

Latin America: A giant un turmoil

A film by Marco Enríquez-Ominami and Rodrigo Vázquez

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COLOR CODE

Orange: Credits

Black: Narrator

Green : Subtitles

Pink: Titles

00:01:00

ARTE France

CinéTévé

Comitía

Bethnal Film

present

00:13:00

A

Fabienne Servan Schreiber

Lucie Pastor

Production

00:43:00

A film by

Marco Enríquez-Ominami

Rodrigo Vázquez

00:48:00

Directed by

Rodrigo Vázquez

00:53:00

Latin America:

A giant in turmoil

00 :00 :04 :24 Narration

A clap of thunder in Latin America: the extreme-right is back in Brazil.

The left's golden years are fading fast.

From the Caribbean to Tierra del Fuego,

defeat has followed defeat. Everywhere, the right is gaining ground.
 In Argentina, the conservatives are in control.
 Chile has changed direction.
 Venezuela has entered a period of uncertainty
 and protests have set light to Nicaragua.
 Foul weather for the left.

00 :01 :03 :17 Narration

After years of glorious hegemony, the Latin American left has suffered unprecedented setbacks.

Showing yourself to be in that camp is suicide. I know what I'm talking about, I ran three times for the Chilean presidency and I was beaten three times... A personal failure but also the collective defeat of an entire political family sanctioned after once embodying the hope of a brighter future.

00:01:35:00 Subtitles

Live from Chile, Marco Enriquez,
 the Progressive Party leader.
 You claim the right protects interests
 while the left protects values.
 The right only understands,
 it's a metaphor, authority.
 And the challenge of the left
 is to conquer that metaphor.
 That is why the left loses elections.

00:01:56:11 Subtitles

It's we who lose elections,
 not the right that wins them.
 Some of the Latin American
 middle classes
 is wary of a process
 that is the greatest success
 of these past 50 years!

00:02:10:11 Subtitles

Never have Latin Americans
 had it so good. Never!

00 :02 :19 :23 Narration

Why such rejection ? I wanted to understand. So I went to meet the left's now disputed leaders, across this inequality champion of a continent. This is a time for self-criticism.

00 :02 :36 :22 Narration

First stop, the indispensable ancestor, our inspiration : Cuba. A long time ago, Fidel Castro won by force of arms the territory and the destiny of a people that had been the private preserve of the United States. For the Latin American left, the Cuban revolution became the example to follow... 60 years on, the country is exhausted, ravaged by a ferocious embargo, and its principle of an egalitarian society does not impassion the people as it once did...

00:03:20:00 Subtitles

May I?

**I'm making a film
about Cuba's hopes and dreams.**

00:03:32:07 Subtitles

How is Cuba?

00:03:35:01 Subtitles

Our dreams are huge.

But dreams, well...

Dreams are like life.

We try to make progress

on every front.

At every level

To change for the better.

Better work, better food...

Better everything, better wages...

00:03:59:18 Subtitles

I have no more dreams.

At my age, it's too late.

00:04:05:08 Subtitles

Here's what's happening here.

Our problems aren't political.

Here, the political system

is very good for everyone.

Our problems are economic.

00:04:21:07 Subtitles

See my crowns?

20 Cuban pesos.

20 pesos, not dollars.

00:04:26:11 Subtitles

Health care is free, so after all...

00:04:30:20 Subtitles

If you fall,

I will take you to hospital

and they will take care of you...

There you go.

That's no small thing.

00:04:41:04 Subtitles

It's very precious.

00 :04 :45 :16 Narration

Cuba's healthcare system is one of socialism's victories but

**the system that makes sure people can feed themselves works less well.
The state ration book has always enabled Cubans to put food on their table.
Over the years though, the range of foodstuffs has been greatly reduced.**

10:05:15:06 Subtitles

What do you sell here?

**Rice, sugar, beans, oil, toothpaste,
soap... With the ration book.**

00:05:22:22 Subtitles

You need a ration book.

- And... That's it?

- The ration book.

0:05:27:24 Subtitles

Every family has one of these?

Here, change these for me.

Don't you like that brand?

This one, yes.

00:05:39:20 Subtitles

For one person...

One person. Me.

00:05:43:02 Subtitles

You're entitled to 5 pounds of rice...

8 ounces of oil,

10 ounces of beans,

3 pounds of white sugar...

00:05:52:13 Subtitles

What about coffee?

Coffee... this.

- For one month?

- That's right.

00:06:01:06 Subtitles

Up to there,

that's your oil allowance.

3 pounds of sugar.

Two bottles like this,

that's 2 pounds.

4 in all.

00:06:13:05 Subtitles

Who supplies these products to you?

00:06:16:13 Subtitles

The State.

00:06:18:01 Subtitles

- The Food Ministry?
- That's right.

00:06:20:13 Subtitles

- They deliver?
- Yes.
- At state expense?
- Yes.

00:06:24:18 Subtitles

- Once a month?
- That's right.

00:06:27:03 Subtitles

For the whole neighborhood?
How many people?
It says so there.
I have... 760 customers.

00:06:37:20 Subtitles

Do you live off rations too?

00:06:40:11 Subtitles

- Yes.
- Is it enough?

00:06:42:12 Subtitles

- It's socialism.
- Socialism...

00:06:45:04 Subtitles

Socialism.
A left-wing policy.

00:06:47:19 Subtitles

No, it's a revolutionary policy.
It's thanks to Fidel, all of this.
Thanks to the left.

00:06:54:24 Subtitles

No, to Fidel.
We're Fidelists here.

00 :06 :59 :11

**THE VIBRANT AND VICTORIOUS
REVOLUTION CONTINUES**

00 :07 :04 :17

EDUCATION - WORK - GUNS

00:07:11:04 Subtitles

With the revolution,
it's a bit like with parents,
a love-hate relationship.

00:07:17:01 Subtitles

The majority of young people,
myself included,
think about ensuring
our economic security,
for ourselves
and our family unit.

00:07:27:22 Subtitles

Individually.
We've lost...

00:07:31:23 Subtitles

We have lost the sense
of the collective,
of social sacrifice,
that's for sure.

00:07:38:02 Subtitles

It has been lost
because it's a cultural battle,
and the media, the cinema
and TV series bang on about
success being money.

00:07:49:23 Subtitles

I want to go to a place
where I can live better.
I have worked in Cuba for 5 years,
I would like to broaden my horizons
in every way possible,
and I see prospects abroad.
For many people,
the best solution is to leave.

00 :08 :17 :18 Narration

The Cuban Revolution may be in a bad way
but there's one country that has embraced its values: Venezuela.
Here, anti-imperialism is part of the national culture.
Equal rights and social justice are guaranteed by the State.

00 :08 :35 :24 Narration

Financed by the country's oil revenues,
Commander Chavez's "Bolivarian revolution" won widespread support.

**But today it has run out of steam,
and his successor has found himself in a seemingly never-ending period of turmoil.**

**00:08:50:08 Subtitles
Willing to die for Maduro
and our country!**

**00:09:03:14 Subtitles
We have nothing to eat!
Food for our children!
Don't you understand?**

**00 :09 :17 :23 Narration
Crippled by the global slump in commodities and lacking a diversified economy,
the country is experiencing an unprecedented economic and health crisis.
According to UN figures, two million Venezuelans have already chosen to flee the
country rather than suffer serious privation.**

**00 :09 :38 :23 Narration
Today, one in ten children suffer from malnutrition...**

**00:09:47:10 Subtitles
Before the elections,
you always get lines.
People make the journey
and no one complains.
It's the fault of the government
and the opposition, all this.
And we've come a long way
to get supplies here.**

**00:10:04:13 Subtitles
Give me some money
for filming me.**

**00:10:07:09 Subtitles
Coffee is expensive,
sugar is too.
Do you get any kind of welfare?
None at all?
You have to fend for yourself.**

**00 :10 :19 :07 Narration
To curb shortages, combat the black market and enable the most vulnerable to resist,
the government is meeting the most urgent needs.**

**00:10:30:24 Subtitles
The service is organized**

by streets, by zones.
The communal council
assesses people's needs,
registers them
and distributes one box a month.

00:10:41:17 Subtitles

What's in it?
Rice...?
Rice, pasta, oil,
tuna,
beans, peas, lentils...

00:10:52:02 Subtitles

We're realistic.
I know things are bad
but we have to fight for our country.
Who else will help us?
The United States
will do nothing good.
Look at what they're doing in Syria.

00:11:05:11 Subtitles

What they have done in Syria,
in Libya, in Afghanistan...

00:11:10:06 Subtitles

People are too gullible.
But we know what the USA has done.
And they want to take our oil,
our gold,
all of our resources,
even our water.
People must understand.

00:11:28:24 Subtitles

What economic war?
We all want to work!
We need to sow,
but everything we need for that
has been taken away.
Almost everything is imported.

00:11:47:00 Narration

And as political divisions deepen, inflation is skyrocketing.

00:11:55:08 Subtitles

Hello.

00:12:00:16 Subtitles
There's a real shortage...

00:12:03:16 Subtitles
At which level?

00:12:05:12 Subtitles
At every level of the chain.
Pharmaceutical, medical...

00:12:11:05 Subtitles
What are you short of?

00:12:13:03 Subtitles
What aren't we short of?

00:12:15:15 Subtitles
We have no anti-hypertensives,
no anti-epileptic drugs,
no anti-inflammatory drugs,
no painkillers,
no antibiotics to save lives,
no contrast agents.

00:12:30:05 Subtitles
For example, give me a price.

00:12:32:23 Subtitles
Losartan for hypertension.
2.8 million.
And the minimum wage
is 2 million bolivars.

00:12:41:22 Subtitles
Please do not open the products.

00 :12 :49 :14 Narration
Discredited, the Venezuelan revolution is reeling from the blows of its detractors
but some still believe.

00 :13 :05 :10 Narration
At the presidential palace, an audience is underway.
Nicolas Maduro has agreed to meet me.

00:13:14:19 Subtitles
His Excellency Ngo Tien Dung,
ambassador of the Socialist
Republic of Vietnam.

00 :13 :23 :24 Narration

**As with his predecessor,
support for the Venezuelan president is far from unanimous.
Accused of authoritarianism and incompetence,
he faces increasingly harsh criticism...**

00:13:34:12 Subtitles

**Afterwards,
interview in the Green Room.
Left, power, Venezuela.**

00:13:46:11 Subtitles

**Thank you, President.
The camera will follow me.**

00:13:49:12 Subtitles

**Shall we go into my office?
Perfect. Alright.**

00:13:57:02 Subtitles

Come on, guys.

00:13:59:05 Subtitles

Excuse me.

00:14:00:10 Subtitles

**- Go ahead.
- Thank you, President.**

00:14:08:04 Subtitles

**Are you tired, President?
I've had a very busy day as usual.**

00:14:18:19 Subtitles

**We are experiencing
the collapse of the oil model
on which Venezuela relied
for one hundred years.
The fact is,
2015 saw the exhaustion
of the oil-rentier model.**

00:14:36:11 Subtitles

**What did this model mean?
A country that was spending
35 billion dollars on imports
in order to satisfy
a very strong domestic market.**

00:14:49:05 Subtitles

But in 2016,
our foreign currency income
fell to an all-time low.
This wrought havoc on our economy,
already weakened
by an internal economic war,
with contraband, fraud...
It hit a country on its knees.
Our oil experts failed.
I have never said this publicly:
our experts, our analysts,
our strategists failed.
They saw nothing coming.
I have documents to prove it.

00:15:21:04 Subtitles

Why did President Chávez choose you?
For which mission?

00:15:25:05 Subtitles

In this very room on December 8,
in 2012,
on his return from Cuba
when he already knew
he'd have a third serious operation,
he summoned the political team
and told us that
if anything happened to him,
I had to take the helm of
the country and the revolution.
And I had to run for the presidency
if ever he was too weak
or if he did not survive.
From that chair
where he was presiding,
he spoke to the nation.

00:16:04:10 Subtitles

Unfortunately I have to inform you
that this thorough test
has detected the presence,
in the same affected area,
of more malignant cells.

00:16:22:18 Subtitles

- Can we get closer?
- Of course.

00:16:25:07 Subtitles

- I'll tell you about it.
- Yes, do tell us.

00:16:29:00 Subtitles

We were sitting there,
having a meeting.
He was on this chair, here.
I was sitting on his left.
And Diosdado Cabello
was sitting here.
There was a group
of collaborators there.
We spoke with him
and, still optimistic, we said,
"President, do not make
"a public announcement.
"Don't say if anything happens,
I should take your place."
We thought we had convinced him.
That evening
he came in through that door,
he walked over here,
he sat down...
The cameras were off.
We were not on air yet.

00:17:19:14 Subtitles

He turned,
looked at me and said,
"Nicolás, I've come to do it.
Diosdado, I've come.
"I'm going to tell them.
"I assure you, Nicolás.
"I know my flock.
"I have to give the order.
"If something bad happens,
you take over."
I will never forget how,
seeing my look of dismay,
he said,
"Nicolás, it's your turn now.
"Get ready."

00:17:51:01 Subtitles

Given the conflict facing us,
if we had given up,
if we had given in,
if we had been weak,
corruptible or gullible,
if we had "behaved well"

like the continent's cowardly left,
 the gringos would already
 have plundered our resources.
 But that won't happen in Venezuela.
 We've sworn.
 Venezuela will triumph,
 the revolution will survive.
 We will stand firm, come what may.

00:18:21:00 Subtitles

President,
 why isn't Venezuela a dictatorship?

00:18:25:01 Subtitles

Because it's a democracy.
 How is it a democracy?
 Because we have a people
 a constitution, a rule of law,
 a justice system,
 working institutions,
 popular consultations...
 and because the authorities
 are duly elected by direct vote.
 And the fact is,
 over the past 18 years,
 the only country in the world
 to have called 21 elections
 is Venezuela.
 No other country has.
 How many elections have Chile
 Argentina or the US had?

00:18:59:18 Subtitles

- Far fewer.
 - Not even 10!

00:19:01:17 Subtitles

Whereas here,
 we've had recall referendums,
 popular consultations...
 So what's the problem?
 The media?
 The problem is,
 I'm leading a revolution.
 If I had rolled over,
 I'm sure I'd be received in palaces.

00 :19 :21 :24 Narration

For Nicolas Maduro, it's double or quits.

But, in Latin America, you never know what tomorrow will bring.

00:19:30:24 Subtitles

**You aren't suffering
on the streets every day!**

00:19:38:02 Subtitles

**The streets belong to the people!
Police out!**

00:19:42:15 Subtitles

**She's crying because
we're hungry in Venezuela!
She could be your mother!**

00 :19 :53 :13 Narration

**Revolution and prosperity do not usually make good bedfellows
and anti-imperialism is rarely synonymous with longevity,
so Bolivia makes for something of an exception.**

**The country continues to post strong growth,
and its president has been in power for 13 years.**

00:20:17:07 Subtitles

**I request
a minute of silence
for Manco Inca,
Túpac Katari,
Túpac Amaru,
Che Guevara,
for many of my fallen brothers,
coca growers from
the tropical zone of Cochabamba,
millions of human beings
who have died all over America.
For them, I ask for
a moment of silence.**

00 :20 :53 :21 Narration

**Evo Morales is a revolution in himself.
Bolivia's first indigenous president and a former labor union leader,
he has had many successes but is still accused of
betraying his grassroots supporters and trying to cling to power.**

10:21:13:22 Subtitles

**The indigenous peoples,
who are the majority
of the Bolivian population,
have historically been
marginalized, humiliated, hated,**

despised,
condemned to extinction.
That is our history.

00:21:33:12 Subtitles

- President.
- How are you?

00:21:35:21 Subtitles

My daughter, Fernanda.

00:21:39:11 Subtitles

- Where shall we sit?
- There. Wherever you like.

00:21:43:23 Subtitles

Let's give the president his gift.

00:21:55:05 Subtitles

- A football shirt!
- Yes, the Chilean team.

00:21:58:00 Subtitles

We're playing better and better.
Great. There's no number?
How come?
So you can put the number
you want on it.
Which position do you play?
Which position?
Me? Centre-forward.
Ah, attacker.

00:22:12:15 Subtitles

In my experience,
one should always work
with the majority of the team.
That is, the people.
Especially with those
whom history has forgotten.
One should be with the people.
I always have.
Our programs come
from the people.
They are not imported.
Under the presidency of
Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada,

an International Monetary Fund member
was in the government.

00:22:41:15 Subtitles

**President,
if I compare 2005 with 2017,
you won the match.
To stay with the football metaphor.
A reduction in poverty...
all the indicators.
Who lost in this process?
The richest?**

00:22:55:09 Subtitles

**If you are on the left,
the worst external enemies
are imperialism and capitalism.
If you don't identify them...
At home, there are two enemies:
the oligarchy,
which is fascist, racist...
and the media,
which is hand in glove with it.
The private sector uses the media
to protect its own interests.
To achieve cohesion and growth,
by way of identification of the enemy,
ours was the ambassador.
We expelled him.
I do not regret it.
The US ambassador.
We expelled him
because he was conspiring.
He had to go.**

00:23:41:04 Subtitles

Long live the Central Workers Union!

00:23:43:13 Subtitles

**I didn't used to think
the political or
social liberation project
should depend on one person.**

00:23:53:12 Subtitles

**We demand power,
in the name of the owners
of this noble land,
its absolute owners:
the Aymaras, the Quechuas,
the Chiquitanos.
We want political power.**

00:24:08:01 Subtitles

**But now I have understood
you must have a leader,
with or without a militant base,
to defend principles and values.**

00:24:19:00 Subtitles

**You have had to deal
with the social movements.**

00:24:21:20 Subtitles

**Some have faced you down.
Take the TIPNIS highway.**

00:24:25:03 Subtitles

They derailed it.

00:24:26:19 Subtitles

**The problem with
some social movements
is they are too ambitious.
Their demands are unrealistic
as well as harmful.
Things have changed.
In the past,
we fought for structural changes.
These days,
people only speak out
to demand this or that.**

00:24:47:17 Subtitles

**The social movements,
when you were part of them,
demanded structural improvements.
Today the middle classes
have other expectations.**

00:24:56:03 Subtitles

**Two million have entered
the middle classes.
Of course their expectations
have changed.
Nationalization was critical.
We reasserted state control.
The decree stated that
82% of profits was for the State
and 18% for the private sector.
They could either take it or leave it.
It was the most important decision.**

**From an economic perspective?
The most leftwing measure,
the nationalization
of hydrocarbon resources.**

**0:25:28:24 Subtitles
State capitalism?**

**00:25:31:03 Subtitles
- Yes...
- It's state capitalism?**

**00:25:33:14 Subtitles
I think so.**

**00:25:34:14 Subtitles
Either you are for
or against imperialism.
By implementing programs
without the dictates
of the American embassy
or the interference
of the World Bank or the IMF,
we proved we could do better.
When economic policies put capital
in the hands of a few,
what social justice is there?
You're leftwing? Let's see
if you expel the US ambassador.**

**00:26:05:14 Subtitles
If I expel him when I'm elected?
I'll think about it.**

**00:26:10:13 Subtitles
A selfie with the president.**

**00:26:14:20 Subtitles
There, that's it.**

**00:26:16:09 Subtitles
Make sure we can see Evo.**

**00:26:19:11 Subtitles
- Goodbye.
- Goodbye, thank you.**

**00 :26 :26 :23 Narration
Criticized by members of his traditional support base,**

**the Bolivian leader's popularity has dipped.
The moral of this story is... expelling the American ambassador does not solve everything. Leaders always disappoint.**

00:26:42:08 Subtitles

**We're on the streets
because of the Mas party!
We're on the streets
because of the Mas leader!
Evo, Motín, it's the same crap!
Let's fight for our collective rights
and if possible,
nationwide, brothers!
We will fight till we get justice.
Respect for Achacachi!
Respect for Achacachi!**

00 :27 :19 :15 Narration

**You need more than convictions to change the world. You have to put them into practice.
And when globalization imposes its rules, you deal with it as best you can.**

00 :27 :30 :17 Narration

**Ecuador's ex-president is one of the few Latin American statesmen with a background in economics.
He is a leading figure of the democratic left, and one of the most respected.**

00:27:40:18 Subtitles

**Long live the people of Quito,
and onward toward victory!**

00 :27 :46 :04 Narration

Rafael Correa has not only served three terms as president but launched a citizens' revolution and survived an attempted coup.

00:28:04:10 Subtitles

**You want to kill the president,
here I am!
Come on, kill the president!**

00 :28 :11 :11 Narration

**An advocate of a new brand of socialism,
he combined, over a period of 10 years, social justice, national sovereignty and democracy.
Since the end of his last term of office, he has lived in Belgium.**

00:28:29:04 Subtitles

**This is just a driving matter...
We've been this way twice.
Is there a problem?**

It's that way, Leuven.

00:28:43:18 Subtitles

**Are we going to run
someone over to get there?**

00:29:00:08 Subtitles

It's here, on the left.

00 :29 :03 :10 Narration

Correa is known for his punctuality, and I'm late.

00:29:17:01 Subtitles

**- Where is it?
- Good question.**

00:29:22:22 Subtitles

**The creperie?
Down that way and up the steps.**

00:29:33:07 Subtitles

This is it.

00:29:38:15 Subtitles

Are you leaving?

00 :29 :48 :21 Narration

**Raphael Correa is currently facing criminal charges
for his alleged involvement in the kidnapping of an opponent.
He claims it is a plot to prevent him returning to the presidency orchestrated by his
enemies and the former protégé who succeeded him.**

00:30:13:02 Subtitles

**Did you study here?
I came here when I was 27.
I won a scholarship...
Actually, I won two scholarships.
I spent a year in Zumbahua
before attending this university.**

00:30:27:21 Subtitles

Let's see his college.

00:30:29:06 Subtitles

**- It's the other way.
- I'd better follow you then!**

00:30:32:22 Subtitles

**You're a known revolutionary.
The Chilean economy's killer**

- are in Chicago...
- Nearby.
- And you studied there.
- It wasn't me!
But I did study in Chicago.

00:30:45:03 Subtitles

- Is this the faculty?
- Yes. The school of economics.

00:30:49:13 Subtitles

There are different lecture halls
around the campus,
for the classes.

00:30:56:08 Subtitles

Before coming back to Evo,
you spoke about economics
at the service of politics.

00:31:02:12 Subtitles

Our actions and interactions
are subjected to external forces.
The greatest harm
ever done to economics
was the stripping
of its original definition:
political economy.

00:31:16:23 Subtitles

Look at why and for whom
measures are taken.
On close inspection,
it is always for capital.

00:31:25:00 Subtitles

Evo says there is
no left-right cleavage now,
but capital/non-capital,
imperialism/non-imperialism.

00:31:31:03 Subtitles

- Ideologically.
- That's the cleavage?

00:31:34:05 Subtitles

What is the left?
The supremacy of humans over capital.

00:31:40:24 Subtitles

I have great respect for Evo
but I don't agree.
The left and right
are as current as ever.
They aren't expressed as they were
during the French Revolution,
with the king's defenders
and those who wanted to behead him.
But they exist in ideas.
Liberty for the right
means non-intervention.
For the left,
it is non-domination.
That's why there are
collective actions, a state
guarantees rights.
For me, the left-right opposition
is just as important today.

00:32:24:09 Subtitles

That's the only coffee we drink.
It smells good.
I wasn't sure you'd have
a coffeemaker yet.
Yes, I always have a coffeemaker.

00:32:37:06 Subtitles

No leader has found
the right successor.
Henry Miller said in Europe
the alternation in power
was a boring process,
but a matter of life or death
in Latin America.
That hasn't changed!

00:32:48:17 Subtitles

The United States works
even with Bush, even with Trump,
like all institutionalized nations.
The more institutions,
the less need for leaders.
The fewer institutions,
the more important leaders are.

00:33:01:08 Subtitles

That's the left's failing.

00:33:05: Subtitles

**Was your greatest opponent
finance or the media?**

00:33:08:14 Subtitles

**The media, definitely.
They did a hatchet job on me.
That's their business.
I fulfilled my historical role.
I thought I was leaving
the country in safe hands.
The analyses indicated
we'd probably win the 2017 elections.
And we did.
Unfortunately my successors
were wolves in sheep's clothing.**

00:33:31:06 Subtitles

**Who is to blame?
You should have ran.**

00:33:34:24 Subtitles

**Evo says a revolutionary project
needs its leader,
like Raúl, Fidel, Chávez.**

00:33:41:00 Subtitles

**Its failure in Ecuador
doesn't make Evo right.
You can choose loyal people
and continue the project.
We chose the wrong people.**

00:33:51:18 Subtitles

Anger doesn't prevent hope?

00:33:53:08 Subtitles

**- They can take everything but hope.
- That's it! Stay hopeful.**

00:33:57:07 Subtitles

**- Thank you.
- Thanks a lot.**

00 :34 :05 :05 Narration

Let's recap...

**The Cuban Revolution has lost its way in Cuba itself and is perhaps in its final death throes in Venezuela; in Bolivia its future depends on its instigator and in Ecuador it's those who are closest who betray us.
So what is to be done?**

00 :34 :31 :08 Narration

In Brazil, President Lula's succession was carried out loyally.

With Dilma Roussef at the helm.

Here too, the left has been ousted. A moderate left, in favor of compromise.

Accused of cooking the government books against a background of corruption,

Dilma Roussef was bundled out of power in a matter of hours.

Putting an end 12 years of Workers' Party rule.

00:35:06:06 Subtitles

My impeachment is not justified.

It has absolutely no legal basis.

00:35:12:00 Subtitles

It was a coup.

- Really?

- Yes.

00:35:15:20 Subtitles

I hate the PT.

I don't support them.

00:35:20:02 Subtitles

Even a few years ago,

I could never have said this:

I want the military back in power.

00 :35 :30 :19 Narration

In a Brazil scarred by the crisis, hit hard by the recession,

this scandal served to stoke up popular resentment still further.

And the president became the scapegoat, blamed for all the country's woes.

00:35:46:01 Subtitles

- Hello, good to see you.

- Likewise.

00:35:49:23 Subtitles

If you don't understand,

Cecilia can help.

00:35:52:16 Subtitles

- I understand perfectly.

- Thank you.

00:35:54:22 Subtitles

Morales and Correa's answer

to what being on the left means is,

a leftwing leader must expel

the US ambassador at once.

That's what they say...

as a definition

of the Latin American left.

00:36:09:09 Subtitles

I don't agree with that.

You know why?

It gets you nowhere.

It's beside the point.

00:36:16:08 Subtitles

After all, those who benefit...

00:36:18:13 Subtitles

No, the United States...

It is not against this country,

but against its government

and its big business

that we are fighting.

And not only against them.

They are not alone.

There's the US

and the world of finance,

which interact in every sector.

00:36:38:00 Subtitles

Because the coup against you...

00:36:40:08 Subtitles

That's an anti-imperialist view,

forgive me, from the 1960s.

I held those views at the time,

but this is different.

Those who benefit from the coup

are the Brazilian elite.

The United States just gets crumbs.

00:36:57:20 Subtitles

I get the impression,

when the left loses or is toppled,

the Latin American alliance

is extremely fragile.

Two years and... that was it!

00:37:08:00 Subtitles

The fact is,

the major free trade players

lack conviction today.

Brazil thinks

to join in this free trade,

it must submit to the US.

Here, these past few years,

**we have seen
a reduction in inequality
in one of the world's
most unequal continents.
When I was in government,
90% of fuel consumed
was produced here.
Today, with my successors,
we are importing 30%.
And they have dollarized
prices and indexed them
to Brent crude oil prices
on the international market.
If the price of oil rises
every day...**

00:38:07:16 Subtitles

- Prices rise.**
- Precisely.**

00:38:09:09 Subtitles

**In a country where
the strength of Petrobras is,
we have reserves
as well as a market,
and not just any market.
It's a market the big North
American oil companies wanted.
How could they have dollarized
this self-sufficient market?
In just 10 months,
prices rose 57%.
The American oil corporations
used to hold
a market share
of between 10 and 15%.
It could vary.
Sometimes it was 20%.
At worst, it was 31% of imports.
Now it's 80%!**

00:38:50:07 Subtitles

**The Brazilian elite has made a habit,
typical of slavery,
of brutally controlling society,
especially those at the bottom,
and capturing the middle classes,
which carried out these acts
of violence on the elite's behalf.
When our countries**

were hit by the crisis,
the redistribution conflict began.
Here, in Brazil,
it's extremely visible.

00:39:26:03 Subtitles

The Sao Paulo Industries Federation
put a huge yellow and black duck
right in the middle
of the Avenida Paulista,
the financial heart of Brazil.
And it organized a huge rally
with the slogan
"We won't pay for this duck,"
which meant
"We won't pay for this crisis."
"Sort it out
and make the people pay."

00:39:54:08 Subtitles

In my opinion,
the middle classes are having regrets.
What bad could happen?
That they vote extreme right.
And that's serious.

00 :40 :13 :11 Narration

In the neglected neighborhoods of the capital, yesterday's euphoria has turned to anger. Despite over 30 million Brazilians being lifted out of poverty, violence and still looms large in people's daily lives and many are still living hand to mouth.

00:40:43:10 Subtitles

In the favelas,
we're still living in poverty.
Why are the favelas leaning
to the right or abstaining?
Because capitalism is powerful.
And the fact is,
this alliance with the right,
which you just mentioned,
has always existed.
There's never been a divide.
That's also why
we on the left are fighting
for this divide to occur.

00:41:13:00 Subtitles

What is the next step on the left?

00:41:16:03 Subtitle
There has to be a divide.
What do you mean?
In the October elections...
The right on one side,
us on the other.
As long as we stay under the table
waiting for crumbs to fall,
we will live in poverty.
We need to put an end to it.

00 :41 :37 :19
SHOOT THE UPP

00:41:49:18 Subtitle
This is the battlefield.
The police stand up there,
the dealers down here.

00:41:59:22 Subtitle
Lumba said
the problem with the left
is that we negotiate.
Precisely.
We deal with the devil.

00:42:08:05 Subtitle
- Are those bullets?
- Yes.

00:42:10:09 Subtitle
Bullet holes.
On the left, it drives us mad.
Because if we negotiate,
we're not leftwing anymore.

00:42:20:00 Subtitle
And I think we have to negotiate
to avoid bullet-riddled walls.

00:42:30:01 Subtitle
Politicians have become a joke.
There's no one to vote for.
They're all thieves.

00:42:37:02 Subtitle
Do you believe in anything?

00:42:39:05 Subtitle
I think only God can intervene

and help us out.

00:42:47:14 Subtitle

Listen to me!

He was carrying weed too.

I can tell you.

**That is why God sent you
to the favela of Jacarezinho.**

How do you know

God didn't have a mission for you?

With the life I led,

you think I thought of that?

00 :43 :15 :00 Narration

In Brazil, the left's defeat was complete.

The country has moved on and is awaiting its messiah.

In these troubled times, you need to take a step back to see the way forward.

00:43:48:21 Subtitle

Long live the homeland,

long live Uruguay,

long live Latin America!

00 :43 :29 :04 Narration

In Uruguay, ex-president P  p   Mujica is seen as a philosopher.

This former guerilla fighter is the only Latin American leader

to have achieved continuity and stability on the left in his country.

00 :43 :58 :07 Narration

Since he left office, he has lived happily on his farm,

putting into practice his public principles of simplicity and probity.

00:44:13:09 Subtitle

In the morning,

I'm going to plant oats.

I have to turn over the soil

but I can't carry the tools on my own.

- I'll start early, and bingo!

- Thank you for having me.

00:44:29:13 Subtitle

Is Latin America poorer

or less poor

after the leftwing governments?

00:44:34:11 Subtitle

No, in substance,

it is much richer.

Only it has historical circumstances

that we did not manage to overcome.

**Appalling inequality...
Despite everything
that we tried to introduce,
the redistribution policy and so on,
there is still a huge social debt.
But we are living in a complex age.
Globalization isn't an illusion.
And it's a mistake
to view it simply as an excess
of financial capital
and transnational capital,
which it is.
But as well as that,
it also generates a culture.**

**00:45:27:13 Subtitle
And if this culture doesn't change,
nothing will change.
But culture is
the hardest thing to change.
Masses of very poor people
have achieved a standard of living
enabling them to consume,
except we are still prisoners
of the same culture.
We live in a marketing society.
Potentially,
we all aspire to being
voracious consumers.**

**00:45:59:07 Subtitle
We have killed the old religions
but the fact is that
the god of our age is the market.
In Latin America,
we look at the rich world
in the window,
we want to consume
like the rich world,
only we are dependent
on direct foreign investment,
which brings in capital
but forces our economies
to absorb the depreciation
while the country of origin
gets the profits.
As we always need
more direct investment,
the investors impose conditions.**

10:46:35:08 Subtitle

So there's a race between us
to see who can grovel the most
in order to attract capital and jobs.
People have been taken out of poverty.
They have started consuming
but always want to consume more.
The fact is,
it's a never-ending race.
We have pulled people out of poverty.
They have become consumers
but not necessarily citizens.
They do not necessarily realize.
It may not be their fault.
What's to blame is our inability
to build, politically,
a clearer vision for ordinary people.

00:47:20:04 Subtitle

I think we humans face
a constant inner struggle
between conservative forces
and progressive forces,
in an endless swing of the pendulum.

00:47:32:12 Subtitle

- And neither force wins?
- No.
But the left is a civilizing force.
That's why I remain hopeful
despite our defeats.
Be aware that it's a constant
and ongoing struggle.
And that triumphing in life...
doesn't simply mean achieving a goal.
Triumphing means getting up
and starting again each time we fall.

00 :48 :04 :04 Narration

At the end of this journey,
the common sense of this wise old sage may seem comforting.
But we mustn't forget the consequences of this pendulum swing set in motion by the people.

00 :48 :20 :10 Narration

In Argentina, the new government has erased ten years of social advancement.
The country is on the verge of bankruptcy once again
and is already facing another economic crisis.
History is repeating itself.

00:48:39:11 Subtitle
I swear before God
and the Colombian people...

00 :48 :44 :13 Narration
In Colombia, the hard right's strong man
has increased the number of law enforcement officers;
amplified repressive measures and insists on selling off the country to foreign investors.

As for Brazil, it has found its savior.
The new president is nostalgic for the days of the dictatorship.
Homophobic, racist and misogynistic, the witch-hunt is underway.

00 :49 :19 :13 Narration
Back in Chile, the southern winter has set in.
The wind is here, soon the rain will come...
A long spell in the wilderness awaits me.

00:49:39:08 Subtitle
On this plot,
we're seven families.
They're six. There.

00 :49 :44 :05 Narration
It's cold and lonely on the left.

00:49:48:04 Subtitle
So when they say
we're thieves and things...

00 :49 :54 :07 Narration
My compatriots have elected a billionaire as president.
Raised high like a banner, neoliberalism, shamelessly now, carries all before it.

00:50:10:21 Narration
So we must keep going, onwards, onwards... despite the contradictions, despite the
errors... what else can we do?

00 : 51 06 22

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