

Balcony in San Telmo



Logbook G20 - 2018 **Buenos Aires – Argentina**

In English



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* *San Telmo* is a historic district in Buenos Aires

Intro

The function of a logbook is to record all essential events concerning the ship—including events on board, but also everything that could affect the ship from outside and observations during the voyage or when going ashore.

The topic or the "route" is everything that has to do directly with the G20 summit 2018, especially with protests against it. Furthermore, it tries to show roughly obvious or essential contexts as well as to give an impression of the general city events - the whole thing in a daily format as standard page with a highlighted current event, combined with a context or city reference and some additional photos. However, some generally accessible contexts are sometimes just linked. Repetitions are omitted and instead sometimes reference is made to a previous "log-book entry".

The actual logbook ends on 1 December, so on the second and last summit day. After that there is a short own reflection as well as two longer interviews and a further review.

Prehistory and general conditions in short form

Buenos Aires was already chosen as the venue for 2018 before the 2017 G20 summit took place in Hamburg. This metropolis of 14 million people has been a protest stronghold in Latin America for a long time. This is even truer now, as a result of the far-reaching social cuts introduced by the neoliberal policies of President Macri's government. The background to this is a currency crisis and a loan imposed by the IMF as the "only possible antidote." According to official figures, the repayment and interest burden alone will account for approximately 25% of the state budget for many years to come. (In Germany, by contrast, a total of 6% is currently spent as "debt service" in the state budget.)

The IMF is an integral part of the G20; consequently, the protests against the summit addressed the IMF, social questions, and the future viability of society.

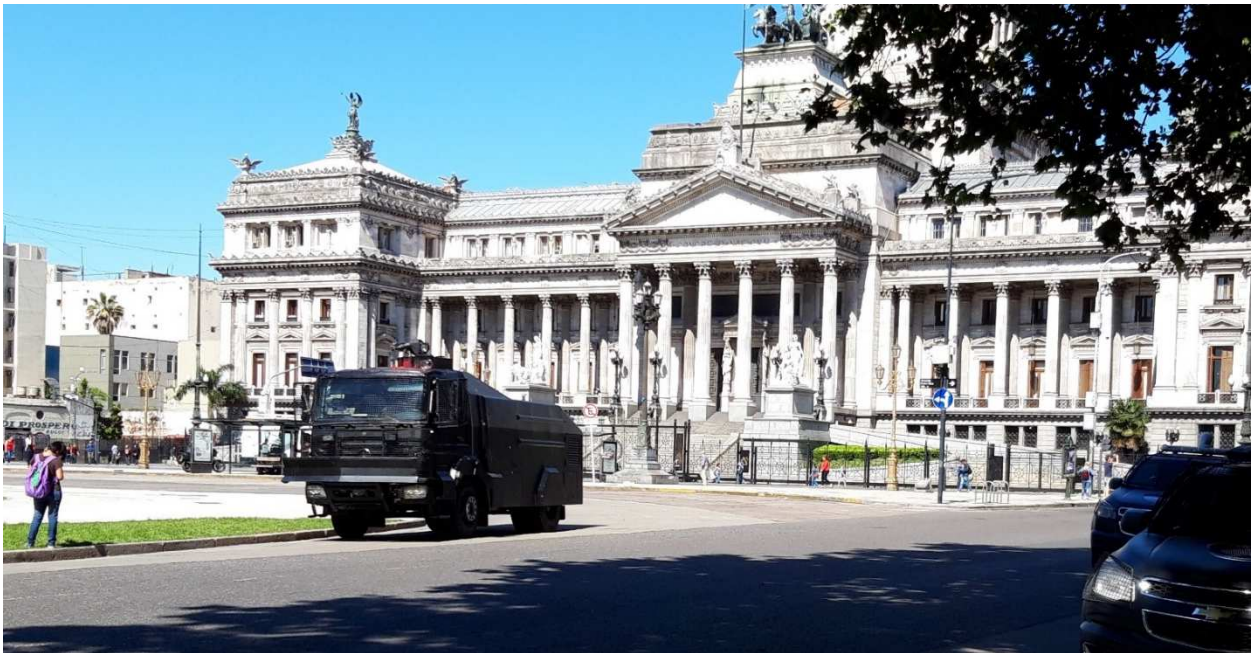
The protest alliance "No al G20" was broad-based: it involved numerous trade unions, environmental associations, human rights groups, ATTAC, and large sections of the women's movement and left wing organizations. This mobilization was international, especially involving people from neighboring countries. An action week was planned before the summit, as well as a large-scale demonstration on Friday, November 30, the first day of the two-day summit.

The Argentine government had taken tremendous repressive measures. The deployment of 22,000 Argentine police officers had already been announced weeks before, and a further 5000 security forces from various countries were to supplement them. The government purchased discarded combat aircraft from France and new armored vehicles from China with optional MG armament on the roof. In addition, they bought an arsenal including fully 2 million rubber bullets, various surveillance equipment, and other police weaponry. The Argentine state was spending money on this, while in the universities, the lights are going out in the evening due to unpaid electricity bills and pensioners have to tighten their belts three holes at a time.

November 30 had been legally declared a "holiday without work" for the entire city of Buenos Aires; the residents were encouraged to spend a long weekend in the countryside. In addition, public transport in the city center and in large parts of the city was completely suspended for the summit days. There was a state of emergency, but it remained controlled, due to repression already in the run-up, and a massive campaign of fear. The logbook and the reflection that follows describes the concrete events in the first place and also names some backgrounds. In view of the complexity of the situation and, above all, the history of Argentina, these can only be an excerpt.

Logbook

Wednesday, November 14th Senate rubberstamps State Budget, Protests before Parliament



It was foreseeable. After the House of Representatives had already approved the draft of the IMF program by a narrow majority, the approval of the much more conservative Senate seemed to be certain. This time, however, the Macri (1) government made every effort to secure the broadest possible approval. That was why they haggled until the end—especially aiming to gain the approval of at least a few Peronists (2) and of representatives of the rural regions.

Those in rural areas are particularly affected by the program because, in addition to the social cuts, it also cuts funding previously earmarked for the poorer provinces. A few specific representatives negotiated special conditions for their regions (or for themselves) and finally agreed to pass the controversial IMF budget package. The vote was 45 in favor, 24 against, while opinion polls showed almost exactly the opposite picture among the general population.



(1) Neoliberal president from a corrupt entrepreneurial family

(2) As an introduction to Peronism: Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peronism>



While the debate was taking place, a rally of between 3000 and 5000 demonstrators gathered in front of the parliament (“el Congreso”)—quite a small number for Buenos Aires and especially in view of the important reason. A few weeks before, during the vote of the Chamber of Deputies, there came many, many more people and fierce clashes broke out. The largest blocs at that time were young Trotskyists and a more leftist faction within the Peronists. But there was also a kind of “standing panel discussion,” the “Barrios de Pie” (3) were involved, and also a few more militant groups.

When a small group, mostly unmasked despite several cameras, began to pry up paving stones from the street with iron rods, a sturdy group came out of the Peronist block and took the rods away from them. The Trotskyists sealed off their bloc with a human chain and shortly thereafter pulled away to hold their own smaller demonstration. Finally, about 80 fully equipped police officers stormed out of their own fencing towards the Peronist block, grabbed a very young anarcho-punk demonstrator, and dragged him away to loud protests from the crowd, which they blocked off by forming a chain across a side street. According to the press, a second person was arrested as well.



(3) In English "Districts by feet" - a left-wing grassroots organization critically linked to Peronism



Ritualized Protests and Repression in front of the Congreso

There is hardly a protest in Buenos Aires that does not end in front of the Parliament building—if it does not begin there. Accordingly, everything seems to be arranged: the roadblocks (2-meter-high connectable steel grids) are not transported away between demonstrations, but stored nearby and always rebuilt at the same intersections. At the adjacent main artery, this is indicated by installed signs reading, “*Evitar zona Congreso—Corte total*” (“Avoid the congress zone—total blockage”).

The standard barriers cover several hundred meters with numerous shops and an estimated 5000 residents.

At the narrow checkpoints, the security guards wear suits; they probably already know many of the residents and regulate everything without helmets and truncheons on their belts. Often, everyday life plays out on three of the four sides of the ritualized barrier.

On the fourth side, however, in front of the main façade, demonstrations can take place in front of the barrier on the large square, and clashes occur regularly. Behind the barriers, the police positions their “*Infanteria*” (the usual term here), i.e., helmeted riot police, as well as water cannons and motorcycle units. If they think it is necessary, they move to the spacious square in front of the parliament building, shoot tear gas and rubber bullets, clear the area, beat and arrest people, often against embittered resistance.





This press conference took place at the Latin American human rights organization “*Servicio Paz y Justicia*.” The small hall was full to capacity—including, among others, the 1st German Television and the news agency Reuters. The podium is occupied by Beverly Keene, a spokeswoman of the alliance, and Nora Cortiñas, one of the best-known “*Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*” and one of the 1st hour, so from the “*Linea fundadora*” (4) Behind them stand other representatives of the alliance.

Beverly Keene briefly introduced the alliance and emphasized its versatility and openness. It was not for nothing that it was called *La Confluencia*, i.e., a “confluence” of many different flows into a common river. She stressed that all meetings and preparations are open to the public and, in this context, criticized the surveillance carried out by security forces. The danger does not come from the alliance, but rather from the premeditated state repression and from the G20 itself.

Then, succinctly but comprehensively, Keene set forth the protesters’ concerns.

The G20 leaders do not represent the interests of the people, as they claim to, especially not those of Latin America. Rather, their policies produce hunger, poverty, and destruction worldwide, especially in Argentina, where the IMF stipulations are currently aggravating the misery of millions of people. But this is only one part of an international system that no longer has any legitimacy. It is not for nothing that the G20 leaders have to hide behind an armada of security forces.

Then we heard about the events of the protest week, especially the “summit of alternatives” on November 28 and 29 and the mass demonstration on November 30. A trade union representative added that several million demonstrators had already taken to the streets throughout Argentina against Macri—against the IMF program and thus also against the policy of the G20. Everywhere in the country, mobilizations were taking place; one may expect very, very many participants.

(4) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mothers_of_the_Plaza_de_Mayo

Next, we heard from Nora “Norita” Cortiñas with a 10 – minute short but touching speech. She vehemently called on people not to be intimidated and instead to take to the streets in droves. Her demand carries weight; she publicly opposed the military dictatorship at a time when participating in demonstrations could get you killed. Over 30,000 people were murdered—including Nora Cortiña’s son.

Protest Alliance and Appeals

The alliance involved nine international networks, 102 Argentine organizations, and eight from other countries. Among them were environmental associations (e.g., Friends of the Earth), several grassroots trade unions, organizations that are critical of capitalist globalization, left-wing anti-imperialist groups, ATTAC (also from France and Spain),

a Basque Antifascist organization, internationalist groups, various campesino organizations, student associations, women’s organizations, human rights groups, associations for grassroots economy, and others.

It did not involve the Peronist-dominated trade unions, but for example the “Movimiento Evita,” who see themselves as “revolutionary Peronists.”

What was striking about the alliance and its external image is the large proportion of women in general and the specifically feminist component of the mobilization. From the outset, the “Confluencia” had explicitly positioned itself as internationalist. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that generally, Argentinian politics from right to left are limited to a standard national framework. The call for mobilization was translated into five other languages, including English (5).



(5) <https://noalg20.org/call-to-mobilize/>

Already on November 14, in the early evening, an explosion took place in the cemetery in the district of Recoleta, allegedly in direct proximity to the grave of Ramón Falcón, an infamous police chief who commanded the repression known today as “Red Week” in 1909 and during which several dozen workers were killed by the police and hundreds were injured.

On 14.11. 1909 an anarchist committed an assassination on Falcon as a revenge action. Now precisely 109 years later a woman was seriously injured in an explosion. A mother of two, she lost three fingers and was taken to hospital with severe facial and skull injuries; her companion was arrested directly. According to police, four more “homemade pipe bombs” were found at the grave of Falcon.

Shortly thereafter, bodyguards arrested another man who allegedly threw a “highly developed incendiary bomb” that did not detonate under the parked car of the judge Claudio Bonadio. The federal judge had conducted various sensational corruption proceedings against former high-ranking Peronist officials and politicians, as well as sentencing two demonstrators to several months’ imprisonment after riots in December 2017. The arrestee is alleged to have visited one of them in prison.

The police and large sections of the press evaluated both “attempts” as part of a militant campaign in the context of the upcoming G20 summit and classified the three arrested as “violent anarchists.” On this pretext, police carried out raids of several houses, including three left-wing cultural centers. The man arrested at the cemetery was alleged to have lived in one of them, which is alleged to be the “epicenter of the anarchist movement.” The police stormed the long-occupied house with heavily armed special units and arrested ten more people. So-called crow’s feet (caltrops) were presented to the press as “bomb material.” On the following day, another arrest took place.

In addition, two brothers with Lebanese roots were arrested and accused of possessing numerous weapons. Both were accused of associating with Hezbollah and of planning an assassination during the G20 (6). The whole thing became mixed up in the media, which used the excuse to portray a scenario of extreme danger. The press conference of the alliance “Confluencia” was pushed under the table and instead one media “fish story” chased after the next. Bizarrely, the “donated” armored clearance vehicles from the Chinese to Argentina were delivered in a public ceremony. Security Minister Bullrich once again urged city dwellers to leave Buenos Aires already on the Thursday before the summit, because ...



(6) After G20, the two were released again for lack of evidence



“...the situation in the city will become very complicated... if there is any violence, we will take immediate measures against and stop it.” In the meantime, the German Foreign Office had also issued a corresponding safety warning.

Anarchism in Argentina

From the late 19th century to the early 20th century, there was a very strong libertarian and anarcho-syndicalist movement in Argentina.

For several decades, the FORA (7) was the largest and most militant trade union in the country. After a long history of strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations, and bloody repression, the movement was largely crushed in the 1930s and 1940s. Currently, the relatively small anarchist movement is closely linked to a subcultural context, similar to the anarchist movement in many parts of Europe. But anarchists also participate in major political mobilizations, such as those bringing attention to the kidnapping and murder of the activist Santiago Maldonado (8).



(7) Federación Obrera Regional Argentina

(8) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Death_of_Santiago_Maldonado



This day marks the return of Juan Domingo Perón on November 17, 1972 after 17 years of exile in Franco’s Spain; the date is still celebrated annually by the Peronist movement in Argentina. Traditionally, there is a large rally with numerous speeches. This year, it took place in the stadium of a local football club. The motto was: *Unidos o Dominados*, “united or dominated.” The dominant theme was President Macri’s austerity budget package imposed by the IMF and his “necessary replacement—at the latest, by the 2019 elections.” Naturally, of course, by the Peronists.

But what is this “unity,” exactly? Some Peronists in the Senate voted for the budget package; they were called “traitors” at the rally. In addition, the powerful Peronist trade union federation CGT was conducting a dialogue with a high-ranking IMF representative, while other, likewise not exactly unimportant parts of the Peronist movement decisively supported the protests and now also called for protest against the G20 summit. These call themselves “Peronismo popular”; they are left-oriented and still able to mobilize masses of people onto the streets.



In addition, a large part of the *Porteños* (9) feel connected to Peronism; in many cases, this loyalty has been passed down across multiple generations. This describes a considerable portion of modern and cosmopolitan urban society in Buenos Aires.

Between Nazi Exiles and Left-Wing Guerrillas

What most Perón fans don't know—or have suppressed in their memories—is that after World War II, Perón opened Argentina to thousands of partially high-ranking Nazi officials. Above all, he wanted them to help him establish his own aviation industry, including the secret continuation of the Nazi missile program. Some ended up in Perón's secret service; others set up “Mercedes-Benz Argentina” with his support, where demonstrably massive quantities of dirty Nazi money were laundered. The Holocaust co-organizer Eichmann found employment there, along with many other Nazis.

At the same time, Perón implemented extensive social programs aimed at the poorer sections of the population and promoted culture, education, and civil rights, including the introduction of women's suffrage. In foreign policy, he was emphatically anti-American, but in domestic policy, he fought communists and brought the previously heterogeneous trade unions into line. Moreover, he controlled the press through state-disposed paper quotas.

When the previously flourishing economy went downhill, Perón—though the “legitimately elected president”—was expelled by a military putsch in 1955 with the backing of influential entrepreneurs, the church, bourgeois intellectuals, and the CIA.

A permanent change of government was established under the control of the military, the economy continued to decline, and social tensions increased. In the 1960s, armed groups throughout Latin America began the “revolutionary struggle,” including the so-called Montoneros (10) in Argentina. They simultaneously referred to the successful Cuban revolution, Peronism, and the anti-imperialist struggle. Their tactics ranged from organizing soup kitchens in the poor neighborhoods to carrying out armed raids on military facilities. Not least, this movement helped create the pressure that led to Perón's return in 1972.

He died in 1974 and his third wife, Isabell Perón, took power. The military overthrew her in 1976. A military dictatorship ensued, lasting until 1983, which particularly persecuted the Montoneros with an immense bloodshed.



(9) City dwellers of Buenos Aires

(10) <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montoneros>

The two-day festival *La Criatura* was about “thinking up other ways to make politics.” As the organizers put it: “The politics we make is old. We cannot close our eyes to what is happening in Brazil (11) because it is a global trend.”

The event took place in one of the numerous and largely self-organized cultural centers of Buenos Aires, organized by the Association “CRIA” (12). All kinds of workshops, many of an artistic nature, took place in various adjoining rooms. A long table was set up in the large hall in mockery of the G20 summit. Here, people gradually took seats for the presentation of the various thematic forums.

First, there was a short introduction by a woman dressed up as a monster with snake hands. She read a pithy text:

“A predator devours the world. It is able to destroy countries and nations, cultures and peoples, change nature genetically, turn forests into deserts, undermine the seas and drill into mountains to extract the last mineral fragment. This predator wants to leave us nothing, a humanity freed from everything. In defiance of this devastating scene, there are other herds of monstrous creatures that reinvent themselves in the face of this plundering, that create counter-pedagogy, building utopias and errant becomings.”

Then they presented a historical outline of former summit protests—beginning in the early 1990s, when the anti-globalization movement slowly developed, and passing from the 2001 G8 summit in Genoa to Mar de la Plata (13), where in 2005, the Organization of American States met in the face of massive protests.



(11) This refers to the election of right-wing radical Bolsonaro as President of Brazil.

(12) *Creando Redes Independientes y Artisticas*. In South America, “crias” also means “young animals.”

(13) About 400 km south of Buenos Aires

They emphasized that over the years, resistance has shifted more and more to the global South and that a specific expression was found there, which still has to be expanded.

This was followed by an impressive lecture by a Mapuche, who told the story of his people and of growing oppression and repression, but also of the resistance and the expressiveness of the Mapuches, which is gaining more and more international attention through social media. In the end, he emphasized amid applause that the struggle of the Mapuche nation cannot be solved solely by granting them their land. Rather, their struggle represents a future model for how to inhabit the earth and they are convinced that it is time to develop real alternatives (14).

There followed were several contributions by representatives of the feminist movement who presented their progress and the growing resistance against patriarchy, stressing that all the different forms of resistance to the capitalist patriarchal system must be given the same importance. They referred to the immense mobilizations of the last few months, in which huge numbers of people took to the streets against the ban on abortion, among other things.

Numerous other contributions followed—for example, a presentation by the representative of the Senegalese Association in Argentina on the growing importance of migration in the face of extensive exploitation and oppression in the regions of the global South, above all in Africa. Finally, the conference took a position against the current criminalization of the resistance and called for participation in the week of resistance to the G20 from November 25 to December 1.



(14) See also page 10, Santiago Maldonado

Monday, November 19th The Schedule of the Week of Protest

The program described almost 60 public events. Most of them were discussions, workshops, or lectures—many within the framework of the alternative (counter) summit—but there were also a number of public actions. At this point in time, ten days before the summit, not all the events had been announced; this was no different at previous summit protests. However, the final program is documented here.

In any case, the schedule impressively documents the diversity and internationalism of the counter-events and protests. It is available online:

in English <https://fuerag20.files.wordpress.com/2018/11/week-of-action-agenda-in-english4.pdf>

and in Castellano <https://fuerag20.files.wordpress.com/2018/11/grilla-actividades-para-subir-a-pc3a1gina9.pdf>

Previous Activities

Day	Hour	Activity	Location	Organizations
Saturday, 17/11	16.00-23.00	Performative Counter-Summit - La Criatura	Club Cultural Matienzo, Pringles 1249	CRIA - Asociación Civil
Sunday, 18/11	16.00-23.00	Performative Counter-Summit - La Criatura	Club Cultural Matienzo, Pringles 1249	CRIA - Asociación Civil
Wednesday, 21/11	10.30-20.30	Forum "Global Hegemony in Dispute. The G20 and the International (Dis-)order	Centro Cultural San Martín, Sarmiento 1551	CLACSO, Nodal, IADE, Economía Femini(s)ta
Friday, 23/11	18.00	Act against the G20	Plaza de los dos Congresos	MST, Anticapitalistas en Red
23/11-20/12	To coordinate a visit, please write to archivocaminante013@gmail.com	Ecocidas - artistic exposition of Laura Luciani, Santiago Fredes, Eduardo Molinari y Nicolás Rodríguez	Av. San Juan 2491, CABA	Museo del Hambre

Global Week of Action against the G20 and the IMF

Monday, 26 of November				
Hour	Activity	Location	Organizations	Contact
10.00 - 18.00	G20, FMI and the global threats to social protection and collective health	Perón 3866	CTA Autónoma, GT Salud Internacional CLACSO, FLACSO	Gonzalo (CTA A): 15 5311 2616
15.30-20.00	"International Seminar: world in convulsion: financial, political and technological turbulence. A feminist perspective."	Sala González Tuñón - Centro Cultural de la Cooperación, Av. Corrientes 1543, CABA	Red de Género y Comercio	Mariana Iturriza (Red de Género y Comercio): 15 4563 7709
16.00-20.00	Forum: G20 and the Future of Work	Adef I., Rincón 1044, CABA	Corriente Federal de Trabajadores	
17.30-20.00	Discussions about the future of work and union organization. Experiences of Amazon (Germany) and Platform Workers in Argentina	Office Fundación Rosa Luxemburgo, Santos Dumont 3721, CABA	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation	Patricia Lizarraga (FRL): 15 3010 0301
17.00	March for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women	Plaza de los dos Congresos		
19.30	"Closing of the Museum of Neo-extractivism" - Toast among the work and investigative projects of Julia Mensch, Dana prieto and the OPSUR, with maps from Iconoclasista and photos of Alexis Vichich and Martín Barzilai - Concept and Instalations in charge of Etcétera	FM La Tribu, Lambaré 873		

Tuesday, 27 of November

Hour	Activity	Location	Organizations	Contact
9.00-13.00	Meeting of Networks and Social Platforms in face of the G20 "Social struggles and the political moment which is living Latin America"	Hotel Metropolitano Supara, México 1569, CABA	Latindaad, Asamblea Argentina Mejor sin TLC	Carlos Bedoya (Latindaad): 0051 976 777 322
9.30-19.00	School of Feminist Economics - Narratives and Resistance to Financial Capitalism and Corporate Power	Hotel Bauen, Callao 360, CABA	Network of feminist activists from the Global South - DAWN	Flora Partenio (DAWN): +54911 5733 0564
9.30-14.30	"International Seminar: world in convulsion: financial, political and technological turbulence. A feminist perspective."	Sala Jacobo Lacs - Centro Cultural de la Cooperación. CCC: Av. Corrientes 1543, CABA	Red de Género y Comercio	Mariana Iturriza (Red de Genero y Comercio): 15 4563 7709
17.00	Act "No G20" #Fuera FMI	Estadio Atlanta, Humboldt 390 CABA		Marina Cardelli (Seamos Libres): 15 5148 6016
17.00-20.00	Talk - G20, platform work and union struggle. Experiences of organization and resistance	Centro Cultural Olga Vázquez, Av. 60 entre 10 y 11, Ciudad de la Plata	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, La Fragua (FPDS-CN in the Movimiento de los Pueblos, and the radio programme "Esperando el Derrame" on Radionauta 106.3	Patricia Lizarraga (FRL): 15 3010 0301
17.00	Workshop on and Exchange of Seeds and Plants	Faculty of Medicine of the UBA, Central Hall, Paraguay 2155, CABA,	Multisectorial contra la ley de semillas Monsanto-Bayer en Argentina	Leonardo Moreno (Espacio Territorial Rio Bravo): 15 6303 2205
17.30 - 19.30	Public Launch of the Platform "Latin America better without FTAs"	Salón Auditorio - Senado de la Nación Argentina. Edificio anexo. Av. Hipólito Yrigoyen 1851, 5to Piso, CABA	Plataforma Argentina Mejor sin TLC	Luciana Ghiotto (ATTAC Argentina): 15 4023 9677
18.00	How the G20 affects our neighborhoods	Casa Azucena Villaflor, Patria Grande Comuna 4, Santa Cruz 64, CABA	Vamos Comuna 4	Dario Farcy (Democracia Socialista): 15 5021 7081
18.00-20.00	In the framework of the First Latinamerican Meeting of Lawyers in defense of the right of Nutrition and Food Sovereignty - Debate: "The right to Nutrition and Food: a threatened right in Latin America"	Faculty of Law of the UBA, Av. Figueroa Alcorta 2263, SUM of the Institute Gioja, CABA	FIAN Internacional, CELS, Museo del Hambre, MNCI, DSPP	Marcos Filardi (CALISA): 15 4054 4317
18.30	Presentation of the book "Welcome Mr. President - from Roosevelt to Trump: Visits of American Presidents to Argentina"	Café Cultural Caras y Caretas. Venezuela 330, CABA	Página/12, Editorial Octubre, CLACSO	Leandro Morgenfeld: 15 6265 8771

PEOPLES' SUMMIT

Wednesday, 28 of November

All activities take place at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires, Santiago del Estero 1029, CABA (unless it is indicated otherwise)

Hour	Activity	Location	Organizations	Contact
	Artistic Intervention of "MirkoRupto"			
10.00-12.00	Launch of the Campaign: Our Body, Our Territory – Discussion on the processes of capitalist expropriation, criminalization and threats to defenders of the rights of women and LGBTQI+ people in this context.	SG 06	Feminist Forum against G20	Patricia Latorra (SEC): +54911 4937 3400 Carolina Balderrama: +54911 5040 3055 Paula Satta: +54 221 671 8517
10.00-12.00	"The G-20 and transnational corporations: tax injustice, investment without rules, illegitimate debts and free trade"	SG 05	Latindaad	Carlos Bedoya (Latindaad): 0051 976 777 322
10.00-19.00	Forum " The Commons and Sovereignty: context, resistances and alternatives" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 1 - 10.00 - 12.30 Extractivist Context and Militarization: looting, pollution, repression, economic and territorial concentration and climate change • Table 2: 13.30 - 16.00 Resistance and self-determination of the Peoples • Table 3 - 16.30 - 19.00 Systemic Alternatives and Proposals 	SG 08	Multisectorial Antiextractivista	Vanessa Dourado (Asamblea No al G20): +549113564 8839 Marta Music: +33 6 84664102 or 15 27910191

11.00-13.00	Palestine and Human Rights and book presentation: Israeli Militarism in Latin America.	SG 04	Comité Argentino de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Palestino	Javier Román (Comité Argentino de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Palestino): 15 5610 9632 Germán Romano (Comité Argentino de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Palestino): 15 3215 4718
14.00-16.00	Discussion on Digital Economy: Is a Feminist revolution possible in times of 4.0?	SG 105	Feminist Forum against G20	Patricia Laterra (SEC): +54911 4937 3400 Carolina Balderrama: +54911 5040 3055 Paula Satta: +54 221 671 8517
14.00-16.00	Workshop "The ideological and communicational battle"	SG 107	ALBA Movements	Secretaria del ALBA: 15 3294 8521
14.00-16.00	Workshop "Current Affairs in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean" - with the presence of comrades from Cuba, El Salvador, Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras	SG110	ALBA Movements	Secretaria del ALBA: 15 3294 8521
15.00-17.00	The reality of women's lives: the experience of the 33 Women's Meetings of Argentina	SG 108	PTP, PCR	Lucila Edelmann (PCR)
15.00-18.00	Youth Forum: Experiences of popular organization in the face of state violence. Policies of childhood and youth in times of the IMF	SG 07	Articulación Juventud en Lucha: Juventud del MTE, Juventud Rebelde/ Patria Grande, Agite Rebelion/FPDS, La emergente/ Cienfuegos/ OLP Simón Bolívar, Democracia Socialista, MP La dignidad/ Emergentes/ Frente Juvenil Hagamos lo Imposible	Silvana Broggi (Patria Grande): 221 552 5369
15.00-19.00	Workshop "Los workers in the face of the G20 and the IMF"	SG 106	Encuentro Sindical Nuestra América (ESNA)	Adrian Ruiz (FJA): 15 6003 8677
15.30-17.30	Conversation - The Future of Work. Platform Economy and Union Organization	SG 109	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation	Patricia Lizarraga (FRL): 15 3010 0301
16.00-19.00	Forum - "For the Argentine People Health: organizing the resistance to Neoliberalism"	SG 113	GEP Foundation	Julia Varela (GEP): +54 221 304 7311
16.00-18.00	"Situation of Nuestra America and popular alternatives ": Discussion with comrades from the member countries of Alba Movimientos	SG 107	ALBA Movements	Secretaria del ALBA: 15 3294 8521
16.00-18.00	Workshop: "The International Trade Union Network and the construction of independent trade unionism"	SG111	Trade Union Solidaires of France, CSP-Conlutas, PSTU	Ricardo García: 15 4189 2154
16.00-20.00	Talk - "The situation and potential of the self-managed and popular economy in the current situation and facing the elections next year"	SG112	FEDECABA	Dario Farcy (Democracia Socialista, Fedecaba): 15 5021 7081
17.00-20.00	Forum of Urban Reform	SG110	Observatory of the Right to the City	Jonatan Baldiviezo (Observatorio del Derecho a la Ciudad): 15 3266 7008
18.00-20.00	The present of work, the defense of the Shipyard and national production against the attempts of the government to destroy it	SG 107	Workers of the Shipyard Rio Santiago	
18.00-22.00	"The challenges of committed Christians against the advance of the fundamentalist right in the region" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18:00 hs Presentation of the documentary "Gender under attack" 19:30 hs Debate: "The challenges of committed Christians against the advance of the fundamentalist right in the region" 21:30 hs Celebration of the christian struggles and resistances against Imperialism and Capitalism in our America. 	Centro de estudios y Formación Marxista (CEFMA), Callao 274, CABA	Comisión Política de la Iglesia "Dimensión de Fe", Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir, Cristian@sDeBase, Colectivo de Teología de la Liberación "Pichi Meisegeier", Claretianos de América, Comunidades Eclesiales de Base (CEBs), Red de Fe y Política Sponsored by: Centro de Estudios y Formación Marxista "Héctor P. Agosti"	Pablo Herrero Garisto: 1564880033
18.00-20.00	Education in Argentina and Latin America in times of Neoliberalism	SG 108	Secretariat of Culture, CTA Autónoma	Marina Ampudia (CTA A): 15 6916 8060
18.00-20.00	Workshop – "Common Goods and the Eco-Socialist Project"	SG 109	MST, Anticapitalistas en Red	Mariano Rosa (MST): 15 6815 5615
18.00-20.00	Projection of a Documentary: "The Argentinian Illusion – from the Third to the First World? + Debate "The road to a just world order" with Eduardo de la Serna and Luis Mattini	SG 105	Gaby Weber	
19.00-21.00	Forum of Human Rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Criminalization •Militarization •Politics against migrants 	SG 113	Encuentro Memoria Verdad y Justicia	Pablo (CORREPI): 15 4960 2327

Thursday, 29 of November
Plaza de los dos Congresos, Calles Entre Ríos y Rivadavia, CABA (unless it is indicated otherwise)

Hour	Activity	Location	Organizations	Contact
10.00-19.00	<u>Thematic Talks in the Common Tent of the Confluencia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10.00-12.30 - How do we stop the progress of the Right in our region 13.00-15.30 Resistance to G20 and the IMF 16.00-18.30 Enough adjustment! - G20 and IMF OUT! 		Confluencia Fuera G20 FMI	
10.00-18.00	Fair of the Social, Solidarity and Popular Economy		UTT, CTEP, MNCI, Barrios de Pie/Libres de Sur, Feminist Fair	
	<u>Artistic interventions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Instalation of the Box specific site" of Nicolás Rodríguez "Trumpete". Action of disobedience, SOS "MirkoRupto" The flagstorm - the Creature (La Criatura) called on more than 50 artists and local and international groups to create flags with messages for the Leaders of the G20 Intervention Counterpublicity of the Proyecto Squatters Interventions in the public space of Alaacionista 			
10.00-13.00	<u>Tent of the Forum for Food Sovereignty - The G20 and the Future of Food"</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impacts of the agribusiness model Land, territory and agua Agroecology (Seeds, biodiversity and knowledge) 		Chair of Food Sovereignty, organizations of farmers and land workers	Marcos Filardi (CALISA): 15 4054 4317
10.00-19.00	<u>Tent of the Feminist Forum</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10.00 - Debate: international feminists in face of the G20 13.00 - Popular, Ethic, antiracists and feminist Tribunal on the policies of the G20 16:45 - Popular, Feminist and Internationalist Assembly in face of the policies of the G20 		Feminist Forum against G20	Patricia Lateral (SEC): 15 4937 3400 Carolina Balderrama: 15 5040 3055 Paula Satta: 221 671 8517
10.00-19.00	<u>Tent of Barrios de Pie/Libres del Sur - International Seminar "In the face of the Adjustment of the G20 and the IMF. Social struggles and political alternatives</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10.00 - Panel. Of the Universal Right to Health for the Peoples 12.00 - Three decades of adjustment and structural poverty 14.00 - The Public and Free Education at Risk. Educational experiences with Popular Participation. 16.00 - Social Struggles and political alternatives in Argentina and the Southern Cone 		Libres del Sur/Barrios de Pie	Isaac Rudnik (Barrios de Pie/ Libres del Sur) - 15 4188 2603
10.00-19.00	Tent of the Forum on Migration without G20 and IMF		Migrants in Argentina	Natividad Obeso (Amumra): 15 5604 3412
10.00-19.00	<u>Tent of the GPS - Forum on Popular Sovereignty Gacebo de GPS - Foro Por la Soberanía Popular</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democratic Globalization (Popular Sovereignty) vs. Imposed Globalization (Imperial) Argentine and Latinamerican Political, Economic, Food and Cultural Sovereignty The woman in the fight for the Malvinas, the fight for gender equality and their rights in a territorial integral Argentina Recovery of our Natural Resources and our Common Goods Regional Integration in Latin America and the the Argentine Sovereignty in the South Atlantic The Ecological balance in the Atlantic South and the Antartica and related issues 		GPS –Group for Sovereignty, ex combatants at the Malvinas War and other compatriots	Hector Francia (GPS): 15 6160 3669
11.00-19.00	<u>Tent of the MST</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12.00 - Nicaragua: Rebellion against the dictatorship of Ortega-Murillo 14.00 - Brazil: International Solidarity against Fascism 16.00 - Anticapitalist and Internationalist Feminism 		MST, Anticapitalistas en Red	Guillermo Pacagnini: 15 6815 0137

11.00 - 19.00	<u>Tent for the freedom of Daniel Ruiz</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17.00- Discussion on the Campaign for the freedom of Daniel Ruiz and all political prisoners Round Table "Brazil and Bolsonaro" 		PSTU, CSP Conlutas	Ricardo García (PSTU): 15 4189 2154
14.30-19.00	"FIRESUMMIT" - Intervention of Fin de un Mundo	to be confirmed	Fin de un mundo	
15.00-18.00	<u>Tents of neighbourhood organizations</u> Forum of Urban Conflicts for the Right to the City			Jonatan Baldiviezo (Observatorio del Derecho a la Ciudad): 15 3266 7008
15.30-16.00	Accompanying the Mother of the May Square (Madres de la Plaza de Mayo - Línea Fundadora) in their weekly round for Truth and Justice	Plaza de Mayo, CABA		
16.00-18.00	Workshop on Internationalism, with comrades from the member countries of Alba Movimientos	Casa de la Amistad Argentino Cubana, Adolfo Alsina 1744, CABA	ALBA Movimientos	Secretaria del ALBA: 15 3294 8521
17.30	"G-20 crisis of Imperialism, rise of neo-fascism and the change of state of mind of the masses "	ATE Nacional, Av. Belgrano 2527, CABA	CTA-CABA Independencia 766, CABA	Pascual Duarte (ILPS - ARG): turkisman88@gmail.com
19.00	Closing Act – Reading of Declaration		Confluencia Fuera G20 FMI	
20.00 - 23.00	Party of the Peoples		Sudor Marika Kumbia Queers Arbolito Daniel Devita	

National Day of Struggle against the G20 and the IMF Friday, 30 of November

Hour	Activity	Location	Organizations	Contact
15.00	Demonstrations in the entire country	In the Capital we gather at Av. San Juan and 9 de Julio		

In addition, the following meetings of international networks will be held in a closed manner within the framework of the Week of Action:

- Continental Meeting of ALBA Movements
- Meeting of the World Lawyers Network for Food Sovereignty
- Continental Meeting of the Nuestra America Trade Union Meeting (ESNA)
- Meeting of the regional platforms against FTAs
- Workshop "New advance of the investment protection regime in Latin America and the Caribbean"



The government announced on Monday, November 19 that it will be tightening border controls, focusing on the border triangle with Uruguay and Brazil as well as the international airport. They claimed to have “extensive international lists” and that they “will strictly prevent the entry of radical G20 protesters.” In case friends and activists are detained at the airport, the Protest Alliance had set up a round-the-clock legal emergency service.

On Tuesday, the “security junta” chaired by Minister Patricia Bullrich hold a press conference; Bullrich is a machine of repression with an oligarchic family background and also some- decidedly dubious - past association with the Montoneros (more about this later). Everyone expected large security zones and restrictions on freedom of movement, but the scope of what Bullrich announced went beyond the expectations of the assembled capitalist press. The graded security zones covered an area of about 20 square kilometers only in the inner-city area—a tenth of the total area of the capital.

In addition, there were “variable corridors” and closed roads to the international airport 40 km away. Within the dark red security zone, the “Villa 31” is located—the so-called “Villa Miseria”—with its approximately 30,000 residents, which is close to the conference venue. As it appeared, the residents are to be locked in or out of their homes and their neighborhood. They have virtually no lobby at all to advocate for them; on the contrary, they are highly stigmatized.

The square-shaped area below (to the south) in the following city plans was justified as “protection of the Teatro Colon”—where this Friday, the feudal dinner of the heads of state was to take place. However, the theater was not located in the middle of this zone, but close to the upper left edge (15). More than 200,000 inner city residents live in this square, which also houses the political and historical center of the city and the entire country, including the Congress and the Plaza de Mayo. The security zones also included the entire port, the inner-city airport, the city’s main arterial roads including the twenty-two - lane Avenida of July 9, the Retiro Central Station, large parts of the historic Recoleta district, and the expensive new Puerto Madero port quarter.



(15) between the metro line B and the zone border

For the latter two, we are talking about approximately 50,000 more residents who were directly affected by the security around the summit. In addition, there was a smaller control area to the south, near the Plaza Constitución, which could only be explained by a planned “troop site” or by control over the bus station there.

In addition to all these security zones, restrictions on local public transport have been announced, on a scale that had never been implemented before at any previous summit. The entire regional rail network and the metro (“Subte”) network will be completely shut down during the G20. This practically pulls the plug on mobility in the city.

The same was true for all shipping traffic on the Rio de la Plata, the river that separates the neighboring cities of the metropolitan region and Montevideo in Uruguay from Buenos Aires. On the other hand, some buses within Buenos Aires “may still run.”

All this was hard to swallow for city residents who have only experienced such conditions during general strikes. This time, however, the aim of the intervention is not a social concern—and certainly not “guaranteeing the safety of the summit”—but rather, cutting off or inhibiting the flow of protest towards the center. In the city center, only police and politicians should move freely. Everyone else—the inconvenient others—should leave for the countryside or stay locked inside their homes.

The map published in the city's largest daily newspaper (“Clarín”) shows the conference venue (Costa Salguero), the various security zones, as well as blocked main traffic arteries (in red). The legend describes in detail the interruptions in public transport and the closure of the inner-city airport.

Las áreas afectadas

TRANSPORTES



COLECTIVOS

Restringidos. Desde las 21.00 del Jueves 29/11 hasta las 00.00 del Domingo 2/12.
Entre Independencia, Entre Ríos/Callao, Las Heras, Sarmiento, Figueroa Alcorta y La Pampa.



TRENES

Sin servicio.
Viernes 30/11 y Sábado 1/12.



SUBTES

LÍNEA B Y LÍNEA H

Servicio reducido. Desde las 15.00 hasta las 23.59 del jueves 29/11.

TODAS : A, B, C, D, E, H Y PREMETRO

Sin servicio.
Viernes 30/11 y Sábado 1/12.



METROBUS

DEL BAJO

Cortado. Desde las 15.00 del 29/11 hasta las 22.00 del Sábado 1/12. Incluye el cierre de la Terminal de Combis Madero.

9 DE JULIO

Cortado. Desde las 21.00 del 29/11 hasta las 22.00 del 1/12. Incluye el cierre de la Terminal de Combis Obelisco.

25 DE MAYO

Cortado. Desde las 5.00 del Jueves 29/11 hasta las 00.00 Viernes 30/11.



AEROPARQUE

Reservado para uso exclusivo de las comitivas oficiales. Desde las 15.00 del jueves 29 de noviembre hasta las 22.00 del sábado 1 de diciembre.



On Wednesday, the widely read national online newspaper *Infobae* published an article about the multilingual book *To Our Compas in Buenos Aires* written by activists from Hamburg and Paris. *Infobae* is considered to be close to the reigning government; it is often cited by the German Foreign Office as a “serious source.” The lengthy article was titled “Take Care Compas (16)—*The Handbook of International Protest that the Government is Studying ahead of the G20.*”

First, the text briefly presented the concerns of the Argentine government, highlighting the alleged threat posed by international opponents of globalization. After that, however, the article quoted the book at great length in a fairly unbiased manner. For example, the book description appeared unabridged and passages referring to the forthcoming summit in Buenos Aires were highlighted. The text was framed as a kind of “guide to protest,” though this is already refuted by the quotations (17).

International Protests?

Surprisingly, on the same day, the short call for a demonstration in Hamburg to show solidarity with the protests in Buenos Aires, translated into Spanish, appeared on the front of the local protest website in Buenos Aires (18). It was foreseeable that only very few activists from Europe or North America will come to Buenos Aires, and not only because of the announced border controls. The flights are expensive and harmful to the environment, police repression was expected to be intense, and the conditions strange.

The alliance “Confluencia” expected more likely activists from neighboring countries. In view of limited resources and the long distances, however, even within South America, travelling to protests in neighboring countries is by no means standard. Now, the Argentine government had added the offensively announced border closure. The national government and international security management were doing everything they could to minimize the number of participants from the outside.



(16) In the article the closing greeting of the book was turned into the title. Thus the text could also be understood as “Warning to Caution”

(17) Article: <https://www.infobae.com/politica/2018/11/21/cuidense-compas-el-manual-de-protesta-internacional-que-estudia-el-gobierno-de-cara-al-g-20/> the book itself: <https://crimethinc.com/2018/09/28/to-our-compas-in-buenos-aires-a-full-retrospective-on-the-2017-g20-protests-in-hamburg>

(18) <https://noalg20.org/solidaridad-internacional-con-las-protestas-encontra-la-cumbre-del-g20-en-buenos-aires/>

So This was the headline of the progressive, left-leaning daily newspaper *Página 12*. Rodolfo Orellana, 36 years old, of Bolivian origin and father of five children, is dead, most likely murdered by the police. What happened? In the early morning, between 100 and 200 residents attempted to occupy a vacant site in the huge suburb of Matanza. In fact, the owner had already signed a far-reaching temporary use agreement with the local neighborhood association, in which Rodolfo Orellana was also active. This agreement document had been pushed from office to office for a long time in order to take effect legally.

Despite this legal grey zone, the police immediately arrived at the occupation in full gear and shot numerous rubber bullets, but also apparently lethal ammunition, directly at the defensively acting “occupants”. A video (19) shows Rodolfo Orellana, likely after his death.

As became known later during the autopsy, he died because of live ammunition entering his shoulder. Based on the exit wound on his nose, the shot must have hit him when he was in a stooped posture, either standing or squatting with his back to the murderer. Police maintain that neither the bullet nor the shell were found and even the used caliber could not be determined allegedly with the autopsy. The police deny the use of firearms, alleging that there were hostilities between Bolivian and Paraguayan groups within the occupiers.

Since the bloody political unrest of 2002, it is forbidden for the police in Argentina to carry firearms during demonstrations—and even more so to use them. But it is absurd to imagine that now, during a brutal evacuation, the demonstrators would have shot each other under the eyes of the police. There were four more arrests, including a mother who was “allowed” after a long wrangling to have her baby in the police cell for a short time every three hours to breastfeed.



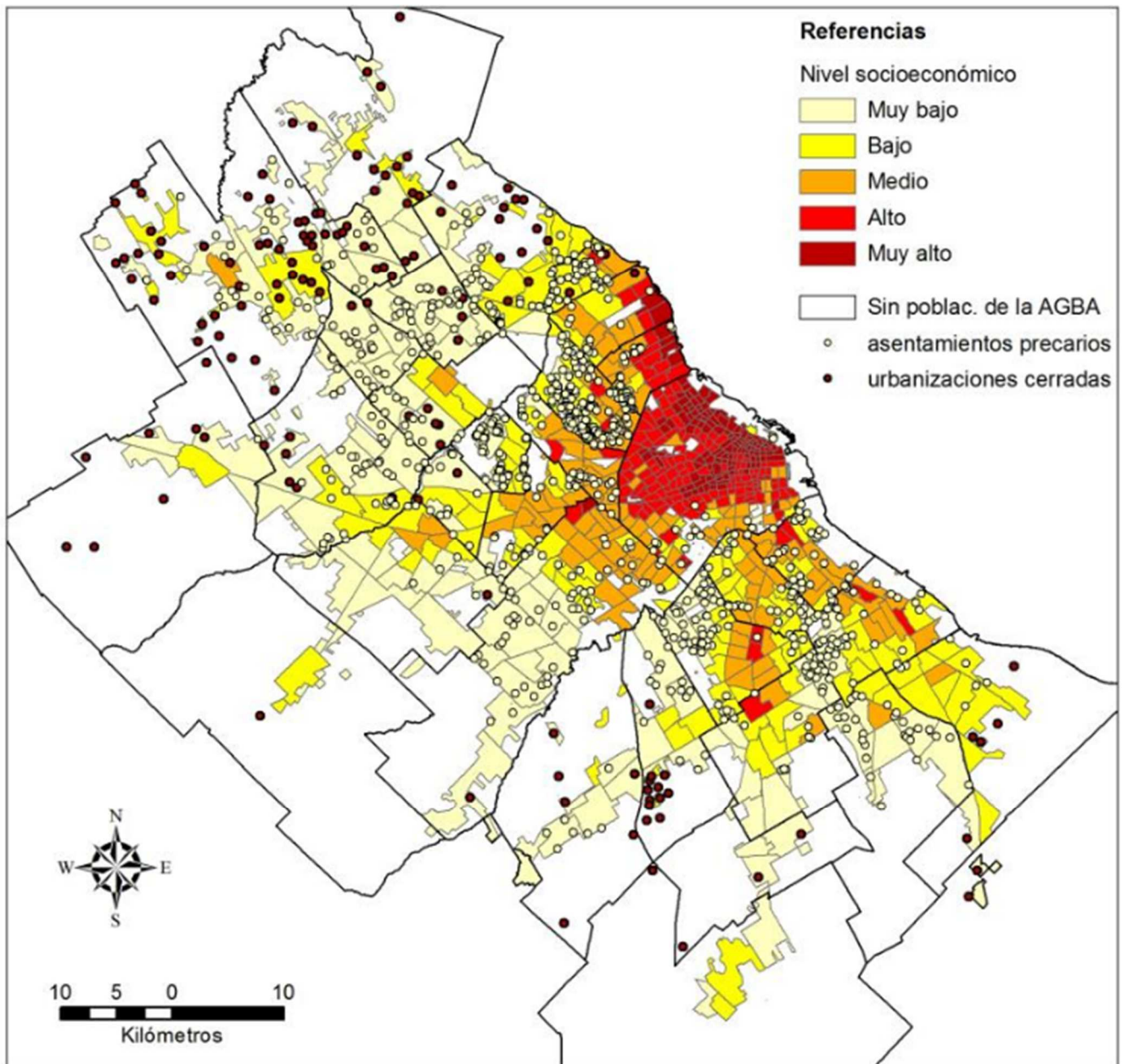
(19) <https://youtu.be/h2rdwRDN8JI>

Housing Shortage in the Periphery

Officially, the city of Buenos Aires covers only 203 km² with 2.9 million inhabitants; by contrast, Berlin covers 891 km² with 3.6 million. However, there are officially almost 14 million inhabitants in the immediate metropolitan area. In the periphery there are also some isolated “islands for the rich” and areas with a mixed character, but by and large, the “outskirts” range from poor to extremely poor districts with informal settlements. The social and cultural contrast to the official “capital” is dramatic, even if often in fluent transition.

The “suburb” Matanza (20) hosts 1.8 million inhabitants—as many as the city of Hamburg. There are also numerous “villas,” places with improvised and often precarious buildings. The housing shortage is most clearly visible in these shantytowns and their surroundings. Migrants from neighboring countries mostly live in highly crowded and often inhumane conditions. Empty spaces are sometimes squatted in an act of self-defense to at least gain a little more space. In addition, people organize their everyday lives via a widespread “economía popular”. Rodolfo Orellana was an activist there.

The map shows the income situation in the greater Buenos Aires area - from “very high” (dark red) in the centre to “very low” (light pink) on the outskirts, where many (white) areas are not even registered. The bright dots locate precarious settlements - so-called “villas”. The dark dots are guarded and closed - mostly surrounded by walls - residential complexes for the rich or at least those with a higher income.



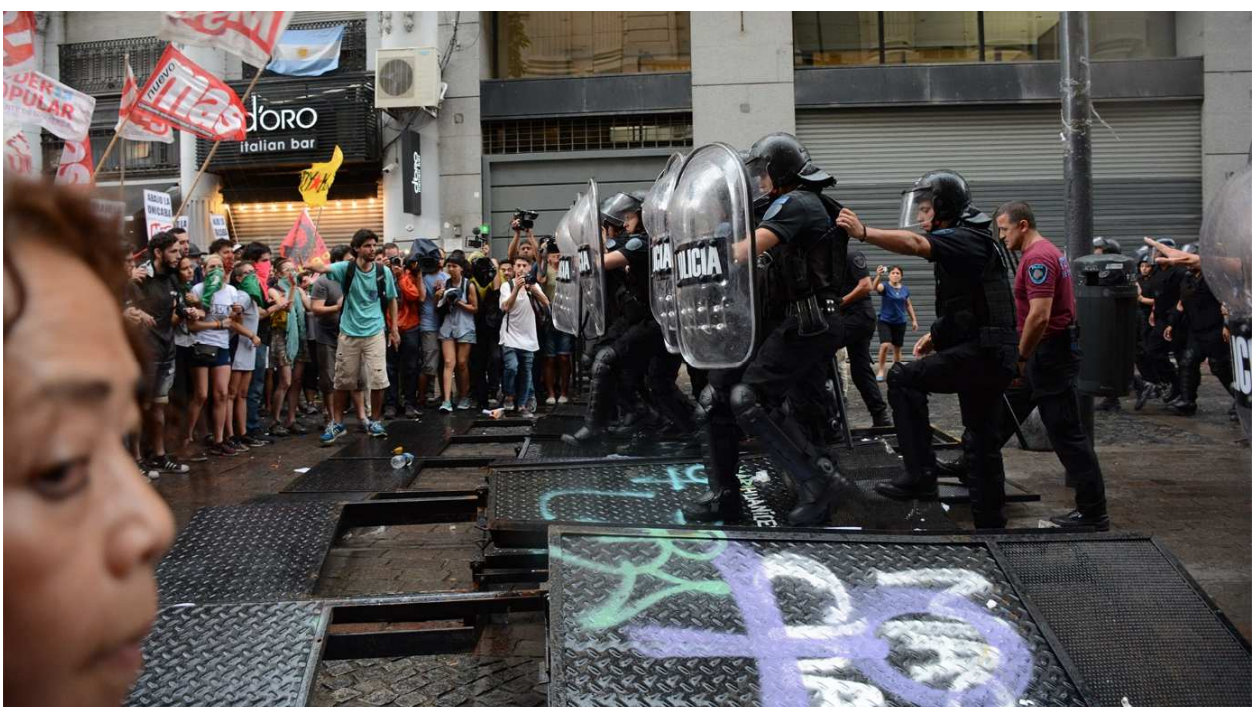
(20) In English, “slaughter” or “bloodbath”



All week long, there had been protests against a change in the lecturer-training system, which is now to be centralized and controlled by the government. Within this framework, 29 existing institutes are to be closed and merged into one; in addition, the previous independence of the lecturer committees is to be virtually abolished. In the future, a government-appointed rector will govern directly the “UniCABA” (21) and whose instructions must be implemented 1:1.

On top of that, dozens of allegedly “useless” professorships are to be cancelled without replacement.

The comparatively liberal, independent university system had long been a thorn in the side of the Macri government, which was why the state began to tackle the structural conversion of UniCABA a year ago. There have been massive protests in response—this was about nothing less than the independence of the universities.



(21) Universidad de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires

In June, the recalcitrant lecturers were at the front of the queue when state employees were deprived of their wages for months as a result of empty state treasuries. There were strikes; the students showed solidarity with the lecturers, but Macri remained hard. The final legislation passed in the city parliament of Buenos Aires, in which Macri's conservative electoral alliance currently holds a majority. In anticipation, the police had cleared some protest tents on the forecourt and sealed off the street in front of the city parliament with the usual steel barriers on both sides; they also mobilized a massive number of riot police and a water cannon. Clashes erupted, people knocked down barriers, police shot tear gas and attacked the demonstrators with their truncheons. Even some left-wing members of parliament who came out of the meeting on the street were physically harassed. Finally, about 1500 students marched through the city center in a loud demonstration.

The University of Buenos Aires

With over 300,000 resident students, Buenos Aires has the most students of any city in Latin America. Since Peron's time, the Argentine education system has been much more accessible and, above all, more affordable than anywhere else on the continent, as it is still public and free of charge.

That is why so many people from poorer backgrounds have converged here to study. Yet in order to be able to afford accommodation and livelihood in this comparatively expensive city, the majority of students have to work to pay their way through school, often taking several badly paid jobs at once. This is why all the faculties also offer lectures and seminars in the evening hours. Often, the students simply fall asleep exhausted.

The university can pride itself on its academic past: five of its graduates have been awarded a Nobel Prize, including two Nobel Peace Prizes. In the 1960s and 1970s, the universities were hotbeds of revolution and upheaval; Che Guevara, among others, studied medicine here. In the 1980s, however, the military dictatorship brutally "cleaned up" the universities, murdering thousands of student activists. After that, in the 1990s and especially after the left wing progressive Peronist Nestor Kirchner was elected president in 2003, things improved a bit again. The "rollback" has come under Macri. Already today, there are dramatic disparities between the faculties. While, for example, the law faculty is well funded behind its monstrous façade, the social sciences are falling apart—it is not easy to find a functioning toilet there, and most buildings are dilapidated or even ready for demolition.



The so-called “World Forum of Critical Thinking” organized by CLACSO (22) lasted for one week. Many people, including well-known politicians, appeared at the forum, including ex-presidents Ernesto Samper (Colombia), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), and José Mujica (Uruguay), not to mention Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, former mayor of Bogotá Gustavo Pedro, and Pablo Iglesias of the Spanish party Podemos, just to name a few.

Former president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner (23), a Peronist, opened the event with her first major public appearance in almost a year. This took place in the big hall of the railway workers sports club. Her core statement was that, in view of the advance of neoliberalism and authoritarianism in large parts of Latin America, all those affected must now stand together - *“old categories” such as the division into “left or right”, or the distinction between “all those who pray to those who do not”, will not help anymore.* Her headline: *“Splits are a luxury we can no longer afford.”*

The numerous workshops, lectures, films, and cultural events throughout the week were characterized by diversity and internationalism. A total of 25,000 people were said to have attended this “World Forum”, which was also open, including many attendees from neighboring countries, many of whom were representatives from various political parties, universities, and social organizations. By and large, it appears that at least the majority of them left after the Forum rather than remaining in Buenos Aires until the G20.

The organizers emphasized that this was not, as the press often claimed, a kind of “counter summit,” but rather a “forward-looking think-tank for solutions to the urgent questions about the future.” Similarly, the Forum’s spokespersons avoided publicly calling for decisive protest against the upcoming summit, while often sharply criticizing the policies of the G20 and above all the IMF.



At the front: Dilma Rousseff, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner José Mujica

(22) Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (Lateinamerikanische Rat für Sozialwissenschaften)

(23) See also Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cristina_Fern%C3%A1ndez_de_Kirchner

On Friday, the Trotskyist MST (24) organized a rally announced as an "acto" with about 800 participants in front of the Congress, the whole thing already within the frame of the anti-G20 protests. Speakers sharply criticized the protagonists of CLACSO: *"Bolsonaro, Macri, and the right did not come out of no-where... the right won because people were disappointed with the kind of left who presented themselves as an alternative at the Forum of Critical Thinking"*.

They also took aim at the Peronists, who did not call for protests against the G20 "because of electoral calculations" or, in the view of the MST speakers, only inconsistently. The same scheme also applies to the FIT (25), a competing party alliance from the Trotskyist camp (26).

It is not particularly surprising that the MST were on their own at their event and the rally was not even mentioned in the media. At the same time, they took a clear position regarding the impending G20 summit:

"In a few days, the members of the G20 summit will arrive. This meeting does not bring any advantages for the people here—instead, they try to intimidate the population. There will be no planes, no trains, no subways, and no buses. They will do everything they can to prevent the protests, but there will be protests anyway." And further, to great applause: *"Macri has asked us to leave the city. But they are the ones who should disappear from the city: the G20, the IMF, Macri, Bullrich, and the whole police apparatus."*

...Nothing like this was heard at CLACSO.



(24) *Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores*, Socialist Workers' Movement – see also 14.11.

(25) *Frente de la Izquierda y Trabajadores*, (Left Workers' Front)

(26) Leon Trotsky https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leon_Trotsky One reason for Trotsky's comparatively high popularity in Latin America is probably his period of exile in Mexico.

It is the “mother of all battles” in the Argentine football, the city match between River Plate and Boca Juniors—shortened to “River – Boca”. This time, the “Superclasico” was even a “historic” one, namely the first time the bitter city rivals met in the finals of the “Copa Libertadores,” the South American counterpart of the Champions League in Europe. Unlike in Europe, the final is played with both legs. Both matches sold out immediately at the opening of the advance sale; only a few especially expensive tickets reached the market, because the members of both clubs exercised their right to first dibs.

Stadium visits for away fans have been generally prohibited in Argentina since 2013. Since 1927, statisticians counted 279 deaths due to violence with a “football background”, so every year about three (27). Macri, who as president of Boca Juniors became a public figure and then later a politician, wanted to propose something popular for a change, so he talked about allowing away fans this time: “We and our football are adult enough for that now and should show it to the world.” Both clubs, the associations, and the police rejected the proposal on account of security concerns. On the contrary, even post-game victory celebrations in the street were banned.

The complications with the current Clásico started at the end of October, when both matches were pushed forward one week so that the return match would not take place on December 1 as originally planned—i.e., during the G20—a comprehensible albeit rather late decision. The first round at Boca was rescheduled for Saturday, November 10. The Boca fans entered their stadium despite heavy rain, which had already lasted for two days.

When the fans had already filled up the stadium, the game was postponed after heated discussions—first for one hour and finally to the following day.

The pitch had become a huge lake, simply unplayable. Then it was covered with a tarpaulin—an idea that could have been implemented before. The match took place on Sunday, November 11, ending in a 2:2 draw. Achieving a draw in an away game means a small advantage for River, especially as they played a bit better (28). However, the away goals rule (29) does not exist here.

A week before the return match, tension continued to mount in the city, with the media fanning the flames. None of the numerous Argentine football legends missed the opportunity to comment, including one “analysis” to the effect that “the loser will need 20 years afterwards to recover.” Two days before the return match, Boca fans managed to earn an entry in the Guinness Book of Records: over 50,000 people come to the public final training in the Bombonera Stadium of Boca. Many fans cried; some stormed onto the pitch at the end to embrace the players, who were touched. The security service kept to the background—after all, “a real emotion is always associated with some transgression of the rules.”

Fan clubs in Argentina are often extremely violent and organized in a Mafioso manner, and some of them have strong political connections. The leader of the “*Borrachos del Tablón*” (30), the most notorious of the “Barra Brava” (31) - grouping around River Plate, received a visit from the authorities the day before the game. Police accompanied by a public prosecutor searched an apartment belonging to Héctor Godoy, also called *Caverna* (“the Grotto”), which is located close to the stadium. During the search, they confiscated 300 tickets and 7 million pesos (approximately 185,000 \$) in cash; *Caverna* remains at large. The tickets are said to have been issued individually to members of River, but there was also speculation about possible forgery. Black market tickets are anyhow a “core business” of the Barras Bravas.

(27) In comparison: According to official statistics, Argentina suffers from more than 250 femicides every year, i.e. murders of women such as a result of domestic or relationship violence.

(28) <https://youtu.be/6jG9ErmpYNO>

(29) In Europe, goals scored away from home are counted twice in the case of a draw in the addition after two matches

(30) “drunks in a frenzy”

(31) Mafia-like organized, sometimes extremely violent “fan clubs”, often with good political connections

The Boca team spent the night before the historic *Superclasico* in a 5-star hotel in the new noble district of Puerto Madero. As they set off by bus in the direction of the “Monumental” (32), several thousand fans bid them farewell. The bus left with some delay, escorted through the city by a large motorcycle squadron, just like during a state visit.

At the same time, the River fans were already let into the stadium. However, about 20,000 were ticketless, waiting in front of the stadium in hopes of an opportunity to get in somehow. There were black market deals and numerous robberies; in addition, groups of 100 to 200 attempted to overcome the entrance controls by force. The 2000 police officers deployed had their hands full dealing with the situation.

Meanwhile, the Boca bus and its escort were approaching. Shortly before the stadium, they drove towards a bend where about 1500 River fans waited behind a loose police chain. When the bus turned into the curve and slowed down, the crowd threw bottles and stones, breaking several windows of the bus. The police deployed tear gas grenades, but the River fans threw some of them back toward the bus.

The driver and several Boca players were seriously injured by shards of glass. Their captain, Pablo Perez, had to go to the hospital with cuts close to his eye; other players, like star Carlos Tévez, breathed a lot of tear gas and then were running dazed past the cameras and through the stadium aisles (33). The stadium was fully occupied meanwhile and the game was scheduled to begin in half an hour, at 5 pm.

But the chaos continued in front of the stadium, while one tumultuous crisis meeting in the catacombs followed another. FIFA President Infantino was directly involved. The game was initially pushed by an hour and a quarter to 6:15 pm. The players warmed up on the field and the fans celebrated their stadium-wide choreography. Then Boca captain Perez returned back from the hospital with his eyes bandaged and Tévez said on television that the team would not be able to play under those circumstances.

In the end, the game was delayed to the next day, Sunday at 5 pm. The River fans left the stadium and went home frustrated. Sunday, at 1 pm, the game was postponed for an indefinite period. Rivers President Rodolfo D’Onofrio stressed that the match will definitely take place in his own stadium and with an audience.



(32) The 67,000-seat stadium of the River Plate

(33) <https://youtu.be/eFiErCOBveE>

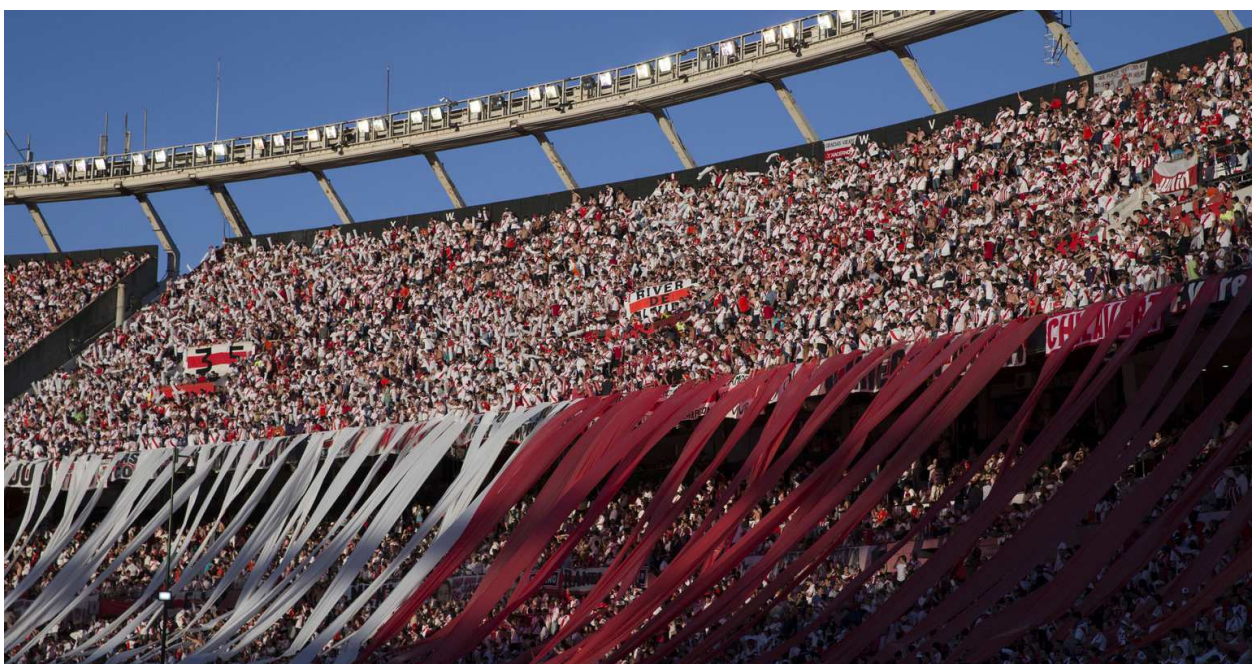


Boca's president, Daniel Angelici—a friend of Macri and Mayor Larreta—demanded a thorough investigation of the incident and later requested that the match and the Copa should be scored for Boca at the green table. The South American football association "Commebol" has now moved the match to December 8 or 9, to take place abroad, in another country.

The Senator for Justice and Security of Buenos Aires, Martín Ocampo, was forced to resign because of the incidents—just a few days before the G20. In any case, he was only in the second row of summit security; Patricia Bullrich holds the scepter. She explained dryly that everything will go better than it would have if the match were still scheduled to take place during the summit (34).

In the subsequent discussions, there were many rumors about how the chaos at the football match could happen. But first and foremost, the domestic and foreign media have raised the concern: *"If they can't even manage a football match, what will happen at the G20?"* One can vividly imagine, for example, that the US security sector has lost trust in the transfer convoys organized by the Argentine police—if that trust ever existed at all. The Argentine security forces were now under enormous additional pressure not to allow anything comparable during the summit. In this respect, the riots at the Clásico presumably could serve as a "green card" for violent aggression involving a total of 27,000 security forces.

The Barra Brava boss *Caverna*, on the other hand, was still at large, making public statements in audio messages via WhatsApp.



(34) In the end, the game was even transferred to Madrid; River Plate won 3-1 after extra time.



Two demonstrations on the same horrible topic began at 11 A.M. They were in regards to activists shot by the police. 16 years ago, Darío Santillán and Maximiliano Kosteki, at that time 21 and 23 years old, were murdered by a police bullet in the back while attending protests against the disastrous economic situation. Since then, on the 26th of every month, their relatives, among others, have held demonstrations demanding that the responsible be punished.

The second demonstration started only 500 meters away from the first with approximately 10,000 people in attendance. A particularly high proportion of the demonstrators were women and people with indigenous roots, the majority of whom were presumably originally from Bolivia, Peru, or Paraguay. It had been originally scheduled as a reaction to the murder of Rodolfo Orellana, committed on Thursday of the previous week. However, now the protest additionally addressed the death of another activist, 32-year-old Marcos Soria. A police bullet hit him in the head when he tried to flee after being beaten brutally—apparently for no reason—by two police officers. Soria’s murder occurred on Saturday in the city of Cordoba, which is about 700 km away from Buenos Aires.

Both men were unarmed, had neither used nor threatened violence, came from extremely poor backgrounds, and were involved in the *Confederación de Trabajadores de la Economía Popular* (CTEP—see description below).

Many began to suspect a connection between the two murders that they were meant to deter activists from protesting against the G20. Almost anything seemed possible. Rumors of “1500 scheduled deaths during the G20” were circulating via dubious audio messages on WhatsApp and Facebook, especially in the socioeconomically precarious districts and suburbs. The government neither rejected nor denied these rumors. The demonstration ended in front of the representations of the provinces of Buenos Aires and of Cordoba.

The third demonstration started at 5 pm, an offshoot of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, which took place the previous day. A few hours prior to the protest, two men had been acquitted of the rape and murder of 16-year-old Lucia despite the overwhelming evidence of their guilt. In reaction to this, people felt enormous anger and perceived powerlessness. Additionally, the demonstration was part of the wider-spread protest against the G20.

The comparatively high participation of men at a feminist demonstration was striking, and their participation was representative of women’s major role in organizing the mobilization against the summit. This pattern of organizing and participation was also reflected in content explanations, events, and the external image of the protest alliance.



The demonstration proceeded without the usual machismo which is commonly expressed in Argentinian protests, and the only outstandingly visible presence of the protest was Nora “Norita” Cortiñas of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Norita, age 88, spoke at all three demonstrations held that day, and called for participation at the demonstration on November 30 against the G20. She explicitly asked listeners to not allow themselves to be intimidated.

CTEP: Confederación de Trabajadores de la Economía Popular

An association of workers in the economy “from below” (i.e. a popular, grassroots movement).

CTEP is a network of some 10,000 active people, many of whom are unemployed or in precarious employment. The network focuses on building its own self-determined counter-economy as well as directly combating hunger and homelessness in the poorer barrios. CTEP also includes many rural cooperatives whose products are distributed directly in the network, and CTEP’s urban structures supply high-quality machines and utensils to networked campesino organizations. Workers laid off by factory closings are increasingly taking over production facilities and organizing themselves within the framework of cooperatives and CTEP. The network is ideologically quite varied, but left-wing oriented.



According to the organizers 50,000 attended the Peronist protest at the Atlético Atlanta stadium. Peronist grassroots organizations and trade unions rallied under the motto “No al G20, Fuera FMI” (“No to G20, IMF Out”) during the week of action against the G20. As had occurred at the “Day of Militant Peronism,” numerous speeches were made against Macri and the IMF. The Peronists saw the upcoming G20 summit as an occasion at which they could air these concerns. The event was dominated by left-wing Peronists, but the political wing of Kirchnerism was also involved, even though former president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, popularly called “Cristina,” did not personally appear.

Many observers saw the rally as a kind of demo substitute for the Peronists because concurrent with the rally, most Peronist organizations hit the brakes on mobilizing for the November 30 anti-G20 demonstration. They justified this by pointing to transportation difficulties and the threat of repression which ordinary party members were not ready for. In addition, there was the issue of the 2019 presidential election, which was a priority for many and for the sake of which it was important to maintain unity within the Peronist movement. Kirchnerism, a political wing of Peronism, does not reject the G20 format in principle, and even took part in it with a certain pride during periods in office.

Dealing with the residents, beginning of barriers

The anti-G20 protest week included numerous discussion events and workshops. One event addressed the special concerns of city residents. However, this event was held relatively far away from the conference venue and the security zones. Compared to the 2017 G20 in Hamburg, the location of the 2018 summit was somewhat more remote.

Moreover, in the only directly adjacent barrio—Villa 31, a so-called “Villa Miseria”—migrants and other disadvantaged populations live at or below the subsistence level. Their day-to-day existence is characterized by struggle and they often live in fear of being deprived of the minimal civil rights remaining to them. In this barrio, the widespread attitude towards the G20 was accordingly passive. Meanwhile, the police began to carry out intensified security checks at the entrances to Villa 31. Residents reported that several documents police described as “incorrect” were confiscated and, in some cases, immediately torn apart.





The situation was different in the large security zone around the Teatro Colón and in the hotel zone. Here, in contrast, an effort was made to explain security restrictions to residents and people working there. The security scheme in Buenos Aires was adapted from the frequently-installed security zone around the congress building (35). Anyone attempting to enter had to prove their identity and provide proof that they were authorized to access a building, such as proof of employment, residence, or a booked hotel bed. Many had expected worse and were preparing accordingly.

Meanwhile, trucks full of steel barrier lattices rolled towards the city center. The government had purchased 15,000 additional pieces—that is, 15 additional kilometers of barrier—that were unloaded and assembled. In some cases, the barriers extended over several kilometers, while in others they functioned only to close off a single road. What made some European observers shudder seemed to be accepted by the majority of city dwellers in a relatively cool manner. The actual construction of the barriers was carried out in the atmosphere of calm routine. There were no reports of spontaneous protests against its construction.



(35) See also page 6

The protest alliance organized a brief morning press conference. It was announced that, after some negotiating, the government would allow the demonstration route to begin at the Avenida 9 de Julio and to pass through the Avenida de Mayo, up to the Congress. For the Confluencia alliance, it was a success to be able to demonstrate on major streets in the city center and end relatively close to the Teatro Colón, the location of the big summit dinner. Previously, security authorities had only offered narrow side streets as potential demonstration routes. At the suggestion of the government, the Argentine Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel had ultimately mediated. He criticized the G20, claimed the right to demonstrate, and requested both sides renounce the use of violence. At the press conference, the protest alliance emphasized once again their commitment to non-violence.

Organizers then spoke about the People's Summit which was to start at the Social Science University with more than 20 events listed in the program.

These events did not include an informational event about the planned demonstration or the immense security measures, nor was there any public discussion at any point about these issues. The press release and phone number for the emergency legal hotline were made publicly available.

Dual strategy of the State

Despite the somewhat surprising concession in regards to the demonstration route, security forces emphasized that a massive contingent would be ready to immediately and forcefully prevent any disturbance, in particular any attempts to penetrate the barricaded-off areas. Police patrols in the city center also became noticeably denser. However, there was not a massive aggressive police presence. No hundred-person-strong troops, helicopters, or clearing tanks were seen in the city center. There was only a single water cannon and three, four-team cars parked in front of the Teatro Colón.



Meanwhile, the lines of steel barricades continued to grow. They were not yet closed, but were instead loosely guarded. Car traffic was blocked from some major central streets beginning in the evening. The wide Avenidas, now empty, felt seemed quite disconcerting. It was a clear sign that normal life would soon be interrupted.

The biggest political news of the day was the cessation of the investigation into the death of Santiago Maldonado (36). Maldonado's family and lawyer accused the examining magistrate of bias because the circumstances of Maldonado's death clearly indicated that police officers had murdered him and systematically concealed their crime. It was also a slap in the face to the approximately 500,000 people who demonstrated in Buenos Aires not long before, demanding transparency concerning Maldonado's death. In left-wing media and networks, "Santiago's second death" was hotly discussed—and all this happened immediately after the two other murders, in which the police also denied their guilt (37)

... and immediately before the G20. The message seemed to be this: police officers can kill left-wing activists with impunity.

The fear of what the state might have planned for the demonstration was growing. People speculated, for example, that the government-approved area in front of Congress, with its many road closures, could easily become a trap. And all this with a police force, secret service, and judicial apparatus still infiltrated by many corrupt right-wing officers instated during the military dictatorship, groups which could apparently afford anything with the backing of security chief Bullrich and President Macri. Pessimists now expected only 10,000 participants to attend the demonstration.

Many parents, especially from Peronist backgrounds, called their adult children to warn them urgently against demonstrating.



(36) See also <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/11/argentina-estado-tiene-obligacion-de-esclarecer-los-hechos-y-sancionar-a-los-responsables-por-la-muerte-de-santiago-maldonado/>

(37) See also pages 23, 32



Macron was among the first to arrive, despite his own acute crisis in France. After an initial meeting with Macri, Macron fervently advocated Macri's reform policy in front of the international press. The Saudi Arabian Crown Prince prudently remained in his own embassy because the international organization Human Rights Watch had reported him to the Argentine authorities for his involvement in the murder of journalist Khashoggi. Chancellor Merkel's flight was cancelled due to technical problems which delayed her arrival by an entire day. Meanwhile, the U.S. President, who had arrived early, expressed his views on all kinds of global political issues in his own "thoughtful and balanced" way.

The Chinese representatives began to unpack suitcases full of ready-to-sign bilateral treaties, several of which were with Argentina. Argentine TV showed first impressions and mishaps.

La "Cumbre de los pueblos"

The second day of the summit took place in a very large public venue. Several tents as well as a colorful market and a stage were set up in the central congressional square. Over the course of the day, around 5,000 participants attended the G20 summit events, including many representatives from neighboring countries such as Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay.





The same topics were discussed as the day before—but with much more participation and public perception. (more about this later). At the edge of the congressional square, all streets in the direction of Teatro Colón were closed, but passage was still possible for non-participants who had a justified reason or demonstrators who were perceived to be harmless.

A banner with greetings from No G20 Hamburg was placed on the barrier facing the Parliament building. Not far away, a little later, a big "baby trump" doll floated and at the end of the evening, there was a brilliant protest concert.





The evening before the summit

The barriers had gradually been closed and secured and were now guarded by a massive police force. The large metro line, line B, ceased operation. Thousands of stranded people looked for a bus to take, and some walked many kilometers from work back to their homes. In the areas behind the barriers, there were closed security zones around the hotels inhabited by G20 attendees and towards the meeting site.

Police presence again noticeably intensified, especially around strategic points such as the main metro station where an average of 1.2 million passengers commute every day. This presence was also seen at the Central Station Retiro, adjacent to Villa 31.

The G20 summit took over urban reality. The city was systematically shut down. The normal life of all residents was restricted. At most, people warily protested against individual barriers. The metropolis of Buenos Aires is huge, with more than 14 million inhabitants. Interruptions are quite normal here and people usually anticipate them in a stay-cool, metropolitan way.

Security forces were not going over the top this time and acted as though the event was business as usual. Still, the population was frightened by the threat of government repression. They also faced the widespread and immediate demands of everyday life, which often left little room for direct engagement against the G20. Moreover, conflicts being terminated by state security forces have never in history resulted in an advantageous outcome for “the street” in Argentina, so people showed a great deal of caution and restraint.

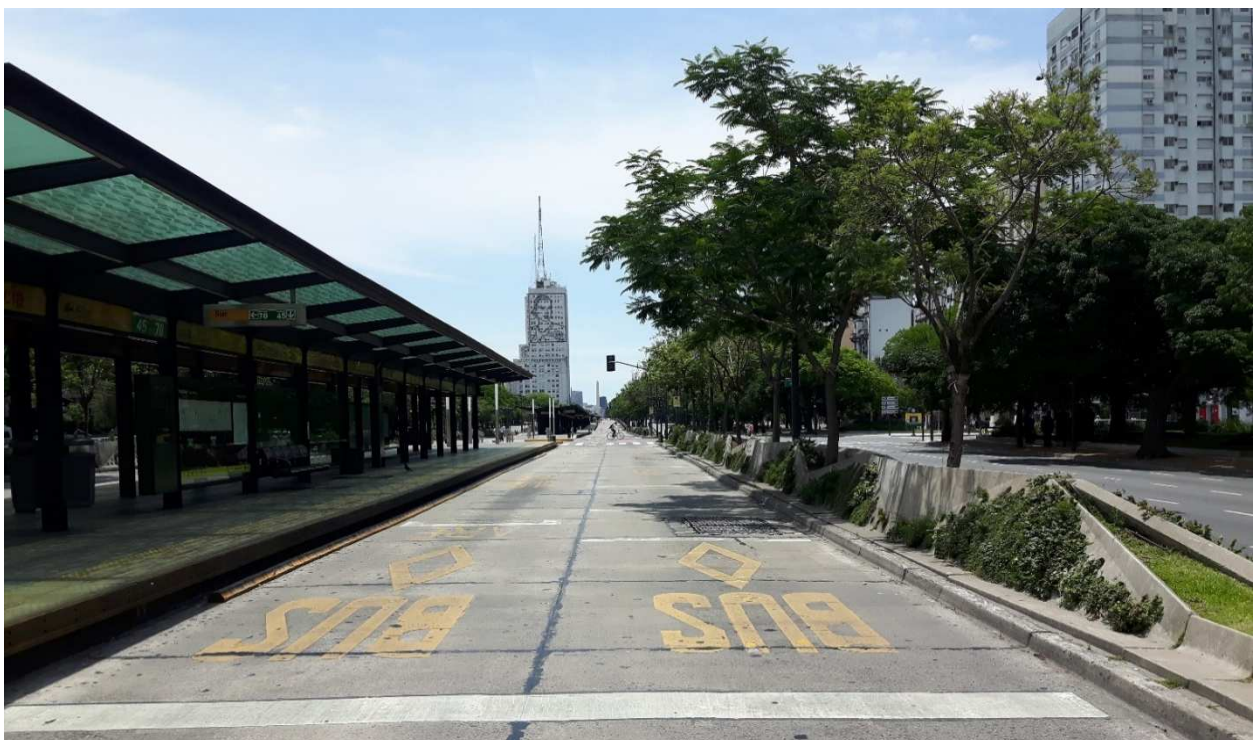




The City

The subway and all suburban railways had completely stopped operation overnight. Buses, on the other hand, continued to run, with adapted routes so they could avoid the numerous barriers. Only three kilometers from the city center, everyday life continued as normal. But as one moved towards the center, toward the conference venues, hotels and demo route, the streets emptied.

Many shops were closed, and many cars had been moved from the area. The traffic itself also dropped by about 80%, although a large number of money transporters drove hectically from station to station. “Avoid the Congress Zone” flashed on the message boards of the large Avenidas running towards the city, but there were almost no cars driving in that direction anyway.





The news tickers told of a small car, long since burnt out, parked near the demonstration route, in which police had allegedly found several boxes of Molotov cocktails. Now, columns of motorcycle cops armed with rubber bullets roamed the streets. The barriers were by then all closed, grim police units posed behind them.

The Demo

The demonstration meeting place began to fill hours in advance. The more radical left had arrived, including left-wing Peronist and Trotskyist parties and the relatively small anti-globalization movement. As is customary here, they brought the flags and banners of their own organizations with them. Banners specifically opposing the G20 were the minority. The most expressive block was at the front of the demo. Here was where things were the most direct, loud, and colorful.





Banner: "They want war and we won't give them peace."

Behind this block was the Trotskyist party block, "MST," carrying hundreds of flags and led by a human chain formed by women who had painted all sorts of national flags on their naked torsos. The FIT bloc, the rival Trotskyist party, was also very large, but it was at the rear of the demo, the order having been decided by lottery... (38). The large trade unions had been pressured not to attend, and so had critical members of civil society, affected neighborhoods, the cultural and art scene, the mass women's movement, and the movement against police and judicial arbitrariness.

In addition, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner had on the same morning called on listeners to refrain from attending the demonstration, which is why most of the remaining Peronist organizations and trade unions had dropped out at the last minute, or had appeared only in small numbers. Many prospective attendees also thought they would not even be allowed into the city center - at least finally, the "big swing" did not happen.



(38) See also page 28



In the end, there were about 50,000 participants—for Buenos Aires, this is a medium-sized demonstration. The organizers considered this a success in view of the circumstances: the government had not managed to stop the demonstration with its fear campaign and psychological warfare.

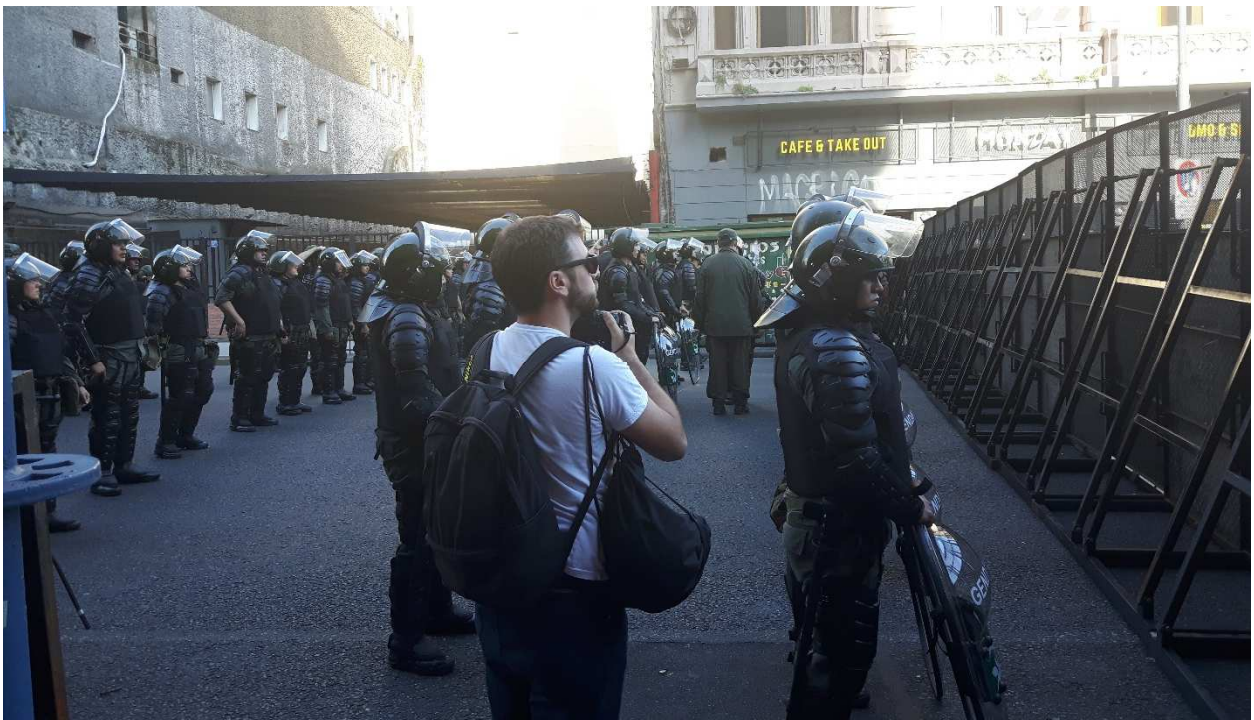
The demonstration, colorful and vociferous, nevertheless traversed the broad Avenida 9 de Julio to parliament. A Trump effigy was burned there and the demo immediately dissolved. This was partly due to the fact that the police had closed off all the streets except for a few small side streets.

Those streets were the only point of retreat on an otherwise completely surrounded square, and participants feared that the area was a trap. Two smaller demonstrations running through adjacent districts dissolved a little bit later.

The police

The police were conspicuously reserved during the demonstration, though present en masse in the background. An armada in battle formation had taken position in the streets behind the congress, generals giving each other military salutes in front of the troops. There was apparently a trained special unit of several hundred who were qualified for civil war.





This unit had few similarities with European riot police and did not come originally from Buenos Aires —rather, it was an elite unit of the National Police, which one can imagine without hyperbole as armed anti-guerrilla fighters.

In the end, there was not a single concrete clash. However, some very young, alleged anarchists were arrested at the edge of the demo. They had allegedly wanted to distribute hammers and firecrackers in the demo. The media reported a news story about five detainees who had disregarded the Bullrich rules, including a leading Trotskyist.

Moreover, the report included a video about 20 masked people at the edge of the demonstration, who were verbally and concretely rejected by other demonstrators.

The summit highlight

The powerful celebrated themselves in the Teatro Colón, one of the oldest and most pompous cultural places in Latin America. The show, with 150 performers and a full orchestra, was reminiscent of an opening ceremony for the Olympic Games. Argentina, as the host country, presented itself with emotionally exaggerated kitsch as well as sensational stage and video technology.





The heads of state applauded and Argentina's President Macri was even seen crying. Of course, the show did not represent the reality of the country's situation. Instead, even the Mapuche, an indigenous people that are in a particularly precarious position in Argentina, were shamelessly tokenized and presented as "part of cultural diversity" with a virtuoso drum concert. There were also tango and gaucho performances and videos displaying nature and renewable energy plants. Football euphoria, on the other hand, as a logical additional genre, was probably removed at short notice and for understandable reasons. (39).

At the end of the show, the high society of Buenos Aires, gathered in the stalls, cheered the leaders of the state in the upper boxes.

Trump, of course, interpreted this as directed at him personally and waved back majestically... *Hooray the world goes down...*

Security zones, corridors and convoys

The area immediately surrounding the Teatro Colón as well as a large zone around the venue were tightly sealed off, as were numerous streets surrounding the state guests' hotels. There was a corridor between the demonstration meeting place and the Teatro that was also immediately adjacent to the relevant hotels; this ten-lane-wide Avenidas was the main summit access route. Numerous convoys drove back and forth on the corridor.



(39) See also 25.11.

In some places, the route was sealed tightly, but in others there were breaks between the barriers where pedestrians were allowed to cross the Avenidas. On some sections of the route, convoys drove at high speed without any police presence.

As an individual, it was even possible to get to the Teatro Colon without going through any security controls and to stay there for some time undisturbed. About 80 meters away from the Teatro Colón, hundreds of onlookers were gathered. Couples, families and tourists took photos, while kids played football—all in the immediate vicinity of heavily armed security forces who lingered around the barrier and in small groups in the area, wearing sunglasses despite the late hour.

Any blockade action would most likely have been dispersed quickly and violently. However, assassins camouflaged even half-well could have struck unhindered, and at several corridor sections even would have had a good chance at escaping.

Considering the overall security hysteria, these were bizarre oversights, and they confirm the assumption that the security strategy was meant to prevent public protest actions; even the immediate security of state guests was obviously of secondary importance.

Protests end after the demonstration

The security forces were relatively relaxed in the evening, as no further protest actions were announced following the demonstration. When the demonstrations dissolved at about 6pm, almost all the protesters left the center quickly and avoided going near the summit. There were no public discussions about direct disturbance actions, nor was there any public proposal to protest at the transportation routes or close to the Teatro Colón or the summit locations. Possible escalation of any kind was expressly avoided by the protest organizers. But, with few exceptions, there was also no spontaneous movement towards the summit.





In general, the G20 summit focused on bilateral discussions. It almost seemed as if there was a kind of race between the heads-of-state to meet with as many other heads-of-state as possible, particularly the most powerful ones, in one-on-one talks. In this context, leaders abandoned their claimed goal of negotiating something all together, or really getting any results at all. It is not surprising that the more powerful participants in this kind of conversation always have the upper hand. Tactics like a pressure buildup or even coalitions of several weaker parties against one stronger party are impossible from the outset. As such, the summit was tailor-made for Putin, Trump and Xi Jinping.

The Joint Final Declaration was insubstantial and meaningless. It was easy to see through the pretense about a supposedly “hard struggle” to come together on this Declaration—no one even claimed it would have any binding impact on the future. It only happened at all so world leaders could avoid the embarrassment of ending the summit without a final declaration.

What is generally thought of as the most relevant summit result was the provisional postponement of various punitive tariffs, and thus the temporary defusing of the trade war between China and the U.S. This agreement occurred in bilateral negotiations. Trump described it as a “fabulous success”—but actually, the Chinese used the G20 to expand their sphere of influence across the board. This time, the focus was on Latin America. It was about long-term investments, large participation in entire economic sectors, commodity deals, and bilateral political agreements.

Another significant event was that the US, Canada, and Mexico signed a newly-revised free trade agreement. The treaty was amended, at Trump’s insistence, to include passages prohibiting the parties from trading with countries that do not have a market economy as their basic economic system.



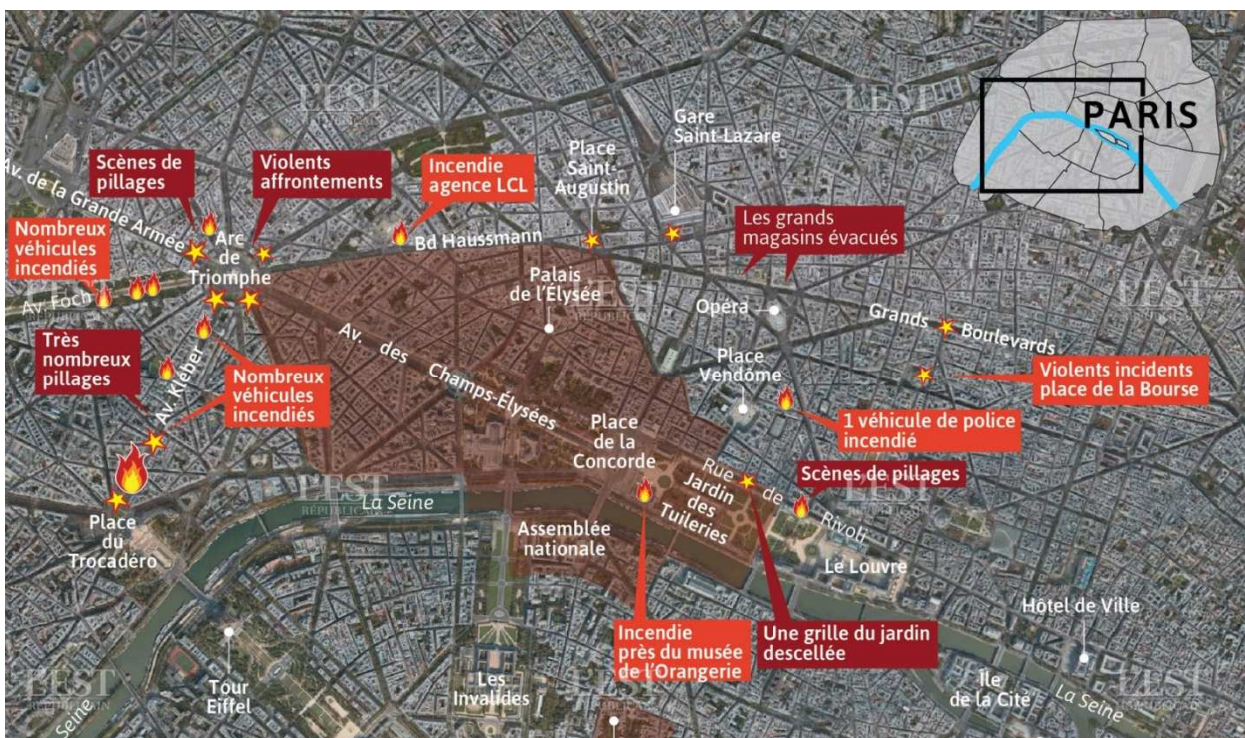


Solidarity actions in Hamburg and Montevideo as well as heavy riots in Paris

On the night of November 30, 2018, protesters egged the Olaf Scholz's house and set the unoccupied guardhouse on fire (Scholz was Hamburg's mayor during the 2017 G20 and is now the German Finance Minister and Vice Chancellor). In their statement, published in Spanish and German, the actors expressed solidarity with people of Buenos Aires, and especially with the anarchists who had been arrested two weeks before.

On December 1, after a St. Pauli football club home match, a small solidarity demonstration moved through the city center and a medium-sized rally took place in front of the pre-trial detention center where some prisoners from the 2017 Hamburg G20 protests are still being held. Activists in Montevideo held a solidarity demonstration parallel to the demonstration in Buenos Aires. This ended with some sturdy clashes, during which the French embassy was severely damaged. On December 1, in Paris and many other French cities, there were street battles between yellow vest demonstrators and the police that lasted for hours.

The map shows the locations of the clashes and security zones (highlighted in red) in Paris on 1.12.18. (Pillages – lootings; véhicules incendiés – burnt cars; violents incidents – violent clashes)





Europe's most expensive shopping street, the Champs-Élysées, was largely destroyed, a great deal of looting took place, and a statue of Napoleon at the Arc de Triomphe was beheaded. There were also numerous arrests, and many demonstrators were injured. The scenes that many had expected in Buenos Aires were taking place in Paris.

While France was rioting, President Macron was in Buenos Aires playing a minor role. The international press looked to Paris, as the G20 summit had become rather boring for them. In Buenos Aires, the dismantling of the barriers had already begun—in the middle of the summit.



After the Summit

Shortly thereafter

Ghost Town for G20, brief Summary

What happened in Buenos Aires during the G20 was astonishing. The city pulled the plug. A special holiday was proclaimed, public transport was largely shut down, some districts and large parts of the city were sealed off, and residents were asked to avoid the city center and preferably to leave the city entirely during the summit. The state waged an all-encompassing security campaign against the main demonstration in order to show the potential for immense state repression and violence. As a consequence, even longtime political activists decided not to take part in the protests.

One could draw the preliminary simplified conclusion that the goal of taking to the streets to protest the G20 and the IMF was achieved. Yet the security calculations of Macri and the G20 successfully prevented bigger disturbances.

Many demonstrators and residents of Buenos Aires were first and foremost relieved that the feared, even expected, bloody attacks by the police did not take place; there was no repression purgatory, even though the police probably would have needed little cause to intervene violently against protestors. Ultimately, the police were highly satisfied with the general course of the summit and their security strategy. The G20 in Buenos Aires will go down in history as a summit without any great trouble.

But the 12 (alleged) anarchists who were arrested before the summit have been hit hard. They are still in prison and will presumably be made to stand trial as scapegoats for all the protests that the G20 leaders and their security teams feared. The occupied house and the social center, which housed a world-famous anarchist archive, that were searched at the time of their arrest were immediately closed and sealed afterwards, and this is not even known to the public.



(40) See also 16.11.



Three other voices at the end

It is difficult to write a comprehensive retrospective assessment of what happened at the protest against the G20 in Argentina. The analyses that were written afterwards have offered widely divergent interpretations of the situation. Here we simply present excerpts from texts and interviews with individuals who are more familiar with the context and events that occurred.

Gaby Weber is an author and journalist from Germany who has spent many years living in Buenos Aires and, previously, Montevideo. She has published on topics such as Nazis who fled to Argentina and current politics in Latin America, especially Argentina. She gave this 15-minute radio interview in German on the morning of December 1, 2018. (41)

One of the big question marks after the summit was the role and attitude of Peronists.

They still have widespread support, or at least a lot of people who identify as members of the movement. On the other hand, the Peronist movement includes people with extremely diverse viewpoints. As such, it is important to note that the conversation with Sebastiano by no means reflects points of view that all Peronists share. However, many of the ideas he expressed have been shared, confirmed, or expressed in similar ways by others from the Peronist context.

Marta Musić comes from France, has lived in Argentina for half a year, participated in the Confluencia, and was an international representative for ATTAC. She has published this review and analysis in English and Spanish, and it has also been translated into German. The text is an authentic insight into the development and orientation of the protest alliance, but it is not an official statement of the Confluencia.

(41) <https://blog.fdik.org/2018-12/s1543690928>

Introduction:

Saturday, December 1, 2018. Today is the last day of the G20 summit. For those who do not know, the G20 nations represent two thirds of the world's population and account for three quarters of world trade. The summit was held in Hamburg in 2017 and is being held in Argentina this year.

At the end of the G20, the participating nations present a final declaration based on what has happened at the event. But it's questionable how reliable such declarations, which include deals countries have made with each other, are when powerful countries are not held accountable even to the standards of international law (see the breach of the Iran deal, the murder of Kashoggi without consequences, NATO, wars of aggression without consequences in the Middle East, and punitive tariffs instead of fair trade). On the phone, we now have Gaby Weber, live from Argentina. Ms. Weber, hello.

Gaby Weber: Hello.

Mod.: Ms. Weber, I want to ask very briefly about the venue of the G20 before we talk about the summit itself. Argentina is in an extreme economic crisis, the peso has fallen by 40 percent, and the government is dependent on loans from the IMF. I was told that 57 billion is now on the bill, the largest rescue package in the history of the country (42). Can Argentina afford the G20 summit? As far as I know, the summit in Hamburg cost over 130 million.

G.W.: The president since 2015, Mauricio Macri came to power promising to be a strong diplomat so as to distract from internal problems. In a way, he has succeeded. He was the host, so everyone was kind to him. People here haven't been talking about everything that is going on in the country. Nevertheless, next Monday he has to show something for his efforts. Then, everyday life will start again.

The demonstration was actually quite good, it was relatively well attended, but it was only the traditional left, so above all it was the Trotskyists who were there

Mod.: Ms. Weber, a big protest, which we saw in Hamburg during the G20, largely failed to take place in Argentina. There were a few people who took to the streets, but it was a minority.

G.W.: Well...the demonstration was actually quite good, it was relatively well attended, but it was only the traditional left, so above all it was the Trotskyists who were there. They brought a lot of people together; that is not in question. The problem was that they were left on their own. The trade unions, which are very big and powerful, expressly said that they would not take part—although perhaps grassroots organizers were involved.

And above all, the supporters of former President Cristina Kirchner (43), who had already done their own thing in the run-up to the event, said they would not take to the streets, that they were not even in favor of protesting against it now, that they had taken part in G20 meetings when Mrs. Kirchner was the head of the government.

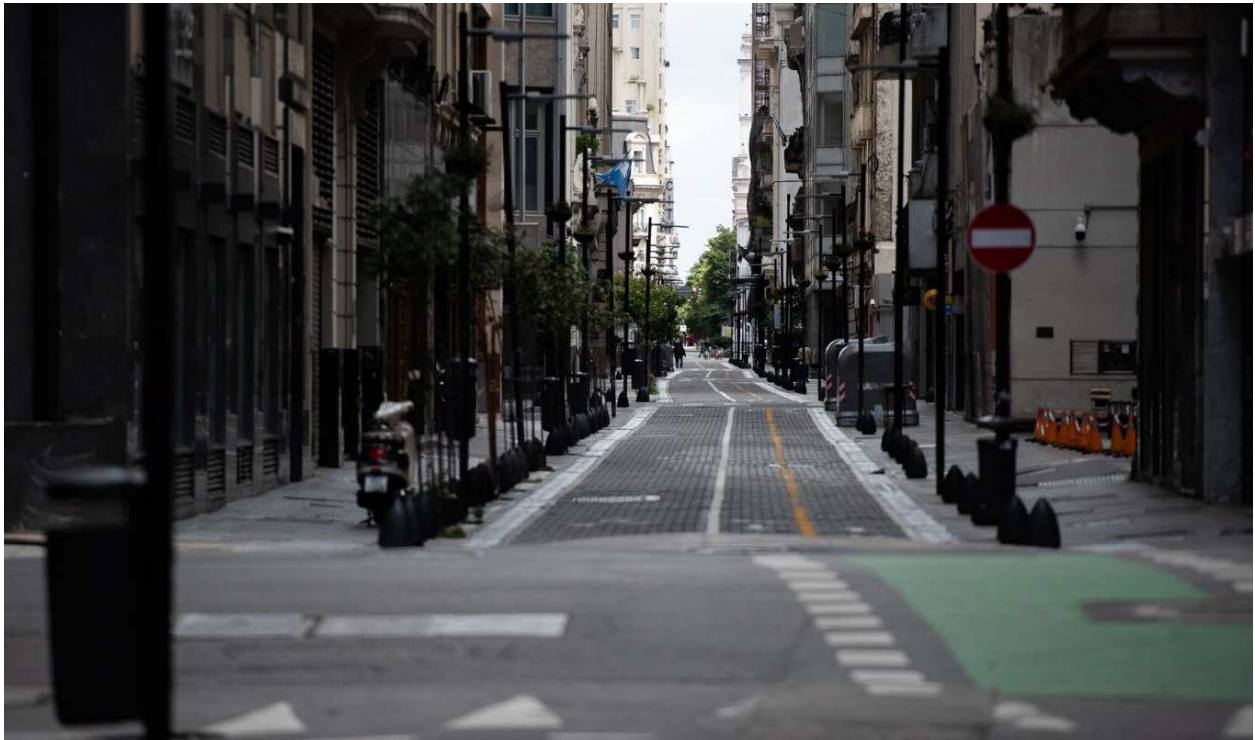
By the way, there was a very interesting interview with her former Minister of Economy Axel Kicillof (44) who suddenly said that they are no longer against the economy and against companies and that they will continue to work with the IMF in the future. Therefore, they explicitly asked their own followers not to take to the streets.

That was all relatively quiet. The weather was also nice. The police had locked everything off and did not provoke the crowd. Therefore, everything went quite smoothly and no one deviated from the route. And well, you can say they announced their protest.

(42) It is the biggest loan the IMF has ever granted. - see also Logbook pages 3,4

(43) See also page 27

(44) A Peronist and professor of economics who is also considered to be a possible future presidential candidate.



Mod.: Would you say this is a sign of a great resignation? That people don't think there is anything they can do against neo-liberalism anymore? ... in yes, the depression?

G.W.: Well, the normal population is pretty angry because the whole city has been shut down for several days for nothing. Because everyday people did not expect something big to happen here. Because the big problems—the big, global conflicts which require global solutions like poverty, migration, wars, and natural resources—they do not talk about them at the G20. In other words, what happens here has very little influence on everyday life.

Mod.: I would like to ask you more about that. Because the image of the G20 is that people are meeting precisely because of these big problems. Do you think that a meeting like the G20 has become a farce because the big players openly admit their egoism and confess it on stage? Do G20 meetings produce anything at all? Do they do what they pretend, or is it something completely different?

G.W.: I don't think people have any expectations anymore. There was another meeting in Papua New Guinea two weeks ago. Trump's vice president, Pence, was there and met with the Chinese president Xi. It was about customs duties, but they didn't come to any result there either... Bolsonaro, the new elected president of Brazil, said he wouldn't come (45)... Trump arrived in a very bad mood - and there was no reaction here at all.

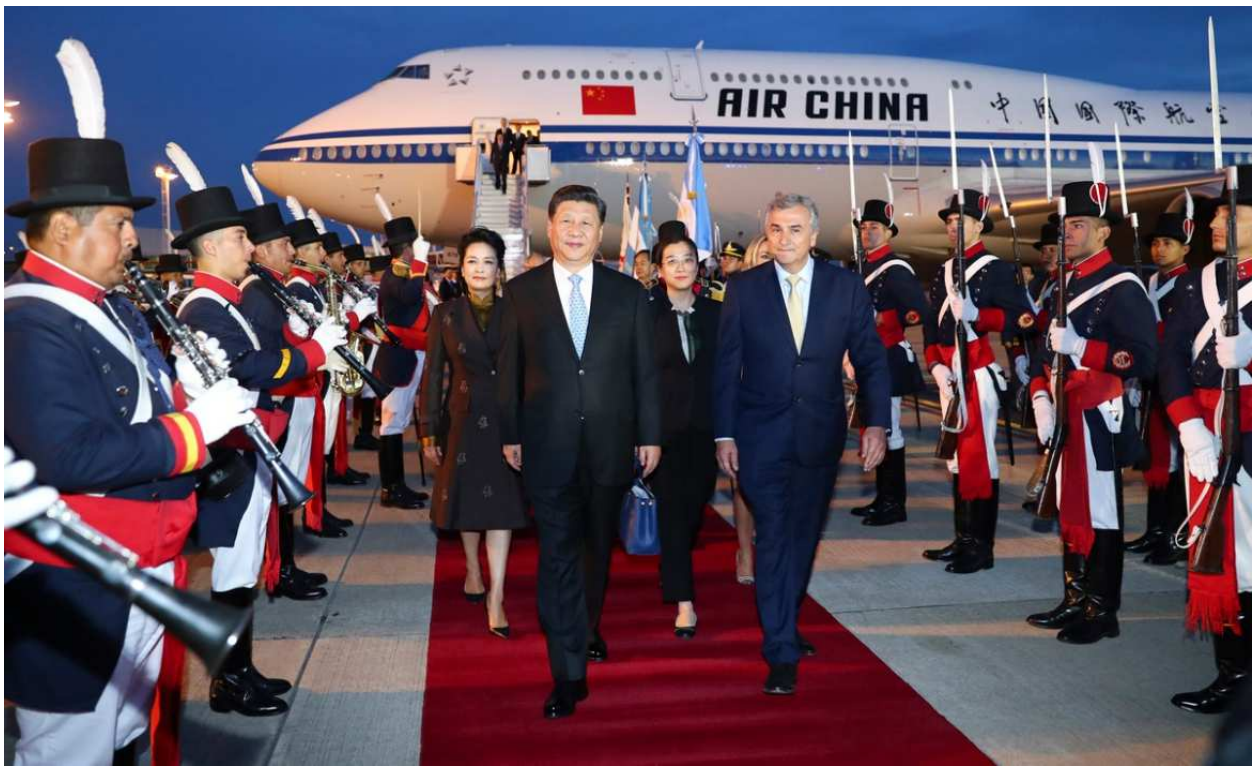
...the Argentine government expects a lot from the Chinese president's visit, but nothing from Mr. Trump

...if you look at the pictures which is interesting. Or at least I didn't see anything about it in the German media. The only person, the only head of state, who was picked up with all these military honors in Ezeiza [the international airport of Buenos Aires] was the Chinese president.

And of course, Mr. Trump noticed how he was being treated. He was pushed somewhat lovelessly into his car while Argentine soldiers in dress uniforms stood there and saluted Chinese President Xi. (47).

(45) Bolsonaro took over the presidency on January 1, 2019, so he was not a participant anyway.

(46) International airport of Buenos Aires



So the Argentine government is expecting a lot from the Chinese president's visit, but nothing from Mr. Trump, because there were also no signs at all in the run-up to the G20 that he was looking for any agreement

Mod.: Actually, the G20 meeting, at least here in Germany, filled the gossip columns. Merkel arrived extremely late due to an aircraft breakdown, "MBS" (Mohamed Bin Salman) exchanged this hip hop greeting with Putin,

and China demonstratively stood behind Saudi Arabia. They just want to continue buying oil from Riyadh at a low price. This is what we've seen here in Germany. However, were there any agreements made on the most pressing issues? For example, are there now binding agreements on climate protection? Is there anything there?

The summit is primarily about investment... climate, migration, poverty—these issues are not the point here



G.W.: Well, so far the issue of climate protection has not been mentioned at all. The summit is primarily about investment. Private companies have also been invited, which are of course now spreading optimism because the Macri government has set a new course. However, climate, migration, poverty, that is here actually not the point at all. As I said, it is about - what they say, or what participants admit - the barriers to trade, in other words the tariffs that are threatening. However, there is no indication at all that anything is going to happen on these subjects here.

The new free trade agreement between the USA, Mexico and Canada prohibits the three members from trading with countries that do not have a market economy

If you look at Mr. Trump's agenda alone, the first thing he did before he even arrived in Argentina was to cancel his meeting with Putin. Yesterday he signed a treaty with Canada and Mexico, the so-called follow-up treaty for NAFTA. Mexico signed the deal on the current Mexican president's last day in office, because supposedly the new president, Lopez Obrador, though he wanted an agreement with the USA would not have signed the treaty based on what it contained.

And what no one has written about is, if you take a look at the text of the treaty, you will find an article that forbids the three members to trade with countries that do not have a market economy. It says that if you want trade with a country, if you want to exchange goods or services with countries that do not have a market economy, then you can no longer do business with us.

That, of course, is directed first against the Chinese, against the People's Republic. But I do think that, in the current situation, we have to ask ourselves whether European agriculture is still a market economy. I believe it is no longer a market economy. This provision can be interpreted very broadly and the new Mexican president would not have signed it. But Trump had to listen to Mexico and Canada when the agreement was signed. So on tariffs, we have to talk again about aluminum and steel.

Mod.: Let's go over this very briefly. If you talk about a market economy, the kind of agriculture and market economy that we operate here in Europe is highly subsidized and destroys the competition because it is completely unfair. I think that this kind of agriculture, this export to the African region, also generates refugee flows.



But let us briefly touch on the issues. You can give me a yes or no although I probably already know the answers. The trade dispute between China and USA, the punitive tariffs. Has it been mentioned and is there a result?

quarreling because Trump was roistering

G.W.: Not yet. It's noon. So in half an hour, Trump wants to meet Merkel, and in the evening or the afternoon there should be a meeting between Trump and Xi. But after that, Trump wanted to leave immediately. If they expected any agreement then they would have left at least a small time window open in their timetable for a joint press conference. But that hasn't happened till now (48).

Anyway, there were fights here because Trump was constantly quarreling. Excuse the word, but even the Argentinians were unable to find another term for his behavior. Trump's spokesperson, Ms. Sanders, made a statement accusing the Chinese of predatory economic activity. Well whose mouth is that coming from? And for the Argentinians, the Chinese, as I said, are the most interesting trading partner at the moment, and so there have been more quarrels with Trump.

Mod: The United States and Donald Trump, this financial elite, just does not want to accept that there is another big player who is leaving the U.S. behind: China. But at some point it will dawn on them that the train has left the station. Let's talk about international terrorism. That should have been an issue at the G20. Do you know anything about that?

G.W.: I haven't heard anything about it.

Mod.: Was there any discussion of the situation in Syria or Yemen?

G.W.: Of course, we don't know what happened in the bilateral talks. But it was not a public issue, so as I said, you mentioned it yourself before, the man from Saudi Arabia was celebrated here, from all sides.

Mod.: Was there any discussion about preventing the next big financial bubble from popping, i.e. did anyone talk about cryptocurrency? Has anything leaked?

G.W.: Not at all, and if you look at which private companies were invited, companies like J.P. Morgan (49), to add their view of things. There is nothing happening on that front.

Mod.: (laughs)...I have to keep asking. In a few days, the world will meet in Morocco regarding the migration pact. Were there any signs that this was discussed?

G.W.: No.

Mod.: Not even...Merkel met Putin immediately after her late landing. We assume it was about the incident in the Sea of Azov (50). Has there been any indication that they want to reach an agreement in order not to escalate things in Ukraine again?

When a final declaration is made, it's going to be vague

G.W.: Absolutely not. I suspect that Ms. Merkel will consult with other people before there is an explanation, but it won't come here in Argentina. It is said that the G20 is currently working on a common declaration—if that happens, it will be vague. At the moment there is no indication that any agreement has been reached in regards to any of these problems. (51)

(48) The result was a 3-month postponement of the US punitive tariffs.

(49) Biggest bank in the USA

(50) On November 24, 2018, Russian Coast Guard ships fired at, boarded, and confiscated two Ukrainian patrol boats and a towboat; 24 Ukrainian sailors were detained. The Kerch Strait and thus the sea route to the port of Mariupol have been blocked since then and the passage of Ukrainian ships denied.

(51) There was a vague closing statement



Mod.: Mrs. Weber, do you think that there will be a joint, binding declaration from all the heads of state, which will be signed at some point and which will then also be binding, and expresses a common opinion at some point?

G.W.: There should at least be something about the Paris climate treaty. It's already clear that the USA is outside the treaty, and Brazil doesn't want to go along with it either. It's already clear that they'll want to avoid that.

And at Customs, Trump said that he was not willing to make any gestures towards the Chinese. He gave very nasty remarks here. He also put his earphone on the floor in front of the cameras because he didn't like what was being translated...you just don't do that.

Mod.: He was that rude?

G.W.: It's not the first time he's done that. He has no interest in working with the other people who are here.

I think they have to come up with something new

Mod.: Ms. Weber, if I may summarize what we discussed the last quarter of an hour: The G20 meeting is an admission that international politics and diplomacy are bankrupt, and that in the future we will again have to adapt to war as a means of realpolitik. Is that fair to say?

G.W.: Well, what we are talking about here is a new cold war. For example, the treaty that Trump forced on Canada and Mexico is a kind of exclusion—a declaration, so to speak, that they will no longer trade with countries that do not have a market economy system.

That is clear blackmail, similar to what has already happened with Iran. The definition of countries that do not have a market economy system can be interpreted very arbitrarily. The atmosphere has changed; they have little willingness to talk to each other at all.

So I think they have to come up with something new. Things didn't go so badly for Argentina. As I said, on Sunday, when the G20 summit is over, dozens of trade agreements will be signed with the People's Republic of China. So, they have big plans, and Trump was of course very upset that he had no success at all.

Mod.: Wouldn't the summit be better if it was carried out as a G19 summit, i.e. without the USA next year, so the countries achieve something instead of inviting someone who is actually just boycotting?

G.W.: Well, the USA is still the largest economy in the world, with a huge military apparatus. I think they should keep trying but go through other channels because with Mr. Trump it obviously won't work.

Mod.: Mrs. Weber, thank you very much for this interview and finally a very private question: how much humor do you actually need to comment on all this stuff?

G.W.: The problem is that it has become very illogical and very confusing and so many interests are involved. Basically, you have to describe all interests from all perspectives in order to understand the whole thing, and in the end, you still don't understand it.

Mod: You have been in this business for a long time. Have you ever experienced a situation similar to the one we are seeing today? Or is this a completely new situation such that we don't really know who we are dealing with and what the future holds?

We journalists have also been treated very badly. There was no internet, not even in the press center

G.W.: What's really new is the way the summit has occurred here in Argentina. It is nothing new that we as journalists don't get informed at all. It is not the first time; it has always been this way, and afterwards, at best, something leaks out. But in the past, people at least remained polite.

Also, we journalists have been treated very badly. There is no internet, not even in the press center. There were no official announcements. They actually want us to understand that we are not wanted here.

And then the style of world leaders, like Trump and Bolsonaro, is no longer even minimally polite. We see this also in the fact that someone has been invited here who has been severely reproached for giving the order to murder a critical journalist and for having him dismembered. I do not know whether Ms. Merkel will still shake his hand when they cross paths.

Mod.: If the oil quality is okay, maybe she will. Ms. Weber I thank you for talking with me. I wish you a nice, and indeed a little bit warmer, day than the one we are having in Berlin. There was a climate demonstration here in front of the Chancellery, I don't know if that will be noticed. Have a beautiful day in Argentina.

In the G20 Press Centre: No Internet, but "red wine full"



Jan: Hello Sebastiano, great that I can get to know you a little bit. We are interested in your perception of the G20 protests and your assessment of the situation in Argentina and Peronism. Me, myself, I am, as you know, a freelance journalist. I am trying to understand the G20 events here in Buenos Aires. I'm taking notes on our conversation which I will publish later without clear names. Is that OK for you?

Sebastiano: Hello Jan* - Sure. Why are you interested in Argentina, Buenos Aires and the G20 here? You are from Hamburg in Germany, aren't you?

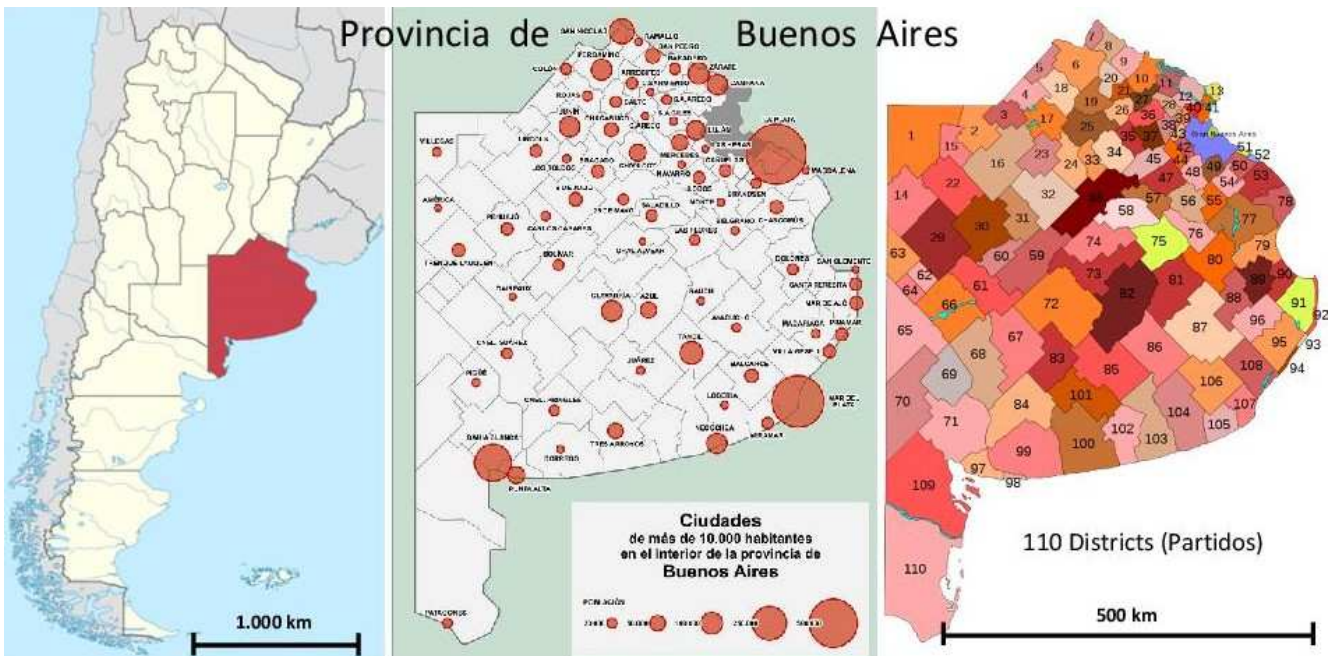
Jan: Yes, exactly...and we had the last G20 in our town, with quite violent police attacks but also diverse protests. At the moment there are still several activists in prison for this. Apart from that, I am interested in Argentina, Buenos Aires as well as generally in Latin America for political, but also for banal personal and family reasons.

Sebastiano: I have never been to Europe. As an employee in the state administration with two children, I could not afford that even before the current crisis. Besides, my English is miserable (52).

Jan: Where exactly do you work and how much do you earn there?

Sebastiano: In the administration of the province of Buenos Aires (53), in La Plata (54). There, I am in the department responsible for coordinating with the Buenos Aires Capital (55). administration about overarching infrastructure like traffic. I am often here in the city to clarify things or to apply for grants for projects in which the Capitol has or should have an interest. I am in the upper middle rank and earn a little less than 34.000 Pesos (56). That's not so bad for Argentina. But for us, everything has become enormously expensive.

Jan: The provincial governor is a partisan of Macri, just like the mayor of the Capitol—how well does that work?



(52) The interview was conducted in Spanish the week after the summit.

(53) largest and most populous (15.6 million) province in Argentina, around Buenos Aires

(54) Provincial capital (0.7 million), 60 km southeast from the centre of Buenos Aires'

(55) State Capital (2.9 million), the blue in the right map

(56) 7. At the time of this interview, the exchange rate for 34,000 Argentine Pesos was \$950, though it had fallen to \$890 within a few weeks.

* Names have been changed due to fear of reprisal.

The greatest need is in the densely-populated periphery of Buenos Aires where over 10 million people live

Sebastiano: It works quite well for the rich. But there are very few of them in our province—usually they are big landowners. They have been given generous tax breaks. For the rest of us, things are going downhill. The greatest need is in the densely-populated outskirts of the Capitol, which belongs to our province and where over 10 million people live.

People there were not doing very well even in Cristina's (57) times - but at least then, there were numerous social programs that absorbed the worst to some extent. In addition, we directly supported every kind of economic self-organization. But for some time now, hardly any funds have been made available for this, especially for helping people to help themselves (58). In the administration, however, there are still many people from the Kirchner period (59) and we do what we can, including unpaid voluntary work for social grassroots organizations.

Jan: Will the national budget that has just been decided further aggravate the situation

Sebastiano: Most likely. They are cutting our province's last resources. But pensioners, workers, the unemployed, and educational and cultural sectors are also hard hit. And for many decades now, the loan from the IMF has to be paid off, which includes including high-rated interest (60). This makes Argentina directly dependent on these sharks and there is hardly any wiggle room.

Jan: Why did even some diehard Peronists vote for it?

Sebastiano: Good question. I think these people have been corrupted and won't make it onto any of our movement's electoral lists again...

The great majority of intellectuals, as well as the wage earners, understand themselves in a Peronist context

Jan: The Peronist movement is, speaking diplomatically, "heterogeneous".

Sebastiano: You can go ahead and say "split." But the differences are not new, nor have they only appeared during the budget vote.



(57) Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, President of Argentina 2007 – 2015 – see also page 27

(58) 9. In fact, measured absolutely in pesos and as a percentage of the national budget, the social budget under Macri has actually increased. But inflation has compensated for this. In addition, there is another distribution and budget system in which security services in impoverished neighborhoods are declared a "social expenditure," while support has been sharply reduced, often on the justification of alleged "corruption" in this sector.

(59) The presidential era of Peronists Nestor and Cristina Kirchner (2003-2015)

(60) See also pages 3, 4

On the other hand, there is no real alternative than us to the Macri and Bullrich system. We are indeed bad and dirty on the one hand, but on the other hand, we are the social and human Argentina. It is not for nothing that the vast majority of intellectuals and wage earners understand themselves in a Peronist context. But it is also a bit like a family with terrible uncles, mean mothers-in-law and stupid cousins.

Jan: Well, your father figure Juan Domingo Perón also granted asylum to thousands of German Nazis and other European fascists after the war, and when he had to leave into exile, he went to the Spanish dictator Franco.

Sebastiano: I know, too, that Perón was a militarist through and through, and he represented widespread views there. But I don't want to apologize for that.

Jan: Has that ever been critically reviewed in Argentina?

Today, we Peronists are, without exception, convinced anti-fascists

Sebastiano: A difficult topic, because this very necessary processing was often demanded by people who are socio-politically oriented near to right-wing circles. These campaigns were always directed against the policy of social equality and justice implemented by Perón, the improvement of the immediate living conditions of the poorer sections of the population, free access to education, and basic health care.

Because of that, decisive political structures within Peronism have automatically blocked this critical consideration for a long time. However, during the Kirchner era this stigmatization was slowly dissolved. Of course, today, we Peronists are, without exception, convinced anti-fascists. Nobody in Latin America doubts this.

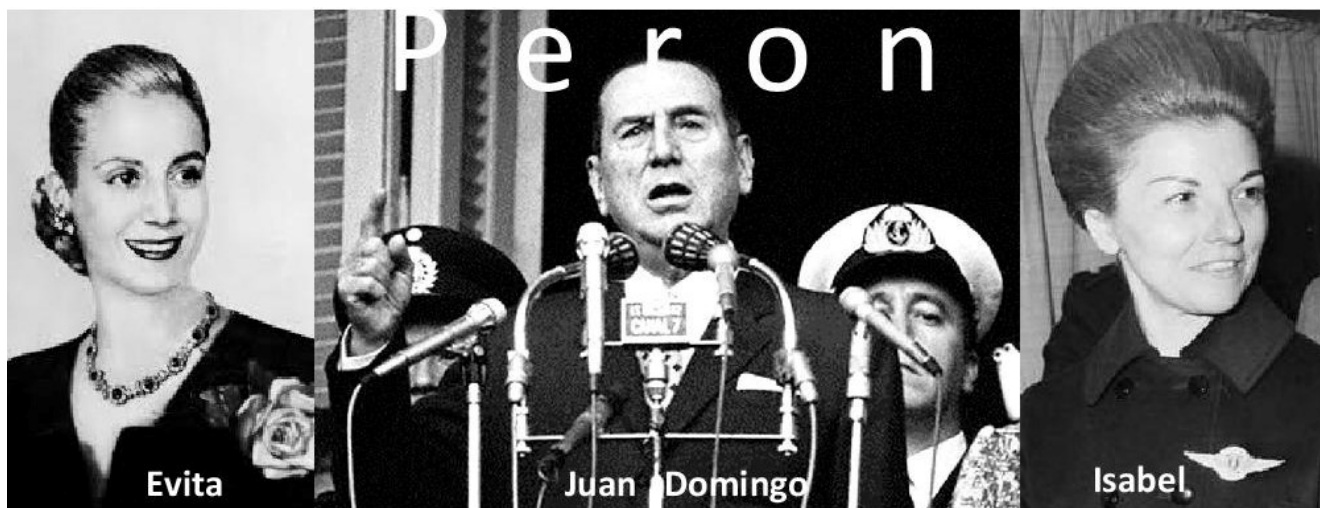
Jan: How do you evaluate the course of the G20 summit, in particular the protests against it?

Sebastiano: First of all, like all Argentinians, I was very relieved that there were no dead. That seemed to be the most probable option given the threats made by Security Minister Bullrich, which were unequivocal. I compliment the organizers of the demonstration, who did not allow themselves to be provoked, and acted very responsibly.

On the other hand, there were far too few on the streets in view of the social crisis, which has a lot to do with the G20 system. Militarized deterrence and the cancelling of transportation in the city center had its intended effect. However, I myself was present at the demonstration, although my wife wanted to stop me. We and several others came from La Plata in private cars.

Jan: There were no buses?

Sebastiano: The police had previously called many bus companies and explained that the whole city would be sealed off and that, in general, a very complicated situation was to be expected. As a result, only completely overpriced buses would have been available.



Jan: It was mainly the Peronist camp that reduced the mobilization, wasn't it?

It was made clear to high-ranking trade union officials that they would be held accountable if the situation escalated

Sebastiano: That's true. The big unions in particular saw the danger that if a certain critical mass were to take to the streets, the escalation would inevitably come. Many functionaries simply did not want to, or could not, risk that. In addition, there was direct pressure from the government on key structures. And finally, various Trotskyist parties had so appropriated larger parts of the protest in terms of content that for us, the proponents of massive participation as Peronists ran out of arguments internally.

Jan: One after the other: What was the concrete pressure of the government like?

Sebastiano: High-ranking trade union officials were made unmistakably aware that they would be held accountable for any escalation. Moreover, a few weeks before the summit, there were direct talks between IMF representatives and the CGT (61) leadership.

The latter was able to save some fundamental trade union rights and then withdrew in the mobilization against the IMF as well as against the G20. They also cancelled the general strike that was planned to occur shortly before the summit. But fear was also deliberately stirred up in our other grassroots organizations and in the social movements in general. This happened in particular on the outskirts of Buenos Aires—where the need is highest, but where there is also a widespread susceptibility to apocalyptic rumors.

Jan: For example, you mean the two CTEP activists who were shot? (62)

Sebastiano: Yes, the murder of the two of them had a profound effect in these very precarious barrios. It was precisely there that rumors of further deaths made the round. Facebook was used to spread the rumor that security forces had orders to shoot fiercely at the demonstration at the first opportunity, and that the military would be ready if necessary. From 1,500 hospital beds made available for the summit, Facebook quickly reported that the government expected up to 1,500 dead.

Jan: Have these rumors been deliberately put into circulation?

Meeting of the CGT - leaders with IWF - representatives (lady left, 2 gentlemen with tie), 15.11.18



(61) Confederación General del Trabajo - largest trade union in Argentina, rather conservative and peronistically oriented but quite strong by mobilizing social protests

(62) See also 22.11., 26.11.

The Argentine secret service has been busy for months trying to prevent uncontrolled mass protests

Sebastiano: Many say exactly that. The Argentine secret service—this is undisputed—has been busy for months trying to prevent or fight uncontrolled mass protests during the G20. They feel they are entitled to use any means necessary. Incidentally, the secret service is a sector to which we Peronists never had real access again after the military dictatorship—there are nasty, right-wing radical, Mafia structures romping around and the CIA is also on board. Patricia Bullrich is, by the way, seen as the hand of the secret service in the Macri cabinet.

Jan: Aha, where does that come from?

Sebastiano: A bizarre story of bloody betrayal in the context of the Montoneros (63), in the beginning of the 80s. Bullrich and her sister were also involved; her brother-in-law was even one of the leaders. These children from the Argentinean upper class are said to have been smuggled in on behalf of the secret service and to have betrayed the entire structure of the guerrillas, which finally led to thousands of murdered people.

Patricia Bullrich, on the other hand, made a career as a security expert and finally as a minister. Her special project is repression in Patagonia against the protest of the Mapuche Indians. The Bullrich family also has huge estates there and corresponding economic interests. The secret service leads a dirty war for the rich and against the people.

Jan: The Maldonado case (64) got a lot of international attention. At that time, a little more than a year ago, about 500,000 people took to the streets in Buenos Aires...

Sebastiano: Yes, and the demos were also directed directly against Bullrich, the police, and the secret service. In my opinion, this mobilization was the most politically powerful in the recent past. But this also came about because Maldonado came from Buenos Aires and a middle-class family. There were many indigenous people in Patagonia who were murdered before Maldonado was and whose deaths didn't spark any major protests. With Maldonado, however, in addition to the usual people who show up for demos, the Buenos Aires liberal white middle class took to the streets on a massive scale.

Jan: And that didn't happen with the CTEP activists who were shot.

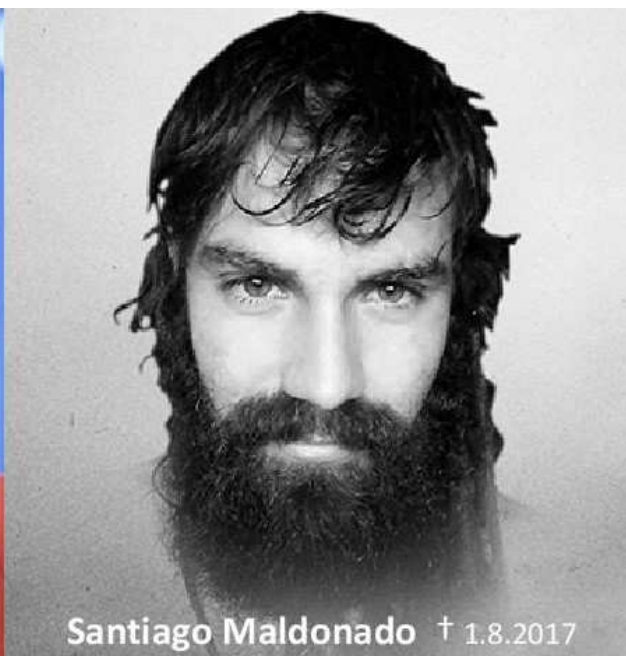


(63) The photo shows a meeting of Montoneros at the beginning of the 1980s. Patricia Bullrich (curled in red) - alias "La Piba" ("the little girl") - is the only survivor in the photo. The other nine "disappeared" during the military dictatorship... See also page 12.

(64) 12. Based on a screenplay by Florencia Kirchner (daughter of the ex-president), the film *El Camino de Santiago was also shown at CLASCO... See also pages 10, 37



Patricia Bullrich in G20



Santiago Maldonado † 1.8.2017

Sebastiano: Yes, indeed. There have only been a few 1,000 on the streets. Admittedly, the demonstration was on a morning during the week, when most work. But the one from Matanza was also Bolivian, and the one from Cordoba was from a subproletarian milieu and had been officially unemployed for a long time. But bourgeois Porteños (65) obviously don't take to the streets in masses, and there has been no mobilization in the progressive cultural scene—in contrast with the case of the white, educated do-gooder Maldonado.

The attitude of the cultural scene was rather reserved

Jan: Speaking of the cultural scene, what was their attitude in regards to the G20 protests?

Sebastiano: I would say rather reserved, almost neutral—at least not very active. As far as I know, there was only a very manageable weekend event in advance. (66)

Jan: Why?

On 1.9.2017 about 500,000 demonstrated on the Plaza de Mayo under the motto "Where is Santiago Maldonado"



(65) Residents of Buenos Aires, Capital
(66) See also 18.11.

Sebastiano: Well, actually there was also protest music at Clasco and during the counter summit at Congress Square. But a larger campaign was missing. In my opinion, the reasons for this lie in the composition of the protest alliance, which seemed to have relatively little connection to this scene. Large parts of the cultural scene feel closely connected to Peronism, and if we don't join in a united way then they won't do much either. Moreover, the Trotskyists are unprecedented cultural oddities that always drum up the same rhythm at the demos. Those who really want to embarrass themselves in the cultural scene join them. Do Trotskyists still exist in Germany?

Jan: As far as I know, only very few, mostly older people, maybe 100 or 200 in all of Germany. Most Germans don't even know who Trotsky actually was. But also, the traditional orthodox Left in Germany is extremely weak. Are the Trotskyists in Argentina so numerous and politically important for the anti-G20 campaign?

Sebastiano: Unfortunately, yes. They also have real support at several universities. Sometimes I think that 90% of all Trotskyists worldwide have gathered just in Buenos Aires. And we—the Peronists—are their declared first favorite enemy. When alliances are formed, they compete against us with monotonous reproaches for alleged reformism.

In elections, however, they are left empty-handed because they are constantly splitting up and have little support among the working class and in the barrios. However, they are very strongly represented in street mobilizations and are popular with many young activists. Those who don't have to work—and there are often many of them—go to every demo.

Dominant Trotskyists, divided Peronists, determining feminists

Jan: Do you think that without their prevalence, more people would have come?

Sebastiano: It is not so simple. But I can say that Trotskyists have dominated the scene in regards to the G20—in contrast to mass protest and resistance.

But as for why that came about, it is much more complex. Our internal Peronist ambiguity and the insane threat of violence were certainly much more important in the overall view.

Jan: The alliance “Confluencia” was, on the other hand, very open to everyone. Why didn't you get involved more?

Sebastiano: Well, there were several Peronistically-oriented organizations involved. But a mass participation was not easy for many of us. That wasn't only due to the “evil Trotskyists”—they only participated in the Confluencia...In my opinion a smaller, mainly feminist-oriented group with an internationalist orientation was decisive. Their mobilization was based on the very strong women's movement last March.

But that wasn't so easy to transfer to the G20, and so the static Trotskyist camp gained weight. We were pretty much on the outside and argued internally instead. In any case, we missed a unique opportunity to draw attention to the social situation in Argentina, Buenos Aires, and all of Latin America worldwide, given by the presence of the world press. Bullrich and Macri cheer—it couldn't have gone better for them. On the other hand, however, we were not beaten to death.

The summit itself has only brought further setbacks and has further cemented the neoliberal world order

Jan: Did the G20 result in anything positive for Argentina or Latin America?

Sebastiano: First and foremost, the Chinese continued to buy our remaining economic silverware. Trump had his show. Macri was able to score with his tears at the Teatro Colón. Your Merkel, on the other hand, seemed for many Argentinians to be the last bastion of international and moral common sense. But the summit itself only brought further setbacks and cemented the neoliberal world order.

Jan: What's going on in Argentina now?

Sebastiano: It's hard to say... Now there are new, tighter laws that were already in the drawer before the G20: for instance, regarding the use of firearms by the police, subjectively-perceived threats now suffice as justification. And in December we had a lot of protests in the last years under Macri because then many people will be fired and also because of that many can't afford a dignified Christmas. Probably then the enormous tear gas and rubber bullet reserves saved by the G20 will be used for the first time. (67)

Jan: What do you think politically is most important for the near future?

Sebastiano: Well, we just have to win the next elections in 2019 and then the wind will turn decisively in our direction. We do not need an international public for that either. Rather, this will be decided here on the ground and requires all our strength as well as an overarching unity of forces against the neoliberalism of Macri and the G20 system.

Jan: Who then will line up for the Peronists?

Sebastiano: I think Cristina Kirchner would have the best chances—above all because of her popularity in the poor belt around Buenos Aires. Personally, I am committed to her renewed candidacy.

Jan: Last question: Macri and company obviously have good connections to the football club Boca Juniors. I've heard that River Plate is controlled by you Peronists—is that true? (68)

Sebastiano: This is absolute nonsense and has been put into the world by the conservatively-dominated media just like the corruption accusations against Cristina. (69)

Jan: But you don't deny that there was also corruption during the Kirchner period...

Sebastiano: Did I leave a quixotic personal impression here?

Jan: Nope, all right. Many thanks Sebastiano for the really very informative and intensive conversation... and have fun with your Trotskyists here.

Sebastiano: You can take them all with you to Hamburg—from there they wouldn't have to go so far to Russia to straighten things out again there.



(67) 13. December was relatively quiet. Among other things, the government distributed considerable Christmas compensation bonuses and paid outstanding salaries to state employees, in each case from IMF funds

(68) See also 25.11.

(69) Cristina Kirchner was the subject of various investigations https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cristina_Fern%C3%A1ndez_de_Kirchner#Legal_charges



As we enter a new phase of authoritarian neoliberalism, it is essential that we continue strengthening ties between movements fighting these structures of oppression, and that we continue to advance in our construction of better worlds.

In response to the catastrophic Buenos Aires G20 Summit held November 30-December 1, 2018, the Confluencia Fuera G20-FMI (65) organized a week of action to repudiate the presence of the G20 and the IMF in Argentina with the goal of creating spaces of convergence where demonstrators could continue building grassroots alternatives to neoliberalism.

This week of action was an achievement nothing short of inspirational considering the advance of neo-fascism in the continent, the increasing repression and criminalization of social movements, the militarization of territories, and the exhaustion of a fragmented Left following Latin America's progressive cycle.

The G20: A Farce That Is No Laughing Matter

As expected, the G20 Summit final declaration (72) did not provide any groundbreaking solutions to address the systemic crises we are currently experiencing—and for which the neoliberal policies of the G20 countries, the IMF, and the transnational companies they support are directly responsible.

To cite just one example, the measures decided by the G20 countries—responsible for 78% of emissions of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere—will actually exacerbate climate change. This is especially ironic given this year's G20 slogan: "Building consensus for a just and sustainable development."

(70) First publishing in English and Spanish <https://www.opendemocracy.net/author/marta-musi>

(71) Confluence against the G20 and the IMF

(72) PDF – Download https://drive.google.com/file/d/12y4xVU9cmO73sw_WnEJn1VeKpoLlctm2/view



Local media turned the summit into a laughingstock by reporting on several diplomatic snafus including the official Argentinian delegation arriving late to greet Macron—who began shaking hands with the airport staff wearing yellow vests (imagine the irony)—on the tarmac, while another Argentinian delegation mistook Xi Jinping as a member of his staff. Merkel arrived a day late after her government plane broke down and Trump incessantly humiliated Macri who was desperately trying to get in his good graces. (67)

The cherry on top was probably the Wi-Fi collapsing during the press conference, attended by 2,500 outraged international journalists, held the first day of the summit.

The G20 summit did not just leave behind disastrous environmental policies, funny memes and a hole in the public budget. It left Argentina much more militarized than before

As laughable as it was, this farce cost Argentina millions of euros at a time when the country is going through one of its deepest socio-economic crisis since the peso collapsed last August, with inflation rates close to 50%, poverty rates approaching 33%, unemployment reaching 12%, and an average loss in real salary of 15 points against inflation.

(67) <https://youtu.be/vlw7cl5cui8>

(68) Comment Translator: The Supreme Court of Argentina, however, overturned the decree for the time being and declared it unconstitutional

And the G20 did not just leave behind disastrous environmental policies, funny memes and a hole in the public budget (to be compensated with further cuts in the public sector). It left Argentina much more militarized with over 20,000 police officers and new high-tech anti-riot equipment—all of which will be used to discipline future resistance movements.

This is especially worrying as the current Minister of Security announced on Monday right after the summit the implementation of a decree—denounced by human rights organizations—allowing armed forces to shoot whenever they felt they were facing an “imminent threat” without having to provide any justification. (74)

In addition, the Argentinian government carried out an incessant intimidation campaign against social movements and organizations behind the week of action against the G20 by portraying them as terrorist organizations planning violent acts. Two militants from the Confederation of Workers of the Popular Economy (CTEP) were killed by the police in a protest a week before the G20. Social media trolls spread fear by posting false testimonies of people begging everyone to stay home.

The Macri administration even accused ATTAC, known worldwide for its non-violent activism against tax evasion, of money laundering. Meanwhile, the government shut down all transportation in the city centre and declared a bank holiday on November 30 to ensure fewer people would attend the demonstration.

The Week of Action against the G20

Despite this campaign of fear, intimidation and repression, the Confluence against the G20 and the IMF organized over 50 activities between November 26 and December 1, not including acts of solidarity carried out in other cities around the world.

The Confluence is an (inter)national alliance of social, political and territorial movements and organizations, unions, cooperatives, movements of women, feminists, afro-descendants, indigenous peoples, LGBTQI+ (75) people, and migrants, amongst others, created in September 2018 to internationalize the resistance against the G20 and the IMF.

Peoples' Summits are essential sites of collaboration and exchange among movements, collectives, and organizations

The activities organized by the Confluence consisted of various workshops, conferences, creative acts of civil disobedience, a fair put on by the solidarity economy, a music festival, a massive demonstration on November 30, and a two-day "People's Summit"—one of the highlights of this week of action.

Peoples' Summits (often called "counter-summits") are essential sites of collaboration and exchange among movements, collectives, and organizations. Here, people affected by the neoliberal system can discuss their concrete realities and struggles and foster alliances—whether local, regional or global—by constructing grassroots alternatives.

The Confluence People's Summit began at the University of Buenos Aires and then moved to the public sphere on Congress Square. More than 5000 people participated from all over Latin America and a couple European countries, though the majority of attendees were from Argentina.

The Summit brought together assembly-style forums on feminisms, corporate power, debt, migration, food sovereignty, the commons and sovereignty, health sovereignty, self-managed economies, popular education, and the advance of neo-fascism and militarization in the region. The Summit ended with Liliana Daunes, a well-known Argentine feminist, reading a final declaration synthesizing the results of these two days of collective discussions. (76)

(Inter-) national feminists at the front

On the heels of the April 2017 World Social Forum in Brazil, the March 2018 Second International Women's Strike, the September 2018 #EleNão ("not him") mobilizations against Bolsonaro in Brazil, and the ongoing campaign to legalize abortion in Argentina, Latin American women, feminists, and queer activists played a key role in the campaigns against the G20 and the IMF.

One group that was particularly involved in the Confluence was the Feminist Forum against the G20. This collective is a diverse, international alliance of feminists, women workers, activists, trade unionists, migrants, indigenous women, afro-descendants, peasants, and queer people. It emerged out of the Feminist Forum against the WTO held last year in Buenos Aires as a process of collective grassroots feminist construction. (77)

(75) The short for LGBTQIA+ stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual people

(76) in Spanish <https://noalg20.org/declaracion-cumbre-y-marcha-30n/>

(77) in English <http://dawnnet.org/special-coverage-dawn-at-the-peoples-summit-out-wto/>

On 8.3.2018 about 700,000 people demonstrated on International Women's Day under the motto "Not One Less" (78). It is said to have been one of the largest, if not the largest demonstration in the history of Argentina.



The Feminist Forum spent the entire year leading up to the G20 building its own agenda of activities—voicing their repudiation of the heteropatriarchal capitalist system, expanding (inter)national ties with other feminist collectives, offering feminist tools for understanding and fighting the advance of fascism and the intensification of violence against women—especially against women of color and queer communities.

They also organized two days of actions (79) to denounce the “empowerment” discourse of the rich, white, entrepreneurial women of the G20 “Women 20 Affinity Group” which met in early October in Buenos Aires to provide market-based recommendations to G20 leaders on how to better include women in the world economy.

For the G20 week of action, they put together their own agenda with an international seminar about feminist perspectives on current financial, political, and technological turbulence; launched a campaign called “our bodies our territories” denouncing processes of capitalist expropriation and the criminalization of defenders of women’s and LGBTQI+ rights.

They participated in an Assembly of Internationalist Feminists against the G20 sharing their experiences of feminist resistance from the entire world; and convened an Ethical, Popular, Anti-racist and Feminist Tribunal against the G20.

During the Tribunal, which was held on Congress Square, the audience denounced crimes against women, women of color, migrant women, and queer communities. After gathering all testimonies, the jury condemned the criminal, perverse, and deadly alliances between capitalism, patriarchy, racism and (neo-) colonialism embodied by and expressed through the G20 and the IMF.

These alliances lead to the destruction of nature, the precariousness of peoples, the militarization of all spheres of life, the criminalization of protests, the feminization of poverty, and the war against women—especially women of color—and queer communities.

(78) "# Ni Una Menos" is a feminist grassroots organization from Argentina that has spread throughout Latin America. The movement is generally directed against violence against women and other gender-based violence. In particular, it denounces the blatantly high number of femicides in Argentina and demands the right to legal abortion

(79) in English <https://systemicalternatives.org/2018/10/09/neither-victims-nor-entrepreneurs-the-feminist-mobilizations-against-the-w20-in-buenos-aires/>



In addition to their own agenda during the week of action, the Feminist Forum was also strongly involved in the processes of the Confluence against the G20. Having this simultaneously autonomous and transversal stance allowed the Feminist Forum to manoeuvre and organize their activities in non-mixed spaces whilst influencing – and feminizing – the Confluence, which, because of its diversity and the politico-militant cultures in Argentina, were not the most feminists – to say the least.

The presence of many women and feminists in general inside the Confluence helped navigate these militant spaces that are still prone to machismo, mansplaining (men explaining things to women in condescending ways), word monopoly and vertical, ego-protagonist behavior.

None of the activities of the week of action would have occurred had it not been for the majority of women and feminists in these spaces taking charge of coordinating the organisational, logistical, communication and care work it required.



As repeated by feminist movements, there cannot be a successful fight against capitalism without simultaneous fights against patriarchy, racism, neo-colonialism and anthropocentrism

The too-often ignored and silenced sexual division of labour – including of militant labour – needs to be recognized if we are to move beyond the currently devastating socio-economic system. As repeated by feminist movements, there cannot be a successful fight against capitalism without simultaneous fights against patriarchy, racism, neo-colonialism and anthropocentrism (80).

Which is why feminisms – for their catalytic, transversal, intersectional and internationalist narratives and practices – not only provide the tools to understand and resist against the devastating effects of our current system; they allow us to radically rethink our own practices and modes of organization – including within the most “progressive” spaces. The week of action against the G20 and the IMF was yet another proof of that.

The demonstration of November 30th

On November 30th, around 50,000 people marched to the Congress Square to repudiate the presence of the G20 and of the IMF and their neoliberal policies. This protest was considered a success given the context of repression, the city being on lock-down and the absence of many strong unions such as the CGT.

As relieving as it was, the fact that the demonstration went on peacefully was a surprise to many, especially considering the atmosphere of repression, the depth of the current socio-economic crisis and the presence of the IMF in the country– whose responsibility for the devastating crisis of 2001 remains rooted in Argentinian collective memory. The situation was expected to escalate like it did during the last G20 summit held in Hamburg last year, when violent confrontations occurred between the police and the protesters attempting to disrupt the summit (81).

However, the Confluence always upheld a non-violent stance and never intended to prevent the G20 from happening. Indeed, from a strategic point of view – except for its symbolic dimension (like the 1999 battle of Seattle) – shutting down such forums bares little impact on moving beyond neoliberalism.



(80) View, ethics, in which one sees himself as the most important or only centre of worldly reality.

(81) In English <https://www.opendemocracy.net/simin-fadaee/hamburg-g20-protests-and-alternative-futures>

For example, shutting down the G20 would not have prevented leaders from meeting again or advancing their agenda in other ways, especially through the use of bilateral free trade agreements and investment treaties—a more common form of organizing in the current world trade system.

Bluntly put, Argentinian armed forces are in a position where they can repress and kill people with complete impunity

Furthermore, in the current context of militarization and repression, attempting to shut down the G20 would not have been only nonsensical; it would have been suicidal. It was neither possible (nor desirable) to replicate the attempts to shut down the G20 in Buenos Aires, like it was done last in year in Hamburg. This is because responses to the presence of neoliberal forums such as the G20 are place-based, contingent and context-specific. Indeed, Germany and Argentina are distinctive countries with regards to the culture of protests, the respect of human rights and the levels of police repression.

Bluntly put, Argentinian armed forces are in a position where they can repress and kill people with complete impunity. On the contrary, Germany would have faced an international scandal had any casualties arrived during the attempts to sabotage the G20 in 2017.

Sharing our experiences from different contexts is necessary because it nurtures future processes of collective strategizing and builds alliances between movements. To this end, some participants in the Hamburg G20 also participated in the week of action in Buenos Aires and compiled their experiences into a book dedicated to the people of Buenos Aires. (82).

The importance of such weeks of action

A week of action is not just a *weeklong event*. It is an entire *year* (sometimes two) of work in national and international territories. It provides opportunities to raise awareness, provide information, link grassroots struggles to broader, more systemic processes and work towards the convergence of communities and movements fighting against the same socio-economic system and its agenda of exploitation, violence, destruction, poverty and inequality.

A week of action cannot be assessed only in terms of outcomes or of the number of participants. It should take into account all the “ant work” carried out throughout the year, the knowledges produced and disseminated throughout the entire process, the common agenda articulated for the future to come.



(82) See also page 22

And, more importantly, the alliances, ties and affections created between peoples and the transformation of personal subjectivities throughout such processes of collective construction.

The capitalist elites of our system organize internationally to consolidate their power. Social movements should do the same

As we enter a new phase of authoritarian neoliberalism marked by the advance of neo-fascism and new forms of capitalist, patriarchal, misogynistic, racist, and statist violence in all spheres of life, it is essential that we continue strengthening ties between movements fighting these structures of oppression, and that we continue to advance in our construction of better worlds.

Capitalist elites organize internationally to consolidate their power. Social movements should do the same in order to dismantle it, simultaneously strengthening our militant roots in local territories while weaving tapestries of resistance transnationally.

As the G20 leaves Argentina, it does not leave behind only a militarized country; it leaves behind inspiring ideas, incredible memories, and stronger ties between peoples who will continue articulating common transformative agendas locally, regionally, and globally in the collective construction and strengthening of grassroots, systemic alternatives to neoliberalism.

I would like to thank all the inspiring people whom I had the chance of meeting and the honour of walking together with for the past two years on the collective roads to building an anti-capitalist, feminist, anti-racist pluriverse (83).



"G20 Welcome to hell"

(82) 14. A term from the Zapatista movement: A world that encompasses different worlds, in contrast to the idea of a unified universe.