that emerged within the framework of Operación Verdad. While Levi, together with the Spanish critic José María Moreno Galván, was the promoter of the initiative of the Museo de la Solidaridad, Argan, as member of the Comité Internacional de Solidaridad Artística con Chile (CISAC) [International Committee for Artistic Solidarity with Chile] coordinated the venture.17

The other proponent for the Chilean cause Basso, once back in Italy, created the “Italia-Cile” working group at the Instituto per lo studio della società contemporanea (ISSOCO) [Institute for the study of contemporary society]. Its purpose was to study and exchange technical and theoretical experiences relating to the legality of the development of the Chilean revolution. In collaboration with the Centro de Estudios sobre la realidad nacional (CEREN) [Center for National Reality Studies] of the Universidad Católica de Chile, the ISSOCO organized two seminars in Santiago on the issues of development and social change in Latin America. In addition, Lelio Basso would found and chair the Russell II Tribunal (1974 - 1976), which investigated human rights violations in Latin American countries, with a special focus on Chile and Brazil.18

Further connections of that period are worth highlighting regarding specific affinities between the Italian and Chilean political realities. Actually, one could consider that the Chilean party system was at that time to a certain extent mirrored in the Italian one, with the Christian Democratic, Communist and Socialist parties being the most represented. In the case of the Democracia Cristiana (DC) and the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI), the established relations and ideological affinities with the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC) and the Partido Comunista Chileno (PCch) date back to before 1970. However, during the triennium of the Unidad Popular, the PCI became interested in the ability of Allende’s political program to unite democratic and popular forces and as a result, numerous party leaders visited Chile. The direct knowledge of the Chilean reality generated the reflections published in the organs L’Unità and Rinascita, in which the usefulness and validity of the “lessons” coming from Chile for the Italian reality were underlined. These reflections culminated in the proposal of a compromesso storico [historical compromise], that is, a policy of alliances with all the democratic forces, formulated by Enrico Berlinguer immediately after the coup.19 In particular, the PCI sought the support of

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18 Andrea Mulas, “Lelio Basso, la transizione democratica cileni al socialismo e il ruolo dell’ISSOCO,” in Settontantatré. Cile e Italia, destinii incrociati, ed. Raffaele Nocera and Claudio Rolle Cruz (Napoli: Think Thanks, 2010), 193-200. The seminars organized by ISSOCO and CEREN were “La transizione al socialismo y la experiencia chilena” (The Transition to Socialism and the Chilean Experience) in October 1971 and “Estado y Derecho en un periodo de transformación” (State and Law in a Period of Transformation) in January 1973.
19 The compromesso storico aimed at a collaboration among all the political parties with the highest national representation. In this way, the aim was to achieve the maximum possible consensus among democratic institutions. It was also framed within the “communist question,” i.e., the prospect of incorporating the main opposition party into the government majority. On the policy of the PCI and its relations with Chile see Andrea Mulas, Allende e Berlinguer. Il Cile dell’Unidad Popular e il compromesso storico.
the Democrazia Cristiana (DC), the main party at that time, which found itself in a delicate position. Namely, the PCI and the PSI were asking the DC to clarify its stance with respect to the coup d’état and its Chilean sister party, since it had previously been accused of making “complacent statements” regarding the Pinochet regime.20

Indeed, also the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI) began to take an interest in the Chilean case after the victory of the Unidad Popular. Here, the strengthening of contacts with Chile took in large part place after the overthrow of the government. Bettino Craxi, at that time responsible for the international section of the party and highly committed to the Chilean cause, played a relevant role in this process. In October 1973 he was part of the delegation of the Socialist International (SI) that traveled to Chile to study the situation of political prisoners; and in Rome he worked in close contact with the exiled Unidad Popular through the Associazione Italia-Cile “Salvador Allende” [Italy-Chile Association “Salvador Allende”].21

During the years in which Chile experienced the democratic triumph of Salvador Allende and the coup d’état, Italy was immersed in the ‘Strategy of Tension’.22 Under the principle of “destabilize to stabilize”, between 1969 and 1974 several terrorist attacks took place, some of whose responsibility was claimed by neo-fascist groups, supported in part by the Italian secret service.23 After the Piazza Fontana bombing (1969) and before that of Gioia Tauro (1972), one dark moment was the attempted coup d’état of Giulio Borghese (1970). Although it did not come to pass, it was a warning that the Italian State could be destabilized. And in 1972, two years before the bombings in Piazza della Loggia in Brescia and on the Italicus train, Giorgio Almirante, after a favorable result obtained in the elections, declared that the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) was ready to “replace” the State if the Government did not prove itself capable of governing.24 Hence, in those years the possibility of a fascist coup d’état reverberated in the Italians’ minds.

This climate was also reflected in the performance Che cosa è il fascismo [What is Fascism], presented at the Venice Biennale in 1974, which had a sonorous closing: the participating actors froze, listening the approaching sound of cadenced footsteps that slowly became deafening. When the playwright and critic Fabio Mauri was asked about the reasons for this closure, he replied: “The meaning seems clear to me: that they have arrived, as it historically has happened. And that they can still come back”.25

“Democracy must also be defended in Italy, against trame nere [annot.: black threads] and attempts of subversion of clearly fascist stamp, aimed at overthrowing the democratic institutions.”26 With these words, and after reaffirming the desire for the re-establishment of democracy in Chile, the Mayor of Venice Giorgio Longo brought to a close his intervention in Testimonianze internazionali contro il fascismo [International testimonies against fascism], the inaugural Congress of the Biennale. This congress had a profound political and moral significance and was attended by Hortensia Allende and Carlos Altamirano, among others. Actually, on this platform for meeting, analysis and discussion, as well as in the newspaper Libertà al Cile, the existing fraternity between the two countries was

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20 Luigi Guarnieri, Maria Rosaria Stabili, “Il mito politico dell’America Latina negli anni sessanta e settanta,” in Il mondo visto dall’Italia, ed. Agostino Giovagnoli and Giorgio Del Zanna (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2004), 238-239. Due to its close relationship with the PDC and the support for its secretary Eduardo Frei Montalva, the DC’s position against the coup is delicate. Nevertheless, the opinion of the majority of the DCs members was not only to dissociate itself from the coup d’état but also to minimize the responsibility of the Christian Democrats in the process culminating in the take-over of power by the military.


23 Mirco Doni, L’eco del boato. Storia della strategia della tensione 1965-1974 (Roma: Edizioni Laterza, 2015), 68-69. It should also be noted that in the early seventies the CIA disburses significant financial aid to parties and politicians. Of all the countries controlled by the Agency, Italy received the most funds.


reaffirmed. Lelio Basso, who participated in both ventures, became more specific regarding the relevance of that solidarity with Chilean stating in an interview granted in the fourth issue of the weekly magazine:

(...) we do not wage a battle of solidarity with the Chilean people as something that does not concern us, as something detached. In reality, it is a battle in which we are defending ourselves. (...) [Each of us] fights a situation that Chile has been affected by before us, but that could be the same for us, tomorrow.

Similarly, the socialist Carlo Ripa di Meana wrote in his contribution *Perché Cile* [Why Chile]: “Chile may also be among us, as the Italian Minister of Defense transmits to the Magistracy the documents of an incredible series of attempted secret coups that have been poisoning Italian democratic life for many years now.” Finally, the Chilean socialist politician Carlos Altamirano pointed out that the Chilean struggle “is intimately linked to the struggle of all the peoples of the world against fascism”; and the latter had to be opposed from free spaces of thought, as Carlo Ripa di Meana reaffirmed.

On 5 October 1974, in a packed Palazzo Ducale and broadcasted live on a large screen at the Piazza San Marco broadcasting, *La Biennale per una cultura democratica e antifascista* was inaugurated. Under the banner of antifascism, the following day the events of *Libertà al Cile* spread throughout the city.

**A Laboratory Scattered throughout the Territory**

Within a frame, Augusto Pinochet, Gustavo Leigh Guzmán, José Toribio Merino and César Mendoza, watch from above a banquet. A big, two-layered cake decorated with the flag of Chile is placed in the center of a longitudinal dining table. Four monstrous beings, with pointed tongues, forks and knives at hand, are preparing to divide it. Symbols of death are connecting the portrayed members of Pinochet’s military junta with the dining scene below: A skull and bones are crowning the picture frame as well as supporting the benches two of the hideous diners are sitting on; further skulls are decorating the upright parts of the chair’s backrest at the lower end of the table, with the headboard showing a swastika. A two-headed monster sits on this chair, looking at a crowd of soldiers that gathers around the infernal feast. Most servicemen greet the ravening monsters by raising their right arm, few turn their attention to what is happening outside the mural. In the background, three soldiers appear from behind a stage curtain, which has been drawn aside so that the Military Junta can observe the spectacle; they wield rifles, saluting Pinochet and his cronies (Fig. 1).

In another mural, a swastika replaces the starry part of the American flag and a skull wears a helmet with CIA written on it. On two other wall paintings one can read messages: under a clenched fist, “aplastaremos el fascismo!” [we will crush fascism], in honor of Pablo Neruda, and on a white background “el pueblo unido jamás será vencido” [the people united will never be defeated], signed Brigada Salvador Allende. These are some of the messages that were painted on large movable walls in Campo Santa Margherita. Nearby, in Campo San Polo, they were repeated and further were added. Among them was the (today maybe) most famous mural “Ángel atacado por los United Snakes y defendido por el pueblo” [Angel attacked by the United Snakes and defended by the people] and “La vergüenza militar después de Auschwitz-PinoCIA”, co-signed by the brigade and Roberto Sebastian Matta.

Next to these murals the exhibition *Immagini e parole dal Cile: da Allende alla repressione* [Images and words from Chile: from Allende to repression] was shown; with snapshots by Louis Poirot, Allende’s official photographer during his mandate,
and Gian Butturini, an Italian photographer who documented the political and social movements of the Latin American country. Their photos offered a wide visual repertoire, including photos of Salvador Allende, the Mapuche people and the violent coup: Images of daily life in the countryside and of smiling children were contrasted with those of the burning Moneda Palace or a man lying on the ground flanked by two soldiers. Sharing the same Venetian campo, the murals and the photographic exhibition established a visual dialogue: the dove of peace painted in the colors of the Chilean flag confronted the military exercise captured in Poirot’s photograph (Fig. 2).  31

Finally, these projects were complemented by various artistic and cultural manifestations that were celebrated in a tent on the same campo. Inside, films under the title Testimonianze cinematografiche sul Cile [Cinematographic testimonies on Chile] were shown, concerts of Chilean music given and furthermore meetings hosted, where artists, cultural, political and trade union representatives discussed culture, politics and current affairs. Hence, one could say that the Venetian campo became an experimental laboratory where a different way of cultural production was shown and to be experienced; a laboratory far removed from what had been until then the Biennale’s exhibition space: the Giardini di Castello (Fig. 3).

Actually, this experimental and immersive structure, which combined the production and presentation of murals with a photographic exhibition or

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31 Although both sections of Libertà al Cile were inaugurated on the same day (October 6), the artists painted the murals throughout the week, when the exhibition was already mounted.
Figure 2. Murals and the exhibition Immagini e parole dal Cile: da Allende alla repressione [Images and words from Chile: from Allende to repression] in Campo San Polo, Venice, 1974. © Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee (ASAC), La Biennale di Venezia.

Figure 3. Anita Orzes, Reconstruction of the events of Libertà al Cile in the historic center of Venice, 2021.
diverse manifestations, such as the debates *Italia-Cile: lavoro, politica e cultura* [Italy – Chile: labour, politics and culture] or film and music sessions, was not only visible at the historic center of Venice, but replicated in the more remote areas of Mestre, Marghera, Chioggia and Mira as well (Fig. 4). In Mestre and Marghera, the activities and exhibition proposals were mainly concentrated in a tent at the Piazza Candiani and in the hangar of the factory Petrolchimico, respectively; while in Chioggia and Mira, pre-existing structures were used and, therefore, the events were more spread throughout the urban space.

The decentralization of the exhibition, exemplified in the choice of these sites, was one of the characteristics of the New Biennale and was linked to a distinct cultural decentralization. This notion, very much on the rise in Italy during the 1970s, based on the need to “reduce the distance between producers and consumers of culture”, which did not only search the inclusion of subjects traditionally excluded from culture but also wanted to overcome “the distinction between intellectual (in the creative sense) and non-intellectual workers”. In the context of such cultural decentralization that sought to broaden the basis of the cultural production, the Biennale claimed the search for a dialectical relationship with society. Hence, the *Piano Quadriennale* supported the promotion of a democratic and participatory culture, built through a new relationship with the public and a new commitment to the territory. The aim was not only to broaden the spectrum of visitors and to include groups that had been excluded from the event until then, but also to establish their new role in it: From passive visitors to active participants with their living and critical presence. This entailed establishing organic relationships of “reciprocal inspiration between the Biennale and social realities”, together with a “real relationship” between Venice and its territory.

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32 One exception was the island of Giudecca, where only murals were painted.

33 The cultural decentralization was a consequence of the administrative decentralization in Italy, which corresponded to the establishment of the regions with full legislative capacity and with the election of regional councils in 1970, which both helped decentralizing the power until then concentrated in the capital. For an approximation on the concept see Giovanni Bechelloni and Franco Rositi “Il decentramento culturale: 1. Definizioni e processi,” in *Annuario 1977. Eventi del 1976* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1977), 1137–1146.

The model had been established by two previous experiences that took place in Venice: the Giornate del cinema italiano [Days of the Italian Cinema] and the Festival de L’Unità (1973). While the two editions of the Giornate del cinema italiano (1972 and 1973) comprised film projections, debates and seminars and focused on direct contact with the public, the Festival de L’Unità transformed the urban spaces into places of spectacle and political life. During the latter, the demonstrations were decentralized with the aim of bringing the festival closer to the citizens and taking the participants to spaces far away from the usual tourist areas in order to give visibility to current issues. With such constellations, these two previous experiences constitute an important milestone in the definition of the decentralization-public binomial.

In the case of the B74, this binomial is effectively manifested in Libertà al Cile, in particular with regard to the participatory aspect. Both, the murals and the meetings Italia-Cile: lavoro, politica e cultura constituted spaces of confrontation and exchange between different generations of artists, students, cultural agents and politicians. The painters-activists of the Salvador Allende Brigade did not work alone in the realization of the murals, but the latter were the result of a collaboration between artists and students. In Campo Santa Margherita the Chilean brigade was accompanied by the artists and students. In Campo Santa Margherita the latter were the result of a collaboration between cultural agents and politicians. The painters-activists of the Salvador Allende Brigade did not work alone in the realization of the murals, but the latter were the result of a collaboration between artists and students. In Campo Santa Margherita the Chilean brigade was accompanied by the artists and students. In Campo Santa Margherita the latter were the result of a collaboration between artists and students.

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The meetings Italia - Cile: lavoro, politica, cultura constituted another place of dialectical confrontation. Also celebrated at the new venues of the Biennale, they generally took place before or after a concert or a film screening and provided a starting point for discussion. The topics addressed varied, including issues like the organization and promotion of culture during the Unidad Popular government, the current political situation, the role of the Resistance or the reception of the Chilean experience in Italy. Its public was quite diverse and participants included Hortensia Allende, a delegation of Unidad Popular, students as well as workers and artists.

Especially the younger public quickly began to see the New Biennale as a space producing a democratic and participatory, non-elitist and non-authoritarian culture. A good example of this perception that turned into a proactive stance is an assembly, which took place in the tent on the Piazza Candiani at Mestre and was not scheduled in the official calendar. Promoted by a group of students on strike over the school reform, they invited a Chilean delegation to participate. A meeting was then organically constituted where the objectives of the student movement were discussed and in which Ariel Dorfman and Bernardo Baytelman explained...
the original demands and the subsequent achievements in the field of education during the Unidad Popular government. A further example are the Student Councils of the Liceo Classico and Liceo Scientifico of Venice, which jointly addressed the Executive Board of the Biennale declaring that, thanks to the context of socio-cultural innovation that had led the event out of the “intellectual ghetto”, “students feel involved in the activities of the Biennale as a whole and not only as passive spectators of someone else’s work.” Consequently, they requested that consideration should be given to the possibility of organizing specific events, such as debates and seminars dedicated to “current youth issues”, where they intended to take on an active rather than a receptive role.

In fact, in Per una analisi su La Biennale [For an analysis on the Biennale], the communist organization Avanguardia Operaia (AO) recognized the new institution as a “benchmark” for a new way of making and producing culture. This program-manifesto called for the direct participation of the workers’ and students’ movements in order to “give continuity to the conquests obtained” and to reaffirm a different social use of cultural structures and artistic events. In this regard, it is useful to recall the meeting that the AO organized within the framework of Italia - Cile: lavoro, politica, cultura, at the Padiglione Italia in the Giardini di Castello. Following the new format of the event, it was articulated by a projection of two audiovisuals that were proceeded by a debate. The particularity of this activity lay in the distinct nature of the audiovisuals since they were not produced by professionals, unlike those included in Testimonianze cinematografiche sul Cile. The first, Anatomia di un golpe [Anatomy of a coup d’état], was produced by the AO and presented as “a tool for counter-information and analysis” on the reasons that led to the coup d’état. The second, “a political didactic experience” about Chile and its links with the Italian situation, was a film made by an elementary school class in Mantua. Indeed, as one objective of the reformed biennale was to establish an “organic connection” with schools and universities through the Gruppo permanente per i rapporti con la scuola [Permanent group for relationships with schools], this event proofs that also in that case the new ambitions of New Biennale were put into praxis.

A New Trench in Venice

The Biennale’s traditional exhibition venue played in comparison to prior editions a minor role, resulting from the absence of national participations. Nevertheless, due to the activities at the Padiglione Italia, the Giardini di Castello were to be part of the solidarity program put in place by the New Biennale. The Padiglione housed the editorial office of the newspaper Libertà al Cile and hosted besides the above-mentioned activity a concert of Chilean music and the exhibitions Immagini e parole dal Cile: da Allende alla repressione [Images and words from Chile: from Allende to repression] and Mostra del Manifesto Cileno [Chilean Poster Exhibition]. The latter did refrain from showing the manifestos in a chronological order (1970–1974) and instead articulated around the concepts of political, social and economic renewal. The repertoire of images illustrated and testified to specific points of the social struggles and the political and cultural programs of the Unidad Popular government, as well as the post-coup period.

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39 “Manifestazioni per la Libertà al Cile”, in Annuario 1975. Eventi del 1974 (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1975), 199. Dorfman and Baytelman collaborated with Salvador Allende’s government and were part of the Unidad Popular. After the coup d’état they went into exile in France.
40 Letter to the Executive Board of the Biennale from the Student Councils of the Liceo Scientifico Benedettini and Liceo Classico Foscarini. (ASAC. FS. AV. b.219/2)
41 O.C. Avanguardia Operaia Circolo “La Comune”, Per una analisi su La Biennale, Venice, October 74, 5-6. (ASAC. FS. AV. b.219/2)
42 Ibid; Programma 14 ottobre, La Biennale di Venezia. (ASAC. AV. F91) The meeting took place on October 14. Among the debates organized by AO is “Come è stata vissuta in Italia l’esperienza cilena” (How the Chilean experience was lived in Italy) which took place in Campo San Polo on October 12.
43 Schede sul terzo punto (ASAC. FS. AV. b.219/2)
44 “Piano quadriennale di massima delle attività e delle manifestazioni (1974-1977)”, in Annuario 1975. Eventi del 1974 (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1975), 64. In addition to publicizing the Biennale’s events, this working group was formed to encourage critical participation in cultural production, paying particular attention to the media.
45 These words are taken from an article with the same title (A Venezia una nuova trinca) by Jorge Piña published in the second issue of Libertà al Cile (October 12, 1974).
46 Unlike other sections of Libertà al Cile there is no catalog of Immagini e parole dal Cile: da Allende alla repressione. The photographic documentation preserved in the ASAC allows one to see that in the Padiglione Italia the photographs of Butturini and Poirot were interspersed with white panels with phrases. In the spaces of Venice (Campo Santa Margherita and San Polo), Chioggia (Piazza Granai) and Piazza Candi (Mestre) gigantographs of a selection of the same were placed.
Actually, this exposition provided an important insight on the Chilean project and its artistic and cultural production, as posters had been an important communication strategy before and during Allende’s term of office in the face of opposition from the mainstream media. The Chilean left originally had little representation in the latter, since the television stations had been under the control of the conservative political parties and the newspapers and magazines were financed by the United States. In this context, other modes and strategies of communication were developed that relied on the social and political commitment of the artists. Alejandro “Mono” González, one of the members of the Ramona Parra Brigade, recalled how the walls had been regarded in that situation as the ideal place to “propagate our ideas, our slogans that orien-ent and educate and [to] let people know what we think, what we want and why we fight.” Murals, posters as well as songs assumed to that extent an informative function and were also a forms of expression linked to direct action, class unity and popular awareness. In fact, this visual repertoire was ubiquitous and so powerful that after 11 September 1973 the eradication of the cultural and symbolic production associated with the Unidad Popular was considered one of the priorities of the “aesthetic-cultural coup” of the military regime. Within the framework of the “cleaning operation”, it sought to destroy and replace the images on walls and printed matter as well as to provide new sound stimuli. The fact that the cleaning of streets and walls took place immediately after the coup, and mainly throughout the month of September, is symptomatic of the ur-gency to erase the traces of political and cultural coup of the military regime. Within the framework of the “aesthetic-cultural coup” of the military regime. Within the framework of the “cleaning operation”, it sought to destroy and replace the images on walls and printed matter as well as to provide new sound stimuli. The fact that the cleaning of streets and walls took place immediately after the coup, and mainly throughout the month of September, is symptomatic of the ur-gency to erase the traces of political and cultural coup of the military regime. Within the framework of the “cleaning operation”, it sought to destroy and replace the images on walls and printed matter as well as to provide new sound stimuli. The fact that the cleaning of streets and walls took place immediately after the coup, and mainly throughout the month of September, is symptomatic of the ur-gency to erase the traces of political and cultural events of the 1970-1973 triennium.

In the face of such repression and censorship, art became a territory of resistance. Artists put their production at the service of social justice, operating either clandestinely or in exile—with Italy being one of the places where most artistic-cultural-political events of denunciation and solidarity with Chile took place. In the specific case of the Venice Biennale, participation was experienced as “the continuation of something we had already started in our country,” which were new forms of expression in painting, music, film and theater. In that sense the brigadists intended “to show through the murals the current situation in Chile, denounce the fascist government that oppresses our people and (. . .) clarify political and economic aspects of the Unidad Popular”.51

In addition to the muralists and their visual interventions the music group Inti-Illimani, another icon of the resistance, had been invited to Venice. Inti-Illimani were together with Quilapayún, Victor Jara or Violeta Parra exponents of the Nueva Canción Chilena [New Chilean Songs], a movement that had merged since the 1960s traditional Chilean folk music with increasingly social and political content and that constituted an important, artistic facet of Allende’s democratic and popular revolution. Many artists of this musical-social movement had participated in Allende’s electoral campaign under the slogan “There can be no revolution without songs”; and once the elections were won, they contributed to the dissemination of the project by generating a production of current political and socially committed themes.52 Actually, Inti-Illimani had recorded in 1970 the album Canto al programa [Song to the program], in which, through songs and stories, the Unidad Popular program was presented. Furthermore, after the tanquetazo [that is ‘tank putsch’] had taken place on 29 June 1973, the group created a series of compositions through which they de-scribed the resistance that thwarted this attempted coup d’état against the Allende’s socialist government at the Palacio de la Moneda. Finally, in 1973, the year in which the group’s exile in Italy began, they launched Viva Chile! [Long live Chile!], which became a vehicle of resistance to the dictatorship.53

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51 Document Chilean muralists. (ASAC.PS. AV. b.219/2)


Hence, when Inti-Illimani, along with Isabel Parra and the group Quilapayún that had recorded the hymn of Unidad Popular *Venceremos* [We will win], participated in the Biennale concerts, they represented the resistance of a democratic Chile in exile by singing the well-known hits of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* and paying tribute to authors such as Victor Jara, who had been assassinated by the regime. 54 Jara, who had used music as a vehicle to tell, divulge and denounce, was considered an icon of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* and venerated by many Chileans. In fact, Roberto Sebastián Matta dedicated him the mural “Angel atacado por los United Snakes y defendido por el pueblo” 55; and on the day of its creation he would recall that “artists are the witnesses of their time, and their duty is also to tell the story, to participate in the struggles of peoples.”56

Similarly, at the closing ceremony of this section of the Biennale, the brigadists indicated that art is a “weapon of combat”, recalling that they had left an anti-fascist slogan on any surface placed at their disposal. Their intervention ended by remembering the last words of Salvador Allende and describing the Biennale as a space for vindication:

“I want to say to our President that (…) the Venice Biennale is helping those other men to make his words come true, and to you, once again thank you. Thank you in the name of Salvador Allende, thank you in the name of our martyrs, thank you in the name of the prisoners, thank you in our name.” 57

Until this point it has become evident how the reformed exhibition became a laboratory, which delocalized its traditional exposition platform by spreading throughout the territory, providing a framework of solidarity and a space for vindication, which had the collaboration of “the artistic and cultural forces that work from exile.” 58 This collaboration is also reflected in the weekly newspaper *Libertà al Cile*, edited by Chilean journalists, experts and politicians in collaboration with Italians. Each issue contained articles on Chilean current affairs (UP politics, the murder of leaders, censorship or resistance) and *Libertà al Cile* events, which were accompanied by an extensive visual documentation. To a lesser extent, there was also a corpus of articles that either reaffirmed the Italian position against the military junta or underlined the fraternity and parallelism between the Chilean and Italian situations. 59

Each of the weekly appearing issues included a poster that referenced the Chilean cause: the slogan on the first one reads, “chi brucia i libri, tortura il popolo” [he who burns books, tortures the people], in allusion to the great book burnings in the days following the coup; another one was an homage to Allende and Neruda signed by Emilio Vedova; and a further poster, the *Progetto per un “mural” a Santiago del Cile* [Project for a “mural” in Santiago, Chile] by Roberto Matta, can be read as the artist’s response to the military whitewashing. 60

The purpose of this newspaper was to make “a valuable contribution to the discussion on the democratic achievements of Unidad Popular, as well as the ongoing repression in Chile and the action of Chileans in exile.” 61 Its political nature is also confirmed by what should have been its name, *Unidad*...

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54 Victor Jara was a reference in the musical contribution of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* to the Unidad Popular government. Among his compositions are *El desabastecimiento* (Shortage) or *Lindo es ser voluntario* (It’s nice to be a volunteer). He was also the artistic director of Quilapayún. During the military whitewashing, his figure was remembered in several acts. See Closing ceremony speech. (ASAC: FS.AV.8.219/2).


57 Closing ceremony speech. (ASAC: FS.AV.8.219/2). The fragment of Allende’s last speech is: “other men would overcome the bitter and gray moment when betrayal comes to impose itself and that, sooner rather than later, would open the wide avenues where free man could walk in search of a better destiny.”

58 The second point of the *Piano Quadriennale* indicated, besides specifying that the New Biennale wanted to operate at national and international levels with a “clear and firm anti-fascist orientation”, that the venture wanted to favor the exchange between Italian and foreign artists, “also seeking collaboration with the artistic and cultural forces working in exile”. See *Annuario 1975. Eventi del 1974* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 1975), 62.

59 An example of the formula described here can be the third issue (October 19, 1974). Some articles highlight the repression in Chile (*El General Censura, Anatomía di un massacro, Carta d’identità dei torturatori del Cile*), the position of the Church in reaction to the coup (*Al sinodo la curia cilena ha due facce* or *La posizione della sinistra cristiana* or *I rapporti fra Italia e Cile golpista*) or the role of the United States in the coup (*GIÀ una scuola di odio o Le Multinazionali tentacoli dell’imperialismo*). Others present the activities of the Biennale (*I giorni di Allende in cento manifesti, Il Pubblico alla Biennale and an interview with Matta*). There is also the article *I rapporti fra Italia e Cile golpista* by Carlo Ripa di Meana. Throughout the newspaper there are photographs of the Biennale (the brigadistas painting or the Italia-Cile meetings) or of the exhibited works (*Mostra del manifesto cileno*).

60 In fact, the mural in La Granja (Santiago de Chile), in which Matta participated, is one among those that were erased in 1973 by order of the authorities. See Luis Hernán Errázuriz, “DICTADURA MILITAR EN CHILE, Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 44, No 2 (2009): 141.

Partisan Genealogies

but this initial designation had eventually been replaced by the title of the event, Libertà al Cile. Nevertheless, although the name had changed and the newspaper was published in the context of an artistic event, it is possible to relate it to the bulletins and magazines of the Izquierda Chilena that emerged in several countries. Despite the diffusion of these forms of struggle and resistance worldwide, it is worth noting the centrality of Italy as a center of solidarity and, consequently, to frame the Biennale’s newspaper in this context.

Indeed, a month before the first issue of Libertà al Cile, on the anniversary of the coup d’état (September 11, 1974), two other publications were sent to press in the Italian capital, a special edition of the informative bulletin of Chile Democristólico (corresponding to issue 32) and the first issue of Chile-América. The latter magazine was published until 1983; it had a wide circulation with a distribution in 66 countries and was addressing the worldwide dispersed community of Chilean exiles. In its third issue, an article was dedicated to the Venetian event, indicating that the Biennale published “a weekly newspaper of solidarity with the people of Chile”. Furthermore, two of its founders, José Antonio Viera Gallo and Julio Silva Solar, participated in the fifth issue of Libertà al Cile. In fact, Chile-América had been established as a laboratory for critical reflection and political proposal, where democratic forces of different ideological matrices converged. This heterogeneity is also present in the Biennale’s newspaper where, just as in the Italia-Cile meetings, the aim was to ensure a wide representation of Italian and Chilean political and trade union forces. In fact, its pages contain the opinions of Luis Guastavino (PCCh), Alberto Moravia (PCI), Jorge Arrate (PS), Salvatore Secchi (PSI), José Antonio Viera Gallo (MAPU) and Giorgio Benvenuto [National Secretary of the Metal Workers Federation], among others. Finally, it should be noted that Libertà al Cile was not just sold in Venice, but in several cities in Northern Italy and in Rome. The latter certainly owed to the facts that the headquarters of the Associazione “Italia-Chile” and of Chile Democrático, the center of coordination of international solidarity with Chile as well as those of the main Italian political parties were all based in the capital and that Rome was also the point of arrival of Chilean exiles in Italy.

In and from Venice: The Fronte Antifascista Internazionale dell’Arte

“(…) The New Biennale has taken its first steps, difficult, contested, but I believe it is on the right track. Our future will have to make these steps safer”; with these words Carlo Ripa di Meana concluded his contribution to the fifth issue of Libertà al Cile. In his article he reflected in a concise manner on the three aspects that generated most debate: The public, the decentralization and the internationality of the event. In parallel to recognizing the need for a well-reasoned decentralization, he stressed that the discussions that arose testified that the B74 had opened for a multifaceted space of reflection. Nevertheless, although the event thus favored a democratic exchange of opinions, its newly won, proactive public was not entirely exempt from a certain “sense of caution” regarding the new
approach of the Biennale.71 Furthermore, Ripa di Mena also indicated that the involvement of local society should take place in parallel to the international dimension of the event, as it was “constitutive of the reasons for the Biennale itself.”72 Actually, the scarce participation of an international audience was one of the most criticized aspects of the event, so much so that the Bolaffiarte magazine published a cartoon with a deserted St. Mark’s Square with an underlying dialogue: “You have to at least acknowledge that the new Biennale is really Venetian,” “Why?”, “Because no one from outside comes here anymore.” (Fig. 5) 73 Indeed, this manifestation had a much more local dimension than prior editions, which owed to the renewed purposes as well as to the contingency of the moment that did not allow the usual national participations. However, the Biennale wanted to reinforce its new nature without forgetting its past and establishing a line of continuity with it. Evidence of this are the meetings with the representatives of foreign countries, which took place before and during La Biennale per una cultura democratica e antifascista. The purpose of this continuity of the Biennale’s international idea was to establish an ongoing dialogue and to involve the interlocutors in the decision on the thematic axis and the new temporality of the permanent cultural institute.74

Another aspect under debate was the ideological and political direction of the New Biennale. An analysis of the articles in newspapers and magazines allows to highlight opposing positions on this issue and the above-mentioned topics. Actually, the front pages of many periodicals echoed the stance of the parties that were against the transformation of the Biennale. Even though the socialist newspaper

71 “Sense of caution” was the expression used by the representative of the factory council of Petrolchimico of Marghera to indicate the position of the workers vis-à-vis the Biennale and to claim a contact “also at the organizational level”. Although the activities of Libertà al Cile were well received by these workers, the realization of "Cassiano governa a Circo", an adaptation of William Shakespeare’s Othello by Giorgio Manganelli, was felt as an intrusion and boycotted. See Sara Catenaccia "Solidarity and Socially Engaged Art in 1970s Italy," in Past Disquiet: Artists, International Solidarity, and Museum in Exile, ed. Kristine Khouri and Rasha Salti (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Arte, 2018), 275; “Gli operai di Marghera discutono della Nuova Biennale: dubbi e aspettative,” Libertà al Cile, October 12, 1974.


74 The meetings took place on July 31 and October 3, 1974. Among the topics discussed was the permanent use of the pavilions for artistic residencies or workshops during the months when the international event was not taking place. Riunione n.2 dei rappresentati dei padiglioni ai Giardini del 30 ottobre 1974. (ASAC. FS. CeGS. b.05)
Avanti! or the communist publication L’Unità celebrated the experimental character and the social commitment, Il Secolo d’Italia, the newspaper of the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), denounced the Biennale’s conversion into a “political seminar”; from the International Festival of Art, Cinema and Theater to the Festival dell’Unità. Also Il Secolo d’Italia condemned Libertà al Cile in unequivocal terms; an article entitled “I Guerriglieri della Biennale” [Guerillas of the Biennale] was accompanied by the image of a bearded man with the beret of Che Guevara, who blocked the access to the goddess of the arts to the Biennale with a cane that bore the incised word “politics”. While the extreme right-wing newspaper wondered about the future of the exhibition in the hand of “professors-guerrillas with the red tuxedo”, from the factory of Porto Marghera the workers expressed their hope that the Biennal “would be faithful to its anti-fascist position until the end.”

In fact, Libertà al Cile was only the beginning and pursuing the commitment to denouncing authoritarian regimes. In 1976 Spagna. Avanguardia artistica e realtà social, 1936-1976 was organized and one year later, in 1977, the controversial Biennale del Dissenso. Through these two exhibitions Venice gave continuity to the work begun with the here described first act of the Piano Quadriennale. However, it is worth mentioning one further event prior to both, which allows us to highlight how, as a result of the 1974 experiences, the Biennale became in the artistic and common imaginary a space for international resistance against fascism: the foundation of the Fronte Antifascista Internazionale dell’Arte [International Antifascist Art Front].

From 15 to 17 October 1975, while La Biennale: un laboratorio internazionale [La Biennale: an international laboratory] was taking place, a group of artists met at the Padiglione Centrale of the Giardini and founded the Fronte. Among them were Chileans and Italians who had already participated in Libertà al Cile, such as José Balmes, Guillermo Nuñez, Vincenzo Eulisse, Romano Perusini or Vittorio Bassaglia; furthermore, the Argentines Julio Le Parc and Alejandro Marcos, the Brazilian Gontran Netto-Guanaes, the Uruguayan José Camarra, the Frenchmen Henri Cueco and Ernest Pignon and the Dutch Joop Van Meel.

At this first meeting the Documento politico e programmi di intervento [Political document and intervention programs] was defined stating that “the choice of Venice for the beginning of their action is linked to the traditional cultural openness of the city, today strengthened by the new popular and democratic participation of its administration.” It affirmed the will to participate in “the struggles started by democratic antifascist organizations” and the urgency of carrying out concrete actions in antifascist struggles—in particular against the Chilean and Spanish dictatorships. In this regard, a first action was the international boycott of ships to and from Chile and Spain. It was agreed that the workers, belonging to the trade unions participating in the boycott, would refuse to carry out any loading and unloading tasks; and Venice was the first of the European ports where this boycott took place. In addition, the Brigada Internazionale Antifascista [International Anti-Fascist Brigade], in collaboration with the workers, created a mural at the Casa del Portuale in Venice condemning dictatorships and imperialism. It should be recalled that the port workers had already expressed their support for the Chilean people within the framework of Libertà al Cile when, once the election of

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80 Tina Merli, “Collettivo di pittori per il Cile,” L’Unità, November 10, 1975, 3. The topic was previously discussed with the workers. The mural was signed by the Brigada Internazionale Antifascista, composed by the artists of the Fronte.
the New Biennale was known, they invited the Chilean delegation to participate in a “cultural-political meeting” in the same location.81

This shows that the Fronte emerged from the Venice Biennale and highlights that the latter thus served as an ideological and organizational base and that its venues, where an anti-fascist commitment had already been expressed the previous year, were the stepping stone. However, the symbolic importance of the renewed Venetian institution for international resistance, the conceptual continuity as well as the impact of its 1974 edition, would express in two further ventures: On the one hand, the desire to give continuity to the newspaper Libertà al Cile and the request to include the written and visual materials produced during the first international meeting of the Fronte in its sixth issue restated the antifascist stance; on the other hand, through the request that the Venice Biennale should express “a judgement of severe cultural and political condemnation for the process of degradation that the São Paulo Biennial in Brazil has been involved in, which (...) is now subject to the directives and censorship of a torturing regime.”82 The letter, sent to the President and the Board of Directors, concluded with the wish that the Biennale should continue along the path it had begun and that “the weeks of “freedom for Chile” have been a point of reference for intellectuals and democratic cultural institutions.”83

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81 Poster “Portuali e lavoratori veneziani con il popolo cileno contro il fascismo” (ASAC, Af F. 91)


83 Ibid.