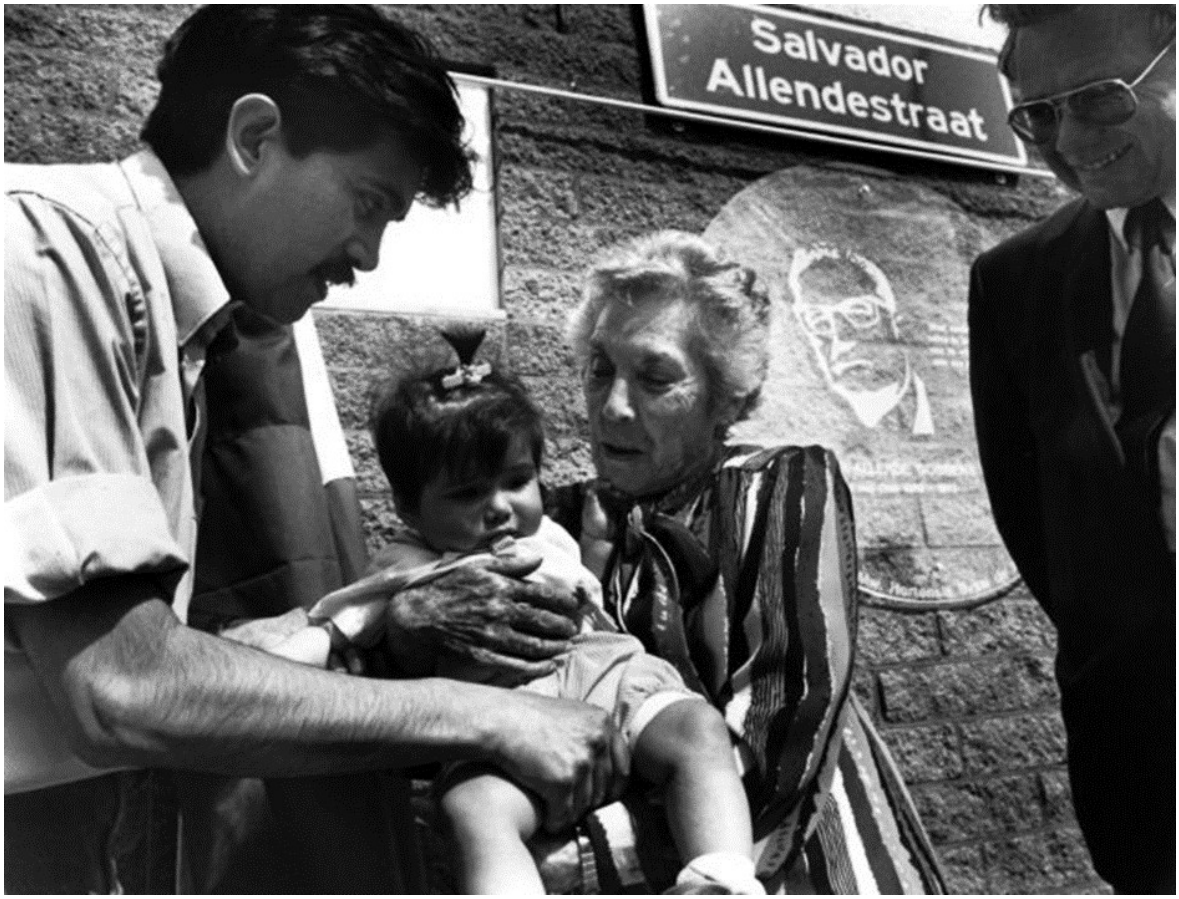
Dreaming of Allende's Chile: The Inclusion of Chilean Exiles in the Memory Culture of Present-day Chile



"'Three generations of Chileans', those striving towards change, those forced to live in exile and those born far away from their homeland." Juan Heinsohn Huala

February 2019
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S2102420

Word count: 13799

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Master Thesis Leiden University
2018-2019 Faculty of Humanities

Index

Acronyms

- Centre for Research and Development in Education (CIDE)
- Conselho Nacional de Autorregulamentacao Publicitária (CONAR)
- The Corporation for the Promotion and Defense of People's Rights (CODEPU)
- the Group of Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared (AFDD)
- International Institute for Social History (IISH)
- The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICEM)
- Memorial and Human Rights Museum (MHRM)
- The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report (VALECH Report)
- The Program for the Support of Children Hurt by states of Emergency (PIDEE)
- The Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (Rettig Report)
- The Social Aid Foundation of Christian Churches (FASIC)
- The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Introduction

In 1973 general Augusto Pinochet led, with the support of the United States, a coup to overthrow the countries democratically elected president, Salvador Allende. After the coup, Pinochet's government used its power to intimidate the Chilean population and to eliminate any opposition. During his regime anyone who formed a threat was exposed to the most unspeakable acts of state violence, such as torture and murder. Thousands of Chileans were forced to live in exile and became political refugees. Either to escape torture at home or forced by the Pinochet regime, these Chilean refugees arrived in Argentina, Canada, Europe, and other parts of the world. In these host countries, they created strong activist networks that fought the Pinochet regime, raised awareness, and called for action from the international community they were a part of.

These transnational activist networks played a role in ending the Pinochet regime. The first steps towards this took place on March 11, 1990 when Pinochet stepped down as president. He remained responsible for the nation's army as commander-in-chief until March 10, 1998. In October of that same year, when visiting London, Pinochet was arrested under an international arrest warrant for the human right violations he had committed and finally his trial was started. With the ending of Pinochet's regime, Chile started its recovery period and began the process of reckoning its truth, searching for justice, and making steps towards a social repair. An important aspect of this process was creating a memory culture because it helps individuals recover from collective trauma and it is vital for a society recovering from conflict (Stern, 2010, prologue).

With Pinochet's abdication, a new chapter in Chile's history started in which the trauma of the old regime had to be given a place. At the same time, the end of the regime meant that Chileans in exile could return. Some indeed did this, whereas others chose to stay in their host countries. The Chileans in exile were just as traumatized as the ones that had stayed in Chile. The exiles that fled from torture were largely isolated from Chilean culture and society, despite of becoming politically active in their host countries. Those who returned and those who remained abroad are part of the Chilean history. However, in the present literature the focus is mainly on their political activism and to a lesser extent on the voices and struggles of their time in exile. Their representation in the memory culture of

Chile today is thus absent. This is not just relevant for the Chilean memory culture, but also for the field of memory studies in general. Minority groups, such as exile and refugees, often fall outside the traditional nation-state borders and are therefore more likely to be overlooked in the creation of a national memory culture.

Nowadays, with the Syrian refugee crisis and those fleeing from Ukraine, refugees are a 'hot' topic, especially the topic of their return back home after the conflict has ended and how those responsible can be held accountable. The research question is '*How are the experiences and memories of the Chilean exiles of the Pinochet regime represented in the memory culture and national story of Pinochet's Chile from 1989 till 2017?*'. This question represents a bigger question than those of the Chilean case alone. It can form a groundwork for understanding the place of refugees within memory studies, a place in which exiles as a minority group are often not researched and represented at all.

Literature Review

The research question is placed within the field of memory studies. Memory study as a field studies individuals, communities, societies and states coming to terms with the atrocities in the aftermath of political violence and massive violations of human rights. In the field of memory studies, processes of suffering, remembering and forgetting need to be addressed from an international political dimension. The most important concepts within this field are collective memory and transitional justice.

Firstly, collective memory represents the practice of remembering. It is a dynamic, interactive process that views society and individuals as a continuum (Olick, 2007). Or according to Steve Stern, it is the act of memorizing a violent past that can be analyzed regarding transitional justice, constitutional changes, democratic promises, and human rights movements. It can be seen as a kind of 'memory box' that needs to be unpacked to move away from a painful past, both in societal as well as individual context (Stern, 2010). However, according to Bilbija and Payne collective memory can be much more than this. Bilbija and Payne discuss a marketplace where what has happened during a period of state violence and dictatorship, and how they are being remembered, not only says something about the local and national conditions but also about the global circulations of the countries past. With this they argue for a model within memory studies that understands the deep schism in transnational societies and they take into account that public memories have value as tools of suppression, forgetting, etc. (Bilbija and Payne, 2011). Bilbija shows a different concept of collective memory than Stern, however, both still focus on the memory of a uniform group within a society and not on a group whose memory is still influenced by the terrors of the regime but are no longer part of the physical society of the country.

Secondly, the concept of transitional justice refers to the process in which countries recovering from periods of conflict and repression address the large scale and or systematic human rights violations so grand and severe that a normal justice system cannot cover them. The field emerged in the late 1980s to mid-1990s when human rights activists needed a term that signaled the new kind of human rights activity fitting the political dilemma's within a 'transnational' context (Paige, 2009, p326). The recognition of victims as citizens and humans and holding the perpetrators accountable for their actions is essential in

transnational justice. In the book *The Limits of Ethics in International Relations* Boucher argues that human rights do not stand above politics, that order is often chosen over justice and justice itself is traded for truth, as seen in the South-African trials. Boucher also seems to justify and embrace the notion that individual rights are subordinate to the common good. And finally, he argues that countries that undergo transitional justice, such as South Africa, Argentina, Indonesia, and Chile, prefer to choose domestic approaches above international ones, preferring reconciliation over criminal prosecution (Boucher, 2009). Cath Collins is another author who builds further on these (post)- transitional societies and their success and links them to the importance of domestic efforts. She stresses the importance of local efforts, especially those of courts and judges, as being key to a successful transition (Monsipouri and Collins, 2012). Even though both books provide valuable information on transitional justice processes, they focus mainly on the success and failures taken in these trajectories. They do not include which groups were part of this transnational process. This left gaps to research within the post-transnational period, not just in Chile, but worldwide.

One of the few academics focusing on minorities in the field of memory studies is Jessica Mor, who focuses on transnational solidarity of Latin American political exile groups. Her research includes articles on how the Chilean solidarity movement created a popular culture across borders and Honduran refugee camps mobilized in exile to meet their own priorities (Stites Mor, 2013). She also focuses on transnational solidarity, another topic related to transitional justice, in which the Chilean exiles already had been represented in. This research does not discuss the place of exiles within the remembrance of Pinochet's Chile. Steps in that field of memory studies can therefore still be taken.

Research Design

In order to answer the main question, '*How are the experiences and memories of the Chilean exiles of the Pinochet regime represented in the memory culture and national story of Pinochet's Chile from 1989 till 2017?*', a process-tracing method is used in combination with a discourse analysis in chapter II. Secondary literature and primary sources in the form of interviews and pamphlets are used as research material. This thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, the transitional justice process worldwide and in Chile itself is discussed. In the second chapter, the representation of exiles in the memory culture established by the government versus that of the NGOs and local organizations is addressed. In the third chapter, the relation between the representation of exiles at memory sites and museums is explained. In the fourth chapter, the exile identity and struggles with this are discussed. And finally, in the fifth chapter there is a focus on the question of return and the role of memory culture within this.

Case Selection and Analysis

As the research question already suggests, this thesis focuses on the Chilean case specifically. The concepts of being a political exile and the inclusion of their pain in the national story of their home country is not specifically bound to Chile. However, the specific policies made by the Pinochet regime for forced exile in combination with the transnational activism networks created by these politics, the high number of research sources available, and the large percentage of Chileans who chose to stay in their host countries after the conflict ended make the Chilean case unique.

For this research the method process-tracing is used and more specifically the variant 'explaining outcome'. Other methods could have been a possibility but there are a number of reasons that make process-tracing the most adequate one. Firstly, the research question is focused on a single case study because the Chilean case alone is already complex enough due to all the different actors involved. Adding multiple cases would have simply made the thesis too big for the given research time. A method focusing on a single case is therefore essential. Secondly, within memory studies the research materials used are often testimonials and interviews with survivors of the regime. Since this research is focusing on

the representation and voices of these exiles, the interviews and the sentiment of those in exile are crucial. A quantitative research method cannot reach the depth qualitative research can. Thirdly, the emotions, the feelings, and the choices of all actors involved cannot be understood without understanding the history of Chile and the time of the coup. Process-tracing provides a clear historical narrative during the research. Finally, by focusing on the causal mechanisms using an in-depth single case study analysis, the overlaying theories that cut through the Chilean case are shown. In short, the process-tracing method means that "the cause-effect link that connects independent variable and outcome is unwrapped and divided into smaller steps; then the investigator looks for observable evidence of each step" (van Evera 1997, p64). The process-tracing method provides a chance to research not only in what way exiles are represented in memory culture, but it also gives the chance to explain why it has happened in such a way.

In most chapters, the process-tracing method is enough to provide answers. However, in chapter II discourse analysis is used to research the official government reports to trace the relationship between the official national story and the representation of the exiled voices. This is partly done by looking at the word 'exile' and the use of that word within the official government reports.

Data and Sources

The first part of the thesis is mainly built on secondary literature, some of which has already been discussed in the literature review. The primary source on which this research is built is the Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (Rettig Report) and the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report (VALECH Report). The second part of the thesis focuses on the representation of the Chilean political exiles and is therefore a mix of secondary literature, interviews with exiles and their representation in museums, pamphlets, and artwork.

The interviews with Chilean exiles are central in this research, because of this it is important to get a basic understanding on who the Chilean exiles are. Due to an agreement signed in 1974 between ICEM, CONAR and the Chilean government, those in detainment were allowed to move into exile (Angell and Carstairs, 1987, p151). Before the Pinochet regime, Chileans were already familiar with exiles, because of the independence wars in the

1830s and the wars between 1924 and 1933. During these wars, political enemies had been forced into either internal or external exile (Wright and Oñate, 2007, p33).

Over the years, different organizations have come up with different numbers. In 1982, the Chilean Commission for Human Rights stated in its annual report that there were 163,686 exiles. Two years later, in a study carried out by the Centre for Research and Development in Education (CIDE), it was estimated that there were between 200,000 and 250,000 Chilean exiles, which was around 2% of the Chilean population (Angell and Carstairs, 1987, p153). However, according to a research in 2006 by Artigas more than 450.000 Chileans were living outside Chile, forming the group that is now known as the Chilean diaspora (Askeland, G.A., and Sønneland, 2011, p3). The number of Chileans in exile has almost doubled since the official reports in 1982 and 1984. To a large extent, this can be explained by the birth of children and grandchildren of the first generation of Chilean exiles in host countries. Furthermore, not all exiles had yet been registered in 1984 as official refugees. Some were only placed on the official radar when their stay in the host country become more permanent. Also, research figures acquired during the Pinochet regime cannot be fully trusted, this includes the reports in 1982 and 1984. Those fleeing the country were mainly from the higher and middle class. More than 50% of the refugees had a university education. Of this group, 11% worked in social professions, 10% were teachers, 8% were engineers and architects. From those without a university education, 17% worked as manual laborers, 16% had administrative jobs, and 6% had tech qualifications (Angell and Carstairs, 1987). This created an enormous knowledge drain from Chile.

In this research the effects of the exile identity on memory culture are not only based on the first generation, but the memory and sentiments of the second and third generations are also taken into account. Therefore, this thesis regards the official Chilean exile group as consisting of 450.000 people, who fled to over 200 countries. For this research, Chilean exiles from the Netherlands, Norway, Canada and the United Kingdom are interviewed. It is important to mention these host countries, because especially the Netherlands and Norway had leftist governments, which made these countries more sympathetic towards left wing oriented political refugees. This might have created a different exile experience than for those living in other countries.

Limitations and Challenges

Every research method has flaws that a researcher should be aware of and should try to overcome. In the case of a process-tracing method, its flaw is often connected to simplicity. The process-tracing method is easy to use and includes many familiar tools such as the inclusion of a historical narrative, a content analysis, interviews, and archival research. The danger of this method is that it creates a narrative about a specific source and that it does not challenge the existing literature. One way to overcome this is to choose a unique research question. The Chilean exile case has up until now not been studied in relation to memory culture. Another way to overcome this is to keep the importance of every sub-question in mind in order to avoid writing a simple story. However, the flaws of the research method do not outweigh the positive aspects of this method. The process-tracing method in combination with discourse analysis is the research method that fits best with answering the research question.

Chapter I: Justice in Times of Transition

"The trick is, how not to close the book"

José Zalaquett, Chilean human rights lawyer, on transitional justice (Hayner, 1994)

In order to understand the place of the exiles within the Chilean memory culture, the Chilean history, especially the transnational justice period, needs to be studied. First, the transitional justice process in relation to the Chilean case is explained. This includes the establishment of justice, the main influencers, ideas, and importance of the transitional justice process in transitioning towards a democracy in Chile. Finally, the struggles with the transitional justice in Chile, especially the acceptance of 'products' created by the Chilean government produced to support this transitional justice process, is discussed.

During the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Chile, there was little information available. Chile, along with other Latin American and African countries, was one of the pioneers in the transitional justice. The field of transitional justice and memory studies started after the World War II with the Nuremberg trials. But it was during the 1980s and 1990s that the field of transitional justice was really starting to form. During this period. transitional justice was relatively new and the now well-known truth and reconciliation commissions were only recently established. The importance of the process in Chile during those years became therefore even greater since it would set the groundwork for the transitional justice field in the future. A series of conferences occurred due to the large number of countries being in the transition phase in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Significant were the 1988 Aspen Institute Conference "State Crimes: Punishment or Pardon"; the 1992 Charter 77 Foundation conference in Salzburg, Austria; "Justice in Times of Transition"; and the 1994 Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) conference "Dealing with the Past". It was during these conferences that political actors, human rights activists, and observers from all over the world compared their experiences and discussed the options at hand (Paige, 2009, p325). Many of the participants came to all of the conferences, which might have influenced their innovate capabilities but at the same time created a specific group of people who would affect the countries transitional justice process strongly. José Zalaquett was such a person in the case of Chile.

José Zalaquett was a Chilean law professor and part of Chile's Commission Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación. His ideas influenced the establishment of memory culture in both Chile and the rest of the world due to his presence and work during many of the transitional justice conferences. According to Zalaquett, knowing the truth about the political violence in the past would repair the psychical damage caused by repression, as well as prevent any future repression. This deep wound can be healed if the formal research into the country's dark history and the public acceptance of its results and conclusions are combined. Than it can form of liberal tolerance in a country that will bring its society into the future (Grandin, 2005, p47). However, in the case of Chile, the road to reconciliation was different than that of other Latin American countries. There was no possibility to use legal procedures against Pinochet because upon resigning he made sure that he and those close to him could not be convicted for their crimes by Chilean law. According to Zalaquett, the black past had to therefore be confronted directly instead of using proxy trials. He said "the commission was the cornerstone of a transitional policy aimed at the moral (and political) reconstruction of our society after a period of catastrophic breakdown. To that end, we felt we had to refer not to the human rights violations and acts of violence but also to the ideological/doctrinal basis which prescribed, directly leading to, or attempted to legitimate such deeds" (Grandin, 2005, p49). The road to reconciliation is an essential phase after a country's dictatorship falls. However, the question remains who part of this process is and who is responsible for it. The struggles within the transitional justice and field of memory study lie within this question. As stated by Paige, the term transitional justice was first used by human rights activists (Paige, 2009, p326). Therefore, it can be seen as a bottom-up movement that saw the need for recovery. It is this group that actively pushed for new laws, new memory sites, and the conviction of those responsible for the crimes.

At the same time, the transitional justice process is a highly political process. To move a country from dictatorship to a transnational democracy, justice is needed (Grandin, 2005). Therefore, as Zalaquett explains, a newly established government cannot go without some sort of justice process to renew the faith in the state and build towards a stable society. A new government will also push from the top down, creating its own version of history upon the society. It is between the two groups, the push and pull between human rights activist groups and local and national governments, that memory culture and transitional justice operate. However, the groups involved do not share the same opinion or

the same ideas. The government struggles between left- and right-wing politicians, each with their own truth and motives, while the human rights activists can support different groups of society, from natives to women or even exiles. Additionally, memory is different for every individual. A historical event can be interpreted differently by each of the actors involved. All of these actors have their version of a memory they consider to be the truth.

The question is who to listen to. According to the author Ash, among others, those most skilled for the task are, or at least should be, historians. Because the truth is a valuable word that is often abused. Evidence, texts and testimonies have to be placed in a historical setting in a specific timeframe. To interpret the evidence, it needs a certain intellectuality and an essential imaginative sympathy for all the actors involved, even for the perpetrators. An example of this struggle in practice is the historian's debate that took place in academic world of Germany after World War II. Germany was struggling with the Nazi era and the Holocaust past. During the highly public and sophisticated historian's debate, there was a particular focus on how and when this black past would be overcome, and when Germany could accept a more positive image again. At the same time, Germany was struggling with who would be held responsible for the crimes committed during the Nazi regime. They debated whether it was only the state or that it should also include all citizens that actively or passively supported the former government. Even after decades, historians, but also many German citizens, would disagree about the meaning of the past (Paige, 2009, p332).

The German struggle does not stand on its own. Within the establishment of a memory culture after the Pinochet regime many of the actors involved stood face to face. Groups and individuals from the political right and military directly opposed the idea of commemoration (Hite and Collins, 2009, p381). In their history and memory, the heroes and perpetrators were different than those of the left. At the same time, Chilean historians have critiqued the official Rettig Report for its need to bring the left and right fractions closer together and thereby ignoring some of the historical events and values, such as Allende’s demonstrated commitment to political pluralism and willingness to find compromises (Grandin, 2005, p57). The comprises made in the Rettig report have caused both sides to be unhappy with the results of the official report. This unhappiness is a vital notion because it also leaves room for the creation of a renewed report in which exiles can receive a more significant role. A large amount of governmental and non-governmental organizations are involved with the memory culture in Chile. For instance, the historical archive of four

organizations were donated to form 'the memory of the world' heritage register of UNESCO. These are: Corporacíon Casa de La Memoria, the Social Aid Foundation of Christian Churches(FASIC), the Corporation for the Promotion and Defense of People's Rights (CODEPU), and the Program for the Support of Children Hurt by states of Emergency (PIDEE). Additional documents were delivered by the Chilean Human Rights Commission, the Justice and Democracy Corporation, the Solidarity Vicariate Archives Foundation, and the Group of Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared (AFDD)(Estrada 2008).

Human rights activists and human rights organizations believe that a full truth-telling is necessary before individuals and the society can start healing. In order to achieve this, the local and national government must work together with organizations such as the AFDD to build towards a stable democracy. However, as Zalaquett said: "the trick is, how not to close the book" (Hayner, 1994, p609). If the book indeed stays open, new groups, new memories, and new truths are capable of renewing the debate and reform the society even further. With this open debate a more significant part for the Chilean exile community can perhaps be established. However, their exact role is discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter II: The Politics of Memory

"It's through the testimonies of survivors and the claims of the defense teams supporting them the level and scope of the human rights abuses by a regime become clear. How the repressive apparatus was operated, the everyday 'normality' of state terrorism is visualized, and the complicity of the society is seen"

Wimmer and Schiller, 2002

In the previous chapter the struggle between the different groups and memories involved has been briefly discussed. There are different memories involved, the memories of victims and perpetrators that. But above all the government's objectives differ from those of the organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) fighting for reconciliation and justice. This chapter focuses on those who are fighting for reconciliation and justice in Chile. Focusing on the often conflicted relationship between all parties involved and their effort to gain control over the memory culture and national story of Chile. And especially what the consequence of this conflicted relationship ship means for the exile community. In the first part of this chapter, the official government reports are discussed. In the second part, the problematic issue of finance in memorial sites is explained, and the consequences of this on the role of the government and NGOs.

In 1991 Pinochet stepped down as president and the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation was created. When Patricio Alywin created the commission, it was a politically bold move since Pinochet still possessed tremendous military power. The commission itself consisted out of members from both the left and right and was under the guidance of former senator Rául Rettig. The report that this commission made is therefore also known as the Rettig report (Sodaro, 2018, p117). For the family members of the victims, the report and reparation law were an official acknowledgment of their pain. However, the report failed to answer the question *¿Dónde están?* – Where are they? In addition to an answer to this question, the report failed to include the tens of thousands of Chileans who had suffered political imprisonment, torture, dismissal and those that became exiles (Klep, 2012, p262). What proves the exclusion of exiles in the rapport is that in the 1,100-page document the word exile is only mentioned 54 times. And when mentioned, it is mainly

used to describe the laws created for the internal exiles. It also speaks shortly about those in exile in Argentina, but only to explain the high amount of activity of the Chilean intelligence (DINA) and to explain how these operations by the DINA spread to other countries where exiles were located. It only provides the names of two people who died in exile due to the previous torture in Chile (Rettig Report, 1993). In addition to this, the exile struggle is not mentioned or discussed in the report. No real value or meaning is given to their struggle in the report, and the exiles were not the only group underrepresented. The former president Ricardo Lagos recognized that the first commission was not inclusive enough. He started a second one, the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture. Within this commission the focus was no longer only on those killed during the Pinochet regime, but also on those tortured and imprisoned. This report is known as the VALECH report and includes testimonies from more than 35,000 people that were considered to be 'direct victims' of the regime. It provides a far more condemning interpretation of the military's actions than that provided by its predecessor (Grandin, 2005). Under president Michele Bachelet the VALECH report was reopened to include another 10,000 testimonies (Sodaro, 2018, p117). Both reports confirmed that during the dictatorship more than 3,000 people were killed, 30,000 were tortured, and 80,000 were incarcerated (Opotow, 2015, p232).

The two reports formed the base for reckoning with the violent past of the Pinochet regime. The reports provided a grand narrative based on strict mandates and were written in legal language that was focused on the individual victims, without mentioning the perpetrators. With the reports, the new government tried to create a definitive collective memory on Chile's dictatorial past. However, the partial truth of the Rettig Report encouraged the search for further truth. Social actors striving towards truth and justice were constantly challenging the official discourse on the past. The rise of memorial initiatives was slow, especially due to the democratic transition during which the right-wing politicians were still fulfilling a large role (Bilbija et al. 2011, p237). Therefore, the importance of these social actors grew. The social actors started from small bottom-up movements to create monuments, memorials, and memory sites all over the country, such as Villa Grimaldi (Klep, 2012). These private memory initiatives have been responsible for creating a small shift towards acknowledging that officials need to take more responsibility in the reconciliation process (Bilbija et al. 2011, p236). The efforts undertaken by the social actors shows that commemoration done on national level was not enough but also that the

Chilean memory landscape is part of a constant negotiation between the parties involved. This creates a thicker collective memory but one with a struggle. A campaign group of relatives and survivors created many of the sites by lobbying for their preservation via national monument statuses. In some cases, this turned out to be successful. The sites were given from private hands or from that of the government to the group (Hite and Collins, 2009, p383). However, it also created a struggle because the government had limited resources and it was unclear who should determine what could become a memorial site. But the question remained of who would be included in the Chilean memory culture and who would be left out.

Although the efforts conducted by social actors were the main reason for the creation of the memorial sites, the large works in public spaces still needed to be financed by the Chilean Government. Five ministries were regularly called upon to contribute to the memorialization projects. The ministries involved were: Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning; the Ministry of Public works; the Ministry of National Patrimony; the Council for National monuments; and from 2006 onwards the Presidential Commission on Human Rights. From all of these official governmental institutions, it was the Council for National Monuments that responded the most positive to the human rights memorialization in Chile (Bilbija et al. 2011, p248). In the other governmental institutions, the initial attitude towards these initiatives was fairly negative, the money was given grudgingly and at best semi-friendly (Bilbija et al. 2011, p250). Financial struggles created extra friction between the social actors and the government in the creation of large public commemoration sites. The need for money inside the organizations of the social actors when establishing and maintaining these large public commemoration sites gives the main financer, the government, the power to influence these memorial places and to determine who is included and excluded. Additionally, the government does not always have pure intentions in establishing the official reports. A commission can be set up by the government to manipulate the public's perception. To promote a new, more favorable, view of the country's human rights policies and practices, a commission can be helpful, especially when the international community is pressuring for justice (Hayner, 1994, p604). The Rettig Report is a good example of not naming any of the perpetrators and trying to please both the left and right. This shows the importance of assigning an independent organization to create the memory sites. According to Hirsh, the deep structural continuities that mark a

transition period are creating a problematic space in which the national memory of the past must be created. It is a difficult situation for the state to be in if it has to officially remember the coup and dictatorship while it is still interwoven with a delicate situation. Using words such as closure and national progress is an attempt to forget a divisive past. However, when the government is so involved in closing its past while still being in transition itself, it develops as Jelin describes “an institutional manifestation of social amnesia” (Hirsch, 2016, p90). This creates a problematic part in the reconciliation process of Chile.

The friction between the government and the NGOs becomes most clear in the establishment of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago de Chile. A group of NGOs was fighting for a museum that represented the Chilean struggle. However, when they believed they had reached an accord with the government of president Lagos, the incoming administration announced through the press that there were plans for a national memory museum organized by the government. This gave the government a much larger role than the NGOs agreed upon earlier and even resulted in some of the NGOs to withdraw from the museum completely (de Kievid et al., 2013, p234). Bachelet’s administration went ahead with the plans even after the critiques, and the museum was built after the inspiration of other national memorial museums, especially those involving the Holocaust (Sodaro, 2018, p120). A coalition of human rights NGOs and organizations of families and survivors had collected vast archives documenting the military dictatorship and its crimes. This was declared part of the UNESCO’s Memory of the World Program in 2003 and became part of the museum’s collection (Sodaro, 2018, p118). In the end, the entire project including a memory plaza and other facilities costed around 17,6 million dollars (Estrada, 2008). The scale and the cost perhaps show that the government was needed in the establishment of the museum. However, to this day the museum gets criticism. Perhaps there is no right side of history, but only a winning side when it comes to a national story (Paige, 2009, p333). If this is indeed the case, the influence on the place of the exiles within this national story is significant since all the parties involved are already in a constant battle.

Chapter III: Memory Culture in Practice

"There are images I did not wish to remember, but there are also people, good and beautiful people, who, above and beyond all the pain and sadness, I always want to remember again" Former President Bachelet, as cited in Opotow, 2015

The quote above is part of a speech given by President Bachelet during the inauguration of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights (MMHR) on January 11, 2010. The quote symbolizes one of the aims of the museum, but also that of many memorial sites scattered all over Chile. The aim of these sites is to bring dignity to the victims, to educate society not to let this happen again, to show the different manifestations of solidarity and help the survivors and society deal with the trauma of the past (Estrada, 2008). Within this chapter, there is a focus on the memorial sites that have been created and the role that exiles played in them. To analyses this role, this chapter uses Villa Grimaldi and the Memory and Human rights museum in Santiago de Chile as a case study. The main focus is the history and establishment of both of these cases as places of memory and the representation of exiles in their collection. After that, what happened with the protest art created during the Pinochet period and the incorporation of this within the memory culture of Chile is discussed.

Researching the memory culture in Chile cannot be done without mentioning Villa Grimaldi. Villa Grimaldi was an interrogation complex of the Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA) that was led by Colonel Manuel Contreras. One of the most important secret detention, torture, and disappearance centers formed by the Pinochet government were located here from the end of 1973 until around 1978. According to testimonies, around 4,500 prisoners had passed through the building, of whom 241 were murdered or whose bodies have not been found. The site became a memorial site on December 10, 1994, after a citizen movement led by Permanent Assembly for Human Rights of Peñalolén and La Reina initiated a campaign of denunciation and recovery for Villa Grimaldi ("History of Villa Grimaldi," n.d.). Currently, a large part of the activities at the memorial site is focused on education. There is an educational program that trains teachers and develops courses about the site and related issues. There is also a stage where events occur, such as

theatre, poetry and even album launches (Hite and Collins, 2009, p388). It has become a site that is for more than just commemoration. The Villa is considered a successful memorial by most parties involved. It included the citizen movement that started the site and later on gained support from the local and national government, while at the same time it achieved international recognition. Few Chileans outside immediate human-rights-related circles know the park, and there is also no sign outside Villa Grimaldi's gates to announce what is inside (Hite and Collins, 2009, p284-289). In a way, this makes it a commemoration site only to those that know about it. Even though at the site itself there is no direct mention of the exiles, the site is known and visited by the exile community. Many of those who were forced into exile had spent their time in detention centers like this beforehand or had relatives there. One of them was Luis Alberto Corvalan Castillo. He was an agricultural engineer who was active in the young communist party in Chile and died shortly after his arrival in Bulgaria, where he intended to spend his exile. According to the Rettig Report, his death was caused by health issues created during his detention time in Villa Grimaldi (Rettig Report). The site therefore also holds the memory of some of the last moments these exiles had in Chile.

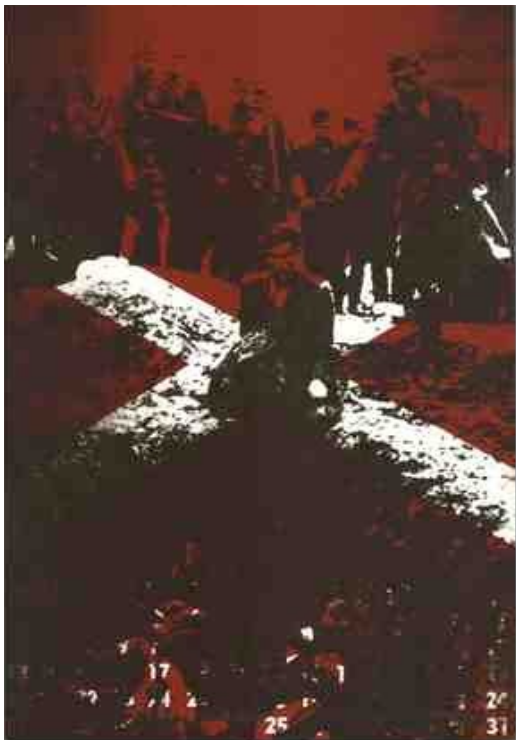
In an earlier chapter, the establishment process and the groups affiliated with the Museum of Memory and Human rights have been discussed. However, the collection of the museum and the role of exile within this has not. Much of the museum has been influenced by the Holocaust memorialization and because of this, it fits within the global concept of other memorial museums. Whereas other Chilean memorials sites have been constructed on former torture and detention sites, such as Villa Grimaldi, the Museum of Memory and Human Rights has been built on natural ground with the purpose of making the museum more universal and appealing for a larger group of people (Sodaro, 2018, p111). This idea of appealing to a large audience can also be seen in its collection. The museum shows more than just the horrors, it tries to include personal stories and thereby wants to offer the visitors a chance to make up their own minds without trying to convince the audience of a certain opinion (Opotow, 2015, p237). Just like the other memorial museums, the Museum of Memory and Human Rights uses films, photographs, newspaper articles, testimonies, official documents and other documents and media to tell the story of the dictatorship. To give an idea, on the first level of the museum the museum goes into more details of the increasing brutality and exclusion by the regime. It shows the arrest of 12,000 people, the

restriction on the press, the Chileans seeking asylum abroad represented through photographs, lists of prisoners, the creation of the secret police and they show how everyday public places suddenly became torture sites (Opotow, 2015, p235).

The representation of Chilean exiles within the museum seems logical. As well as focusing on memory, the museum also represents the human rights struggle. The international solidarity with the repressed Chilean population is a theme that resonates throughout the museum, to show the 'universal' condemnation of the human rights abuses by the Pinochet's regime (Sodaro 2018, p125). Even though this theme plays a large role within the museum, the exiles play a relatively small one. The small role of the exiles can be seen by the need of the museum to create temporary exhibits to delve deeper into topics that are not fully covered in the permanent exhibition, including an exhibit on those in exile (Sodaro,2018, p130). Instead of giving the Chilean exiles a larger permanent place in the collection, they have chosen to represent them occasionally. The museum wants to play a vibrant and vital part of both the national and international community, which can be seen through the international human rights film festival and the exhibitions it hosts, including the Colombian Painter Fernando Botero's. The protest art created by those in exile could play a perfect role in this goal and be the start of an even more inclusive museum.

The use of art as a political activism tool has often been popular, especially because of its ability to raise awareness for a certain cause. For instance, South African exiles used music, poetry, theatre, and dance to raise consciousness within the international community about the fight against apartheid. The Palestinian filmmaker Rashid Masharawi used camera work and film structure to communicate the psychological siege of the occupied territories in his country (Adams, 2012, p437). The use of art as a form of political activism by those in exile is therefore not a new phenomenon, and the same is true for the Chilean exiles. Many exiles created art to raise awareness, while at the same time using art to deal with their traumas. Being far away from Chile meant that they had more freedom to be critical on the Pinochet regime than those living in Chile.

Through interviews taken and collected in the book '40 jaar, 40 verhalen; Chileense vluchtelingen en solidariteit' it becomes clear that within the Chilean community many exiles joined or started protest groups against the Chilean regime. These groups played an important role in creating solidarity towards the Chilean case within the international community. Art, including visual art such as graffiti, music, and literature, was an important



tool not only for activism but also to stay connected with the Chilean culture. Many of the exiles fleeing were already artists and some became so later on. When focusing on the visual arts, it becomes clear that in the Netherlands alone a large number of activist pamphlets were created. An example of one of these pamphlets is shown to the right. It is part of a collection created by different Chilean artist in 1978 for an international symposium organized by the Vicariate for the solidarity of the Catholic Church in Chile. The pamphlets are focusing on human rights and the violation of them by the Chilean regime. Currently, the pamphlets are a part collection of the International Institute for Social History (IISH), and part of the Royal Dutch Institute for Science (KNAW). Besides the pamphlets, the IISH collection also contains the Archives of the Centrum of Chilean Culture (Amsterdam), the Chilean Committee the Hague, and the Chilean Committee Amersfoort. These collections mostly contain information on the lives of the exiles here in the Netherlands, the activities of these organizations but also some of the activist artworks the artists affiliated with them produced ("Affiches van Chileense kunstenaars", 1978). Being part of the IISH collection also means that the artworks are part of the Social History of the Netherlands and that of the world. Their potential meaning within the memory culture of Chile itself might therefore not be fully recognized since these collections are not on a permanent display in the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago de Chile or other places in Chile. However, because a some of the exiles still live abroad, and due to the international significance and impact the Pinochet period had on the international community and the social history of the world, the IISH might also be a good place for these collections. The story of the exiles is preserved and can be researched and even at times be shown in museums in Chile itself. Therefore, it can still be part of a memory culture in its own right, maybe not specifically one located in Chile, but one more internationally located just like so many of the exiles were. It is thereby creating a memory culture outside the traditional national boundaries.

Another example of activist art outside of Chile is the wall paintings created by exiles who were a part of the Chilean '*schilderbrigades'*. These wall paintings were created to show the fight against Pinochet and were seen as a symbolic way to fight against fascism. In the Netherlands Jorge Kata Nuñes, part of the artist collective Brigada Ramona Parra, played an important role. He created over sixty wall paintings throughout the Netherlands and had the intention to renovate two of them in 2018 on an initiative from a local art collective. A few others can still be seen, such as the one in honor of Salvador Allende that is located in Rotterdam on the façade of an elderly home (de Kievid et al., 2013, p59). A new one has recently been rediscovered in Amsterdam during the demolition of a store. In this painting, the head of the horse symbolizes the power of the people and followed by a man and woman who are lifting a star as a symbol not to lose hope. The developer of the site has decided to change the plans of the building and wants to insert a large window facing the wall painting to make sure that it will still be visible when the new building is built (Khaddari, R., 2018). Both the renovation plans and the preservation of the newly rediscovered painting prove that also within the Netherlands there is a need to commemorate this past and show the place these exiles have had in our community. As Nuñes said in an interview when returning to Chile in 2008: "Especially Isabel wanted to go back, I found it difficult to tell my Rotterdam friends that after 35 years to leave for the second time" (de Kievid et al., 2013, p59). The Netherlands became a second home for him, and with this, his own memory culture was not geographically bound to Chile alone.

Memory culture is not always bounded by national boundaries. The kind of visitors at memorial sites and museums are an indication of this. Especially in Latin America, trauma tourism is on the rise, which according to Bilbija raises three questions "the memory for whom? What memory of the past? And why remember?" (Bilbija, Ksenija, and Leigh, 2011, p102). People from all over the world visit the memorial museums and sites, including those directly affected such as exile victims and survivors who engage in return tourism (Bilbija, Ksenija, and Leigh, 2011, p117). This forces a country's memorial culture to look critically at itself, especially a country such as Chile, which has so many exiles. At the same time, the case of trauma tourism forms an issue. The question is whether a national memorial museum can still be seen as representative of Chilean memory and struggle, when it becomes too internationally focused. However, there are enough international collections available that include the work of Chilean artists in exile. These collections represent the

international character of the Chilean struggle and give the Chilean people a voice. The activist art shows that those in exile were still fighting for their country from abroad. Some artworks show the dramatic impact of family separations on the social lives of Chileans in Chile and abroad. There are enough mediums through which exiles can gain a permanent place in the Museum of Memory and Human Rights

Chapter IV: The Chilean Diaspora Identity

In the previous chapter both the memorial sights, museums and the protest art created by those in exile have been discussed. The struggles of exiles play an important role in the arguments for a more visible place of exiles in the Chilean memory culture. However, since this argument is based on the struggles of those in exile, a critical analysis of what these struggles entail is needed. This includes analyzing what the impact of living in exile was on their life and what effects this had on their Chilean identity. Only when this is analyzed, a discussion is made possible about whether there is a painful exiled memory that differs from the memory of the Chileans who remained in Chile. It is that different kind of memory that than needs to be memorized in museums and incorporated in the national story to display the history of all Chileans who suffered under the Pinochet regime, not just those that remained in Chile.

Life in exile was far from easy and this is supported by many of the interviews given by exiles. An example can be found in the testimonies given by the children of exiles, who show the duality that their parents found themselves in. On the one hand they were grateful for the world of possibilities their children now had access to, but on the other hand this also meant a certain dilemma for them. In Chile they had been politically active, here they were suddenly at home all day, without the possibility to work and the difficulty to learn Dutch. Some of the kids even say that they were so busy building new lives for themselves that they failed to see the isolation that their parents were in (de Kievid et al., 2013, p25). The experiences of exiles portrayed in the interviews and testimonies are their personal experiences and what is true for one does not automatically mean it was the same for another. However, throughout all of the interviews, especially those conducted within the exile community in the Netherlands, similarities can be found in the stories on their lives in exile. It is the similarities in those stories, such as the one above, that formed a new kind of identity that in the following chapter is referred to as the Chilean exile identity.

Firstly, even though Chilean exiles received a warm welcome in the Netherlands they felt paternalized. Most of the Chileans arriving in the Netherlands were welcomed by the Dutch leftist political parties who felt solidarity towards their Chilean activist brothers. They worked together on initiatives such as the ‘Chili Komitee Nederland’ in the fight against the

Pinochet regime (de Kievid et al., 2013, p12). As Elena Ferdes Echegoyen explains in her interview, this provided comfort and helped in declining the guilt against family members and comrades that were still in danger in Chile. However, she also states, that many Dutch people did not why they were unhappy living here. Other exiles have shared similar sentiments. It did not occur to them that the Chileans had left their country involuntarily and suddenly, arriving in a host country which often times treated them as small children (de Kievid et al., 2013, p48). Especially in the first years everything was arranged for them, ranging from help with decorating their homes to financial support given by the Dutch government. Especially this monthly payment was sometimes hard to accept since it felt like they did not get a chance to give something back to the Dutch society, giving them a feeling of uselessness.

Secondly, not only the society of the host country provided obstacles for the exiled, but also the Chilean exile community itself created difficulties. What strengthened this Chilean identity, besides the hope and feeling a duty to return, was a fear of losing it when integrating into the host country. An example of this is in one of the interviews conducted by Hirsch, as an interviewee says: “because of this thing of mine of trying to stay Chilean, trying not to lose my identity I became a spectator of British politics. I never joined a party, I never voted. I was always allowed to vote in British local election, but I never exercised my right to. I always wanted to return to Chile, even though Britain was an ideal country. I never wanted to become British because I felt that my duty was to stay Chilean and I had to come back here” (Hirsch 2016, p87). The individuals who wanted to integrate were also held back by that same Chilean community. Patrica Alvarez Mendes explains this in her interview, by describing the struggle and the pain caused by being forced into exile and the influence this had on her later in life. Mendes says “we are the forgotten stories in the history of Chile, the stories of the wives of the politicians. We weren’t allowed to integrate, to develop ourselves, the idea was to stay in the Netherlands for a short period of time and then to return to Chile to fight against the regime. So why should we learn Dutch? Why should we learn to make Dutch friends? We were living day by day. There was no other option, the social control on us by other Chileans was intense. They were afraid that we would leave our ideals behind when integrating” (de Kievid et al., 2013, p36). In this way the Chilean community slowed her down. If she would learn Dutch, she was afraid to lose the support of the Chilean community, which she needed in a country in which she did not have family or

someone she knew. At the same time, she makes an important point, namely that they represent the forgotten and unheard stories of Chile's history. The final chapter discusses in depth the emotions that are attached to the focus on returning to Chile, especially the concept of the forgotten memories that Mendes addresses here.

Thirdly, what made life extra difficult was that there were many broken families within the Chilean exile community. Many of the couples filed for a divorce after a certain time in exile (de Kievid et al., 2013, p44). A combination of reasons can explain this. Many of the exiles were subjected to human rights violations, such as arbitrary arrest and torture before their departures or suffering from the death or disappearance of loved ones. This trauma of defeat and the displacement of families shattered their lives, their careers and gave distinct psychological dimension to their life in exile (Wright & Oñate, 2007, p32). In most of the cases the husband had come to the host country first. Often spending time away from home for a longer period of time in imprisonment in Chile or in exile in Argentina. Before the dictatorship of Pinochet, he would have usually been politically active and an appreciated member in his neighborhood and society. From this situation he moves to a situation in which he is together with his wife all day. The man who used to be a hero feels useless, often traumatized by torture and hunted by nightmares. In their time apart, the wife would have stepped up as the authority figure in the household, learned to do everything alone and had become emancipated. Then they suddenly have to be reacquainted with each other (de Kievid et al., 2013, p170). The exile therefore deeply affected the gender roles and family relationships, adding to the stress of displacement (Wright & Oñate, 2007, p32).

This 'difficult' life in exile becomes part of the Chilean exile identity. What is also part of this identity is a romanticized idea of Chile. This is important because it often leads to high expectations for their return to Chile. These expectations were often not fulfilled, which created clouded memories. The Chilean exile community created a space in which nostalgic visions of the homeland were constructed. And the Chilean exile community aren't the only community to experience the feeling of nostalgia. Within the refugee, exile and migrant communities feelings of nostalgia are very common and are well studied. Immigrants, refugees and exiles who leave their countries, loved ones, and cultural environment have experienced loss and are undergoing a mourning process. Part of this mourning process, and one of the factors in this, is creating linking objects or phenomena

that help to bring them in contact with their past, while at the same time help them to adjust to a new environment (Allatson & McCormack, 2008, p246). Building upon past memories and nostalgia can reduce pain that those in exile are undergoing (Grønseth, 2013, p62). The link and interactions between the past, present and future of the migrant experience and imagination are understood as a zone of ambivalence and vagueness between the memories of the past and the hopes for the future. According to Grønseth it is in the dynamic between these that a new identity can be shaped (Grønseth, 2013, p60). But the concept of shaming is also a part of the process of nostalgia, identity and memorialization. Namely shaming those community members that are integrating and degrading the majority culture in place, as we have seen in one of the testimonies a chapter earlier (Allatson & McCormack, 2008, p246). In the case of the Chilean exiles these visions fell in line with Allende's Chile that they had fought for and in a way this dream grew and formed their exile identity. Photographs of Allende were present in many of the exile households. At gatherings Chilean folk music, dance, and food played an important role. The poetry of Neruda, a famous Chilean poet, together with the final words of 'their' president were memorized. The myth of return was also incorporated in this identity. This can be seen in the music created by Inti Illimani, a Chilean folk band that toured around Europe throughout exile. They were famous for their song 'Vuelvo' that was written in 1979 and centered around the beautiful moment of returning to the home country (Hirsch 2016, p87). This shows how the romantic notion of return was created and spread through music and art. This formed a specific Chilean identity that was closely linked to the left-wing movement which was popular during the time Allende was president. The Chilean exile identity differentiated from the identity in Chile itself around that time, causing difficulties for many of the exiles who wanted to return after the Pinochet dictatorship (Hirsch 2016, p87).

Finally, theories of diaspora are often placed within the framework of transnationality. This is done due to the diasporic identity that enforces the bond between exiles and their countries of origin. Within this process exiles created social fields that go beyond national borders through their daily activities and political, social and economic relations. They become involved in more than one country, which often becomes visible through language, celebration of religious and national festivals, eating and dressing habits and also social behavior (Askeland, G.A. and SØnneland, 2011, p6). Where the first generation was strongly holding on to their Chilean roots, it were their children, the second

generation, who integrated into the host countries culture more and thereby truly embraced their dual identity. In many cases this formed a problem for the exiles that wanted to return and were confronted with the difficult decision to stay with their children in the host country or return to their home country without them. This return question is intertwined with the memory projects in earlier chapters. Exiles were at first excluded from the official national story created by the government and recognition mainly came from bottom-up initiatives. These bottom-up initiatives had their roots in the Chilean society, so the inclusion of the exiles in the memory culture of Chile depended mainly on Chilean exiles who would return from their host country to Chile. This return was made possible at the beginning of September 1988 when almost all of those living in exile were allowed to return to Chile and the question of return became a reality (de Kievid et al., 2013, p16). However, not everyone returned and the group that did faced many difficulties.

Chapter V: The Question of Return

In September 1988 the question of returning to Chile became a reality. Some immediately packed up their belongings and successfully returned to Chile, while for others the return was a struggle. Not just returning itself but also the decision of whether to return. This chapter first focuses on the group of exiles that returned and the struggles they encountered. Then the second part focuses on the group of exiles that chose to stay in their host countries and some of the motives behind this choice. The question of return is closely linked to the acceptance of the exile group within the Chilean society, and to a larger extent with what their role was in the memory culture created after the fall of the Pinochet dictatorship.

First, the creation of the mythic homeland resulted in a feeling of otherness. Those in exile were faced with the daily trials of housing, employment and status, and with open hostility and social exclusion (Askeland, G.A. and SØnneland, 2011, p7). Johan Méndez Vera described this otherness as something good. He felt an outsider but was at the same time invited into people's houses to tell them about life in Amsterdam. His nickname became 'El Holandés'. He did not mind it because he had never lived in Chile before. In the Netherlands he was called 'de Chileen', explaining that during high school it was popular to be a foreigner. His double identity was perceived by him as something positive and he was constantly choosing which identity he wanted to portray (de Kievid et al., 2014, p46). However, not everyone shares his opinion. Juan Soto Leyton went back to Chile several times, but he found a country that mismatched with his new identity. He was sometimes called 'gringo', meaning foreigner, and even heard people say that he had abandoned Chile. Some people in Chile felt like the exiled had abandoned them without looking back and thought they had now become rich Europeans, without realizing the pain that was involved with living in exile and the activities they had organized to protest against the Pinochet regime from abroad (de Kievid et al., 2013, p126). For some exiles this felt painful because their struggles were not taken seriously. Another problem that some had with their dual identity was that they had become a little Dutch over the years they had spent in the Netherlands. Their ideas were not as traditional anymore and therefore they were perceived as radical in Chile after the Pinochet reign. This concerned their opinions on issues

like soft drugs, abortion and euthanasia (de Kievid et al., 2013, p34). Over time they had adopted some of the characteristics of their host countries. For instance, women had during their time in exile become strongly emancipated. This caused problems for them when they returned to Chile and had to get used to a patriarchal society again. Others who returned to Chile had difficulties finding a job due to their political past or lack of money to start their own company. This caused them to live with their parents (de Kievid et al., 2013, p152). Due to their newly formed 'exile identity' and their personal past, former exiles were confronted with a society that to a large extent did not match with the myth of their return.

Then, the romanticized idea of what the Chilean society after Pinochet would be like differed from reality. Almost all the exiles that returned to Chile have spoken about returning to a country that was very different from what they expected. Chile had changed just like their identity had. As expected the cities had changed, new buildings and roads had been constructed during their absence. However, the political and economic system, the citizens of Chile, their behavior, values and social interactions had changed beyond their expectations (Askeland, G.A. and SØnneland, 2011, p8). The language and currency were also perceived as different (Muggeridge & Dona, 2006, p7). As one of the interviewees says "there were class differences, pain of victims and a hypocrisy within politics. But it was 2013 and many of the people didn't know the Chile of 1973 anymore. The pain with this is that the idealism, de hospitality and the solidarity of that time had died with it. Even the political party of Allende that 40 years ago said that a dream of a different society would never die had shattered it's principles and had even become willing to punish those in search of protection. A larger contrast with 1973 is almost impossible" (de Kievid et al., 2013, p43). Upon their return the exiles found a society in which Allende's dream was dead. This was a logical outcome for a Chile that had been shaped by 17 years of dictatorship but clashed sharply with the exiles' memories of and hope for the country. According to Klubock, the neo-liberal 'shock-therapy' that the Chilean dictatorship had given the country dramatically changed society. In this new society there was a lack of collective space in which to remember the past and a significant fracturing of the collective memory occurred. Those in exile had constructed a memory of Chile that was protected from the dictatorship in Chile, where the cultural activities of the past were not banned or actively censored in public space, where subversive books were not hidden and where musicians from the folk movement could perform. And where these musicians were not murdered by the military,

like the famous folk musician Victor Jara (Hirsch 2016, p91). This protected memory of Chile doubled the feelings of exile for those who returned. The idea they had of Chile, nurtured during their exile, clashed with the realities of the Chilean society they returned to (Hirsch 2016, p91).

Juen Heinsohn Huala explains that his parents had returned but found out that it was not what they had dreamed about. Just like other exiles, such as Juan Soto Leyton, they experienced problems with Chileans that thought their time in exile was spend as a luxury holiday. One of the reasons for this is that during the Pinochet dictatorship the military used the propaganda machine to bad talk those going into exile, claiming that they had gone on a holiday. A generalized idea of a golden exile, portraying an idea of living a luxurious life and choosing to go abroad to benefit from it, dominated within the Chilean society (Askeland, G.A. and SØnneland, 2011, p4). Many of the Chileans who were left behind started to believe these stories and felt like the exile group lost the right to talk about Chile. Friends therefore treated the exiles who returned differently. In the case of Juen Heinsohn Huale, this hurt his parents who had given upon everything when going into exile. The period his father had spent in prison was not talked about. When he died in 2002, the family did not know if the Pinochet regime had tortured him during his imprisonment (de Kievid et al., 2013, p25). A false image of exiles created by the Pinochet regime caused the pain and memories of the exiles to become worthless when they were finally allowed to return to Chile. Many of the exiles who returned were forced into a form silence. This forced silence had a combination of reasons. The exiles did not have the right to speak and the Chilean people refused to speak about the past. This refusal was part of the aftermath of the Pinochet dictatorship. Exiles often possessed memories they were desperate to talk about, but this contrasted and clashed with the political strategy of reconciliation (Hirsch, 2016, p94). During their time in exile, they had been constructing a collective memory in which they recalled the moment of the Chilean coup and its historic rupture. However, a part of the younger generation living in Chile did not care about the Chilean past. This indifference among some of the younger generation left the exiles in shock. They were still alive, they had fought together with their parents against the Pinochet regime, but now that he was gone their story was just a page in a history book (Hirsch, 2016, p94).

At the beginning of their exile almost everyone wanted to return to Chile when it would be possible. However, in the Netherlands only a third of them actually did. After

almost 15 years, many Chileans felt a connection with their host country due to work and contacts. But also their prospects for the future and feeling unwelcome in Chile supported their decision to stay in the host country (de Kievid et al.,2013, p16). However, the most important element remains their children. These children often did not want to move to a country they were not familiar with. According to some, the Chilean exile community changed and became more materialistic with time. Children barely spoke Spanish, and the political struggle that once bonded them disappeared. According to Lugardi Acuna Lange, the desire to return to Chile was always there but with children who wanted to stay in the Netherlands it would mean a lonely return. Instead of missing their children, they chose to stay here. Their family connection won over the ideologies they held. Choosing to stay meant a new phase which included learning Dutch and focusing on work and their personal life instead of their political involvement (de Kievid et al,. 2013, p168). Others say that in Chile they will always miss the Netherlands and in the Netherlands they will always miss Chile (de Kievid et al,. 2013, p160).

The return to Chile was a mass phenomenon. Exact figures on the migration back home are not available since not all of those returning registered with the official organization in charge of arranging the return and because others returned to their host countries after their return (Wright and Oñate, 2005). What the interviews with those exiles show is that returning to their home country and reintegrating was difficult. Their image of Chile was often based on romanticized ideas, the children often wanted to stay in the host country, the Chilean society and the exiles had changed and being accepted by this new society was often hard. This caused some exiles to migrate back to their host countries and their stories consequently was the reason for some not to leave their host countries at all. This influenced the memory culture in Chile in two ways. First, those who did not return were unable to influence the memory process as much as other groups in Chile were. Second, due to a limited inclusion of exiles in this memory process the negative image of those in exile could not change as much as needed. In a way this created a vicious circle. Those in exile were more likely to feel excluded because their memories and struggles were not taken seriously in the new Chile and therefore made them less likely to stay in Chile. Less exiles returning to Chile meant that there were less people to start initiatives to strengthen their collective memory. This weakened the position of the exile minority in the memory culture and national story of Chile.

Conclusion

The experiences and memories of the Chilean political exiles of the Pinochet regime have been underrepresented in the memory creation of the national story of Pinochet's Chile created from 1989 till 2017. However, a full truth telling is necessary for individuals as well as the Chilean society as a whole in the process of healing and transitioning towards a democratic Chile. The limited role of the exiles is caused by a combination of different factors.

First, the different parties involved in establishing a memory culture within Chile have been in constant struggle with each other and have faced shortcomings within their own organizations. In their reports, the national government has failed to create an inclusive history in which all Chileans are equally represented. The minority groups, exiles as well as groups such as the natives living in remote rural areas, cannot recognize themselves in the national story. This is because of the failure to support these groups. The more inclusive NGO's and other social actors that created bottom-up initiatives are often struggling financially and therefore need the cooperation of the government. This cooperation has been highly problematic, just as in the case of the National Memorial Museum in Santiago di Chile that made the role of exiles temporary.

Second, during the time in exile a new Chilean exile identity and romanticized image of Chile was created. During their time in exile, some parts of the host countries' identity was adapted. In combination with their exile identity, this caused exclusion from the rest of the Chilean society upon return to Chile. The 17 years of dictatorship marked the Chilean identity and upon return Allendes dream was dead for many of the exiles. Perhaps the most important problem for the exile memory culture was the negative image the exiles had to deal with after the Pinochet regime ended. During his reign, Pinochet's propaganda created an image of exiles living in luxury and thereby also creating the sentiment among the Chilean population that they had failed their brothers and sisters who were left behind. But even more important is that it made the exiles' memories, which included pain and struggle, irrelevant and false for many of those living in Chile. This undermined the legitimacy of the Chilean exile memory and strengthened the feeling of exclusion when they returned to Chile.

This created a vicious circle because exiles became less likely to return to Chile or they would choose to stay in silence when they did. This meant that less exiles were starting initiatives to strengthen their collective memory, which weakened the position of the exile minority even further in the memory culture and national story of Chile. These bottom-up initiatives played an especially important role in the strengthening and diversification of the memory culture in Chile.

The memory of exiles is an important part of Chile's national story because their life in exile was far from luxurious and caused all kinds of problems, such as the disruption of family live, but also because of the trauma caused by the Pinochet regime before their exile. The government as well as the initiatives that are already present should do more to represent this side of the Chilean history. They could for example change the temporary collection of exiles in the National Memorial Museum in Santiago di Chile into a more permanent one. However, this is just a first step. The first generation of Chileans who were exiled are aging. Time is running out to give value to their stories and memories and provide not only justice for them but also for the second generation, the children that grew up in exile. Their story needs to be told and perhaps that will help to change the perception of exiles in Chilean society, creating the foundation for a richer and more inclusive memory culture within Chile.

The Chilean case does not only pertain to Chile itself but can also provide an example for memory studies worldwide, a study in which the memory of exiles and/or political refugees plays a submissive role, especially on a national level. That this role is currently changing within memory studies itself, shows in the case of the Syrian refugees. Earlier this year the Syria Oral History Project was founded by historian Ugur Umit Ungor, who is a researcher at the Dutch Institute for Holocaust and Memory Studies (NIOD). It is a project that focusses on building a common narrative on what happened to their country. Interviews are designed to give participants enough time to tell their complete story. The project aims to help the transitional justice process, while at the same time it hopes that the Dutch society as a whole will benefit from hearing the stories of its refugees. Many of them remain traumatized and are still in need of therapy, education, and jobs for the foreseeable future. Unlike what happened to the Chilean exiles, in this case the process of reconciliation with the past is done much earlier and political refugees are given a prominent role. Perhaps

due to this, some of the problems that the Chilean exiles encountered can be softened and prevented. At least in the aspects concerning memory, identity and recognition.

Finally, this research has focused on the theoretical aspects of the memory culture of exiles in Chile, strengthened by many of the testimonies available. Further research can be done on how the enlargement of memory culture for exiles in Chile can be established. To make sure that the memory of those who have spent many years in exile or are still living outside of Chile will not be forgotten. And then maybe the dream of Allende Chile can remain alive.

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