

*ENCOUNTERING CHILE:  
INFLUENCE OF CHILEAN EXILES ON UNITED STATES POPULAR OPINIONS IN THE  
1970S AND 1980S*

A Senior Thesis

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POPULAR OPINIONS IN THE 1970s AND 1980s

by

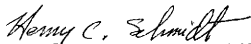
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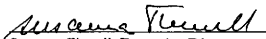
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## **Encountering Chile: Influence of Chilean Exiles on United States Popular Opinions in the 1970s and 1980s**

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This project seeks to define the effects that exiled Chilean intellectuals had on popular perceptions of Latin America within the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. The diaspora of "creators" following the 1973 coup in Chile had at least two effects on contemporary opinions. First, displaced Chileans came into contact with new audiences, for whom they became authorities on the recent history of their country and region. Second, the causes of their emigration produced a desire to expand their audiences in the United States. These exiles were instrumental in perpetuating the memory of the Allende years and the coup that toppled him, as well as offering interpretations of those events, including criticisms of both Latin American social structures and North American corporate and military action. This study proposes the concept of "historical agency" as a means by which to understand the significance of these exiled Chilean creators, and it implicates them as creators of popular history.

*... and the silence*

*devoured the echo*

*echo*

*echo*

*echo*

*echo*

*echo*

*echo*

*without me realizing*

*it became*

*the sound of bullets*

*against the body*

*of those who rose in opposition.*

- Emma Sepúlveda-Pulvirenti, excerpt from "September 11, 1973," These Are Not Sweet Girls: Poetry By Latin American Women, ed. Marjorie Agosin, (Fredonia: White Pine Press, 1994).

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## Introduction

The purpose of this study is to determine what possible effect a group of exiled Chilean intellectuals might have had on popular United States perceptions of Latin America and the role of the United States in the world. Although not wishing to disregard events as they actually occurred in Chile, the focus of this research will be on the idea of those events, that is to say, of historical events as they were recreated in the minds of people removed from them by more than 4000 miles.

In particular, this project focuses on the creation of popular history rather than history as it is constructed by academics, *although there is an interface between the two*. The study of opinions and perceptions so far removed physically from the events is increasingly important as processes of globalization make countries progressively more interconnected. Moreover, the case of these Latin American intellectuals demonstrates that Third World countries are not passive recipients of globalization, but are active in shaping and directing the course of their history through it.

The diaspora of intellectuals following the 1973 coup in Chile affected popular opinions within the United States in two ways. First, the physical movement of these Chileans brought them into contact with new audiences, for whom they became a firsthand source of the contemporary history of their country. Second, the physical emigration was linked to an ideological movement, in which the exiles began to feel the need to communicate with audiences in the United States. The Chilean exiles were instrumental during this time period in perpetuating the memory of the Allende years and the coup and in offering interpretations of those events, including criticisms of both Latin American social structures and North American

corporate and military actions.

This research spans the period from 1970, when the candidate of the leftist Popular Unity, Salvador Allende Gossens, was elected president of Chile, through the turbulent events of 1973, when a military coup overthrew the president and initiated a period of brutal repression. It ends in 1989, in which year the general in charge of the junta, Augusto Pinochet, having been forced to hold a plebescite to decide whether or not to hold elections, was voted out of office.

The coup of 1973 was surprising because it occurred in a country that previously had enjoyed one of the most stable democracies in Latin America. It was particularly tragic because it initiated more than a decade of extreme oppression. It is estimated that within the first month the military killed at least seven to ten thousand Chileans and that another 40,000 were "disappeared".<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the disappearances and the reports of torture did not end soon after the coup but continued throughout at least the next decade<sup>3</sup>. Additionally, the standard of living for the majority of the population plummeted. By the most conservative estimates, Chilean households lost an average of thirty percent of their real income within the two years following the coup.<sup>4</sup> According to bolder figures, in 1975, eighty-five percent of the population was reported to have been driven below the poverty line, and by December of that year the unemployment level had risen to eighteen percent.<sup>5</sup> The two researchers reporting such findings summarized in the words of a Brazilian general that "the economy is doing fine, it is the people who are doing badly."<sup>6 7</sup>

At the same time, there was a massive exodus of Chileans to other areas. The estimates of the number of Chileans to leave their country are widely disparate, but by 1986, at least a quarter of a million people had been driven out of the country<sup>8</sup> (a considerable number

considering that the country's total population was approximately 11 million).<sup>9</sup> Of those, some were literally sentenced to exile,<sup>10</sup> while the majority were self-exiled, fleeing political repression.

The delineation between these two groups becomes difficult to discern. For instance, in some cases, the Chilean government offered to commute prison sentences if the prisoners agreed to be exiled.<sup>11</sup> In other cases, former political activists were not directly forced to leave the country, but they were dismissed from their jobs and blacklisted.<sup>12</sup> For the purposes of this paper, "exile" will refer to any person who was expelled from Chile or who left or failed to return from abroad because of political repression or the fear of it. Because of the traumatic conditions of their departure and the threat of physical danger after the coup,<sup>13</sup> the Chilean emigres considered their departure to have been involuntary; "exile" is therefore used in an inclusive sense, disregarding the technicalities of their departure. The decision to use "exile" in this way is supported by a statement made by the Fundación del Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas (FASIC), a coalition of churches in Chile:

La decisión de partir, de un sujeto que ha experimentado desgaste emocional constante, que ha sentido que todas las puertas se cierran, que ha sufrido permanentes frustraciones sociales y laborales, no es una decisión libre sino forzado.

*The decision to leave, of a subject who has experienced constant emotional wear, who has felt that all doors were closed to him, who has suffered permanent social and work-related frustrations, is not a free decision but rather a forced one.*



[translation mine]<sup>14</sup>

Among the quarter of a million exiles were a large number of intellectuals and artists. Many of them had actively supported Allende during his administration. As a result of their outspoken support for the ousted president, many of the intellectuals and artists, or "creators" as they are collectively called, were targeted in the military repression following the coup. Accordingly, they comprised a significant portion of the emigres. More detailed information on the numbers of exiled creators, their characteristics, their lives outside Chile, and the production and dissemination of their works is offered later. Suffice it to say at present that the creators who left Chile continued to write, direct, and otherwise create, often with a passion produced by their recent experiences. They became, in the international community, a voice of indignation and of criticism, spokespeople for their country and, more generally, for the Third World.

To fully appreciate the contributions that these creators made to discourse within the United States, it is necessary to demonstrate the significance of the events in Chile to the United States and to contextualize these events within a framework of the national consciousness of the time. The events that occurred in Chile had particular importance to people in the United States because of the newsbreaks implicating the Central Intelligence Agency, the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) and several other companies in covert actions designed to sway elections, weaken the economy, assassinate political figures<sup>15</sup>, or even support the coup<sup>16</sup>. Less overtly, the United States was responsible for obstructing loans that Chile requested from international banks, cutting off a source of money that prior governments had come to depend on.<sup>17</sup> The purpose of this paper is not to assign blame for the events that occurred in Chile, nor to determine the extent of North American culpability.<sup>18</sup> What is

important to note is that the possibility that the United States played a role in the crushing of a democratic government lent the situation an immediacy and an urgency.

The contextualization of the events in terms of the national consciousness in the United States must occur on three planes. First, these events occur within an ambience of disillusionment. The decade preceding the coup conjures from the collective memory, among other events, the rioting within urban districts that occurred in the 1960s, the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King, the protracted conflict in Vietnam, formally closed by the Paris Peace accord only in 1973, and the Watergate break-in of 1972. The coup occurs then, within a context of increasing distrust of government and Western political idealism. The eruption of conflict stemming from long-term inequalities, the disillusionment with authority figures, and the loss of faith in the United States as an agent of good are currents apparent in the era.

Second, the time period is marked by the dissolution of cold war loyalties. This fact lends a strangeness to the timing of complicity in the coup. As representative Michael Harrington noted at the time,

... this is what I find all the more ironic - at the time the secret trips were being planned to China, a rapprochement with Russia being heralded as a great achievement of the administration ... you get a systematic effort to gut the Marxist government that not anyone yet in the most revisionist sentiment have [sic] suggested ... did not come to power by a process we endorse for the rest of the world.<sup>19</sup>

Within government administration of the time period, there appears a rift in purpose and policy that, as will be argued later, is mirrored in the populace at large, and it is in the popular version

of this debate that the exiled creators play a role.

Third, these events occur in tempo with radically changing perceptions of Latin America, of socialism, and of the role of the United States within the world. First, Latin America was seen, even in the 1970s and 1980s, as the periphery of the modernized world, largely irrelevant to life in the United States, and populated by boisterous gauchos, corrupt politicians, drug lords, and peasants. In regards to the popular image of Latin America, film critic Allan L. Woll said in 1980:

Television news avoids Latin America, except in the case of the latest revolution. Books concerning Latin America are rarely popular. . . . Even popular songs emphasize the image of the happy-go-lucky *caballero* who is only interested in love. As a result, the film remains the predominant source of U.S. perceptions of South America. And, if this is the case, the film image of the Latin and his society bears little relation to the current realities of the Continent.<sup>20</sup>

Woll further claims that "views of Latin men and women have remained static since 1900," and that it is "the dated conceptions of the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment rather than the current realities of the South American continent [that] shape the filmic image of the Latin American."<sup>21</sup> In accordance with this image of Latin America as periphery, the importance of the coup would tend to be downplayed, being just one more revolution in an exotic but unimportant part of the world.

The image of socialism, in turn, had in past decades been tied to that of communism, a link which, even after the height of the Cold War, made many people in the United States distrustful of Allende and relieved upon his demise. The presence of communists within the

coalition that had supported Allende in his bid for the presidency, as well as the string of nationalizations of foreign-owned industries that followed his elections,<sup>22</sup> seemed to some to confirm the fear of ultimate communist plans and control.

Aside from fears of creeping communism, there was also antagonism to the socialist path that Chile was taking because it was not in line with the hopes of the United States for the Third World. That the hopes of the United States for Chile were based on a capitalist vision is evidenced by the enormous amount of financial support offered after the coup. A month after the coup, the United States extended a commodity credit loan of \$24 million to Chile, and a month after that, an additional \$28 million was granted. The \$2.5 million offered to Chile under Allende in food was increased to \$37 million after the coup. And developmental loans, which had trickled off in the late sixties, were fervently revived; in 1975 the United States offered \$25 million in developmental loans to Chile.<sup>23</sup> These are only a few of the figures, but they are evidence that the solution in the minds of U.S. administrators to the problem of Latin American "peripherality" was a shepherding into the folds of the global free-market.

Third, the perception of the role that the United States was to play within the world, particularly the Third World, was radically changing during this period. The decolonization that was occurring on a world-wide basis after the second World War was part of that process, as the Third World refused to accept the patronizing control of the First World and increasingly took control of their own affairs. The changes occurring within the United Nations reflect worldwide trends of increased vocalization on the part of Third World countries.

It is significant that on September 10, 1973, two days before the New York Times reported the military coup, a front page article reported on a conference held by seventy-six

nations of the underdeveloped world, in which they pushed for the abolition of the veto power of the five powers in the United Nations, declared the sovereignty of all nations to exercise control over their national resources (nationalizing foreign holdings if deemed necessary), and warned the big powers not to make important decisions without consulting smaller countries that might be affected by them.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, the time period is characterized by a growing insistence on the part of Third World nations for sovereignty, an insistence that gradually changes the nature of First World assistance. Paternalistic guidance, such as the loan situation described above, comes under criticism in this time period. Thus, it is during a period of transition - when images of Latin America, socialism, and the United States are changing - that the Chilean exiles make their mark.

The Chilean exodus includes many figures of great importance. The people chosen for this study are not necessarily the most important scholars or activists, and entire genres of discourse are glaringly missing. One might notice, for instance, the absence of testimonial literature. Because this research is concerned with popular opinions, the individuals singled out for study are creators of novels and film, whose works have attained some kind of success within the United States. There are a variety of other media that would provide interesting subjects of research. The Chilean New Song Movement, for instance, had an influence on the folk song movements in California. Also, there is no scarcity of poetry, painting, photography, or theater. However, it became increasingly apparent in the course of this project that novels and film were the most successful methods of communicating with a wide audience in the United States.

Even with such restrictions, however, I was inundated with possibilities. The Chilean exiles were perhaps some of the most prolific in recent history. In the interest of offering a more

thorough examination, a few exemplary figures were selected. These writers and filmmakers<sup>25</sup> represent the most famous of the group, or those with the greatest following within the United States. The novelists chosen are: Isabel Allende, José Donoso, Ariel Dorfman, and Antonio Skármeta.<sup>26</sup> The directors are Patricio Guzmán, Miguel Littín<sup>27</sup>, and Raúl Ruiz<sup>28</sup>. At least two works of each artist will be analyzed and their reception described. A list of the creators and their works is provided in Figure A for reference. Additionally, attention will be called to three scholars who helped to promote Chilean art and the Chilean cause: Marjorie Agosin, Fernando Alegria, and Emma Sepúlveda. This project will focus primarily on novelists and secondarily on directors; reference will also be made to scholars, but their work will only be included inasmuch as it ties in with various themes.

As the works are named, one problem that will immediately become apparent to anyone familiar with them is that, with the exception of the work of the scholars, Patricio Guzmán's three-part documentary, The Battle of Chile, is the only non-fiction work that will be represented. However, for reasons that will be explained later, this project is less concerned with the distinction between fiction and non-fiction, than with the interplay of art and history or politics. There was, therefore, little concern either with limiting the works to fictional ones or to proportionally represent fiction and non-fiction.

A few definitions will be useful for the remainder of this paper. Unless otherwise specified, the word "popular" will be used as a synonym for "public" rather than as an indicator of the success that a work enjoyed. The "Chilean situation" will refer to the violent coup and to the ongoing military dictatorship with its imprisonments and "disappearings." The "Allende period" will be used as shorthand for the period of Salvador Allende's administration, from

1970-3; however, if the antecedent "Salvador Allende" is not clearly apparent, "Allende" by itself will refer to Isabel Allende. And as already noted, "exile" will be used as a synonym for "emigree." Finally, this study will use "American" to refer to things of or pertaining to the United States, rather than to the American continents.

I will not attempt to prove that the exiles had an influence on American popular opinions for two reasons. First, influence is an intangible relationship that is very difficult to measure. The best that could be hoped for would be to show a correlation between the dispersion of the exiles and a change in popular opinions. Second, the task of gauging public opinion would be an arduous one beyond the scope of this project. Popular opinion, although posited as a unified entity by the term, is anything but unified; it is a disparate conglomeration of opinions, distorted in its proportions by the articulateness of some and the indifference of others. However, this project does propose to glean from newspapers, government documents, and other sources of the period, a sense of the debates occurring in the United States in response to the Chilean situation. Furthermore, it intends to demonstrate that the works of these exiled creators contributed to the dialogue in the United States. It will be suggested that the Chilean exiles guarded the memory of the events in Chile at a time when they might otherwise have been forgotten.

In terms of organization then, the first chapter treats the conditions of exile, creating a profile of the exile in terms of residence and occupation, and discussing the importance of exile. This chapter proposes the term "historical agency" as a theoretical framework through which to understand the importance of the Chilean exiles. The second chapter describes the dissemination of the exiles' works and categorizes the creators into analyzers, avant-garde, and popularizers, examining the reception of two works of each creator. The third chapter argues

that this group of exiles was important in perpetuating the memory of the coup and interpreting the situations that caused it. It emphasizes the role of the creators as historians and places them within the context of transnationalism.

It is hoped that the study of these exiles and their work will bring attention to a group of articulate Latin American intellectuals and that it will pay tribute to their work as creators of Latin American and American history.



## Chapter 1: "Reality is Always Somewhere Else": Exile and Diaspora

The condition of exile is important for a number of reasons. Before enumerating them, it is useful to discuss further the term "exile." As noted in the introduction, "exile" is here used as a synonym of "emigree," thus including those who were self-exiled. Furthermore, although the focus of this research is the effect of the exiles' work on American opinions, it is not necessary for a person to have lived in a country to have had an impact on it, so the cast of Chileans will not be limited based on their residency during their exile, although the special role of American residents will be noted. This decision is also useful because of the itinerancy of the exiles. Many of them moved frequently, depending on where they could find work or participate in political activities relating to Chile. Most of the intellectuals here discussed lived in the United States during some time of these two decades, often serving as guest lecturers for universities.

There are two primary ways in which exile affected the work of these creators and the reception of their work. First, moving from Chile to another country put the exiles in physical proximity to new people, for whom they could provide first hand testimony about the situation in Chile. For this reason, attention will be paid to those exiles who settled in the United States. Second, American collaboration in the coup caused the displacement that followed it to be accompanied by an increasing interest in communicating with audiences in other countries, including the United States. This section focuses on Chileans in a more international context, without attention to place of residence. The purpose of this chapter is to characterize the Chilean emigration as a whole, to describe the common experiences of the exiled creators in question, and to show the significance of the condition of exile in the creative efforts of the

exiled artists.

#### Demographics of the diaspora

Prior to 1973, the emigration from Chile was negligible, except in 1970, when 800 Chileans migrated from their home country to the United States, presumably as a response to the electoral victory of the Popular Unity.<sup>29</sup> During 1971 and 1972 there was travel between Chile and the rest of the Americas and Europe, but not enough to create a noticeable pattern of flow, or to appear in statistical abstracts of the period. In the thirteen years following the coup, one researcher reports that at least 250,000 Chileans left their country and that of that number only about 1200 people settled in the United States.<sup>30</sup> However, statistical abstracts compiled from the Census Bureau and the Immigration and Naturalization Services indicate that prior to 1986, more than 27,000 Chileans entered the United States as immigrants, and that by 1989, more than 34,000 had entered (See Figure B). Therefore, although not specified as such, the aforementioned researcher's figure seems to refer only to refugees, a supposition borne out by later references to "the refugees" in his work.

The United States was not the principal place of asylum for Chilean refugees for at least three reasons. First, the United States was not a member of the Inter-American Convention of Political and Diplomatic Asylum, to which most of the other American countries adhered. This meant that the United States did not grant asylum in their embassies abroad, while other countries did. Therefore, in an emergency situation, those seeking asylum would be more likely to go to the embassies of other Latin American nations rather than that of the United States.<sup>31</sup> Second, the American embassy in Chile had a reputation for being uninformed of the human

rights violations and therefore unsympathetic to the plight of refugees.<sup>32</sup> Third, there was a sentiment among those fleeing Chile that the United States played some sort of role in the demise of their country, and that to enter it was to enter enemy territory.<sup>33</sup>

Even the gesture of friendship extended in the 1970s to the exiles in the form of permitting 1200 to enter the United States as refugees<sup>34</sup> was quickly exhausted. Between 1982 and 1989, all nineteen applications for refugee status filed by Chileans were denied (see Figure C); therefore, the vast majority who settled in the United States gained entry through normal channels. Deportations statistics also suggest that some entered on temporary visas and then remained as undocumented aliens (see Figure D).

The exiles who settled in the United States were spread throughout the country, but a few concentrations are evident. There was a large number of people claiming Chilean ancestry in the Pacific region by the 1990 census.<sup>35</sup> In particular, researchers of the Chilean diaspora noted the formation of a Chilean community in the San Francisco Bay area, partly due to the aid provided by a refugee program in San José.<sup>36</sup> The middle and southern Atlantic regions show the next largest number of people reporting Chilean ancestry.<sup>37</sup>

As noted in the introduction, there were many intellectuals and artists among the emigres from Chile because their affiliation with the previous government was equated with treason in the eyes of the new government.<sup>38</sup> Creators in Latin America have long been associated with the left because many of them found in Marxism an explanation and solution for the social and economic inequality that surrounded them. In terms of Chilean creators, although precise figures on the number of creators associated with the *Allendistas* are not available, an interview with the film director Miguel Littín gives some sense of the enormous support for the Popular

### Unity among Chilean artists and intellectuals:

Cineaste: To what extent were the artists and intellectuals involved in the political campaign for Allende?

Littin: Completely. All intellectuals, artists, protest singers, sculptures, painters, filmmakers, actors, theater directors, playwrights, etc., have always been leftist in Chile.<sup>39</sup>

Although Littin is given to hyperbole, it is fair to derive from his statement that many of the creators in Chile prior to the coup were supporters of Allende.

As a result of their outspoken support for the ousted president, many of the intellectuals and artists were targeted in the military repression following the coup. Accordingly, they comprised a significant portion of the emigres. Again, precise numbers are not available, since their declared professions as they entered other countries could fall under a number of categories. For instance, those entering the United States would most likely have been classified under groups designated "Professionals" or "No occupation," which comprise some 10.1 and 56.9 percent of the immigration, respectively, in the years for which data was available (see Figure F). However, too many other groups of people would also have fallen into these groupings, such as dependents, so these figures are not very useful. As a rough estimate, though, scholars of the Chilean exodus report that hundreds of writers and thousands of other intellectuals and artists left Chile as a result of the repression there,<sup>40</sup> and if the example of the more well-known creators is any indication, then the United States absorbed many of these people at some time during their exile.

## Residence

The exiled creators scattered throughout the Americas and Europe after the coup. A few, such as José Donoso, were in Europe at the time of the coup, and their exile was not so much a matter of leaving a country, but of being unable to return.<sup>41</sup> Of those that were in Chile, some, such as filmmaker Patricio Guzmán, knew that they would be targeted by the new regime and left as quickly as possible, although in the case of Guzmán, still not before several of his film crew were imprisoned and one killed.<sup>42</sup> Others, such as Isabel Allende, refused to believe that the junta could stay in power for any length of time, and in her case, it was a year and a half before she departed for Venezuela.<sup>43</sup>

One characteristic of these people is their itinerancy. For example, after being exiled, Ariel Dorfman worked with the Chilean resistance movement in France until 1976 and then moved to Holland until 1980. In 1980 he moved to Washington D.C. after accepting a Woodrow Wilson fellowship, and by 1983 he was living in North Carolina for part of the year and Santiago for the other part.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Isabel Allende moved to Venezuela in 1975. She was still living there at the time that her first novel, The House of the Spirits, was published in English,<sup>45</sup> but within a few years she was traveling frequently to the United States to promote her books and to guest lecture.<sup>46</sup> In 1988, she moved to California,<sup>47</sup> where she continues to live.<sup>48</sup> Donoso, already familiar with the United States as a result of his studies at Princeton in the 1950s and his teaching at the Writer's Workshop in Iowa in the 1960s,<sup>49</sup> lived in Fort Collins, Colorado briefly at the beginning of the 1970s before returning to Spain.<sup>50</sup> He lived in Europe until 1981, when he returned to Chile.<sup>51</sup> Of the filmmakers, Patricio Guzmán lived briefly in France after the coup,<sup>52</sup> moved to Cuba to produce The Battle of Chile, and settled in Spain in 1980.<sup>53</sup> Raúl Ruiz

fled to Germany before settling in France,<sup>54</sup> while Miguel Littin moved to Spain,<sup>55</sup> but Guzmán and Littin were later drawn to Cuba because the Cuban Film Institute was willing to provide them with the funds and support that they could not find in Europe.<sup>56</sup>

Numerous factors influenced the choice of residence, many of those not favoring the United States. First was the ease of immigration. Although a 1965 overhaul of the McCarran-Walter Act (1952) had abolished the discriminatory quota system that had imposed severe restrictions on Latin American and Asian immigrants, the new law set up the seven point system that favored skilled workers and family of U.S. residents over other applicants.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, although allowances were made in the law for refugees, it was still more difficult to get asylum in the United States than in other countries, for the reasons cited under "Demographics of the diaspora." Therefore, the United States was not initially favored as a residence.

On the other hand, most of the creators here discussed spent some time living within the United States. Allende began speaking at book clubs and giving lectures in the United States in the mid-1980s,<sup>58</sup> and as was noted above, she settled in California in 1988. Similarly, Ariel Dorfman has been living in Washington or North Carolina since 1980, a fact which is perhaps surprising considering his antagonism to the United States in his cultural critiques. Raúl Ruiz, although continuing to live in France, worked with an American company, Cannon, on a film in 1986,<sup>59</sup> and taught briefly at Harvard at the end of the 1980s.<sup>60</sup> Miguel Littin has an address in Michigan.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, a number of scholars who have been instrumental in drawing attention to events in Chile and to the works of exiled Chileans are themselves exiled Chileans working in universities in the United States. Marjorie Agosin, of Wellesley College, Fernando Alegria of the University of California at Berkeley, and Emma Sepúlveda, of the University of

Nevada, are among these.

Regardless of where the exiles settled, they often felt a sense of impermanence. Their attitude, what one psychologist called "sojourn mentality," was that they were waiting until they could return to Chile.<sup>62</sup> Many of the exiles returned to Chile as soon as it was possible. Between 1976 and 1989, almost 6000 exiles returned (see Figure G). Miguel Littín actually returned, in disguise, before he was legally permitted in the country.<sup>63</sup> Some returned to Chile as soon as they were legally able to do so, such as José Donoso in 1981.<sup>64</sup> Others divided their time between their native and their adopted country, such as Ariel Dorfman, who began to teach part time in Santiago after his name was taken off the list of the banned.<sup>65</sup>

In contrast, a few, such as Allende, never returned to live in Chile. Some shifted their allegiance to the United States, as evidenced by almost 600 naturalizations of Chilean-born people between 1978 and 1988 (see Figure H). For others, in spite of a continued preoccupation and identification with Chile, the condition of exile eventually became internalized. Raúl Ruiz commented that, "One thing I constantly feel is that exile quickly becomes permanent, and even if I were to go back to Chile I would still be an exile."<sup>66</sup> Likewise, Dorfman explained that the difficulty of exile was that "reality is always somewhere else."<sup>67</sup> The difference between life inside and outside Chile and the intervening years made a simple homecoming impossible. Just as "disappeared" men in Chile who had been released on behalf of their wives' intervention often experienced a disintegration of their marital and family life upon their return home,<sup>68</sup> exiles at last permitted to enter their country were confronted with the fact that however much they might continue to identify with Chile, the country and people had changed.<sup>69</sup>

## Work

Most of the creators in question had careers as academicians, journalists, or instructors in film schools in addition to their activities as writers. A number of the writers, including Allende<sup>70</sup> and Skármeta,<sup>71</sup> had a background in journalism before they began their novel-writing. Most of them were active in writing and film making before the coup, often working together on projects. For example, of the three filmmakers here discussed, Guzmán and Littin were both associated with Chile Films<sup>72</sup> during the Allende period and Ruiz worked closely enough with them to share equipment.<sup>73</sup> The Allende period also encouraged many of the creators to experiment with different media. Ariel Dorfman, for instance, produced popular television shows, comic books, and magazines, in addition to teaching journalism and literature at the university level and writing cultural critiques.<sup>74</sup>

After the coup, many were affiliated with universities, particularly as guest lecturers once their writing or film careers were flourishing. For instance, José Donoso taught at the University of Iowa, the University of Colorado, Princeton University, Dartmouth College, the Catholic University of Chile, and the University of Chile at various times.<sup>75</sup> Dorfman taught at the Sorbonne in Paris, the University of Amsterdam, and at Duke University.<sup>76</sup> Skármeta was on the faculty of the Academy of Cinema in West Berlin.<sup>77</sup> Ruiz directed the Maison de la Culture in Le Havre, Paris, a center for cinema, theater, dance, and music.<sup>78</sup>

Thus, in the cases of many of these creators, the jobs they chose to earn their living complemented their creative activities. In several cases, in fact, the relative success of their work would indicate that they had little financial need to pursue a separate occupation, and that their activities as teachers or journalists were the result of interest rather than need.



It is also interesting that, with the exception of Allende, the writing or cinematic careers of these figures were already underway by the inception of the coup. Thus, in many cases, the act of creation itself did not change, but the purposes and approaches often changed dramatically. The nature of those changes is more thoroughly dealt with in the following sections.

### Physical displacement

First, exile was important because it brought a new group of people into the United States (and other countries) to serve as firsthand sources of contemporary history. Whereas information about Chile had previously been filtered through newspapers and television news reports, the exile essentially brought Chile into other countries. From 1973, the year of the coup, to 1989, at least 34,527 Chileans immigrated to the United States (see Figure B). Moreover, those who entered were largely people who had been in sympathy with the toppled Popular Unity and who were victims of its successor, so that the voice that Americans heard most strongly was that of the people most opposed to Pinochet.

It should be noted that there are estimates which indicate that at the time of the coup up to ninety percent of the population supported it;<sup>79</sup> and even when the plebiscite was called some fifteen years later, forty-three percent of the populace still supported Pinochet.<sup>80</sup> Certainly a part of this appearance of support can be attributed to intimidation, since there were public threats made by military commanders against those who cast votes unfavorable to Pinochet. Additionally, registration taxes were raised so as to discourage the poor, who were among the most discontented, from voting.<sup>81</sup> However, a significant proportion of the voters still supported

## Pinochet.

Such a popularity after years of flagrant violation of human rights begs for an explanation, and I propose three. First, Pinochet's economic policy brought an extraordinary wealth to one segment of the population. Dorfman, visiting Chile in 1983, marveled at the *barrio alto*, where he saw "hundreds of glass towers and shopping malls, splendid gardens and efficient freeways . . . In just 10 years, a modernized, sleek and exclusive city-in-itself had arisen, as if from nowhere."<sup>82</sup> He notes later that the price of this development was that the majority of the population lived in slums, hidden from view by high walls. However, this was a price that some of the system's beneficiaries were able to hide from memory.

Second, even as early as 1974 an observer noted a mentality that he called the "good Chilean," in reference to the idea of the "good German" of the 1930s. The "good Chilean" in this definition was one who did not stir up trouble or ask too many touchy questions.<sup>83</sup> This complacency was exacerbated by the third factor: that it was very difficult to get accurate information in Chile about the situation. Many newspapers were banned after the coup,<sup>84</sup> and journalists and editors were imprisoned or threatened for producing news unfavorable to the military government.<sup>85</sup> Additionally, censorship of other materials was severe.<sup>86</sup> This combination of factors meant that both the motivation and the means for learning about the Chilean situation were more limited inside than outside Chile.

In contrast, the outside resources for learning about the Chilean situation were ample, because of the greater press freedoms and the almost frenetic activity of the exiles. Certainly some of the emigres from Chile were too frightened or disillusioned to become vocal outside the country. Some had been, upon their departure, told by DINA, the Chilean secret police, that they

would be followed into exile and watched, and incidents like the assassination of former ambassador Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. in 1976 augmented the feeling that they still were not out of danger.<sup>87</sup> However, others felt that they were in a better position to speak out against Pinochet than were those in Chile, and accordingly they devoted their energies to developing an articulate resistance movement. Dorfman, for instance, said

When I escaped from Chile I swore I would never sit on a foreign porch and bemoan my exile. So I work hard to prepare for our eventual return, and to stave off the inevitable depression.<sup>88</sup>

The specific role that these exiles played in disseminating information about the Chilean situation and in perpetuating the memory of the coup through artistic media will be discussed later. Additionally, the exiles published the reviews Literatura Chilena en el Exilio and Araucania and contributed to the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, Nation<sup>89</sup>, and the Christian Science Monitor.<sup>90</sup> They organized conventions, such as the Chilean Cultural Week, hosted by the University of California at Los Angeles, in February 1980, which featured an exhibition of paintings by exiled Chilean artists, New Song concerts, poetry readings, and a symposium.<sup>91</sup> Some were politically active, like Isabel Morel Letelier, the director of the Human Rights Project and the Third World Women's Movement in the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington D.C.<sup>92</sup> No less significantly, many of them gained positions teaching at universities in the United States, where they had the opportunity to become primary sources of contemporary Chilean history for their students.<sup>93</sup>

As a result of the activities of the exiles and other concerned people it was possibly easier to be informed about Chile outside the country than within it. The physical movement of

these exiles was important because it enabled them to create and distribute their thoughts and works without impediment and because the act of living abroad brought them into contact with people for whom they could become informants about the Chilean situation.

#### Exile as change in priority

In addition to making Chileans available as firsthand sources of history, exile affected the interface of Chileans and Americans by changing the priorities of Chilean creators. The conditions that prompted the condition of exile also impressed upon the departing Chileans the need to communicate with people in the United States and Europe.

The administration of Salvador Allende had been a comparatively introspective time; many intellectuals were occupied in trying to make their visions a reality, and those involved in the arts were trying to discover a uniquely Chilean expression. For instance, Chile Films, with which Miguel Littín, Patricio Guzmán, and others worked, was attempting to produce film for a specifically Chilean audience, in order to counteract the cultural imperialism that they saw as being imported from the United States.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Ariel Dorfman and others were involved in the production of comic books, television shows, and magazines that they hoped would reflect the Chilean reality.<sup>95</sup>

The causes of the coup that ended the Allende government are complex, and it is not within the scope of this study to assign blame or gauge the actual responsibility of the United States. What is more important for the present purpose is that the exiles were aware of both internal and external factors. Some, like Ariel Dorfman, placed more blame on the policies of the Allende administration than did other writers. In The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, one of

Dorfman's characters says of the Popular Unity that "It was an outdated coalition, with no political initiative. . . . it looked backwards without recognizing its mistakes. . . . [and] we had to share the responsibility for the disaster we all lived through."<sup>96</sup>

However, it was the international support for the coup that had a greater impact on the exiles in this period. The involvement of corporations like ITT in attempts to sabotage the government of Allende and of the CIA in funding anti-Allende groups and counseling the leaders of the coup disillusioned the exiles. Thus the circumstances that sparked the coup were also instrumental in internationalizing the audience that the Chileans were interested in addressing. When asked what her reasons were for having her poetry translated into English, Marjorie Agosin responded that she wanted "to raise consciousness" and "to destroy frontiers."<sup>97</sup> In a similar vein, Ariel Dorfman, acknowledges his editor by saying,

This book is about frontiers and how to pass through them without being destroyed. My thanks, therefore, to my editor at Viking Penguin, Nan Graham, who thought it possible for my words and my characters, all of them foreign to English-language readers, to reach an audience that needs to know about Manuel and the babies, about the Davids and the Felipes, of this world.<sup>98</sup>

In other words, the coup impressed upon the creators the need to *communicate* with wider audiences, including those in the United States. This change in priority and in attitude is also manifested in the choice of a number of the creators to live and teach in the United States. It is interesting that Dorfman, without ceasing to criticize the cultural imperialism of the United States, would choose to make his home in North Carolina. Again, such a decision indicates a concern for communicating with new audiences.

### Historical agency

The idea of "cultural agency" in anthropology was created to emphasize that individuals and groups are active in creating culture, rather than being merely passive bodies in a cultural tyranny. More recently, Marshall Sahlins, among others, has pointed out that the production of culture goes on in spite of all attempts by the forces of cultural oppression to control it or the academic guild to define it and make it static.<sup>99</sup>

Working from this philosophical basis, and confronted with the actions of a group of people such as these Chilean exiles, it seems reasonable to coin the term "historical agency" in an effort to describe the ongoing participation of so-called marginalized people in creating history. "Marginalized" is being used in this sense to refer most broadly to the Third World and specifically to those within the Third World who are in some way subject to exclusion. The "making of history" by these people can take several forms.

First, it refers to the literal shaping of history. Exiled Chilean creators frequently looked back on the Allende period as one in which people were forming their own history, but it is important to see that this agency did not end with the coup, in spite of the severe repression that followed it. Within Chile the organizations of resistance varied from the violent Manuel Rodríguez Front to the Association of Families of the Detained and Disappeared, which was committed to non-violent resistance. In the 50 Hour Strike of 1975 and the "Chaining" of 1979, women seeking information about the release of their imprisoned loved ones organized sit-ins and chained themselves to the gates of the Moneda Palace.<sup>100</sup> Their activities were remarkable for their bravery, because calling attention to themselves could have brought harsh repercussions, and for their creativity, because the forms of resistance they chose were

calculated to expose the brutality of the government without setting off new waves of violence. Outside Chile the exiles continued their resistance, rallying international pressure groups on behalf of the imprisoned in Chile and subsidizing clandestine literary presses and other organs of resistance within the country.<sup>101</sup>

Although some of the Chilean exiles were involved in the first instance of "making history," many of them felt that exile made them impotent as actors in the history unfolding. This sentiment makes its way into Donoso's writing when he says that "... the punishment inherent in all defeat is not so much in the humiliation, which is after all tolerable, but in the exclusion from everything that matters."<sup>102</sup> This statement alludes to a feeling that the condition of exile has stripped him of his ability to participate in the making of history. Similarly, one critic summarized what Raúl Ruiz was trying to convey through a Paris exhibition by saying that for Ruiz "exile means emptiness, absence from history, the weight of memory."<sup>103</sup> Ruiz's feeling of being "absent from history" is a feeling of powerlessness, of an inability to act effectively within the world. Dorfman called exile a "convenient substitute for death,"<sup>104</sup> emphasizing the way in which estrangement from his country denied him his social identity and the ability to act meaningfully. From these examples, it is apparent that at least initially the Chilean exiles felt a sense of powerlessness to shape the history of their country. However, if exile fettered the "making of history" in the first sense, it seems to have encouraged a second kind of production of history.

The second type of historical agency, then, refers to the involvement of the "marginalized" in the creation of history as it appears in the minds of others. Ariel Dorfman, rewriting a collection of his essays in the early 1980s, noted that when they were first written,

during the Allende period, "We wrote, when we did write, at a furious, infuriating pace. . . . We wrote during those few moments when we felt we could - sweating with guilt - steal some time from other activities." He continues that

If during that era they bore with honor the stamp of their hasty gestation, it is important, now that I have the misfortune of living in a situation where most of what I then undertook is impossible and faraway, to calmly construct, with the care they deserve, a more cohesive whole. . . .<sup>105</sup>

In other words, while exile excluded Dorfman from history-making in the first sense, it simultaneously offered him the time and distance necessary to make it in the second sense: to create a conception of history.

One stunning image of this second type of historical agency can be found in the *arpillera* movement, which began in Chile in 1975. In this movement women would meet to assemble rag quilts telling the stories of their oppression. Squares might include such images as the arrest of a loved one, executions on the day of the coup, or the poverty of shantytowns. The making of these quilts also became an occasion to share past experiences and hopes. The *arpilleras* in this way became chroniclers of their personal histories, and the telling of their stories became an act of resistance and self-definition. Through the efforts of two exiled Chilean scholars, Marjorie Agosín and Emma Sepúlveda, the impact of this movement was carried even further, as the two women published books and collections of interviews in the United States about them.<sup>106</sup> In this case, the sites of the "production of history"<sup>107</sup> are spread throughout Chile and the United States, and are shared by poor women and exiled women. This history is produced, then, by people who have been marginalized economically or physically. Yet through their actions,



whether making quilts or writing, they are "making history."

The dynamic between the two types of historical agency can be seen in one of Ariel Dorfman's novels, Widows. In this book Dorfman depicts the plight of a group of Greek women in much the same situation as Chileans of his day. In spite of the fact that these women were, from an outside perspective, powerless in the face of a military rule that had "disappeared" their husbands and was prepared to destroy them, they organized a resistance and demanded the return of the bodies of their loved ones, forcing the military to forsake appearances of civility and assume its true form as a force of oppression. The determination of the women of Widows not to be passive in the face of oppression is an example of the first type of the "making of history." The fact that the story is written represents an intersection between the first and the second type of historical agency. Dorfman's act of writing is an act of creating a history about the event, of recreating history in the mind, and enabling the reader or viewer to participate in the experience. The relationship of fiction and history in the book is discussed later.

Speaking of a theatrical production of Widows in an interview with the New York Times, Dorfman said that:

For me the whole idea of disappearance comes to represent the fate of so many millions around the world who have disappeared from the attention of the overdeveloped world. In a sense, the challenge of the play is that we are bringing to light people who never appear as protagonists of anything, and when they do appear they appear only as victims of catastrophes over which they have no control.<sup>108</sup>

Through the writing of Dorfman, therefore, these people are able to tell their stories and are

presented as powerful figures in spite of their oppressed situation. There is an obvious paradox that it is still only through the efforts of a privileged writer that they are heard, and that the women portrayed are fictional creations, types lifted from the writer's experience. Yet Dorfman is a member of the "voiceless" Third World and, moreover, excluded from his home country. According to the structures of power, his fate should be subservient to the winds of global domination and his resistance circumscribed by dictatorship or capitalism, but through his writing he creates history and brings to life people who are making their own history.

In another of his novels, Dorfman writes that

The newspapers had lied, the radio had lied, the textbooks, the statues of horses and heroes, the elementary-school teachers, the newscasters, everybody had lied every time they told them that no one is in control of his own destiny. Because those bridges in his voice pointed the way to another future, another crossroads: *history could be, would be, made by our very selves.*<sup>109</sup> [italics mine]

This paragraph was written on the Allende period, whose end nonetheless did not witness the end of the creation of history. On the contrary, although the forms of history-creation were changed by the circumstances, the making of history continued. The novelists and directors who continued their work abroad would create Chilean history as it was perceived in the United States and elsewhere.

## Chapter 2: Dissemination and Acceptance

The last chapter discussed the importance of the Chilean exiled creators as historical agents, or makers of history. However, a study of the creators or the process of making novels or films only takes into account half of the story of history-making. The other half is the transition of that history from the creators to the readers or viewers. This chapter examines the dissemination, or the distribution, of the history-laden works to an audience, and the reactions of that audience.

As already mentioned, this study will not attempt to prove that the Chilean exiles had an influence on American public opinions, first because the concept of influence is too intangible, and second because public opinion is a difficult thing to summarize. It would be necessary to provide some evidence that the novels and films in question had a large enough audience to have exerted an influence. This would require statistics as to the production runs and sales of a book or movie, but unfortunately, with the exception of the smaller publishing houses, publication and film companies were unwilling to relinquish these data.

In a few cases, the companies did release the number of print runs, as will be cited. Additionally, I will quantify the media attention given to the works, primarily to novels, because in the United States, novels generally receive more publicity from written reviews than do films. It is not the intention of this work to provide a thorough literary or cinematic analysis of a given work or to do justice to its aesthetic qualities. Rather, the minimal amount of information necessary to understand a work is provided, situating it in terms of its historical significance.

## Dissemination

The novels and films produced by the Chilean exiles were subject to the same difficulties in dissemination as other works of their day, but in addition, they faced language and cultural barriers. This study will deal primarily with works as they are translated into English, with the idea that translation was necessary in order for the works to reach a broader audience.<sup>110</sup>

As for the problem of name recognition, the exiled Chilean creators were privileged, because with the exception of Isabel Allende, all of them had been published or produced prior to the coup, and a number of them were internationally known. In particular, José Donoso was already considered to be part of the "Boom" generation of Latin American novelists, along with such figures as Gabriel García Márquez, who burst upon the American cultural scene in the 1960s.<sup>111</sup> Similarly, Miguel Littin was already renowned for his movie The Jackal of Nahueltoro (1969). A number of other creators were already known within Chile but prior to exile they were not well known internationally, such as Raúl Ruiz. Only one of the creators in question, Isabel Allende, had to go through the publication process without prior experience or contacts, so this particular group of Chilean exiles had an advantage with respect to name recognition.

Language proved more of a problem. With the exception of Ruiz's movies, the novels and movies of the exiles were produced in Spanish, and therefore dissemination in the American market was limited until the works were translated. And for many publishers and film producers, translation and publication was delayed until they had evidence from sales in other countries that the book or film would be a success. Thus, there is a lag between production in Spanish and English (see Figure J).

In the case of novels, a number of factors would have influenced the publisher's decision

to produce the book or not. For many of the publishing houses, particularly the larger ones, the decision to invest in the translation and publication of a book was a purely commercial one, although a few stand out as exceptions to this rule. Ediciones del Norte and Latin American Literary Press Review (LALPR) promoted some of the lesser known novels and poetry in this period.<sup>112</sup> The mission statement of Ediciones del Norte is revealing:

This small publishing house is dedicated especially to the Spanish American novel, producing quality editions of the works of talented authors, without consideration of national origin or political tendency. . . . With its English translations . . . Norte endeavors to give the North American public access to the adventurous writings of new generations of fine authors, at a time when, paradoxically, Latin American fiction is much acclaimed, yet scarcely available in its freshest and most exciting manifestations.<sup>113</sup>

This ambition to make Latin American literature available to North American audiences was shared by LALPR, and it was because of this that works which would otherwise not have appeared in English were translated, printed, and distributed.

While the desire to promote Hispanic literature does not preclude an expectation to make a profit, the subjection of the exile's work to commercial considerations is even more apparent in the case of those works published by larger houses. The delay between the first Spanish and the first English edition of the work was longer in the cases of publication by large companies.

While a company such as Ediciones del Norte might release an English translation of a book a year after the initial Spanish edition, larger firms, like Knopf and Viking, show a lag of three or four years (see Figure J). The delay may be partly due to the difficulty of gaining the copyright

or completing the translation, but it seems also attributable to caution, as the editors wait to see how the books perform sales-wise in other countries. In this respect, the decision of the larger companies to publish these novels seems almost reactionary.

The novels and films also had to transcend a cultural divide in order to achieve publication/production. The films produced in Cuba, such as Guzmán's The Battle of Chile, were less likely to be picked up by American companies as a result of their association with a communist country. The North American distrust of political art did not make readers or viewers incapable of appreciating the exiles' work, but it meant that the novels and film had to justify their existence through artistic excellence, as if to compensate for the "flaw" of being politicized. One might say that the barrier between Third World *engagé* art and First World "art for art's sake" was not insurmountable, but it made cultural translation more difficult. But if there was a wariness of those works with political messages, on one side, there was a simultaneous distrust of the formal elements that some of the creators chose to use. For instance, until 1986, none of Raúl Ruiz's films were available in the United States, although he had produced more than fifty,<sup>114</sup> a fact which may best be attributed to his rejection of First World cinematic forms.

Whether as a result of linguistic or cultural factors, it would appear that the market in the United States was more difficult to break into than those in Europe or Latin America. But the Chilean exiles did breach the insularity of the American cultural market, as may be gauged by the amount of media attention given to the novels (see Figure I). Even the thirteen or fourteen reviews that some of the lesser-known works received was comparable to the amount of attention given to the best sellers of the corresponding years, and the works of Allende and

Donoso, received quantitatively more attention than the best selling novels of their time period. Obviously, there is not a direct correlation between the number of reviews and the number of copies of a work sold, but the number of reviews is some indication of how significant a work is to the public. Additionally, some of these works were favorite subjects for academic reviews and dissertations: Dorfman was the subject of thirteen, Skármeta of twenty-six studies, Allende of eighty-six, and Donoso of 152 (see Figure 1). While these numbers refer to more scholarly works and are not the best indicator of popular opinions, they are offered to show that the works enjoyed an enduring popularity among at least a segment of the population. Perhaps more important than quantification, the type of criticism that a work garnered is revealing of both the expectations of American audiences and what the significance of a work was to them.

#### The analysts

Of the exiles, Ariel Dorfman and Patricio Guzmán are probably best described as analysts. This is not to deny the innovative formal techniques that they utilized in their works; Dorfman's writing, for instance, is known for its fragmented chronology and rapidly changing point of view. However, unlike the works of those artists classified as avant-garde, in these works the form is subservient to the content. These works dissect the events and actors in order to discover the reasons for the breakdown of the Popular Unity, oppression, or the sensations of exile.

Although Patricio Guzmán was recognized within Chile prior to the coup for his documentaries, it was the three-part documentary, The Battle of Chile, filmed in Chile during the months leading to the coup and later edited in Cuba, that gained Guzmán international

recognition.<sup>115</sup> The film is remarkable for a number of reasons. First, Guzmán rejects the traditional manner of making documentaries through the utilization of archival materials, and attempts to capture history as it occurs. This required an unusual amount of foresight, and indeed, the vision directing the film process was an almost prophetic one. Guzmán and his team, the Equipo Tercer Año, undertook the project of filming The Battle of Chile in the expectation that their country was headed for a civil war or a coup.

Second, by working in a small and intimate team, Guzmán was able to employ camera techniques usually reserved for fictional movies. For instance, by standing beside the cameraman and trying to anticipate the coming action, Guzmán could direct the camera to pan or otherwise be manipulated in ways that were more commonly associated with staged, fictive works.<sup>116</sup> Third, the decision to present the documentary as a succession of long takes with minimal narration was a relatively new technique, and it contributed to the feeling that the events spoke for themselves. Fourth, like Raúl Ruiz, Guzmán was a distinctly Third World filmmaker in that he constantly dealt with shortages of materials and the task of improvising ways to film. For instance, because equipment was limited, Guzmán and his team shot all of their footage using one camera and raw film stock contributed by a French supporter.<sup>117</sup>

The Battle of Chile was released in the United States by Tricontinental Films: the first two sections in 1978 and the third in 1980 (see Figure J). The documentary commanded respect from reviewers for its subject matter and technique. One critic calls it an "important, profoundly disturbing work," but simultaneously found it to be "monotonous and long" and simplistic in its interpretation.<sup>118</sup> American reviewers were generally bothered by the Marxist bias of the work and irritated by the "early revolutionary language," which used such words as "fascist" in



reference to the opponents of the left.<sup>119</sup>

Film historian Ana Lopez has pointed out that, "North American mass media critics uniformly hailed the film's value as a record and for the most part ignored its substantive analytical work or the complexities of its mode of address."<sup>120</sup> The failure of American reviewers to recognize the analytical nature of the film can be attributed to the lack of substantial commentary. If critics had any complaints about the way in which the film interpreted what was happening in Chile, they were limited to criticisms of the language of the narrative voice; they did not attack the visual pictures or their sequencing. This would indicate that they saw the voice-overs rather than the actual footage as the constructed representation.

The analytical nature of the project becomes apparent with a description of the filming process. Having determined that their goal was to capture the "key points at which the Chilean class struggle intersects," the Equipo Tercer Año, as the film team was collectively known, set out to create an outline whose subdivisions they would check off as they filmed the corresponding sections. Guzmán explains:

Our point of departure was a Marxist analysis of reality, which we then applied in small chapters which accounts for the seventy-odd divisions in the outline. . . .

The "screenplay" - if in fact you can call it that - took on the form of a huge map that we hung on the wall.<sup>121</sup>

In this way, the film arose as almost a secondary analysis of the Chilean situation in terms of class conflict. The analysis, while only partly explicit, was imbedded within the story being told.

If Guzmán exemplifies the analytical tendency within the discourse of film documentary, then Ariel Dorfman serves a parallel purpose in literature. Furthermore, Dorfman's analysis

transcends the boundary between fiction and non-fiction. Dorfman first became known in the United States for his critiques of popular culture with works such as How to Read Donald Duck, co-authored by Armand Mattelart, and The Empire's Old Clothes. Although deconstructing culture in the analytical academic tradition, the relatively simple language of Dorfman's critiques would indicate that he intended them to be read by more than just academicians. One reviewer describes How to Read Donald Duck as "a serious piece of sociology, but written in a jazzy and light-hearted style."<sup>122</sup> Perhaps more importantly, the analytical framework that is set up in these works carries over into Dorfman's novels.

Arguing in these books that such childhood icons as Donald Duck, Babar, and the Lone Ranger are immersed in an imperialist ideology that justifies global economic colonization, Dorfman expressed concern about their exportation to Third World countries. Such cultural paraphernalia bred complacency and complicity with the capitalist system as it was operating in Latin America, he claimed, that preempted effective action to change the system, what Dorfman termed "dreaming reality"<sup>123</sup>.

How to Read Donald Duck and The Empire's Old Clothes had a mixed reception in the United States. A number of reviewers argued that Dorfman was overreacting to innocuous entertainment. One summarized his review saying that Dorfman was "reading too much into a small thing."<sup>124</sup> Others reacted against the perceived insinuation that the comics were part of a sinister capitalist plot masterminded by Disney or the United States. The Psychology Today reviewer's insistence that "Dorfman provides no proof of insidious intent"<sup>125</sup> indicates that he read the book as an accusation of conspiracy. He further objected that Dorfman is wrong in seeing "imperialist plotters under every bed."<sup>126</sup>

The two books lent themselves to such a reading because of their tendency to indict individuals (like Walt Disney) as agents of an exploitative system. However, as other reviewers recognized, the purpose of the books was not so much to expose an alleged conspiracy, so much as it was to reveal the ways in which they were coopted into an exploitative system and to encourage a more critical and thoughtful approach to culture. The Boston Review noted that "his goal is . . . to spur critical thought and to reinvigorate an imagination he sees imperilled by a diet of predigested fantasy."<sup>127</sup> It further suggested that Dorfman would be delighted to have readers challenge his own books, saying that his purpose in writing was less to impose a new dogma in place of the older capitalist one, but to initiate a dialogue, one that would destroy old securities and generate a more diverse creation of heroes and cultural icons. The New Statesman summarized Dorfman's purpose, saying:

Dorfman is against dogma and for imagination. Nowhere in the book does he ridicule or condemn those who read the stuff he analyses with such mischievous acuity; but he recognizes the importance of undermining its power with imaginative alternatives and criticism. Generalized feelings of resistance against the reactionary doctrines of our culture need to be particularized if they are not to lead simply to a condition of impotent aggression. It is to this process of particularizing that Dorfman contributes.<sup>128</sup>

The analytical compulsion that produced these non-fiction works also pervades Dorfman's fiction. It becomes difficult at times to delineate between the psychological dissection that permits a labeling of Dorfman as an "analyzer" and the process that any writer goes through to lend credibility to his characters by ascribing motivations to them. While this is

a tension not entirely resolved, one distinction may be that Dorfman seems more concerned with dissecting psychological motivations than simply with making his characters credible. His characters seem to be deliberately incomplete, as if their creator were more interested in showing the physiology of their movements more than the movements themselves.

It should be noted that Dorfman saw a distinction between the mediums of fiction and non-fiction. He comments

There are many ways of telling the truth. One of them is to take an orange, slice it open and see what's inside. Another is to circle around it and try to find a way of describing it that's not so direct.<sup>129</sup>

So while his attempts to describe the logistics of oppression, resistance, or exile seem to be motivated by the same analytical drive as his non-fiction, the method utilized in the fiction is considerably different.

The two works employ radically different styles. Widows is modeled after Greek tragedy, employing a chorus of women mourners as the voice of moral conscience. One reviewer notes that, "The characters are not vividly particularized. They are human archetypes, and the "Greek" women function as a chorus to the actions of the men."<sup>130</sup> Similarly, another remarks that "the plot resounds with the moral thunder of classical drama."<sup>131</sup> This style is appropriate to the subject matter. The story is ostensibly about the attempts of a village of Greek women to gain news about or the return of their male relatives who have been "disappeared" by the military government in power. However, the stylized portrayals of the characters suggest that they represent a larger struggle between oppressors and victims throughout time, and that Dorfman's concern is to lay bare the psychology of oppression and resistance. The leader of the

widows' resistance, Sofia Angelos, is portrayed as heroic and righteous. She does not doubt or worry, and she is not tempted to collaborate with the oppressors to save her loved ones. Thus she is less a character engaged in resistance than she is an embodiment of resistance.

Widows was first published in English by Pantheon Books in 1983, two years after its initial publication in Spanish.<sup>132</sup> It received thirteen reviews, as compared with twenty-three reviews devoted to one of the best sellers.<sup>133</sup> Within a sampling of reviews<sup>134</sup>, all were enthusiastic about Widows. Critics felt that the displacement of the story of Chilean oppression to Greece saved the work from only provincial significance and gave it a more universal relevance. For instance, one concluded by saying that

By taking on this subject Dorfman runs all the risks of a political novel: rhetoric, didacticism, rant. But the literary man has the edge on the political animal.

Widows is a carefully understated work that achieves its best effects by distancing itself from the author's historical situation and by exercising a powerful restraint.<sup>135</sup>

Additionally, some of Dorfman's more experimental techniques, such as stream-of-consciousness sections, that would alienate some critics in his later works, were balanced in Widows by the allusions to Greek tragedy and the economy of both the language and length of the book. Choice, for instance, applauds the book, saying that

Despite the naked grimness of its subject, Widows is, almost miraculously, a pleasure to read. Its imagery is rich and unaffected, and the ingeniousness of its narrative technique seldom calls attention to itself.<sup>136</sup>

It was therefore the apparent simplicity of the book and its dispassionate narration that bought it

acceptance within the United States.

In contrast to those characteristics, one of Dorfman's later novels, The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, was lengthy, elaborate, and obtuse. Weaving together three story lines, this later novel is more explicitly analytical and experimental than the earlier one. One of the story lines is presented as a manuscript of a contemporary dialogue that is being explicated some 30,000 years in the future, and a set of running footnotes, ascribed to the explicators, offers a cultural critique. In another story line, the reasons for the failure of a mythical fetal rebellion are explored. And in the third, a creator of Disney comics becomes himself trapped within a nightmarish comic strip and the mechanisms of enculturation are analyzed. The themes of the novel are primarily resistance and exile.

The Last Song of Manuel Sendero was published by Viking Penguin in 1988, four years after its publication in Spanish.<sup>137</sup> It went through only one print run.<sup>138</sup> It garnered fourteen reviews, the same number as one of the best sellers of the year.<sup>139</sup> Reactions to this work were still predominantly positive, with almost all recommending the book.<sup>140</sup> The dissenting critic, while not dismissive of the work, felt that "Dorfman has created a ponderous, provocative, if somewhat abstruse and wearisome experimental narrative that . . . will reward persistent readers only."<sup>141</sup> Another reviewer noted the difficulty of the novel, saying that it is "delirious and baroque. Dorfman counts on a sophisticated reader."<sup>142</sup> However, if the complexity of the novel made it unsuitable for some audiences, it stimulated others. The New York Times reviewer contrasted the "richness of the invention" of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero with what he termed the "relentlessly dour moralizing" of Widows.<sup>143</sup>

This appreciation of complexity is related to a disdain for simple political or moral

messages. Dorfman was popular with reviewers in the United States because, among other things, he was stylistically challenging and engaging. It was, interestingly, those same characteristics which made him increasingly inaccessible to a broad audience. Not only was the book formally difficult, but its message, while championing resistance and liberation, was too laced with self-doubt to be useful as a political tool. As one critic notes, "the vision it provides surely must unnerve many dedicated and earnest political activists, especially those who take their comfort from dogmatism."<sup>144</sup>

Dorfman has received comparatively little attention from scholars, and a search for articles and dissertations about him unearthed only thirteen. Part of the reason may be that his writings straddle the boundary between literature and sociology, not fitting neatly into any discipline.

#### The avant-garde

The term "avant-garde" in this context does not refer to chronological precedence over other works by Chilean exiles, but to a tendency toward experimental techniques and a subservience of content to form. In various respects, creators discussed in other sections could appropriately appear here; for example, Patricio Guzmán and Miguel Littín were without doubt formally innovative. It should be understood that these categories are somewhat fluid. However, José Donoso and Raúl Ruiz exemplify the avant-garde, because of the preeminence of formal qualities in their work and because of their controversial reception.

Few directors have experienced such a schizophrenic reaction from critics and audiences as Raúl Ruiz. Director of more than sixty films, Ruiz, perhaps more than any of his

contemporaries, broke with direct historical allusions to Chile and with First World cinematic techniques. Ruiz's movement away from the Chilean situation as subject matter is apparent in Hypothesis of a Stolen Painting, an art collector's exposition on the work of the painter Tonnerr which quickly becomes a contemplation of art itself. On Top of the Whale is set in Tierra del Fuego, in Patagonia, but while it deals with cultural imperialism and First World attitudes toward Latin America, it is removed, by virtue of its physically isolated setting and fantastic plot, from the political situations of Chile in the 1970s.

However, if Ruiz did not make Chile the subject of his films directly, his identity as a Chilean nonetheless affected his work. One critic noted that, "Except for his subject matter, Ruiz has never really ceased to be a Third-World filmmaker."<sup>145</sup> Ruiz's Third World background and identity manifest themselves in several ways. Ruiz deals with themes of power and exploitation. In On Top of the Whale he depicts an abusive and exploitative relationship between a North American and the natives whom he guards. Also, Ruiz's style of production remained rooted in his experience in Chile. This can be easily seen by a look at his film budget; most of his films were accomplished with less than \$200,000.<sup>146</sup> In other words, he used whatever funds were made available to him and depended on continual improvisation to fill the place of elaborate special effects.

In addition, Ruiz's rejection of realism is a rejection of First World cinema. Film critic Ian Christie explains that:

... the weight of nineteenth century novelistic tradition still enforces a strict morality of realism as the norm of adult fiction. Transgressions of this code are punished by relegation to the margins of fantasy or whimsy, unless they can be



justified in the name of 'psychological insight'. To lay bare the workings of the textural machinery is, one suspects, to violate a solemn taboo on which our whole system of representation depends.<sup>147</sup>

The avant-garde of Chilean exiled artists reacted to the idea of oppression by iconoclastically tearing down the very structures of traditional artistic discourse. However, Ruiz did not see this as simply a reactive movement, but rather as a realization that Western-style "realism" was only one of a vast host of possibilities. Ruiz pointed out the artificiality of Hollywood-style in an interview:

*You have no use for what's ordinarily called "realism" in films?*

Well, for instance, in my country there are many people who don't believe in the existence of whales.

*Because they haven't seen them.*

Yes, and seeing them in films is to these people proof that whales *don't* exist.

You see to me the "suspension of disbelief" is itself an element of the fantastic.<sup>148</sup>

Having rejected the tyranny of "realism" and reduced it to just one of the possible means of discourse, Ruiz experiments with a variety of alternatives, often invoking an exaggerated artificiality.

Hypothesis of a Stolen Painting was produced in the United States by Coralie Films International in 1987, nine years after its initial release in French. One Top of the Whale was put out by Kino Video in New York, ten years after its first release.<sup>149</sup> Ruiz's movies provoked both adoring and angry responses from critics. In response to Hypothesis of a Stolen Painting, one reviewer concluded that Ruiz's aesthetic queries on art had "the oracular vagueness of

Chinese fortune cookies," and confessed that "At least one viewer's mind wandered away from the film long before Mr. Ruiz had ended it."<sup>150</sup> Other reviewers shared the complaint that the movie was difficult to follow and didn't seem to have a point. Ruiz consistently failed to fulfill the expectations of continuity, message, and action, in other words, of realism. The reaction of another critic to On Top of the Whale was hardly more positive: "It is pretentious, practically incomprehensible, and most of all, utterly boring."<sup>151</sup>

However, if these critics did not find anything noteworthy in the films, a different sort of audience did, as evidenced by the scores of students and aspiring cinematographers begging to work with him without pay.<sup>152</sup> One article in Sight and Sound said, "Specialized journals have devoted entire issues to his work. Retrospectives abound. Rare is the festival these days that cannot boast 'its' Ruiz."<sup>153</sup> So while Ruiz's anti-realist tendencies and bizarre formal techniques alienated certain audiences, they gained him entry into the ranks of others. Among film enthusiasts, he often enjoyed an enthusiastic support.

The movement away from simple political messages, the rejection of realism, and the popularity with select audiences that characterized Ruiz are shared by novelist José Donoso. Donoso is a far more complex writer than Allende, Skármeta, or even Dorfman, and his books are more intricate than theirs in a number of ways. Donoso's earlier novel, A House in the Country, is formally difficult. Donoso presents the reader with more than fifty characters, all of whom are exaggeratedly flat, preventing the reader from identifying with them. Furthermore, he interpolates himself within the text frequently for the purpose of reminding the reader that it is a fiction. The content is also difficult to interpret. If read as a story, A House in the Country, is hard to relate to. The Ventura family that Donoso portrays are decadent, comprising an incestful

elite that lives off of the labor of the natives and protects itself with an array of cannibal myths. Many of the scenes are grotesque, further alienating the audience.

And for those readers attempting to find a more political or humanistic message, A House in the Country is equally frustrating. Superficially the book is a political allegory, and there are characters who can be likened to Salvador Allende, General Pinochet, or more generally, to the classes: the adults as the upper reactionary class, the children as the middle class, the natives as the lower class, and the servants as the military. However, even though the "coup" and the following period are brutal, the book cannot be reduced to an allegory praising the Popular Unity and denouncing Pinochet. There is too much criticism of the Popular Unity and the Allende years, and the form is too overbearing to allow the message to resound effectively.

A House in the Country was published in the United States by Knopf in 1984, six years after its publication in Spanish.<sup>154</sup> It received twenty-three reviews.<sup>155</sup> Only one reviewer of those sampled felt as though the book offered explicit political commentary, saying that "Readers . . . may find the tale a trifle lengthy for its purpose, which is to convey the author's opinion that the government of Chile always was, now is, and presumably will continue to be a wretched mess."<sup>156</sup> More common, however, was the sentiment that if Donoso had a political agenda, he failed to disseminate it. In a remark reminiscent of Roland Barthes's epitaph on Bertrand Brecht,<sup>157</sup> one reviewer noted that, "If Mr. Donoso is trying to clarify Chile's recent past, he fails, ironically, by falling victim to something like the family's penchant for elaborateness."<sup>158</sup> In other words, the subservience of content to form does not lend itself to the dispensation of a political message. Whether that was Donoso's main purpose is suspect, as

another reviewer astutely realized:

Readers familiar with the history of Chile might well be able to construct an explicit allegorical interpretation for almost every event in the novel. But that would obscure Mr. Donoso's main claim on our interest - the magical unfolding of the story itself.<sup>159</sup>

However, other critics noted that "a political reading can hardly be ruled out,"<sup>160</sup> since Donoso made the resemblances so strong. One stated that "even emblems have to be emblems of something."<sup>161</sup> But whether or not the book conveyed a political message, its complexity prevented it from receiving the criticism that others would receive for being political diatribe.

Thus it is surprising, considering those potential barriers, that of the eleven popular journal reviews of A House in the Country sampled<sup>162</sup>, the majority were positive, and only two of the eleven reacted strongly against it. Of those who disliked it, Tosches voiced his quarrel with the form:

Like the old woman who spends weeks painstakingly embroidering an intricate sampler that expresses some hackneyed truism, Donoso has spent years crafting a novel that tells us fiction is made up. . . . It is a grand intellectual feat, beautifully executed, but ultimately a barren and hollow one, moving neither the emotions nor the mind, raising only the eyebrows in passing.<sup>163</sup>

Similarly, Gray, who is otherwise complimentary toward the book, noted that although "few will regret attending this dazzling performance; some may wish that they had been allowed to care more about the play."<sup>164</sup>

However, if form was a barrier for some readers, it was a tremendous draw for others, for

whom Donoso's originality gave him an international and lasting significance. One explained: "How small so much 'fantasy' writing seems in comparison with this weird, brutal and hilarious allegory of revolt and repression."<sup>165</sup> Donoso's language was also praised. Even the most vehement of the critics noted that "the prose . . . is magnificent. It's worth reading for the elegant beauty of its syntax, metaphors and vocabulary alone."<sup>166</sup> Thus, for these critics, it was the formal and linguistic qualities that they looked for and admired.

The question then becomes whether or not Donoso lost political significance. But in spite of the subversion of a simple political allegory, the book depicted and denounced the abuse of power. More importantly, it rejected all oppression by refusing to make itself serve the ends of any party concerned. As Donoso wrote, "Every attempt at 'realism' . . . always meets with official approval, since in the final analysis it is useful . . . artifice is a sin for being useless and immoral, whereas the essence of realism is its morality."<sup>167</sup> One has the impression that Donoso identifies with the character Wenceslao when he says, "I know now that reconstruction will mean reconstructing everything but certainty, which is too dangerous."<sup>168</sup> While not as useful, therefore, as other works, as a straightforward political message, this book can be seen as a rejection of the psychological underpinnings of tyranny in content and form.

In a later novel, Curfew, Donoso dabbled in realism and provoked different reactions from reviewers. In this novel, an exiled Chilean folk singer returns from Europe to his native land in the wake of Neruda's widow's death. Unlike A House in the Country this book has rounded characters and treats historical events. However, the use of realism did not make Donoso less avant-garde, nor did it make him more popular with reviewers.

Donoso's characters are complex and at times irrational, as when one of them, a

bourgeois woman turned revolutionary, tries to hunt down and kill the torturer who refused to rape her. The protagonists of the book are antiheroes. One reviewer notes of the two main characters that "Neither of them is likeable,"<sup>169</sup> while another says that Donoso is portraying a "Postheroic . . . Chile."<sup>170</sup> In the Chile that the book depicts, state officials beat to death a drunken man for discourtesy, the opposition to the government ignores a dying woman's last wishes to have a mass said at her funeral because it would detract from the political protest, and even the main character has made his money and fame from "a sham career pandering to Europe's taste for revolutionary culture."<sup>171</sup> The critical tone that Donoso directed at his protagonists and his attempts to capture despair robbed readers of the ability to identify with the characters or experience catharsis.

Published in 1988 by Weidenfeld & Nicolson, two years after its initial publication in Spanish, the book received a considerable amount of media attention, twenty reviews, but much of that was negative. One wrote, "Curfew is a discursive and rather windy novel, not nearly as powerful or haunting as [earlier books]."<sup>172</sup> Another commented that Donoso is caught in "a kind of paralysing psychologistic self doubt."<sup>173</sup> Yet another says that the novel lacks "grandeur, urgency, and coherence," and that it is "wordy, diffuse, and slack."<sup>174</sup> From these comments it is apparent that even the use of realism was not enough to reconcile Donoso with his critics. Clearly his style and purpose in writing were still not aligned with the expectations of some American readers.

Donoso's books were avant-garde in technique, and while popular audiences might be put off by them, they gained distinction in other circles. Although the publication of A House in the Country and Curfew received less attention or praise from the popular media than did certain

other books, Donoso became the darling of academia, with 152 scholarly works written on his novels.<sup>175</sup>

#### The Popularizers

The last group to be considered consists of those writers and directors who were instrumental in popularizing the genre of Chilean work in exile. Partially because they were formally less complex than the other works discussed, and more importantly because they were engaging and interesting, these works enjoyed considerable popularity. The group consists of writers Isabel Allende and Antonio Skármeta and director Miguel Littin.

The best known of the Chilean exiled directors, Miguel Littin boasts two Academy Award nominations for best foreign film: Letter From Marusia in 1985 and Alsino and the Condor in 1983. Additionally, his filmmaking exploits in Chile, into which he slipped in disguise in 1986 for the purpose of gathering footage for a documentary, became the subject of Gabriel García Márquez's book, Clandestine in Chile, gaining the director further recognition.

Miguel Littin's work was easier for American audiences to identify with than the films of Guzmán and Ruiz. Providing a clear and cathartic plot and characters with which audiences could identify, Littin worked in a style that was familiar to movie viewers in the First World. Even criticisms of the political messages in his work tended to praise his character portrayals and his technique.

Alsino and the Condor, released in the United States in 1983 by Pacific Arts Video,<sup>176</sup> is an allegorical work about a Nicaraguan peasant boy who, fascinated with the North American helicopter that circles his village, becomes crippled trying to fly from a tree. The boy, Alsino,

witnesses massacres and social injustices before ultimately straightening himself and joining the guerrilla resistance. Letter From Marusia, released in the United States by Azteca Films in 1985,<sup>177</sup> tells the story of a 1907 miners' strike in Chile that culminated in a massacre of the miners by the military. Both films have simple political messages, portraying the oppressed peasant class who must ultimately experience an awakening in consciousness and a revolution.

American critics generally did not care for the translucent political message of the films. One wrote of Letter From Marusia that "having loaded his film with dynamite, [Littin] ends it not with a bang but with a slogan."<sup>178</sup> The critic's problem with the film, in this case, seems to be with the simplicity of the conflict that Littin portrays: pitting the villainy of the military against the goodness of the workers.

However, the criticisms of the politics of the films notwithstanding, reviewers lavished praise upon Littin's skills as a director. As one says, "Mr. Littin is a masterly image-maker. Scene after scene stamps itself on the memory."<sup>179</sup> Somewhat later, another reviewer writes of Alsino and the Condor that "... it was clear it was a film that cinematically transcended its political objectives in a powerful, emotive vision of a country torn by civil war, seen through the eyes of a crippled child."<sup>180</sup> What Miguel Littin accomplished for the Chilean cinema in exile was to make his films accessible formally and emotionally to large audiences.

Similarly, Antonio Skármeta was a popularizer in the novel world, doing for novels what Miguel Littin did for films. His books are not particularly notable either for depth of characters or for literary innovation, but they are engaging stories, the sort of romanticized love stories about revolutionaries and poets that make good movies.<sup>181</sup>

The Insurrection, published in 1983 by Ediciones del Norte only a year after its first



release in Spanish, was one of Skármeta's first novels to be published in English.<sup>182</sup> Set in Nicaragua, the book portrays the fight of a village against Somoza's armies. Although it did not receive only five reviews, all of these were enthusiastic about the book. One said:

Guerrillas, students, government soldiers, priests, and workers are depicted in depth and with clarity, as their lives become entwined in a struggle for their liberation. Skármeta makes plenty of political points in the course of telling his story, but his politics never come between the reader and the novel.<sup>183</sup>

In this case, the criticism that might have been loosed on the book for having a political agenda was tempered by its interesting story line and characterizations. Another said that the author shows the struggle of the town "with humor, making types come alive and humanizing the theory and thunder of revolution."<sup>184</sup> The praise that the book garnered upon its release contributed to the popularity that Skármeta's later novels would enjoy.

Burning Patience, published in English in 1987 by Pantheon Books, received fourteen reviews, as compared with nineteen collected by the best selling book of the year.<sup>185</sup> The novel's success was aided by the fact that at the time of its English publication, it had already been made into a movie.<sup>186</sup>

The novel received some criticism for its undeveloped characterizations. One reviewer noted that the story was told "without ever really using more than two dimensions."<sup>187</sup> The book was sometimes classified in library journals as young adult literature,<sup>188</sup> and it was probably only the explicit eroticism that prevented it from being completely relegated to the genre.

Perhaps borrowing some of its appeal from the poet Pablo Neruda, who is one of its principle characters, the book was called "a jewel of a story"<sup>189</sup> and a "warm hearted political

fable."<sup>190</sup> In general, Skármeta's novels were considered to be charming and innocuous. Politics or social criticism, although expressed in the works, were incorporated into disarmingly simple stories. Considering such a simple style and subject matter, Skármeta inspired a surprising number of scholarly works, approximately twenty-six to date.<sup>191</sup>

More than any other exiled Chilean writer, and arguably more than any other Latin American women writer before her, Isabel Allende captured the attention of a large number of North American readers. Of all of the novels published by Chilean exiles in this period, The House of the Spirits was the most widely known within the United States. When it was first published in English in the United States by Knopf, the book was already a best seller in Spain, West Germany, and parts of Latin America (notably, it survived the censors and was published in Chile).<sup>192</sup> By 1985, the novel had been translated into more than twelve languages.<sup>193</sup> The book was first published in hardback by Knopf in 1985, three years after its first publication. In 1986, Bantam books began produced a paperback edition.

Partly because of its great success in Europe and Latin America, The House of the Spirits received substantial attention from reviewers in the United States in May and June of 1985, over fifty reviews,<sup>194</sup> as compared with nineteen for by the best-selling book of the year. Several reviewers considered Allende to be as important as Latin American boom writers like Gabriel García Márquez or Julio Cortázar. Writing for the New York Times, one reviewer raved:

With this spectacular first novel, Isabel Allende becomes the first woman to join what has heretofore been an exclusive male club of Latin American writers. . . . she is the first woman to approach on the same scale as the others the tormented

patriarchal world of traditional Hispanic society.<sup>195</sup>

Similarly, Marjorie Agosin wrote in her review that Allende "has received acclaim from readers as well as critics, allowing a woman to enter the ranks of what has up to now been an exclusively male group, the "boom" writers of Latin American letters."<sup>196</sup>

Whether these reviews were vigorous appraisals or flattery, they mirrored the enormous popularity of the book upon publication in English. Critics attributed the success of the book to one of a number of factors. Few failed to point out either the similarity of the book with Gabriel García Márquez's One Hundred Years of Solitude or the fact that the writer was the niece of the slain Chilean president, Salvador Allende. Skeptics chorused that Allende's book was no more than a take-off of the García Márquez book, as it was not only a family saga interspersed with magical realism, but some of the characters were similar to characters of the other book. One critic remarked that, "Such echoes are bows, perhaps, but a book of bows becomes a bow-wow".<sup>197</sup> Others, however, felt that the use of magical realist techniques and the allusions to One Hundred Years of Solitude did not make the book merely derivative, and they emphasized the originality of Allende's message. As one reviewer wrote:

A closer look . . . suggests that Isabel Allende's tongue is lightly in her cheek. It soon becomes clear that she has taken the genre to flip it over. The metaphorical house, the themes of time and power, the *machista* violence and the unstoppable merry-go-round of history: all of these are reworked and then examined from the other side - from a woman's perspective. . . . If there is any hope for Latin America, the final pages imply, then it can only lie in female qualities.<sup>198</sup>

More important for the purpose of this study is the relationship between the author and

Salvador Allende and the American reception of the book's political message. Although Isabel Allende did not trumpet her familial ties with Salvador Allende,<sup>199</sup> not one of the dozen or so reviews studied failed to emphasize the relationship. Although the reasons for pointing this out are not explicit, one can surmise that it is either to imply that Allende was trying to push an insidious agenda on the reader or to add legitimacy to the tale that she weaves.

Allende's second novel, Of Love and Shadows, moved away from the magical realism that characterized The House of the Spirits to a more historical realism. The event that situates the novel chronologically is the November 1978 discovery of fifteen bodies, victims of military torture and execution, hidden in a mine in Lonquén. Like many of the works by popularizers, the book revolves around a love story.

Of Love and Shadows was published in the United States by Knopf in 1987, three years after it was first released in Spanish.<sup>200</sup> Following in the wake of The House of the Spirits, the later novel had instant acclaim, reflected by its thirty-two reviews.<sup>201</sup> Almost all of these were complementary of the book. One said, "The book is not a political tract nor a dogmatic treatise; it is a novel in the best sense of the word."<sup>202</sup> Another said, "This is one of the most memorable novels this reviewer has read in recent years."<sup>203</sup> The positive response of popular critics to this book typifies their reaction to much of Littín, Skármeta, and Allende's works.

In this way, it becomes apparent that the novels and films that the Chilean exiles created provoked considerable response from audiences in the United States. While popularity was not equivalent to influence or significance, the media attention would indicate that these were works that were talked about, whose appeal extended to enough people that it would be reasonable to suspect that the works may have exerted some influence over readers and viewers.

### Chapter 3: The Obstnacy of Memory

The Allende years and the coup were pivotal events in the minds of Chilean writers and directors. Even a decade or more after the coup, Chilean culture continues to be haunted by those years, to the extent that of the novels and films studied here, almost all have certain motifs that allude to them. Symbols of Allende, the Poet (Pablo Neruda), the coup, and the Foreign General who helped to mastermind the coup permeate the novels, films and other media. The setting for much of the fiction was either Chile or a place whose situation resembled Chile's, and one commentator called these artists' fixation with their native land their "literary obsession."<sup>204</sup>

This chapter examines the exiles' contribution to popular opinion on Chile in the United States. Through repeated presentation of the Chilean situation, these creators perpetuated the memory of the coup, and they were instrumental in advancing interpretations of the failure of the Allende government and the coup. The purpose and effect of this preservation is sifted from the works by means of an analysis of setting.

#### Context

As the events of the coup and the subsequent period of military rule unfolded, the discourse within Chile and abroad was in the process of polarization. This discourse converged in newspapers and government hearings in the United States.

Two opposing images of the Chilean situation emerged in the months following the coup. In one, President Allende was seen as a hero who brought much needed reforms to his country, while the disintegration of his country and the coup were attributed to foreign meddling

and upper-class sabotage. Pinochet was necessarily depicted as a tyrant, who had the support of a small fraction of the Chilean populace. In the other image, Allende was portrayed as a villain who used illegal methods to promote the agenda of a few communist extremists at the expense of the rest of the population. In this case, the disintegration was seen as the result of Allende's own policies and the coup as a return to sanity. Pinochet was pictured as a patriotic servant restoring order to his country. The Canadian ambassador to Chile, for instance, said that Allende had been manipulating the military to serve his own agenda and that the generals instigating the coup had taken on a necessary, though "thankless," task.<sup>205</sup>

Again, this study does not attempt to answer questions about the legality or morality of either Allende's policies or Pinochet's bid for power. The factor which ultimately earned Pinochet the disgust of the international community was not so much the coup itself as the protracted campaign of violence that followed it. The military government's policy of treating dissenters as traitors, and the systematic violations of the human rights of those individuals, including the suspension of habeas corpus, imprisonment incommunicado, the use of torture to secure confessions, and engaging in summary executions, have been well documented by now.<sup>206</sup> But for a regime anxious to establish its legitimacy, these details were highly problematic, and it was concerned with denying the proliferating reports. The Chilean embassy in Washington released a statement saying that:

... we can assert positively that the charges made concerning alleged violations of human rights in Chile and the conditions of permanent torture which allegedly exist in our country are absolutely false, without foundation or malicious.<sup>207</sup>

A threefold argument emerged in an attempt to play down the violence. First, there was

an effort on the part of the military government and their supporters to reduce the number of casualties reported. About three weeks after the coup, Colonel Pedro Ewing of the Chilean army reported that there had been about eight people executed since the victory of the military; the Santiago city morgue, on the other hand, had received 2,796 bodies by the fourteenth day after the coup and at the time of his statement was still receiving about seventy bodies a day.<sup>208</sup> Second, there was an attempt to describe the violence that was perpetrated as isolated incidents. An observer noted that when confronted with the evidence of torture, officials explained it in term of "overzealous behavior in the anti-Marxist crusade."<sup>209</sup> And most fantastically, the administration attempted to propagate the myth of self-inflicted violence to explain the suffering of the people.<sup>210</sup> The first forms of this myth centered on the debate over Allende's final demise. News reports from the Chilean government are careful in the weeks following the coup to insist that the former president committed suicide;<sup>211</sup> however, former aides report that the president was shot by the military.<sup>212</sup> In time, the myth was applied more broadly; for example, officials would even claim that people showing scars from torture had mutilated themselves to damage the reputation of the new government.<sup>213</sup>

These rhetorical tactics show that supporters of the regime, whether from deceptiveness or ignorance, were concerned with minimizing the appearance of brutality. In essence, they wanted to create the impression that life was again peaceful in Chile. As an observer noted:

*I think one of the very important points that must be made is that the military government insists in its declarations that everything is under control and everything is very tranquil, calm, and normal. But every night - I think the curfew is still 8 o'clock - the shooting starts, the explosions and bombs can be heard.<sup>214</sup>*

One of the strategies, then, of the Chilean exiles, was to attack the image that the Chilean government tried to promote, and to raise the issues of human rights that the regime was anxious to smooth over. Their refusal to forget can be seen as a form of resistance.

### Remembering

The fixation of the exiled creators on the past, and in particular on the Allende period, the coup, and the resulting violence, was hard to understand for some people, both in Chile and in the United States. Isabel Allende attempted to capture the impatience to forget:

... the best thing was to forget the past and look toward the future, erase the slate and make a clean start; why keep talking about people who had disappeared?

Why not give them up for dead, settle the legal problems, and get on with it?<sup>215</sup>

It would seem, however, that the exiles felt a common need to refuse to forget or to "move on," as evidenced by the mentality of transience noted in chapter one as well as the literary motifs of the president (Allende), the poet (Neruda), the general (Pinochet), the coup, and the disappeared, among others (see Figure M). This refusal stood in direct opposition to the commands of the new regime to forget the means by which they came to power. An excerpt from José Donoso's House in the Country may elucidate this refusal. Note that the initial exclamation is shouted by the mayordomo, Donoso's symbol of Pinochet.

"Nothing has happened here! Life will go on as before!"

My reader can readily gauge the absurdity of this statement if he will believe me that everything that had happened during the past year, with all its inexcusable blunders, along with the pain and humiliation of the assault, had etched into every



heart, native and child alike, a consciousness, an outrage that would never again allow anything to be as before.<sup>216</sup>

This statement would indicate that the refusal to forget was first of all a visceral instinct, an unavoidable repercussion of tragedy. Also, other writings of the exiles indicate that it was a response to the persistence of dictatorship of Pinochet with its unabating civil rights abuses. Isabel Allende, for instance, says that, "I felt that it was my responsibility to oppose the military dictatorship in Chile as long as it lasted."<sup>217</sup> By repeatedly reminding international audiences of the means by which the Junta came to power and of the way in which it was ruling, the exiles helped to prevent the regime from gaining legitimacy.

Finally, it was a challenge to the attitudes and structures that had been responsible for the disintegration of the Allende administration and the coup and its aftermath. This last reason for the exiles' refusal to move on is related to the interpretations of the coup advanced by the exiles, as discussed later in this chapter. As well, the memory of Chilean events lent itself to an international awareness of similar situations occurring in other parts of the world.

### Interpretation

In addition to perpetuating the memory of the coup by repeated presentations, the exiled creators were important because they offered interpretations of it. To some extent, interpretation was a matter of assigning blame, and potentially culpable parties were not lacking. However, if the exiles sought to understand the causes of the coup, they simultaneously expressed the desire that their work should transcend antagonism. Dorfman said, "I did not want my literature to become a mere literature of denunciation."<sup>218</sup> Accordingly, the criticisms that the exiles offered

were both indictments and reconstructions of a vision for their country.

In the efforts to determine what went wrong, three groups came under scrutiny: Pinochet and his supporters, the United States, and the Popular Unity. The first group, comprising the General, the military, and some of the more wealthy Chileans, were condemned, either for their direct actions or for their complicity and self-imposed ignorance toward them. The military of these works is ostentatiously brutal, while the upper classes turn away in indifference. Thirteen of the fifteen works under study included the military theme, and showed some evidence of military brutality, while eight depicted torture (see Figure M).

However, this condemnation is tempered by an attempt to understand the origins of brutality. In The House of the Spirits, the character who will become the torturer later in the novel is traced through his youth. Offspring of the rape of a peasant woman by her hacienda landlord, this character is portrayed as the creation of centuries of inequality and injustice, this depiction adding a human dimension to him.<sup>219</sup> Similarly, Dorfman attempts to trace the motivations of a military officer in Widows, by showing the man's predicament as he is caught between superiors and townspeople.<sup>220</sup> Thus, the exiles are condemning Pinochet and his regime, but simultaneously making an effort to understand the creation of the oppressors.

The United States also became a target for criticism. The issue of American collaboration - through financing Allende's opponents, cutting off loans, or literally supporting the coup - has already been discussed. Again, of the fifteen works, about half portray an insidious foreigner (American) engaged in the country's overthrow. However, interpretations of the culpability go further than political criticisms. The exiles saw the American role and later the support of Pinochet as symptomatic of a misconception of the world. Delving beneath

politics to the cultural level, they criticized the very conception of evil in American society. As Dorfman said: "There's a very dangerous innocence about Americans . . . evil in America has become special effects, the technology of shock." The concept that he proposes, in contrast, was that "Evil is related to power and the fact that everyday people can commit horrible crimes."<sup>221</sup> It is interesting that Dorfman sees the American concept of evil as one shaped by "special effects," which one would associate with cinema.

In The Poetics of Cinema, Ruiz explains that cinema in the United States is organized around human conflict or a clash of wills. He has no quarrel with the type of organization, which he calls "central conflict theory," except as it begins to dictate the way in which people see the world. He points out public preference of the Gulf War over the war in Yugoslavia, because the latter was confusing whereas the former could be more easily reduced to a struggle of good and evil. Or as one person wrote of World War II:

I loved the feeling of a might united America defeating an enemy upon whose evil all could agree. I loved the feeling of leading the world. I loved the feeling of saving the world.<sup>222</sup>

The United States did not care for conflict when the fight was not dramatic and short and the moral lines clearly drawn.

This cinematized and polarized conception of the world, and its accompanying infatuation with dramatic and clear-cut fights was inappropriate to the exiles. It is significant that although they saw Pinochet as a terrible dictator, they did not call for direct American intervention. Rather, their energies were directed toward incorporating Americans and others in *putting international* pressure on the Chilean government. For example, Dorfman wrote an

editorial for the New York Times shortly before the 1988 plebescite, calling for internationals to visit Chile during the voting process to observe the process and watch for fraud. He explained that:

... I would [not] want this to seem like a plea for intervention from outside our country to overthrow General Pinochet. It is up to Chileans ... to end this nightmare through hard work and enormous sacrifice.<sup>223</sup>

There is a recognition here that answering one display of power with another would not be a means justified by its end but a continuation of domination. There is also an insistence on self-determination, and the international role is circumscribed by that. Thus, the role that Dorfman and others are suggested for the United States in the world was not that of a big-muscled protector of democracy, but of a guest observer in Chilean politics at Chile's request.

The exiles criticized themselves, both as part of the Popular Unity and of Chilean society as a whole. On a political level, Donoso attacked the Popular Unity, saying of Salvador Allende (or rather the character symbolizing him) that he "fail[ed] to address ... the problems which would clear the way for him," and that he alienated those people whose support he needed.<sup>224</sup>

The exiles saw in the Latin America social structure the underpinnings of tyranny. This theme is particularly apparent in the writings of Isabel Allende and Ariel Dorfman, who saw at the level of personal relationships microcosms of the structures and psychology of dictatorship. The value placed on such *machista* qualities as strength, independence, and self-assuredness, and the depreciation shown toward such "feminine" qualities as dependency and doubt, is viewed as undergirding the mentality of domination. *One critic of Allende says:*

... Through the eyes of three generations of women ... we are shown this

authoritarian mentality, emotionally crippled, enslaved to its masculine self-image . . . If there is any hope for Latin America, the final pages imply, then it can only lie in female qualities. It is women who are left in the ruins, women who bind the wounds, women who begin the struggle back to daily life, and women who bear the next generation, however it is begotten.<sup>225</sup>

Two points should be gleaned from this criticism. First, the rudiments of authoritarianism and tyranny are found in the Latin American traditional masculine self-image. Second, the response to the oppression is not a heroic or violent resistance, but one characterized as "feminine." Indeed, the most successful resistance to Pinochet in Chile was arguably accomplished by women, who avoided violent or even direct confrontation in favor of participation in folkloric and *arpillera* groups, in sit-ins, and who refused to stop seeking for the "disappeared." Partly because of the efforts of these women, Chile was one of the few countries successfully ending a dictatorship through legal means and creative resistance.

However, the "feminine," or creative, resistance championed in this view is not one whose participants are limited to women. Even the act of remembering and interpreting history in forms like novels and films fits under this type of response. Speaking of forms of resistance, Donoso said:

One [type of resistance] would be a frontal attack; I don't think that would be effective. An insidious attack would be contained in a metaphor, a poem, which on the surface does not deal with the obvious. Kicking people in the shins gets you nowhere.<sup>226</sup>

As already pointed out, the exiles' art is filled with motifs related to the Allende years and the

coup. The distinct forms that the recurring symbols and events assume within the works of these creators is evidence that the creators meant to use the experiences to convey different messages. The issue of locale within the works is an indication of the writer's purpose. The treatment of setting in these works is broken into four categories: nameless Chile, displaced Chile, explicit Chile, and vanished Chile.

#### Chile explicit or tacit: fictionalized history and historicized fiction

Not many of the works under study name Chile as their locale, and those that do are documentary films. The work of Patricio Guzmán exemplifies this type. His three-part documentary, The Battle of Chile, filmed in the months preceding the coup, attempts to chronicle the disintegration of the Allende government. It is no accident that the only work to name its locale as Chile is also the only one to fit the categorization as non-fiction. The Battle of Chile was made in part for the purpose of becoming a document for study. However, the designation of the film as non-fiction should not obscure the fact that the text is a construction. The filmmakers took care to narrate as little as possible, letting the events speak for themselves.<sup>227</sup> Yet the entire film was organized according to Marxist critiques; it was structured to tell the story of a proletarian revolution betrayed by the bourgeoisie. The active role that the filmmakers played in creating that story can be seen as they recount the process of piecing together the chaotic events into a coherent history. They describe covering the walls of their work area with outlines and then going out to film clips to fit that outline. After exiting Chile with the film footage, they spent several years in Cuba trying to put it together. The history that they saw unfolding, therefore, was one that took a tremendous amount of effort to

sift from all the conflicting details.<sup>228</sup>

Thus, embedded in the recounting of the history is a fiction. The use of the word "fiction," in this case, is not so much a criticism of the work or a claim that it is inaccurate or false, as it is a way of describing history written for the purposes of the present. In other words, it is history guided by ideology. Likewise, it should be recognized that this Marxist history was not the only fiction of the period. The polarization of historical accounts of the Allende period and the coup, soon after Pinochet's rise to power,<sup>229</sup> attests to the fact that two ideologies were at work and two types of fictions were being produced. On the one hand, there were those guided by the Marxist ideology and on the other those guided by the capitalist one.

Once again, the use of the word "fiction" to describe The Battle of Chile is not intended as a value judgment. The documentary stands as an invaluable history of the last year of the Allende period and of the coup. However, the intent is to collapse the distinction between fiction and non-fiction in such a way that history can be seen to move into the realm of fiction. The very process of interpreting history is framed in terms of the present, and thus all of history is a mass of fictions. This is not to imply that there is not a possibility of judging which versions of history are more accurate than others, or that it is fruitless to try to recover the past.<sup>230</sup> However, without intending to abandon the idea of a recoverable past as an asymptote for historical practice, the idea of history as fiction, or conversely of fiction as history, is integral to the framing of this study, because it allows the recognition of creators, operating in fictive mediums, as writers of history. In this context, The Battle of Chile is seen as a fiction, but one concerned with presenting itself as history.

In contrast, many of the novels written by Chilean exiles eschew the burden of scholarly

documentation and justification by masquerading as fiction, but their subject matter is clearly Chile's recent history. These works consistently refuse to name Chile, although they often offer geographical and historical clues to make their location clear. Skármeta's Burning Patience goes so far as to identify places in Chile such as Santiago and la Isla Negra, but still it withholds the name of the country. Of Love and Shadows is similarly suggestive in terms of historical events, describing the discovery of fifteen bodies, victims of military abduction and torture, in an abandoned mine, an event that actually occurred in Chile in November of 1978,<sup>231</sup> and making references to a military coup and a brutal aftermath.

Other works employing this treatment of locale include The House of the Spirits, A House in the Country,<sup>232</sup> Curfew, and The Last Song of Manuel Sendero. The common trend among these works is that they create a fictionalized history. The settings presented resemble real places and events and association with those referents is unavoidable. For example, in A House in the Country, although Donoso repeatedly urges the reader to "accept what I write as an artifice" and not to confuse it with reality, the resemblances of people and events in the novel to the Allende and Pinochet years belie this denial. The storming of the country house by the servants and the murder of Adriano unmistakably mirror the bombing of Moneda Palace and the assassination of Allende. Perhaps even more poignantly, the torture and execution of a native king, Francis of Assisi, is recounted in the novel:

... [the tormentor] hammered his pistol butt again and again on the outspread fingers, again and again, until he heard the bones crunch . . . [Francis's] lifeless fingers barely managed to strum a chord to two, but his voice rose strong, clear, certain . . .<sup>233</sup>



This description seems to pull its details directly from real-life accounts of the murder of folk singer Victor Jara:

Victor Jara, a folk singer, was held with thousands of others in Santiago sport stadium. He was given a guitar and ordered to play. As he did, the guards broke his fingers, then cut them off. He began to sing, and they beat and then shot him.<sup>234</sup>

This tendency to refer to historical events and contemporary situations is part of what caused these writers to be labeled as political writers. Yet for these creators, the historical overtones of their work were a byproduct of their consciousness of the realities of Chile and, more broadly, of Latin America. As Isabel Allende said in an interview,

My books have been accused of being too political. I'm not aware of that. I just can't write in an ivory tower, distant from what's happening in the real world and from the reality of my continent. . . . The situation in our continent is so terrible - with the violence, the poverty, the inequality, the misery - that writers have necessarily assumed the voice of the people.<sup>235</sup>

Allende's books are motivated by an awareness of power structures, of domination and exploitation. This consciousness was part of Latin America long before the coup, but it was augmented by witnessing the breakdown of a peaceful, democratic government.

These works need to be understood as a writing of history. But if they were blatantly rooted in historical realities, they were simultaneously veiled by the refusal to name the country. Rather than creating purely historical works and entering the academic debate on history, these writers and directors are trying to capture the personal experience of living through historical

events. Thus, the refusal to name the country appears to be linked to a choice to fictionalize their accounts. There was an important genre of testimonial literature following the coup,<sup>236</sup> but these prominent exiled creators chose the medium of fiction.

In the United States, historiography has traditionally been thought of as an exclusive property of what David William Cohen has called the "guild" of historians, and it has been seen as a sort of archival record of a dead past. However, the "production of history"<sup>237</sup> continues outside of the guild and of the United States. Furthermore, the history produced through popular sources is as much about the present as about the past. It is seen as a living force, even as a resource whose ownership must be guarded. To argue further, we may call it a means of the production of culture. What is needed is for historians to recognize the unconventional sites in which history is created and the ways in which conceptions of history take on life and shape present realities.

In this case, the exiled Chilean writers are creating a fictionalized history to accomplish something that they see as lacking in the official histories. Allende again notes,

Many people, especially in Latin America, read novels because they are the real history. You don't find anything in official textbooks that tells you what life is about; you find it in literature. Our great writers have become like prophets, like shamans for our continent.<sup>238</sup>

Chile disappeared

The only one of the creators mentioned whose works did not deal with the Chilean situation in fact or in approximation was Raúl Ruiz. A sampling of two of his works, Hypothesis

of a Stolen Painting and On Top of the Whale, offers some indication of his purpose. Of all the creators shown here, Ruiz was the one whose work was least political, and yet it should be noted that he considered himself to be "militant," and he supported the Popular Unity and worked closely with Littin and other filmmakers during the Allende period.<sup>239</sup> Although Chile as a locale seems to have disappeared from his work, his films are pervaded with a sense of estrangement, or what some critics identify as a consciousness of exile.<sup>240</sup> Moreover, On Top of the Whale is set in Patagonia, if not specifically Chile. The futuristic barrenness of the Patagonia that Ruiz envisions in this film removes it from the more immediate concerns of the Chilean situation, but the themes of the film - power, exploitation, paternalism, and culture - seem to be rooted in Ruiz's experience as a Chilean. In other words, in Ruiz's work, the political experience has been subsumed into the personal experience; rather than claiming to present an objective vision of the world, Ruiz offers an adamantly subjective one.

#### Chile displaced: transcultural movement

The final group of works is characterized by a setting other than contemporary Chile but which underwent a similar experience of oppression. Such works include Antonio Skármeta's The Insurrection, Ariel Dorfman's Widows and two of Miguel Littin's films: Letter From Marusia and Alsino and the Condor. Both The Insurrection and Alsino and the Condor are about Nicaragua under Somoza, Letter from Marusia describes a miner's strike in Chile in 1907, and Widows is set during the military dictatorship in Greece.

Widows is the clearest example of displacement. In a dedication to the novel, Dorfman explains that he wrote the story in response to the Chilean experience of oppression, but set it in

Greece and originally sought to publish it under a Danish pseudonym in the hopes that it could slip past the Chilean censors and be published in his home country. Therefore, in the case of Widows, the purpose was clearly to comment on the Chilean situation.

The motivation for the other works is somewhat different. The choice of subject matter demonstrates a continuing concern with oppression, a concern that probably has some relation to their personal experience in Chile, but that is universalized. This is not to say that other Chilean exiles did not share a universal concern with human suffering, but the concern is most apparent in these works.

An identification with the plight of the oppressed in other countries is part of a trend in transcultural identity. This took the form of a continental identity, a Latin American identity, a Third World identity, or even as a human identity, depending on the work and the creator. It is significant that when Dorfman's plans to publish Widows in Chile under a pseudonym fell through, he chose to publish the book as written rather than to rewrite it as a book about the Chilean situation. He explained that

By forcing myself to choose my words with caution, by forcing myself to witness such a traumatic and immediate experience from a distance . . . it seemed to me that I had managed to make the plight of the missing people into something more universal, which could happen anywhere, at any time, to anyone.<sup>241</sup>

In this way, an act of remembering the experience of his compatriots in Chile took the form of an outcry against injustices across time and place. It is interesting that the experiences of suffering, dictatorship, and exile should contribute to a transnational identity, and it should be noted that the trend is also apparent in non-Chilean works of the period. Significantly, two of

the best well-known films in the 1980s about the aftermath of the coup in Chile, Constantin Costa-Gavras's Missing and Michael Cacoyannis's Sweet Country, were made by Greeks, who saw in the Chilean situation a parallel to their own experiences.

In Latin America an even stronger identity emerges, and one notes such projects as Gabriel García Márquez's book, Clandestine in Chile, which describes Miguel Littin's filming of a documentary of life under Pinochet. In a joint interview with Ariel Dorfman, the Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa commented that

... even though Latin America is divided by so many facets, there is one aspect in which I think it is absolutely united, and this is the cultural level. I think writers, painters, musicians feel themselves first Latin Americans, and then Peruvians or Chileans or Argentines.<sup>242</sup>

The origins of a unified Latin American identity have been traced back to the common experience of oppression of the Southern Cone in the 1970s,<sup>243</sup> as well as to the cultural nationalism that arose in response to American cultural imperialism of the twentieth century,<sup>244</sup> among other sources. The common factor in these explanations is that the experience of oppression and even exile was integral to the formation of a Latin American transnational identity. But regardless of how it was formed, the sense of having a continental identity is so prevalent today that entire discussions of cinema have been based on it.<sup>245</sup>

One way to visualize this identity is by conceiving of a centripetal movement toward the Chilean situation that had been responsible for the dispersion of the exiles in contrast to a movement outward and a tendency to identify with suffering people worldwide. Moreover,

among those works which continue to focus on Chile, a fictionalized history emerges, fictionalized in the sense that it tries to capture personal experience *more* than scholarly fact and that it is guided by contemporary concerns of the writers to expose and depose the "tyrant" Pinochet. The importance of these books and films as histories cannot be overstated. They became a part of the popular conception of the Chilean situation, a more lasting part than the news reports, as a result of their highly personal nature and the legitimacy they gained because their creators were "eye witnesses."

## Conclusion

This study sought to discover what possible influence a group of exiled Chilean creators might have exerted on American popular opinions in the 1970s and 1980s. In essence, the research indicates that the literary and cinematic pursuits of the exiles received enough attention and had a wide enough audience to have had an influence on American popular perceptions of Latin America and the role of the United States in the world. Moreover, it suggests that during a period in which the Pinochet regime might otherwise have become legitimized, the coup forgotten, and civil rights violations smoothed over, the exiles were instrumental in reminding people in the United States of the coup (which symbolized that illegitimacy of the regime) and offering interpretations and criticisms.

However, in the process of presenting the argument, this study has attempted to create a history of the Chilean diaspora and the process by which these Chileans were engaged in making their history, and it has touched on a number of other issues, some of them related to a self-reflexive study of history itself. First, it called attention to a group of exiled Chilean creators as agents in the history-making process outside Chile after the coup. In the introduction, it explored the reasons for the exiles' expulsion and the milieu into which they were thrust. In chapter one it pointed out that the exiles had an opportunity to have an impact on American popular opinions both through their physical presence in other places and the greater priority given to communicating with foreign audiences after the coup. That chapter advanced the concept of "historical agency" as a means to understand how these Third World intellectuals and artists were actively involved in the formation of their own history by literally shaping political

and social events, and more importantly in the case of this particular group of exiles, by creating a conception of history through their writings and film.

This research attempted to provide a general history of the lives and activities of a select group of exiled Chilean creators, namely novelists and directors, during the decade and a half following the coup. An attempt was made to characterize the reception of the exiles' work based on the amount of publicity given it by newspapers and journals. The media responses were compared with the creators' purposes. The third chapter continued this history by proposing that the exiles influenced American popular opinions by perpetuating the memory of the coup and by providing interpretations through which to understand it.

Finally, and in a broader sense, this study intended to demonstrate that the history-writing process occurs outside of academia and that it is a process that transcends the traditional notions of fictional and non-fictional discourse. That it is produced in the most unlikely places is exemplified by the case of these third-world intellectuals who were moreover expelled from their own country. The conception of history that these exiles created was an active force in the years that were to follow, as Pinochet was forced out of office by legal means via a plebiscite in 1988 and elections in 1989.



Figure A: Outline of creators, works under study, and year of publication or release

## I. Novelists

## A. Isabel Allende

1. The House of the Spirits (1982)
2. Of Love and Shadows (1984)

## B. José Donoso

1. A House in the Country (1978)
2. Curfew (1986)

## C. Ariel Dorfman

1. Widows (1981)
2. The Last Song of Manuel Sendero (1983)
3. Additionally: How to Read Donald Duck and The Empire's Old Clothes

## D. Antonio Skármeta

1. The Insurrection (1982)
2. Burning Patience (1983)

## II. Directors

A. Patricio Guzmán (The Battle of Chile in three parts)

1. The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie (1974)
2. The Coup d'Etat (1976)
3. Popular Power (1979)

## B. Miguel Littín

1. Alsino and the Condor (1982)
2. Letters From Marusia (1985)

## C. Raúl Ruiz

1. Hypothesis of a Stolen Painting (1978)
2. On Top of the Whale (1981)

## III. Scholars

- A. Marjorie Agosin
- B. Fernando Alegria
- C. Emma Sepúlveda

Figure B: Chilean immigrants admitted to the United States by year<sup>1</sup>

Year <sup>2</sup>	Number of Immigrants
1973	1,139
1974	1,285
1975	1,111
1976	1,026 <sup>3</sup>
1977	2,598
1978	3,122
1979	2,289
1980	2,569
1981	2,048
1982	1,911
1983	1,970
1984	1,912

<sup>1</sup> The immigrants included are Chilean by birth. All of these numbers are drawn from: James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of Latin America, (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications). The volume and year source for each number is as follows.

1973-78 provided by Table 3301 of v.23 (1984)  
 1976-85 provided by Table 1501 of v.26 (1988)  
 1986 provided by Table 1501 of v.27 (1989)  
 1987-89 provided by Table 1521 of v. 32 (1996)

<sup>2</sup> The number of immigrants is unlisted for 1971-72; in 1970, 800 Chilean immigrants were admitted to the United States (see Table 3300, v.23 of SALA). As this project focuses primarily on those emigrants leaving Chile after the 1973 military coup and because the data prior to 1973 is incomplete, the above table begins in 1973.

<sup>3</sup> Note discrepancy: v.23 lists 1976 as 1026  
 v.26 lists 1976 as 1266  
 Although the latter is more recent, the more conservative figure is used for this table.

1985	1,992
1986	2,243
1987	2,140
1988	2,137
1989	3,037
Total	34,527

Figure C: Applications of Chileans<sup>4</sup> for Refugee Status in U.S. (1982-89)<sup>5</sup>

Year	Applications Filed	Applications Approved
1982	7	0
1983	4	0
1984	0	0
1985	4	0
1986	0	0
1987	4	0
1988	0	0
1989	0	0
Total	19	0

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<sup>4</sup> by country of chargeability

<sup>5</sup> Source: James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of the United States vol. 32 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1996) 143.

Figure D: Number of Chileans Deported from United States (1980-89)<sup>6</sup>

Year	Number of Chileans Deported	Causes for deportation, if listed
1980	62	32 failed to comply with conditions of non-immigrant status; 26 entered without inspection or by false statements <sup>7</sup>
1981	36	
1982	32	
1983	36	
1984	28	
1985	23	
1986	36	
1987	20	
1988	21	
1989	34	18 failed to comply with conditions of non-immigrant status; 7 violation of narcotic laws; 5 entered without inspection or by false statements
Total	328	

<sup>6</sup> James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of the United States vol. 29 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1992) 430.

<sup>7</sup> James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of the United States vol. 24 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1985) 258.

Figure E: Distribution of Chilean immigrants and their descendants within the United States, as reported by 1990 census<sup>8</sup>

Region	Number of people reporting Chilean ancestry
Pacific	18,960
Mountain	1,931
West South Central	2,972
East South Central	418
South Atlantic	6,863
West North Central	1,085
East North Central	1,608
Middle Atlantic	15,851
New England	2,977
Total	52,665

<sup>8</sup> All data provided by Table 1518 of: James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of Latin America, v.32, (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1996).

Many Chilean-Americans are included in these numbers other than exiles from the time period in question. However, these numbers offer some indication of where and in what proportions the new Chilean immigrants to the United States may have settled.

Figure E: Distribution of Chilean immigrants and their descendants within the United States, as reported by 1990 census<sup>8</sup>

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Pacific	18,960
Mountain	1,931
West South Central	2,972
East South Central	418
South Atlantic	6,863
West North Central	1,085
East North Central	1,608
Middle Atlantic	15,851
New England	2,977
Total	52,665

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<sup>8</sup> All data provided by Table 1518 of:  
James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of Latin America,  
v.32, (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications,  
1996).

Many Chilean-Americans are included in these numbers other than exiles from the time period in question. However, these numbers offer some indication of where and in what proportions the new Chilean immigrants to the United States may have settled.

Figure F: Selected answers from declared occupations upon entry to United States<sup>9</sup>

Year	# Professionals, Technicians <sup>10</sup>	# Housewives, Children, No Occupation
1973	168	672
1974	140	690
1975	150	590
1976	147	685
1977	256	1,383
1978	338	1,781
1979-84	N/A	N/A
1985	170	1,250
1986	199	1,406
1987	202	1,293
1988	N/A	N/A
1989	209	1,464

<sup>9</sup> James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of Latin America, (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications).  
 1973-78 provided by Table 3301, vol. 23 (1984)  
 1985 provided by Table 1502, vol. 26 (1988)  
 1986 provided by Table 1502, vol. 27 (1989)  
 1987, 1989 provided by Table 1505, vol. 29 (1992)

<sup>10</sup> These two categories were chosen because they appeared to be the most likely categories under which writers, directors, and artists might fall. Many of the Chilean immigrant intellectuals in the United States were affiliated with a university, others used family ties to facilitate their entry but did not declare a profession. Other possible categories were as follows: executive, administrative, and managerial; sales; administrative support; precision, production, craft and repair; operator, fabricator, and laborer; farming, forestry, and fishing; and services.



Total	1,979	11,214
Total number of immigrants for corresponding years (1973-78, 1985-87, 1989) <sup>11</sup>	19,693	19,693
Percentage of total immigration from same years	10.0%	56.9%

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<sup>11</sup> From Figure B.

Figure G: Chilean exiles returning to Chile (1976-89)<sup>12</sup>

Year	Number of exiles returning to Chile
1976	5
1977	35
1978	80
1979	117
1980	179
1981	104
1982	42
1983	339
1984	993
1985	383
1986	550
1987	773
1988	791
1989	1381
Total	5772

<sup>12</sup> James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of the United States vol. 32 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1996) 422.

Figure H: Number of Chilean immigrants naturalized in the United States by year<sup>13</sup>

Year	Number of naturalizations of immigrants born in Chile <sup>14</sup>
1978	46
1979	54
1980	55
1981	58
1982	66
1983	87
1984	101
1985	43
1986	36
1987	13
1988	14
Total	573

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<sup>13</sup> Statistical Abstract of Latin America, ed. James W. Wilke, vol. 32 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> From Table 1535.

Figure I: Number of Book Reviews

Author	Scholarly criticism <sup>15</sup>	Novel	Newspaper and Magazine Reviews <sup>16</sup>
Allende	86	The House of the Spirits	51
		Of Love and Shadows	32
Donoso	152	A House in the Country	23
		Curfew	20
Dorfman	13	Widows	13
		The Last Song of Manuel Sendero	14
Skármeta	26	The Insurrection	5
		Burning Patience	14

<sup>15</sup> MLA Bibliography: 1963-97, online, Ovid, 30 Jan. 1998.

<sup>16</sup> Book Review Index: A Master Cumulation 1965-84, ed. Gary C. Tarbert and Barbara Beach (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1985).; and Book Review Digest: A Master Cumulation 1985-92, ed. Neil E. Walker and Beverly Baer (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1994).

Figure J: Lag in Translation and English Publication

Author/ Director	Book Title	Year of first Spanish edition (Publisher)	Year of first English edition (Publisher)	Lag
Allende	The House of the Spirits	1982 (Plaza & Janes)	1985 (Alfred A. Knopf)	3
	Of Love and Shadows	1984 (Plaza & Janes)	1987 (Alfred A. Knopf)	3
Donoso	A House in the Country	1978 (Seix Barral)	1984 (Alfred A. Knopf)	6
	Curfew	1986 (Seix Barral)	1988 (Weidenfeld & Nicolson)	2
Dorfman	Widows	1981	1983 (Pantheon)	2
	The Last Song of Manuel Sendero	1983 (Siglo XXI Publicaciones)	1987 (Viking Penguin)	4
Skármeta	The Insurrection	1982 (Ediciones del Norte)	1983 (Ediciones del Norte)	1
	Burning Patience	1983 (Ediciones del Norte)	1985 (Pantheon Greywolf Press)	2
Guzmán	The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie	1975 (Cuban Film Institute)	1977 (Tricontinental Films)	2
	The Coup d'Etat	1976 (Cuban Film Institute)	1977 (Tricontinental Films)	1
	Popular Power	1979 (Cuban Film Institute)	1980	1
Littin	Alsino and the Condor	1982	1983 (Pacific Arts Video)	1
	Letters From Marusia	1976	1985 (Azteca Films)	9

Ruiz	Hypothesis of a Stolen Painting	1978	1987 (Coralie Films International)	9
	On Top of the Whale	1981	1991 (Kino Video)	10

Figure K: Publication information on the novels<sup>17</sup>

Author	Title	Publishing House	Year of 1st Publication by given company	Number of Printings	Original Sale Price
Allende	The House of the Spirits	Alfred A. Knopf	1985	5	\$17.95
		Bantam Books	1986		
	Of Love and Shadows	Alfred A. Knopf	1987	2	\$17.95
		Bantam Books	1988		
Donoso	A House in the Country	Alfred A. Knopf	1984		\$16.95
	Curfew	Weidenfeld & Nicholson	1988		\$18.95
Dorfman	Widows	Pantheon Books	1983		\$10.95
	The Last Song of Manuel Sendero	Viking Penguin	1988	1	\$18.95
Skármeta	The Insurrection	Ediciones del Norte	1983		
	Burning Patience	Pantheon Books	1987		\$10.95

<sup>17</sup> All information that follows has been taken from copyright pages of novels or from correspondence with publishing companies.

Figure L. Publication information on literature by Chilean scholars

Author	Title	Publisher/ Distributor	Year of 1st Publication	Number of Copies in Print Run	Number of Printings
Marjorie Agosin	Women of Smoke/ Brujas y algo más	LALPR	1984	2500	1
	Scraps of Life	Red Sea Press	1987	3000	1
Fernando Alegria	Changing Centuries	LALPR	1988	2000	1



Figure M: Sample of literary motifs

	Allende	Neruda /poet	Pinochet /military	for- eign- er	c o u p	disappearings	exile	brutality /torture
The House of Spirits	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Of Love and Shadows	x		x		x	x	x	x
A House in the Country	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Curfew	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Widows			x			x		x
The Last Song of Manuel Sendero	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
The Insurrectio n		x	x	x		x		x
Burning Patience	x	x	x		x	x		x
Letters from Marusia	x		x		x			x
Alsino and the Condor			x	x				x
The Battle of Chile	x		x	x	x			x
Hypothesis of a Stolen Painting								
On Top of the Whale			x	x				x

## Endnotes

1. Carlos J. Gonsalves, "The Psychological Effects of Political Repression on Chilean Exiles in the U.S.," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 60 (Jan. 1990) 145.
2. The word "disappear" has taken on a transitive usage in Spanish as a result of the disappearance of thousands of Latin Americans at the hands of the military dictatorships of the past three decades. This linguistic shift reflects a need to assign agency to the event of disappearance. As Nicholas Rankin ("Habeas Corpus," rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, Times Literary Supplement 9 Dec. 1983: 1372) explains, "People do not just disappear in South America: unidentified men in unmarked cars "disappear" them." Accordingly, for the purposes of this paper, the word "disappear" may be used in this sense, but will be set off with quotation marks.
3. Ascanio Cavallo Castro, Manuel Salazar Salvo, and Oscar Sepúlveda Pacheco, La historia oculta del regimen militar (Santiago: Antártica, 1989).  
Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación, Informe de la comisión de verdad y reconciliación, 3 vol. (Santiago: Secretaría de Comunicación y Cultura, Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 1991).
4. Joseph R. Ramos, "A Comment to 'Military Government and Real Wages in Chile'," Latin American Research Review 7:1 (1977) 174.
5. Ricardo Lagos and Oscar A. Ruffat, "Military Government and Real Wages in Chile: A Reply," Latin American Research Review 7:1 (1977) 178.
6. Ricardo Lagos and Oscar A. Ruffat, "Military Government and Real Wages in Chile: A Note," Latin American Research Review 10 (Summer 1975) 145.
7. The above figures were taken from a series of debating articles published in Latin American Research Review during 1975 and 1977, as cited above. An editor's note preceding the articles notes that the debate was the first to be initiated under the new editorship. Both Lagos and Ruffat are Chilean expatriate scholars, based in the University of North Carolina and the University of Pennsylvania, respectively, at the time that these articles were published, furthering the case, presented in chapter three, that exiled Chilean intellectuals

were instrumental in bringing the Chilean situation to public attention and fomenting a dialogue about it.

8. Gonsalves 144.

Other estimates indicate that between 1973 and 1981, more than a million Chileans left Chile seeking asylum in other countries.

See:

Elizabeth Lira K. and Juana Kovalskys S., "Retorno: Algunos Aspectos Psicosociales del Proceso de Reinsercion," Exilio: 1986-1978 (Santiago: Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas, 1986) 181.

The more conservative figure has been here presented in the interest of caution.

9. Gonsalves 144.

10. For example, see: Jose E. Trias, Notes on a Sentence of Exile (New York: An Americas Watch Report, 1982).

11. This option was put into effect by Law 504, passed on April 30, 1975. Fanny Pollarolo V. and M. Eugenia Rosas B., "La Perdida del Derecho de Vivir en su Propio Pais," Exilio 1986-1978 (Santiago: Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas, 1986) 257.

12. Pollarolo and Rosas 258.

13. Although the archives of DINA, the Chilean secret police, were destroyed in a "terrorist" attack shortly after the election of Patricio Aylwin as president in 1989, a commission formed in 1990 in Chile has compiled a report on the disappearances and deaths of 2000 victims of the junta:

Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación, Informe de la comisión de verdad y reconciliación, 3 vol. (Santiago: Secretaría de Comunicación y Cultura, Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 1991).

14. Pollarolo and Rojas 258.

15. U. S. Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, Interim Report, Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975) 225-54.

16. U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, Staff Report, Covert Action in Chile (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

17. James Petras and Morris Morley, "On the U.S. and the Overthrow of Allende: A Reply to Professor Sigmund's Criticism," Latin American Research Review 13:1 (1978) 209-214. Hearing before the subcommittee to investigate problems connected with refugees and escapees of the Committee on the Judiciary, Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II 93d Congress, 2d session, 23 July 1974 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974) 2.
18. For a summary of literature on the coup that will deal with the issue of culpability, please see: Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Visions of Chile," Latin American Research Review 10 (Fall 1975) 155-171.
19. Hearing before the special subcommittee on intelligence of the committee on armed services, House of Representatives, Inquiry into matters regarding classified testimony taken on April 22, 1974, concerning the CIA and Chile, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).
20. Allen L. Woll, The Latin Image in American Film, revised edition (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1980) 2-5.
21. Woll 5.
22. Michael Jensen, "U.S. Companies Looking to Chile," New York Times 12 Sep. 1973: A19.
23. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II, 2.
24. Henry Giniger, "Nonaligned Warn Major Countries," New York Times 10 Sep. 1973: 1+.
25. Due to the researcher's immersion in Second Cinema criticisms, it was late in the project before she even questioned the idea of "auteurism," that is, of the director as author of a film. In this paper, the director is treated as "author" of his films, but that premise is one that is challenged by the very works discussed in this paper. Both Ruiz and Guzmán, at least, insisted that the creation of their films was a collaborative effort, with camera operators and actors, among others, actively participating in the creation of the film.
26. Note that two of these people were not born in Chile. Allende was born in Peru and Dorfman was born in Argentina. Therefore, they are naturalized Chilean citizens. They think of themselves as Chilean and their compatriots identify them as

Chilean, so for the purposes of this paper, they will be referred to as Chilean, with no further attention to their place of birth.

27. Both of Littin's works which will here be discussed were nominated for Best Foreign Film in the Oscars in the United States, Letter From Marusia, made in 1975, and Alsino and the Condor, made in 1981.

28. There is no consensus within writings about Ruiz, as to the spelling of his name. The New York Times often wrote "Raoul Ruiz", Art In America wrote "Raul Ruiz", Film Quarterly wrote "Raul Ruiz" or "Raoul Ruiz", and various interviews wrote "Raúl Ruiz", not to mention all of the French accents that hovered and collided over his name in French publications. "Raúl Ruiz" will be used in this study.

29. James W. Wilke, ed., Statistical Abstract of Latin America 23 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1984) 710.

30. Gonsalves 144.

31. Hearing before the subcommittee to investigate problems connected with refugees and escapees of the Committee on the Judiciary, Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II, 93d Congress, 1st session, 28 Sep. 1973 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973) 31.

32. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II 5.

33. Gonsalves 150.

34. Gonsalves 144.

35. See figure E.

36. Gonsalves 150.

37. Wilke 430.

38. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II 15.

39. Miguel Littin, interview with Gary Crowdus and Irwin Silber, "Film in Allende's Chile," The Cineaste Interviews, ed. Dan Georgakas and Lenny Rubenstein (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1983) 27.

40. Fernando Alegria, ed., Chilean Writers in Exile, (Trumansburg: The Crossing Press, 1982) vi.

41. "A note about the author," Curfew (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986).
42. Patricio Guzmán, interview with Julianne Burton, "Politics and the Documentary in People's Chile: An Interview with Patricio Guzmán," Cinema and Social Change in Latin America (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) 63, 64.
43. Herbert Mitgang, "As Isabel Allende Sees Herself," New York Times 4 Feb. 1988: C19.
44. Kathe A. Conti, "Ariel Dorfman," Dictionary of Hispanic Biography, Joseph C. Tardiff and L. Mpho Mabunda, ed. (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996) 295-297.
45. Leigh Hafrey, "Hers is a 'Lucky Book'," New York Times Book Review 12 May 1985: 23.
46. Mitgang C19.
47. Tardiff 16-19.
48. Martha Gutierrez, assistant to Isabel Allende, letter to the author, 11 Nov. 1997.
49. "A Note About the Author," A House in the Country (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984).
50. Ellen Dennis French, "Jose Donoso," Dictionary of Hispanic Biography, Joseph C. Tardiff and L. Mpho Mabunda, ed. (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1996) 292-294.
51. French 294.
52. Adrian Miles, "Patricio Guzmán," Chris Marker Website (<http://cs.art.rmit.edu.au/projects/media/marker/index.html>).
53. Dennis West, "Patricio Guzmán," Directors, Nicolas Thomas, ed. (Chicago: St. James Press, 1991) 364, 365.
54. "Hall of Mirrors," Sight and Sound Feb. 1992: 15.; Zuzana Mirjam Pick, "Raúl Ruiz," Directors, vol. 2, ed. 2 (Chicago: St. James Press, 1991) 727-729.
55. Gabriel García Márquez, Clandestine in Chile (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1986) 2.
56. Guzmán: Guzmán, interview with Burton 64.  
Littin: Both Chile: A General Record and Alsino and the Condor

were produced with the collaboration of the Cuban Film Institute.

57. Thomas Kessner and Betty Boyd Caroli, Today's Immigrants: Their Stories (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 3-30.

58. Mitgang C19.

59. David Ehrenstein, "Raul Ruiz at the Holiday Inn," Film Quarterly (Fall 1986) 4.

60. "Hall of Mirrors," Sight & Sound (Feb. 1992): 15. and Judith Shulevitz, "Ruiz in Gotham," Film Comment (May/June 1990) 62-3.

61. Yahoo White Pages (<http://yahoo.four11.com/cgi-bin/Four11Main?yahoo&template=yahoo.t>).

62. Gonsalves 150.

63. The purpose of the trip was the production of a documentary of life in Chile under Pinochet. The story is told in: Gabriel García Márquez, Clandestine in Chile, trans. Asa Zantz (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1987).

64. French 294.

65. Conti 295-297.

66. Raúl Ruiz, interview with Ian Christie and Malcolm Coad, "Between Institutions," Cinema and Social Change in Latin America, ed. Julianne Burton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) 192.

67. Pat Aufderheide, rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, Boston Review Apr. 1987: 26.

68. Gonsalves 149.

69. Sofia Salamovich and Rosario Domínguez, "Proceso psicologico de desexilio: una repuesta psicoterapeutica," Exilio (Santiago: FASIC, 1986) 50.

70. Isabel Allende, interview with John Brosnahan, Booklist 15 June 1991, 1930-1931.

71. Antonio Skármeta, "Prologue," The Postman (New York: Miramax Books, 1985).

72. Patricio Guzmán, interview with Julianne Burton 60-61.

73. Christie and Coad 186.
74. "About the Author," Widows (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).
75. French 294.
76. Conti 295.
77. Dust jacket of The Insurrection (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1983).
78. Ian Christie, "Raul Ruiz in the House of Culture," Sight & Sound (Spr. 1987) 96-100.
79. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II 10.
80. Jaksic 262.
81. Ariel Dorfman, "Keep an Eye on Chile," New York Times 2 June 1988: A27.
82. Ariel Dorfman, "An Exile Finds Chile 'Struck By a Plague,'" New York Times 11 Sep. 1983: E23.
83. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile: Part II 10.
84. Mary Louise Pratt, "Overwriting Pinochet: Undoing the Culture of Fear in Chile," MLQ 57 (June 1996) 156.
85. Ariel Dorfman, "An Exile Finds Chile 'Struck By a Plague,'" E23.
86. Mitgang C19.
87. Gonsalves 150.
88. Victor Perera, "The Coast is Not Clear: Chileans in Exile," Nation 11 Feb. 1978: 149.
89. Ariel Dorfman was an occasional contributor to all of these newspapers as well as to the Village Voice.
90. Marjorie Agosin wrote book reviews for the Christian Science Monitor, including reviews on all of the novels covered by this project.
91. A summary of the convention appears in Literatura Chilena en el Exilio, Apr. 1980. The convention was partly organized by the editors of the magazine, including Fernando Alegria. The



magazine changed its name after 1980 and continued to be published, but its focus was shifted away from Chile and increasingly more of its contributors were not Chilean.

92. You Can't Drown the Fire, Alicia Partnoy ed. (Pittsburgh: Cleis Press, 1988) 137.

93. Among others: Marjorie Agosin (Wellesley College, Massachusetts); Fernando Alegria (University of Stanford); Marcelo Coddou (Barnard College, New York); Jaime Concha (University of Washington); Jaime Giordano (Barnard College); Raul Inostroza (California State College, Long Beach); Pedro Lastra (University of New York, Stony Brook); Angela McEwan-Alvarado (Whittier College); Juan Orrego Salas (University of Indiana); Rosa Reeves (California State College at Hayward); Grinor Rojo (Ohio State University); Bernardo Subercaseaux (University of Washington); Vicente Urbistondo (State University in San Francisco, California); Jaime Valdivieso (University of Texas).

94. Miguel Littin, interview with Gary Crowdus and Irwin Silber, "Film in Allende's Chile," trans. Susan Hertelendy Rudge, The Cineaste Interviews, ed. Dan Georgakas and Lenny Rubenstein (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1983) 28.

95. Ariel Dorfman, "About the Author," The Empire's Old Clothes (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

96. Ariel Dorfman, The Last Song of Manuel Sendero (New York: Viking, 1987) 389.

97. Marjorie Agosin, personal letter, 22 Oct. 1997.

98. Ariel Dorfman, The Last Song of Manuel Sendero (New York: Viking, 1987).

99. Marshall Sahlins, "Sentimental Pessimism and Ethnographic Experience: Why Culture is Not a Disappearing Object," lecture given at Texas A&M University, 9 Oct. 1997.

100. We, Chile: Personal Testimonies of the Chilean Arpilleristas, ed. Emma Sepúlveda, trans. Bridget Morgan (Falls Church: Azul Editions, 1996).

101. Victor Perera, "The Coast Is Not Clear: Chileans in Exile," Nation 11 Feb. 1978: 149.

102. Jose Donoso, A House in the Country (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) 252.
103. Ian Christie, "Memories of Expulsion," Sight and Sound Feb. 1992: 17.
104. Shirley Christian, "Chile Letting Exiled Novelist Return," New York Times 14 Aug. 1987: A3.
105. Ariel Dorfman, The Empire's Old Clothes (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983) 10.
106. Marjorie Agosin, Scraps of Life (London: Red Sea Press, 1987).; Emma Sepúlveda, We, Chile: Personal Testimonies of the Chilean Arpilleristas (Falls Church: Azul Editions, 1996).
107. This term was coined by David William Cohen, The Combining of History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
108. Peter Applebome, "Echoes of Evil in a Texas Cow Pasture," New York Times 17 July 1988: B5+.
109. Ariel Dorfman, The Last Song of Manuel Sendero (New York: Viking, 1987) 29.
110. Such a decision may be a mistake. The United States has, after all, the fifth largest population of Spanish speakers of any country in the world.
111. Donoso's most famous novel at the time was The Obscene Bird of the Night (1970 in Spanish, 1973 in English).
112. The only work in this sampling produced by one of those companies is The Insurrection, published by Ediciones del Norte. Other works are listed in figure L.
113. Dust jacket of The Insurrection (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1983).
114. David Ehrenstein, "Raul Ruiz at the Holiday Inn," Film Quarterly 40 (Fall 1986) 2-7.
115. Dennis West, "Patricio Guzmán," Directors, ed. Nicolas Thomas (Chicago: St. James Press, 1991): 364-365.
116. Guzmán, interview with Burton 57.
117. Guzmán, interview with Burton 56.

118. Vincent Canby, "Guzmán Documentary," New York Times 13 Jan. 1978: C7.
119. Vincent Canby, "Workers Speak," New York Times 18 Apr. 1980: C12.
120. Ana M. Lopez, "The Battle of Chile and National Reality," The Social Documentary in Latin America, Julianne Burton, ed. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990) 275.
121. Guzmán, interview with Burton 55.
122. Stanley Reynolds, "Teach Yourself Quacking," rev. of How to Read Donald Duck, by Ariel Dorfman, Punch 10 Sep. 1975: 432.
123. Ariel Dorfman, The Empire's Old Clothes: What the Lone Ranger, Babar, and Other Innocent Heroes Do to Our Minds (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983) 5.
124. Reynolds 432.
125. Hal Goodman, "Babar and the Imperialist Running Dogs," rev. of The Empire's Old Clothes, by Ariel Dorfman, Psychology Today (July 1983) 71.
126. Goodman 71.
127. Pat Aufderheide, Rev. of The Empire's Old Clothes, by Ariel Dorfman, Boston Review Aug. 1983: 38.
128. Simon North, "Hidden Dogma," rev. of The Empire's Old Clothes, by Ariel Dorfman, New Statesman 16 Sep. 1983: 26.
129. Richard J. Meislin, "Hounded by the Dictator," New York Times Book Review 15 Feb. 1987: 9.
130. Nicholas Rankin, "Habeas Corpus," rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, Times Literary Supplement 9 Dec. 1983: 1372.
131. Alan Cheuse, "The 'Disappeared' and the Jettisoned," rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, New York Times Book Review 24 July 1983: 10.
132. See figure J.
133. Poland, by James A. Michener, sold 786,235 copies, making it the number two best seller of the year (the number one best seller, the Return of the Jedi Storybook received only six reviews; because of the type of book it is, it was rejected for

comparison). Order and number for the bestsellers is provided by:

Dave Bogart, ed., Bowker's Annual: Library and Book Trade Almanac, vol. 29 (New Providence: R. R. Bowker, 1984).

134. Cheuse 10+; Rankin 1372.; Rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, Booklist 15 May 1983: 1186.; Rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, Choice Oct. 1983: 286.; Rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, New York Times Book Review 3 Feb. 1985: 34.; Janet Wiehe, Rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, Library Journal 1 June 1988: 1155.

135. Rankin 1372.

136. Rev. of Widows, by Ariel Dorfman, Choice 286.

137. See figure K.

138. See figure K.

139. Patriot Games, by Tom Clancy, sold over a million copies. It was the number two best seller (No information on reviews for the number one best seller, The Tommyknockers, by Stephen King, was found).

140. Marjorie Agosin, "Chilean Novelist's surreal Political Fable of Lives in Limbo," rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, The Christian Science Monitor 23 Feb. 1987: 24.; Pat Auferheide, rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, Boston Review Apr. 1987: 26.; Earl Shorris, "Gestation With a Vengeance," rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, New York Times Book Review 15 Feb. 1987: 9.; M. L. Friedman, rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, Choice Oct. 1987: 317.; Rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, Library Journal Jan. 1987: 106.; Rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, New York Times Book Review 20 Mar. 1988: 38.; Rev. of The Last Song of Manuel Sendero, by Ariel Dorfman, Virginia Quarterly Review Summer 1987: 95.

141. Olszewski 106.

142. Friedman 317.

143. Shorris 9.

144. Aufderheide 26.

145. Gilbert Adaire, "Raúl: Sheheruizade, or 1001 films," Sight and Sound 53 (Sum. 1984) 162.
146. Judith Schulevitz, "Ruiz in Gotham," Film Comment May/June 1990: 62.
147. Ian Christie, "Raul Ruiz and the House of Culture," Sight and Sound 56 (Spr. 1987) 99.
148. David Ehrenstein, "Raul Ruiz at the Holiday Inn," Film Quarterly 40 (Fall 1986) 7.
149. See Figure J for all of these numbers.
150. Vincent Canby, "Investigation of Art," New York Times 13 Nov. 1987: C15.
151. Nina Darnton, "Spouting," New York Times 20 June 1986: C18.
152. Judith Shulevitz, "Ruiz in Gotham," Film Comment 26 (May/June 1990) 62.
153. Adair 62.
154. See figure J.
155. See figure I.
156. Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, The Atlantic Mar. 1984: 132.
157. "This impasse is something like Brecht's: he was hostile to Photography because (he said) of the weakness of its critical power; but his own theater has never been able to be politically effective on account of its subtlety and its aesthetic quality." Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida p.36.
158. Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, New Yorker 30 Apr. 1984: 118.
159. Robert Towers, "The Day That Lasted a Year at Marulanda," rev of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, New York Times Book Review 26 Feb. 1984: 7.
160. John Butt, "Prodigies in the Grass," rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Times Literary Supplement 6 Apr. 1984: 369.

161. Michael Wood, "Ah, the Fredonna Tree," rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, New York Review of Books 18 July 1985: 36.

162. Butt 369.; Paul Gray, "Imaginative Enchantments," rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Time 20 Feb. 1984: 77.; Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Atlantic 132.; Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Booklist 15 November 1983: 449.; Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Choice July-Aug. 1984: 1613.; Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Library Journal Jan. 1984: 110.; Rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, New Yorker 30 Apr. 1984: 118-120.; Clara Claiborne Park, "Rituals of Idleness and Denial," rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Commonweal 18 May 1984: 309-310.; Nick Tosches, "Brief Encounters," rev. of A House in the Country, by Jose Donoso, Village Voice 27 Mar. 1984: 44.; Towers 7.; Wood 33-36.

163. Tosches 44.

164. Gray 77.

165. Butt 369.

166. Tosches 44.

167. José Donoso, A House in the Country (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) 283.

168. Donoso, A House in the Country, 253.

169. Selden Rodman, "Tale of a Politicized Bard," rev. of Curfew, by José Donoso, The New Leader 23 Jan. 1989: 22.

170. M. L. Friedman, rev of Curfew, by José Donoso, Choice Oct. 1988: 321.

171. Malcolm Coad, "Chile's Hour of Despair," rev. of Curfew, by José Donoso, New Statesman and Society 19 Oct. 1990: 34.

172. Michael Wood, "Purity at a Price," rev. of Curfew, by José Donoso, Times Literary Supplement 4 Jan. 1991: 16.

173. Coad 34.

174. John Updike, "In Dispraise of the Powers That Be," rev. of Curfew, by José Donoso, The New Yorker 13 June 1988: 112-115.

175. See figure I.

176. See Figure J.
177. See Figure J.
178. Walter Goodman, "Worker Warriors," New York Times 11 July 1985: C22.
179. Goodman C22.
180. Saul Frampton, "Miguel Littin," Directors ed. Nicolas Thomas (Chicago: St. James Press, 1991) 520.
181. Significantly, Skármeta was an active writer of screenplays.
182. See Figure J.
183. Rev. of The Insurrection, by Antonio Skármeta, Booklist 15 June 1983: 1328.
184. Ruth Dougherty, rev. of The Insurrection, by Antonio Skármeta, Library Journal 1 June 1983: 1159.
185. The Mammoth Hunters, by Jean M. Auel, sold almost a million and a half copies.
186. The Postman. Later it would be filmed again as the Italian movie Il Postino, winner of the 1996 Academy Award for Best Foreign Film.
187. W. S. Merwin, "Ambassador of True Lust," New York Times Book Review 3 May 1987: 36.
188. Rev. of Burning Patience, by Antonio Skármeta, Kliatt Sep. 1987: 20.
189. Rev. of Burning Patience, by Antonio Skármeta, New Yorker 6 July 1987: 80.
190. Jason Wilson, "My Dove, My Seagull," Times Literary Supplement Apr. 1988: 420.
191. See figure I.
192. Patricia Blake, rev. of The House of the Spirits, by Isabel Allende, "From Chile With Magic," Times 20 May 1985: 79.
193. Paul West, rev. of The House of the Spirits, by Isabel Allende, "Narrative Overdrive," The Nation 20/27 July 1985: 241.

194. See figure I.

195. Alexander Coleman, rev. of The House of the Spirits, by Isabel Allende, "Reconciliation Among the Ruins," New York Times Book Review 12 May 1985: 1+.

196. Marjorie Agosin, rev. of The House of the Spirits, by Isabel Allende, "Powerful Chilean Saga Blends Fact and Fiction," The Christian Science Monitor 7 June 1985: B5.

197. West 53.

198. Antony Beever, rev. of The House of the Spirits, by Isabel Allende, "Crimes of the Colossus," Times Literary Supplement 5 July 1985: 747.

199. Coleman 22.

200. See figure J.

201. See figure I.

202. Marjorie Agosin, "Searching for Truth and Finding Love in Today's Latin America," rev. of Of Love and Shadows, by Isabel Allende, The Christian Science Monitor 27 May 1987: 20.

203. Sonia Gernes, "Lovers and 'Desaparecidos'," rev. of Of Love and Shadows, by Isabel Allende, Commonweal 14 Aug. 1987: 461.

204. Marjorie Agosin, "Latin America Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary Writers," Christian Science Monitor 2 June 1988: 20.

205. "Canada's Envoy Said to Back Chilean Junta," Washington Post 27 Sep. 1973.

206. See for instance: Ascanio Cavallo Castro, Manuel Salazar Salvo, and Oscar Sepúlveda Pacheco, La Historia Oculta del Regimen Militar (Santiago: Antártica, 1989). or Patricia Politzer, Fear in Chile: Lives Under Pinochet (New York: Pantheon, 1989).

207. Memorandum for the Record, submitted by the embassy of Chile, commenting on the study mission report, Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile Part II (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974) 107.

208. "Slaughterhouse in Santiago," Newsweek 8 Oct. 1973.

209. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile, Part II, 15.



210. As a result of the findings of the Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación and the observations by both Chileans and visiting delegations, this research functions under the assumption that there was widespread and systematic violation of human rights under the government of General Pinochet. Accordingly, the denials and explanations of such incidents on the part of the government is referred to as "myth."

211. For instance, see: "Allende Out, Reported Suicide; Marxist Regime in Chile Falls in Armed Forces' Coup," New York Times 12 Sep. 1973: 1+.

"Chile's Junta Warns Allende Backers Against Arms," New York Times 13 Sep. 1973: 1+

212. Samuel Chavkin, The Murder of Chile: Eyewitness Accounts of the Coup, the Terror, and the Resistance Today (New York: Everest House Publishers, 1982) 37.

213. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile, Part II, 15.

214. Testimony from Connie Sue McDuffee, Refugee and Humanitarian Problems in Chile, Part I (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993) 3.

215. Isabel Allende, Of Love and Shadows (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996) 221.

216. José Donoso, A House in the Country (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984).

217. Isabel Allende, interview with John Brosnahan, "The Booklist Interview," Booklist 15 June 1991: 1931.

218. Leslie Bennetts, "Ariel Dorfman, Agonized Exile, Writes to Fight," New York Times 14 Apr. 1988: C33.

219. Isabel Allende, The House of the Spirits (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).

220. Ariel Dorfman, Widows.

221. Mitgang, "Echos of Evil," 16.

222. Barry Farber, editorial in the New York Times 2 June 1988: A27.

223. Ariel Dorfman, "Keep an Eye on Chile," New York Times 2 June 1988: A27.

224. Donoso, A House in the Country, 163.
225. Beaver 747.
226. Anne Zusy, "Avoiding the Frontal Attack," rev. of Curfew, by José Donoso, New York Times Book Review 29 May 1988: 9.
227. Guzmán, interview, 65.
228. For that matter, all histories are implicated as constructions, including this one. The scholarly history is not exempt from such a criticism, as the effort put into any given historical construction can indicate.
229. Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Visions of Chile," LARR 10 (Fall 1975) 155-171.
230. The refusal to abandon the hope of recovering a more accurate version of the past deserves some justification, and none will be offered here. Suffice it to say that postmodernism has encountered a particularly resistant audience in the discipline of history, and the writer is one who has remained unconverted by it. For a more elaborate discussion of the issue, see: David William Cohen, The Combing of History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
231. Iván Jaksic, "The Legacies of Military Rule in Chile," Latin American Research Review 28:1 (1993) 258- 269.
232. A House in the Country could also be classified as constituting its own category, that of the allegorical representation of Chile. The inclusion of A House in the Country in this category is based on the fact that the country house, Marulandia, that is the site of the action, is located in an unidentified South American country whose geography resembles Chile. Marulandia could be seen as a microcosmic representation of the Chilean situation within Chile.
233. Donoso, A House in the Country, 216.
234. Refugee and Humanitarian Problems, Part II, 102.
235. Isabel Allende, interview with John Brosnahan, "The Booklist Interview," Booklist 15 June 1991, 1931.
236. Among the most important of these were: Hernán Valdés, Tejas Verdes (1974) and Aníbal Quijada Cerco de Púas (Barbed Wire Fence, 1977).

237. Cohen xvi.

238. Allende, "The Booklist Interview," 1931.

239. Christie and Coad 186).

240. "Images of Exile: Films by Raúl Ruiz: Feb. 14 - March 4, 1997)," website (<http://www.filmlinc.com/wrt/programs/2-97/ruiz/ruiz.htm>).

241. Ariel Dorfman, "By Way of Dedication," Widows (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983) vi.

242. Mario Vargas Llosa, radio interview with Alexander Wilde, "Art, Authenticity, and Latin American Culture: a Dialogue with Mario Vargas Llosa and Ariel Dorfman," Longhorn Radio Network of University of Texas at Austin, Oct. 1980.

243. Note that Uruguay came under military rule in 1973 and Argentina in 1976. Other countries in Central and South America also suffer from military dictatorships in the time period, such as Brazil.

244. Ariel Dorfman, in the same interview with Mario Vargas Llosa, commented that "they were appalled by what was happening in the States as well. That also gave them a sense of unity." (Interview with Alexander Wilde, "Art, Authenticity, and Latin American Culture: A Dialogue with Mario Vargas Llosa and Ariel Dorfman.")

For a further discussion of "cultural nationalism," see E. Bradford Burns, Latin America: A Concise Interpretive History, 6th ed., (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994) 207-218.

245. Zuzana M. Pick, The New Latin American Cinema: A Continental Project (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).