SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AS LEARNING COMMUNITIES: CHILEAN EXILES AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN AND BEYOND THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

by

CAROLINA PALACIOS

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1994
M.A., The University of British Columbia, 2005

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Educational Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

October 2011

© Carolina Palacios, 2011
Abstract

The atrocities committed by the military in Chile after the armed forces seized power in 1973 horrified Chileans and people around the world who had been following events in Chile for years prior to the coup. Together with the resistance in Chile, the transnational solidarity movement integrated by Chilean exiles and non-Chileans across the globe played a major role in ending the dictatorship. Since in-depth empirical studies of social movement learning are sparse this study addresses this gap as well as the ones in the existent research on the Chilean solidarity movement in Canada and elsewhere, the political activities of Chilean exiles in Canada and the Chilean solidarity movement specifically from a learning perspective.

The purposes of this research, therefore, were to document and understand collective learning processes among solidarity movement participants and to contribute to the empirical and theoretical social movement learning scholarship. This study employed qualitative historical research methods, including oral history interviews and reviewing formal and informal archives. The conceptual tools used to understand solidarity movement learning and knowledge production drew broadly on new social movement thought and in particular on Freire, Gramsci and Habermas, which enabled an analysis of wider social forces, the specific pedagogies of the solidarity movement and the connections between the two.

The findings speak to the value of a varied repertoire of action which merges the political with the cultural and which blends the intellectual with the emotional and the sensory. They also point to the power of artistic forms of expression for articulating and communicating social movement messages and for expressing identities. In addition, the findings show the local, experiential knowledge generated in social movements is vital to achieving movement aims, to critical learning and transformation, and to constructing individual and collective social movement identities. The study concludes that understanding social movements as learning
communities is essential because it foregrounds the value and legitimacy of movement knowledge and the centrality of learning and knowledge production to movement aims and to the significance of movements for movement members, their allies and the public.
Preface

This study required approval from The University of British Columbia Behavioural Ethics Research Board.

The Certificate Number issued is H07-02169.
Table of Contents

Abstract.......................................................................................................................... ii
Preface ........................................................................................................................... iv
Table of Contents ........................................................................................................ v
List of Tables ................................................................................................................ x
List of Figures ............................................................................................................... xi
List of Images .............................................................................................................. xii
List of Abbreviations ................................................................................................... xiii
Acknowledgements ..................................................................................................... xv
Dedication ..................................................................................................................... xvii

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction ....................................................................................... 1
  Chilean Exiles and Collective Action ......................................................................... 2
  Adult Education and Social Movement Learning ...................................................... 4
  The Research Problem ............................................................................................... 8
  Purpose of the Study .................................................................................................. 9
  Overview of the Study ............................................................................................... 10
  Structure of the Dissertation ...................................................................................... 11

CHAPTER TWO: Shattered Dreams: From a Peaceful Road to Socialism to State Terror .......................................................................................................................... 13
  The Republic: From Independence to Revolutionary Politics ................................. 14
  Popular Unity: Allende and La Vía Chilena al Socialismo [The Chilean Road to Socialism] 16
    The Decades Leading up to Allende’s Presidency: Divisions and Coalitions among the Left and
    U.S. Intervention in Chile ......................................................................................... 17
    Oppositions, Divisions and Negotiations................................................................ 29
  State Terror: Chile under the Pinochet Dictatorship 1973-1990 ............................... 37
    The New Order ........................................................................................................ 39
    Violent Repression: Detention, Torture and Death ................................................ 46

CHAPTER THREE: The Politics and Culture of Chilean Exiles and the Solidarity Movement ......................................................................................................................... 60
  Exodus and Diaspora .................................................................................................. 61
    Forced Departure ....................................................................................................... 64
    El Exilio Dorado? ..................................................................................................... 71
  Worldwide Solidarity: International Reception, Networks and the Metacommunity of
  Chilean Exiles .............................................................................................................. 74
    Different Contexts of Arrival .................................................................................... 79
    DINA Activities Abroad .......................................................................................... 81
  Chilean Exiles and the Solidarity Movement in Canada ............................................ 83
    Waves of Arrival ...................................................................................................... 86
  Supporting the Resistance in Chile ............................................................................. 91
  A Civilian Government Returns ............................................................................... 95
  The Life and Death of Pinochet in the Post-dictatorship Period ............................... 98
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pinochet’s Legacy</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Retorno: A Bracketed Life Awaiting Return?</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER FOUR: Understanding Learning and Knowledge Production in the</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Solidarity Movement</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Society and Social Movements</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Movement Scholarship</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective Action</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource Mobilization</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Processes: Opportunity Structures, Networks, Frames and the Dynamics of Protest</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Social Movement Theory</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Social Movement Thought</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critiques of Habermas’ Version of New Social Movement Theory</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Solidarity Movement and Social Movement Theory</strong></td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political and Economic Society</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gramsci and Habermas</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linking Gramsci, Habermas and Freire</strong></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freire, Gramsci, Habermas and Critical Adult Education and Learning</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulo Freire</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Gramsci</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freire and Gramsci</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jürgen Habermas</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freire and Habermas</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freire, Gramsci and Habermas</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond a Dualistic State/Civil Society Model</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominance and Emancipation: Culture, the Public Sphere, Hegemony and Cultural Action</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domination and Fragmented Consciousness</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emancipation and the Solidarity Movement: The Public Sphere, Counter-hegemony and Cultural Action for Liberation</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenging Hegemony and Cultural Action for Domination through the Public</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sphere</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Learning and Social Movements: Knowledge Production in the Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transforming Common Sense and Semi-intransitive Consciousness: Challenging Hegemony and Silence</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Power of Love and Hope</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER FIVE: Research with Chilean Exiles in the Solidarity Movement: A</strong></td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative Study using Historical Methods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Research Methods</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral Histories</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Data Collection Procedures</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Archives</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants’ Informal Archives</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral History Interviews</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying Potential Participants</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Profiles</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview Process</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Data Analysis</strong></td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival Materials</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral History Interviews</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soundness and Rigour</strong></td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant Criteria for Assessing the Quality and Integrity of this Study</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examining the Research Process and Findings</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER SIX: Stories of Exile and Action: Journeys from Chile to Canada and the Early Solidarity Movement ................................................................. 207
  Dreams, Disappointment, Outrage and Pain .................................................. 207
  The Popular Unity Years ............................................................................. 208
  Sources of Pain and Moral Outrage ............................................................. 211
  Leaving Chile: Paths to Canada ................................................................. 214

A Rebirth: First Experiences in Canada ......................................................... 218
  Living with Their Suitcases Packed ............................................................ 221
  To Return or Not to Return ...................................................................... 225

The Early Solidarity Movement ................................................................... 226
  The First Acts of Solidarity in Vancouver .................................................... 229
  Canadians for Democracy in Chile ............................................................. 231
  Immediate Responses .............................................................................. 233

Replication of Political Parties in Exile: Specific Divisions, Broad Unity ......... 234
  Other Sources of Division ...................................................................... 238
  Political Differences among the Non-Chilean Left and with Exiles .......... 239
  Broad Unity ............................................................................................. 241

CHAPTER SEVEN: Structures of Learning and Solidarity Movement Actions ...... 245

Solidarity Movement Structures, Dynamics and Alliances ......................... 246
  Solidarity Movement Groups .................................................................. 246
  La Cooperativa Chilena – The Chilean Housing Coop ............................... 250
  Division of Labour ................................................................................. 253
  Gender Roles and Relations of Power ...................................................... 254
  The Women Stand .................................................................................. 258

Motivations and Aims .................................................................................. 260

The Multifaceted Nature of Solidarity Movement Activities ......................... 264
  Artistic Expressions ............................................................................... 265
  Peñas and Exile Folk Groups .................................................................. 265
  Concerts .................................................................................................. 272
  Cultural Evenings and Dances ................................................................. 275
  Investigations and Presentations ............................................................... 276
  Enquiries and Speaking Tours ................................................................. 276
  Conferences ............................................................................................ 278

Alternative Media ........................................................................................ 279
  América Latina al Dia on Coop Radio ....................................................... 279
  Newsletters ............................................................................................. 279

Campaigns .................................................................................................. 282
  Letter Writing and Petitions .................................................................. 282
  Hunger Strikes ......................................................................................... 284
  Demonstrations ....................................................................................... 285
  Boycott and Divestment Campaigns ....................................................... 286
  Boycotts .................................................................................................. 286
  Divestment campaigns .......................................................................... 288

Surveillance .................................................................................................. 292
  Chilean Authorities ................................................................................ 293
  Canadian Authorities .............................................................................. 294

Activity Level over Time ............................................................................. 295

CHAPTER EIGHT: Learning, Knowledge Production and the Solidarity Movement: Exiles, Learning and Transformation: Re/constructing Exile and Solidarity Movement Identities ...................................................... 297
  Political Identity ...................................................................................... 298
  Trauma and Resilience .......................................................................... 300

vii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compañera, Compañero</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture of Organization</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture as a Medium</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becoming Performers</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Aspects of Individual Identities and the Solidarity Movement Knowledge Base</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning a New Political System and Different Ways of Doing Political Work</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflections on the Popular Unity Process and the Left</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisions</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political values</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution and reform</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism and individualism</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it All Worth it?</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activism Today</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnocultural Identity</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valuing and Maintaining Culture: The Next Generation</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnolinguistic aspects</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political culture</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking Down Boundaries</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: Crossing the Border between the Middle and Lower Classes</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender: Women and the Private and Public Spheres</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexuality and Sexual Identity: Encountering Sexual Diversity</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raising Critical Awareness among the Public</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Message</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicating and Articulating the Message</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Power of Music</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing Witness</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatre and film</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpilleras</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunger strikes</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking tours</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placards and Pamphlets</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Media</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER NINE: Discussion and Conclusions</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Solidarity Movement as a Learning Community</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing and Developing the Solidarity Movement Knowledge Base</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Movement Praxis and Knowledge Production</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exile, Identity and Knowledge Production</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientization</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue and the Social Construction of Knowledge</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of Intellectuals</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hegemony, Conscientization and the Public Sphere</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Conscientization: Raising Critical Awareness in and through the Public Sphere</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Multidimensionality of Social Movements</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Significance of the Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Broad Alliances: The Public Sphere and the Formation of an Historical Bloc</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cultural Significance of the Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Significance of the Solidarity Movement for the Resistance in Chile</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TEN: Summary and Implications</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of the Study</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of the Research Findings and Conclusions</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study, Scope and Future Research</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Social Movements</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing Remarks</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii
Bibliography ........................................................................................................................................... 413
Secondary Sources .............................................................................................................................. 413
Primary Sources .................................................................................................................................. 432
Appendix ............................................................................................................................................... 443
Interview Guide – English .................................................................................................................. 443
Interview Guide – Spanish .................................................................................................................. 445
List of Tables

Table 1 – Participant Distribution Across Solidarity Movement Groups……………………184
Table 2 – Group Membership…………………………………………………………………..186
Table 3 – Exile Profiles……………………………………………………………………...188
List of Figures

Figure 1 – Political and Economic Society.........................................................122
List of Images

Image 1 – Missing Father ............................................................. 50
Image 2 – Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi ................................. 51
Image 3 – Crammed in Cells at Villa Grimaldi ............................. 54
Image 4 – La Parilla .................................................................. 56
Image 5 – Peña Poster ................................................................. 266
Image 6 - Dancing la cueca sola .................................................. 271
Image 7 – Quilapayún Concert Poster .......................................... 274
Image 8 – First Issue of Venceremos ............................................ 280
Image 9 – Chile News ................................................................. 282
Image 10 – The Right to Live in Chile .......................................... 336
Image 11 – Photo of Quilapayún performing in Vancouver, 1981 .... 343
Image 12 – Retorno ................................................................ 350
Image 13 – The Right to Work .................................................... 351
Image 14 – Boycott Poster .......................................................... 355
List of Abbreviations

ACU – *Agrupación Cultural Universitaria* [Cultural Association of the University]
AFDD – *Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos-Desaparecidos* [Association of Families of the Detained-Disappeared]
B.C. – British Columbia
CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CDC – Canadians for Democracy in Chile
CDHRC – Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Chile
COPE – Committee of Progressive Electors
CSC – Chile Solidarity Committee
CUT – *Central Única de Trabajadores* [Central Workers’ Union]
DINA – *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* [National Intelligence Directorate]
JAP – *Junta de Abastecimientos y Precios* [Supply and Price Committee]
LAWG – Latin American Working Group
LGBTIQ – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Transgendered and Queer
MAPU – *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario* [United Popular Action Movement]
MIR – *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* [Revolutionary Movement of the Left]
MUDECHI – *Mujeres de Chile* [Women of Chile]
NDP – New Democratic Party
NSM – New Social Movement
ONR – *Oficina Nacional de Retorno* [National Office for Returning Exiles]
PDC – *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* [Christian Democrat Party]
PN – *Partido Nacional* [National Party]
RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RM – Resource Mobilization

SMOs – Social Movement Organizations

UBC – The University of British Columbia

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UP – Unidad Popular [Popular Unity]

VCA – Vancouver Chilean Association

WCCCBC – Women’s Committee of the Chilean Community of B.C.
Acknowledgements

My deepest gratitude to all the Chilean exiles and two women from Canadians for Democracy in Chile who so willingly shared their stories and so generously gave their time and energy to making this project possible. You have enriched my understanding and appreciation of the complexity and intensity of our shared history and experience of exile and for that I am truly grateful. I would especially like to thank the people who helped me identify participants and who gave me access to their personal solidarity movement archives and collections of artefacts, in particular the beautiful arpilleras.

I am also very grateful to my committee members. I cannot thank my advisor Dr. Pierre Walter enough for his consistent support and encouragement, always available to meet with me for lengthy and very helpful discussions. Your critical questions helped me think through many dimensions of this research more deeply and comprehensively and your caring manner nurtured me when I needed it most. To Dr. Jennifer Chan and Dr. Kjell Rubenson I am thankful for your insightful and timely comments. All three of you helped me improve upon previous iterations of this research.

I would also like to thank the people with whom I began this doctoral program – Simon Blakesley, Tina Fraser, Brigitte Gemme, Dilek Kayaalp, Monty Palmantier, Tasha Riley, and Suzanne Scott Tomita– and our adopted cohort member and beloved friend, Jude Walker. Together we supported each other through all our highs and lows along the way.

Special thanks go to my very dear and long-time friends Helena Carmo, Maria Inés Jimenez and Tina Mantas, all three of whom have listened to and encouraged me during my doctoral studies. We have shared so many life experiences and through our love and laughter have support each other for decades. Your friendship means so much to me in so many ways.

I am also grateful to Martin Guardado for encouraging me to continue my graduate studies after I finished my M.A. The many hours we have spent discussing and exchanging ideas and sharing interests over the years have been stimulating and enlightening.

To my grandmother, Olga, I am incredibly thankful for her support in anything I have ever done. You are an amazing woman who has always led by example, inspiring everyone in our family and every person who has been fortunate enough to have crossed paths with you. Your wisdom, love and support, especially at the most critical times of our lives, have in many ways enabled us to be the people we are and lead the lives we do. Your generosity, in every sense of the word, has constantly nurtured us and was particularly significant in helping my immediate family survive that painful year between September 1973 and August 1974.

Thank you Alejandrito. You are with me always.

I would like to express my most profound gratitude to my parents, Amanda and Alejandro, without whom this doctoral journey simply would not have been possible. There are no words to express how much your endless love, support and encouragement means to me. You have always been there for me whenever and in whatever way I have needed you. You have cared for me and for Amandita with such tenderness and affection, enabling me to complete my doctoral program
knowing that Amandita is in the same loving environment in which I grew up. We are so very fortunate to share our lives with you. I have the deepest respect for both of you as human beings. You truly practice what you preach and that genuine way in which you live your lives has taught me to appreciate authenticity, to always have faith in human beings and to love life. Because of what you have taught me I feel free to be me. The values I learned from you of striving for social justice, respect for the individual, compassion, integrity and fairness are ones I make every effort to practice in my daily life and are the very values for which you were persecuted in Chile and the reason we came to Canada, a country to which we will always be grateful for opening its doors and which is now our home. I admire your courage, strength and eternal hope, all of which have energized me in so many ways throughout my life and which have motivated me to persevere throughout my doctoral journey. You inspire me every day.

Amandita Sofía, mi linda preciosa, I cherish you so very much. You came into our lives in the middle of this journey and led me on a new journey as a mother, without question the most beautiful experience of my life. Together we shared much of this journey as you were growing inside me, listening as everyone shared their stories and encouraging me with your smiling face since you were born. Your gut laughter, your tenderness and your curiosity fill my life with pure joy. You embody what is important in life – love, hope, laughter and learning. I am deeply grateful that we share our lives and for your love and support.

Finally, I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their generous support for this project through a doctoral fellowship. I would also like to thank the UBC Faculty of Education and the UBC Department of Educational Studies for their generous support of my doctoral studies through a Ph.D. Entrance Scholarship and a Graduate Scholarship respectively.
Dedication

A mi hija querida, Amandita Sofía, mi vida. Te quiero tanto, para siempre.

Para que nuestra historia sea parte de tí y para que forme parte de nuestra memoria colectiva.

To my beloved daughter, Amandita Sofia, my life. I love you so much forever and ever.

So that our history is part of you and so that it forms part our collective memory.
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

That was the reason for living – doing this solidarity work – that was our reason for living.

- Pilar

The atrocities committed by the military in Chile after the armed forces seized power in 1973 horrified Chileans and people around the world who had been following events in Chile for years prior to the coup. Moved by the need to take action, sympathizers of Salvador Allende’s constitutionally elected socialist government denounced the regime as Chilean exiles began to pour out of Chile. Together with the resistance in Chile, the transnational solidarity movement integrated by Chilean exiles and non-Chileans across the globe played a major role in ending the dictatorship. After seventeen years of brutal repression and resistance inside Chile and abroad, elections were held in 1989 and a civilian government was restored in 1990.

Participation in the solidarity movement was very important in the lives of many Chilean exiles. Through their effective use of the public sphere, Chilean exiles and other movement groups throughout the world denied the military regime the legitimacy it sought and countered their efforts to silence opposition. Their acts of solidarity defied the Pinochet regime’s attempts to destroy the Chilean Left by denouncing the regime, supporting the resistance in Chile and connecting them and their children with their history and political values. Chilean society and exiles have been deeply scarred by the coup and its aftermath. Though the healing process has been underway for decades, the legacy of the dictatorship continues to affect Chileans in Chile and in the diaspora.

1 Unless otherwise indicated the researcher translated quotes that come from Spanish interview or archival data and secondary sources. All names that appear as first names only in the text are those of interviewees. In accordance with ethics approval for the study, I assured all participants I would use pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. However, one participant spontaneously asked that I use her real name. Therefore, all participant names are pseudonyms, except Elspeth, who gave me written consent to use her real name.
Though an important part of Chilean history, experiences of exile have largely been excluded from the collective memory of Chileans (Cancino, 2003; Rebolledo, 2006b). This study captures part of the history of the Chilean diaspora from the perspective of exiles and their participation in the solidarity movement. In particular, the study investigated learning and knowledge production processes within the solidarity movement and among the public because of their actions.

My family was among the hundreds of thousands of Chileans who left Chile after the coup. We arrived in Canada in August of 1974 and settled in Vancouver after spending almost one year in Calgary. The first time I went back to Chile was in 1982 at the age of ten to visit my extended family, all of whom live there, with the exception of one cousin. Since then, I have gone back countless times during and after the dictatorship and I also lived and worked in Chile for six months in 1997. I have basically grown up in Vancouver and have many memories of solidarity movement activities during the Pinochet regime. It is the experiences of Chilean exiles in the solidarity movement that, together with my interest in adult learning, motivates this research.

**Chilean Exiles and Collective Action**

The literature on political exiles who left specifically as a result of dictatorship and their political activities is sparse. The struggles of Caribbean exiles against dictatorship from 1945-1959 have been explored by Ameringer (1974), mainly through interviews (due to the limited archival and government documents on the subject) and the general phenomenon of Latin American exile has also received some attention (Sznajder & Roniger, 2007). More closely related to the Chilean experience, Franco (2007) looks at the political activities of Argentinean exiles in Paris and Yankelevich (2007) examines political divisions in the Argentinean exile community in Mexico. The political action of Uruguayan exiles is the focus of Markarian’s
(2004) analysis. She points out that while “there are many testimonies about different aspects of the political repression” experienced in Uruguay, “there is still little academic…research about these topics, and especially about the experiences and political activities” of Uruguayan exiles (Markarian, 2004, p.1).

Likewise, empirical research on Chilean exiles and their political action is fairly limited. Several academic works have been published on testimonies of Chileans in exile (Rebolledo, 2006b; Rodriguez, 1990) and people who sought asylum in different embassies in Chile (Zerán, 1991). In addition, research has been conducted on the psychological effects of repression on exiles in the U.S. (Gonsalves, 1990) and the psycho-sociological aspects of exile among exiles in France (Vásquez & Araujo, 1990) and in Britain (Muñoz, 1980). Some studies have investigated differences in Chilean women and men’s experiences of exile in Scotland (Kay, 1987) and Britain (Kay, 1988), while others have looked exclusively at Chilean women exiles (Gómez, 1993; Rebolledo, 2001). Part of the literature focuses on Chilean exiles dispersed in a wide range of countries (Wright & Oñate, 1998), in both the Americas and Europe (del Pozo, 2006b), and in Europe (Montupil, 1993) and the U.S. (Eastmond, 1997) only. Though not specifically concerned with the solidarity movement, many of the previously mentioned studies show Chileans engaged in similar political activities in diverse countries. This is evident, for example, in Wright & Oñate’s (1998) book which includes a chapter on the political work of exiles, and in Arrate (1987), Angell (2001) and Wright & Oñate (2007)\(^2\) in their analyses of the political dimensions of Chilean exile. An analysis that centres on the political practices of Chilean exiles examines their activities in Mendoza, Argentina, a city on the Chilean border (Paredes, 2003) and another considers culture and resistance among Chilean exile communities (Simalchik, 2006).

\(^2\) Unlike Wright & Oñate’s (1998) book based on research with Chilean exiles all over the world, which analyses their experiences from a broader perspective, the 2007 article focuses on the political dimensions of exile.
With respect to Chilean exiles in Canada, the literature is quite modest. Early articles outline demographics and experiences of exiles (Durán, 1980) and discuss admittance of Chileans to Canada (Hanff, 1979). Recent studies include Escobar’s (2000) doctoral research on Chilean women exiles in Canada, which focuses on national identity, Scalena’s (2005) thesis based on the life histories of a divorced Chilean exile couple in Winnipeg, and Baeza’s (2004) thesis on the development of a Chilean ethnicity in Canada among exiles in Edmonton. One piece that explores the political activities of Chileans in Canada are an edited book on the political participation of Latin Americans in Canada (Ginieniewicz & Schugurensky, 2006), which includes chapters on Chileans by Escobar and Baeza on the same topics as their graduate work (above) and another contribution by del Pozo that discusses the political participation of Chileans in Québec. This is also the subject of one of the chapters of his book on exiles in the Americas and in Europe (del Pozo, 2006). Articles that explore transnational organizing among Latin American communities in Canada, including Chilean exiles, point to the different ways various Latin American communities have organized (Landolt & Goldring, 2009). The only scholarly work that reports empirical research on Chilean exiles and the solidarity movement in Vancouver is a study conducted by Shayne (2009). Focusing on feminism, culture and emotions, her research examines the role of Chilean women exiles in the solidarity movement and beyond. To the best of my knowledge, no research has been conducted on the solidarity movement or the political activities of Chilean exiles through a learning lens in Canada or elsewhere.

**Adult Education and Social Movement Learning**

The relationships between democracy, civil society and social learning processes form the basis for much of adult education theory in relation to civic/civil participation. The social commitment tradition of adult education has consistently emphasized the responsibility of educators and activists to create new ways of thinking about social movements and adult
learning. Inspired by Gramsci, Freire, Habermas, and others, and as contemporaries of Freire, adult educators concerned with education for social change turned their attention to social movements because they recognized their potential for individual and collective transformation. Finger (1989) argues new social movements are especially relevant as contexts in which processes of cultural transformation can address the social crisis brought on by modernity. Education is a central part of social movements, but each movement may conceptualize and approach learning from different perspectives. Welton (1993b) credits Finger for contextualizing new social movements in the debates around the crisis arising out of modernity. However, Welton argues that personal fulfilment cannot be separated from collective action and therefore new social movements need to be understood as collective social actors oriented towards the creation of new political institutions and learning processes. In his Marxist approach, Youngman (1986, 2000) maintains that adult education needs to be understood in terms of the political economy in which it unfolds. A socialist pedagogy, for Youngman (1986), must include challenging common sense notions of capitalism as well as the development of knowledge and skills “necessary to reorganize production and society in a fully democratic way” (p.197).

Michael Welton has engaged the issue of social movement learning for many years. Drawing mainly on Habermas, Welton (1997b) argues that the core values of adult education point directly to civil society. It is the task of adult educators to rebuild and defend civil society because it unifies the project of adult education for genuine participation in a deliberative democracy. Framed by the lifeworld, social learning processes are fundamental to democratic participation (Welton, 1995). Adult educators interested in fostering a healthy democracy need to focus on these movements as learning sites in which social revolutionary learning takes place (Welton, 1993b). Welton (2001) argues public spaces are particularly important for a learning society that fosters a participative and deliberative democracy. The public sphere as a whole and
the constantly emerging publics in which matters of common concern are discussed are fundamental to comprehending how the lifeworld can influence the economy and state subsystems. In his latest analysis of civil society and social learning processes, Welton (2005), adds a psychological dimension to the ways in which the just learning society is understood. The struggle against injustice needs to nurture the human capacity for recognition in its three forms of love, rights and self-esteem. In the communicative realm of the lifeworld, the homeplace is highlighted as an important learning site (see also Gouthro, 2000) in early years, along with civil society institutions vital for enduring meaningful participation throughout the lifespan.

According to Hall & Clover (2005), social movement learning can refer to a range of phenomena, including informal and intentional learning within social movements and learning among the wider public as a result of social movement activities. Foley (1999) also stresses the value of informal learning processes in social action as powerful learning experiences and highlights the collective aspect of critical learning rather than the role of the adult educator as a movement intellectual. Focusing on knowledge production, Eyerman and Jamison (1991) posit social movements are engaged in ‘cognitive praxis,’ which refers to the knowledge production processes through which social movements construct their identity. Based on this work, Holford (1995) added to the debate asserting their concept of ‘cognitive praxis’ can be applied to adult education. Holford posits the indigenous (local) knowledge generated by social movements makes them vital sites of knowledge production. By taking a leading role as movement intellectuals, adult educators need to focus on both the processes that generate knowledge and the structures of communication within organizations because they can supply important information about the educational processes taking place in a movement.

Dykstra and Law (1994) see social movements as intrinsically educative. In addition to the educational nature of much of their activities, social movements create a nexus between
culture and politics in a way that is educational by virtue of their existence. They outline a preliminary framework that consists of various educational elements and subelements. Vision involves the processes by which alternative readings of reality are constructed by participants, critical pedagogy engages social consciousness, imagination and dialogue, and the pedagogy of mobilization refers to the social learning processes involved in coordinating and maintaining collective action. Furthermore, Kilgore (1999) argues the boundaries between psychological and sociological dimensions of learning need to be dissolved because they maintain an arbitrary distinction between individual and group learning that is not conducive to understanding the dynamics between the two. Drawing on sociocultural learning and social movement theories, she focuses on individual and group identity learning in developing her theory of collective learning.

Gramsci’s ideas continue to resonate with adult educators committed to challenging relations of domination. In his refreshing case for a socialist understanding of radical adult education theory and practice, Holst (2002) argues there has been a tendency to overemphasize the cultural dimensions of adult education in social movements at the expense of a solid appreciation of the material relations that maintain capitalist hegemony. He distinguishes between radical pluralist and socialist approaches, pointing out the former do not adequately analyze the political economy of adult education. For Holst, it is evident working class struggle is still relevant and thus adult educators ought to be concerned with constructing alliances across old and new social movements.

Contemporary adult educators continue employing and extending Freire, Gramsci and Habermas’s theories (Ewert, 1991; Holst, 2002; Kapoor, 2002; Walters, 2005). They emphasize the role of class in relation to adult education in social movements (Walters, 2005) and carry on the tradition of analyzing adult education as democracy in action (van der Veen, Wildemeersch, Youngblood, & Marsick, 2007). Knowledge production in social movements is also receiving
increased attention. However, despite the growing literature on social movement learning, only a limited number of empirical studies have been conducted. Among the major social movements, the literature on adult education and the environmental movement is expanding rapidly and includes empirical studies of learning and knowledge production (Clover, 2002, 2003; Walter, 2006, 2009). In her ethnographic study of the Metro Network for Social Justice in Toronto, Canada, Conway (2006) concentrated on knowledge production, arguing the knowledge produced in social movements is implicit, practical and unsystematized; it is rooted in activist practice and is both contextually and temporally situated. Another recent example is Choudry and Kapoor’s (2010) recent collection on learning and knowledge production in social movements. More closely related to this research is Chovanec’s (2009) empirical study which examined how women in Arica, Chile organized resistance during the dictatorship, focusing on political consciousness, social movement praxis and the transformational power of social movements. Nevertheless, as Hall and Turay (2006) note in their review of the state of the field, “in-depth empirical studies of learning in and because of social movements are scarce” (p.7) and as Choudry and Kapoor (2010) point out “thus far relatively few attempts have been made to theorize informal learning and knowledge production through involvement in social action” (p.4).

The Research Problem

Scholarship in the field of adult education and learning has long emphasized the relevance of social movement learning for active and meaningful participation in society (Finger, 1989; Foley, 1999; Freire, 1981; Holford, 1995; Johnston, 1999; Kellner, 2000; Schugurensky, 2000a; Welton, 1997a). However, scholarly work examining adult education and learning in civil society and social movements specifically is comprised, for the most part, of analytical papers drawing on the theoretical traditions of critical sociology and political philosophy (Holst,
2002; Mayo, 1994c; Welton, 1993b, 2001), but without empirical backing. There are, to date, few empirical studies that examine adult learning in civil society and social movements in particular. This study addresses this gap as well as the ones in the existent research on the Chilean solidarity movement in Canada and elsewhere, the political activities of Chilean exiles in Canada and the Chilean solidarity movement specifically from a learning perspective.

The research questions are:

1) What learning practices and processes were Chilean exiles engaged in within the context of the solidarity movement?

2) How was knowledge produced and reproduced within the movement and in relation to the wider public?

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this research, therefore, was to document and understand collective learning processes among Chilean exiles in the context of the solidarity movement. While this study focuses on Chilean exiles, the work of those with whom they joined forces was vital to the movement and consequently, also forms an integral part of this investigation. Together with the experiences of Chileans who remained in Chile during the dictatorship, narratives of the diaspora are an important part of Chilean history now largely undocumented. By capturing the experiences of Chilean exiles, this study chronicles a dimension of Chilean history that has been relegated to the margins of the collective memory of Chileans. More broadly, the purpose of this study was to contribute to the social movement learning scholarship by empirically investigating learning and knowledge production in a social movement and theorizing the learning processes through which knowledge is produced.
Overview of the Study

This study employed qualitative historical research methods to investigate the research questions. Several sources provided rich data, including oral history interviews and formal and informal archives. Oral history interviews were conducted with solidarity movement participants, mainly women and men Chilean exiles, but also two women from the solidarity movement group Canadians for Democracy in Chile. Study participants also provided materials from their informal archives and the Canadians for Democracy in Chile Fonds at The University of British Columbia were extensively consulted.

The conceptual tools used to understand solidarity movement learning and knowledge production processes drew broadly on new social movement thought because of its concern with culture and in particular on Freire, Gramsci and Habermas. Together these three theorists enabled an analysis of wider social forces, the specific pedagogies of the solidarity movement and the connections between the two. Praxis and conscientization were key concepts for understanding learning and knowledge production within the movement and among the public. The relationships between hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere were especially useful for understanding learning and knowledge production which occurs among the public as a result of solidarity movement activities.

The findings speak to the value of a varied repertoire of action which merges the political with the cultural and which blends the intellectual with the emotional and the sensory. They also point to the power of artistic forms of expression for articulating and communicating social movement messages and for expressing identities. In addition, the findings show the local, experiential knowledge generated in social movements is vital to achieving movement aims, to critical learning and transformation, and to constructing individual and collective social
movement identities. The study concludes that understanding social movements as learning communities is essential because such an understanding foregrounds the centrality of learning and knowledge production to the aims of movements and to the significance of movements for movement members, their allies and the public. It is also vital to understand social movements as learning communities because movements need to value the knowledge they produce and so that movement knowledge is seen as legitimate.

**Structure of the Dissertation**

The next chapter (two) provides the socio-historical background for understanding the reasons for and circumstances under which exiles left Chile. It begins with a brief account of the establishment and evolution of Chile’s political institutions and the social struggles that marked the nation’s history, then focuses on President Salvador Allende’s Popular Unity government, the coup d’état and Pinochet dictatorship. Chapter Three examines the mass departure of Chilean exiles and resulting diaspora, concentrating on their arrival in Canada and the transnational Chilean exile community and solidarity movement, and the movement in Canada. Chapter Four discusses the conceptual tools used to understand learning and knowledge production in the solidarity movement as described above. The research methods employed in this inquiry are presented in Chapter Five. The chapter opens by examining sources in historical research. It describes the sources which provided data in this study – formal archives, participants’ informal archives and oral history interviews. Next, the data collection and analysis procedures are discussed and finally, the chapter addresses issues of soundness and rigour.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present the research findings. The focus of Chapter Six is the birth and evolution of the solidarity movement in Vancouver. It relates participants’ stories of departure from Chile, life in Canada and how they got involved in the solidarity movement. It also describes how solidarity movement groups were formed and how they changed over time.
Chapter Seven examines how these groups were structured, the networks they created, motivations and aims, and the nature and purposes of movement activities. Learning and knowledge production processes are explored in Chapter Eight. The first half of the chapter considers how exiles re/constructed their identities as exiles, including their political and ethnocultural identities, and a collective solidarity movement identity, all of which are inter-related. The second half of the chapter focuses on how critical awareness was raised among the public. It looks at solidarity movement messages and how they were articulated and communicated.

The findings are discussed in Chapter Nine. Learning and knowledge production is framed within the solidarity movement learning community, then social movement praxis is considered in relation to identity, conscientization and movement intellectuals. The middle section examines hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere and the final section looks at the multidimensionality of the solidarity movement and of its significance. The last chapter of the dissertation (ten) summarizes the study, focusing on the findings and conclusions, then takes up the significance and scope of the study, directions for future research and implications for social movements.
CHAPTER TWO: Shattered Dreams: From a Peaceful Road to Socialism to State Terror

I am certain that the seed that has been planted in the dignified conscience of thousands and thousands of Chileans will not ultimately wither. They have force and they will be able to overpower us, but social processes cannot be detained, neither with crime nor with force. History is ours and the people make history.

- Salvador Allende, September 11th, 1973, translation mine

After the 1973 coup d’état, the severe repression unleashed by the military regime sent hundreds of thousands of Chileans into exile. While Chileans went to countries all over the world, most went to Europe and the Americas where many continued their political work.

Understanding the political processes that unfolded during the decades leading up to Allende’s election and especially the political history and culture of the Chilean Left, as well as why and how exiles left Chile is key to grasping the meaning of their experience in exile, their activism and the learning and knowledge production processes in which solidarity movement participants were engaged. Not only were the political parties of the Chilean Left reproduced in exile, so were their divisions, one of the major aspects of the pre and post-departure political experiences of exiles that played a significant role in their learning processes in exile. This chapter examines the context in which this mass departure took place. It begins with a brief overview of Chile’s early socio-political history. Next it examines the decades leading up to Allende’s election and the Popular Unity years and finally, the military coup and repression under the Pinochet dictatorship.

---

3 Salvador Allende addressed the Chilean people over the radio several times on the morning of September 11th, 1973 beginning at 7:55 a.m. and ending with his last address at 9:10 a.m. This quote comes from his last address, hours before he died (Allende, 2003a).
The Republic: From Independence to Revolutionary Politics

For the most part, Chile had a strong tradition of democracy until the 1973 coup led by Augusto Pinochet. Even within periods of unrest, nothing compares with the brutal dictatorship that lasted until 1990. After declaring independence in 1818, Chile went through a period of institutional instability as a result of the struggles between liberal and conservative groups, which fought to define the legal framework of the new republic. The domination of liberal groups in the initial years of the republic came to an end in 1830 with the conservative triumph in the battle of Lircay that ended the Civil War of 1829 (Collier & Sater, 2004). For the next 30 years, the Conservative Party governed Chile in close relation with the Catholic Church. The passing of the new 1833 Constitution provided the basis for the establishment of a stable and solid presidential form of government, with a bicameral congress, a judicial system and a multiparty system. For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the institutions of the Chilean system of government were able to maintain a democratic system that, despite its many limitations from the perspective of today’s standards, was quite complex for its time. Since the early years of the republic, the Chilean institutional system operated based on principles of respect for human dignity, religious freedom and free elections. The 1823 Abolishment of Slavery Act, 1865 Freedom of Consciousness Act, the 1871 Civil Marriage Act and the 1925 Constitution, that completely separated the Catholic Church from the state, are significant examples of the political philosophy that has dominated Chilean socio-political historical development since the formation of the republic. The Catholic Church, nevertheless, continues to exercise authority in social matters.

The overall stability of Chilean government institutions has, however, been subject to some major challenges in the nearly two hundred years of constitutional rule: the civil war of
1891; the 1924 and 1925 military interventions; the Ibañez dictatorship between 1927 and 1931, and the Pinochet dictatorship, between 1973 and 1990 (Collier & Sater, 2004). These interventions and the fairly large number of former high ranking military officers, who have been elected president at different times, are a clear demonstration of the very influential role the military establishment has always played in shaping the Chilean political system.

A strong concern with social justice has characterized the political landscape in Chile since the early years of the republic. The liberal representative democratic model that has guided Chile’s institutional system was challenged over the years by a well-organized and highly political working class. In 1850, the Sociedad de la Igualdad [Equality Society] was created. Its foundation represents the first expressions of the democratic aspirations of an emerging middle-class of urban artisans, workers and intellectuals. After the War of the Pacific against Peru and Bolivia in 1879 and the colonization of Mapuche territory in the south, Chile gained control of the rich natural nitrate deposits in the north and developed its agricultural sector in the south, becoming a grain exporter. As a result, the country began an extended period of economic stability that lasted until the world financial crisis of the 1930s. The newly generated wealth, however, did not reach large, poor sectors of Chilean society and popular unrest began to build, leading to the first significant workers’ strike in 1890, organized by the natural nitrate miners (Garcés, 2004; Vitale, 1979). From that moment on, working class and student movements consistently grew stronger. The creation of the Federación de Estudiantes de Chile [Student Federation of Chile] in 1906, the establishment of the Federación Obrera de Chile [Workers’ Federation of Chile] in 1919 and of the Socialist Workers’ Party in 1912, which became the Communist Party of Chile in 1920 (Partido Comunista de Chile, 2007), and the foundation of the Socialist Party of Chile in 1933, are historical events that exemplify the long history of struggle.

---

4 Carlos Ibañez del Campo came to power in a special election after the resignation of then president Emiliano Figueroa and began to rule with a dictatorial style.

5 The Mapuche, the largest Indigenous group in Chile, resisted Spanish conquest for over 300 years.
by the Chilean proletariat, that starting in the 1940s, was joined by peasant and Indigenous organizations.

During the twentieth century, several historical events did, however, threaten the stability of Chilean government institutions. Although the challenges posed by these events were not large enough to subvert the country’s constitutional order, they left a profound mark on the Chilean social consciousness. Perhaps the most emblematic was the Santa Maria School massacre, which took place in the northern city of Iquique, in December of 1907. More than two thousand natural nitrate miners who were on strike asking for better salaries and working conditions were assassinated along with their wives and children (Gumucio Rivas, 2007). This massacre is a prime example of the manner in which the ruling classes in Chile have reacted when they have felt their social order could be destabilized. The list of repressive events includes scores of deaths among peasants and Indigenous peoples (e.g. Ranquil in 1934) and poor urban dwellers (e.g. Pampa Irigoin in 1969) among several more. These massacres deeply affected a significant sector of Chilean society and therefore, played a significant role in shaping the sociopolitical events of the middle of the twentieth century in Chile.

Popular Unity: Allende and La Vía Chilena al Socialismo [The Chilean Road to Socialism]

Salvador Allende enjoyed a long political career. He was born in Valparaiso on June 26, 1908, studied medicine and graduated in 1931. While he was a medical student, he was President of the Medical School Student Association and later the Vice-President of FECH, the University of Chile’s Student Federation. In 1933, he became one of the founders of the Chilean Socialist Party and was a member until he died in 1973. He began his political life at a very young age and was elected Deputy in 1937, when he was only 29 years old. Later he was Minister of Health

---

6 Though the exact number has never been established, a witness to the Santa Maria School Massacre estimated between 2,000 and 3,600 miners, their wives and children, were assassinated and hundreds more wounded (Gumucio Rivas, 2007). The New Chilean Song movement group Quilapayún dedicated an album to the Santa Maria School massacre.
After running for election in 1952, 1958 and 1964, he was elected President in 1970.\textsuperscript{7}

**The Decades Leading up to Allende’s Presidency: Divisions and Coalitions among the Left and U.S. Intervention in Chile**

By the middle of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century the working and middle classes played an increasingly important role in Chilean society. With industrialization, the expansion of education and a growing public administration, there were more opportunities for social mobility (Collier & Sater, 2004) and the influence of the Left in Chilean politics became ever more significant. While relationships among leftist parties in Chile had been consistently shaky in the early part of the century, they improved during the Second World War. However, “these relations were debilitated once more, again because of North American [U.S.] pressure as soon as the Second World War ended and the Cold War began” (Corvalán, 2003, p. 97, translation mine).

For the 1952 presidential campaign, the socialists were divided in two: the *Partido Socialista Popular* [Popular Socialist Party] and the *Partido Socialista de Chile* [Socialist Party of Chile]. Allende ran as the candidate for the *Frente del Pueblo* [People’s Front], a coalition of the Socialist Party of Chile, which was Allende’s party, and the *Partido Comunista Chileno* [Chilean Communist Party]. The Popular Socialist Party supported the winning candidate, but quickly became discontented. The two socialist parties reunited and together with the Chilean Communist Party, formed the *Frente de Acción Popular* [Popular Action Front]. In 1957, the founding of the *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* (PDC) [Christian Democrat Party] brought together several young Catholics who had split off from the Conservative Party and formed the National Falange in 1938, and the Social Christian wing of the Conservative Party (Mainwaring & Scully, 2003).

In the 1958 presidential election, Eduardo Frei ran for the newly founded PDC, considered a centre party, Allende ran as the FRAP candidate, Jorge Alessandri as an independent, supported by the Liberals and Conservatives, and Luis Bossay for the *Partido Radical* [Radical Party]⁸. Though it appeared Allende was the frontrunner, he lost by a very narrow margin of about 33,000 votes to Alessandri (Power, 2002). In accordance with the Constitution in cases where there is no absolute majority, Congress would decide. Following the political tradition to ratify the candidate who had obtained the most votes, Alessandri was confirmed as president.

Alessandri set out to implement an agenda that benefited the Chilean oligarchy and bowed to U.S. pressure to remove tariffs and maintain policies in line with the International Monetary Fund. By the end of his presidency, capital was concentrated in the hands of the Chilean elite and the U.S. controlled a significant proportion of the economy, including but not limited to the electric and telephone companies, gas distribution, and vast copper and other mineral reserves. As income polarization increased and poverty was exacerbated, the disgruntled working and middle classes were reminded of how the guiding principles of previous right wing governments like this one, maintained the status quo and repressed the populace (Corvalán, 2003).

During the late 1950s and 1960s, Chilean society became more and more politicized. In addition to the struggles against injustice inside Chile, the Cuban Revolution in 1959 fuelled hopes for a more socially just society throughout Latin America free from oppression and foreign rule. However, “while much of the left around the world took up armed struggle in the 1960s in order to achieve socialism, most of the Chilean left chose the ballot, not the bullet” (Power, 2002, p. 72). As 1964 approached, the nation prepared for another election. Once again

---

⁸ Established in the mid 1800s and considered a centre-left party for most of its history, the Radical Party has played a significant role in Chilean politics.
Frei ran for the PDC, campaigning with the slogan “revolución en libertad” [revolution in liberty] and Allende for the FRAP. Initially, the right joined the Radical Party, forming a coalition known as the Democratic Front, and chose Julio Durán as their candidate. According to the U.S. Senate report entitled *Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973* (1975) issued by the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, to ensure the Left did not stand a chance, the U.S. funded the PDC and the Democratic Front throughout 1963, spending US $3 million to influence the outcome of the election. However, following a congressional by-election that favoured the Left, the Democratic Front alliance disintegrated and as the election drew near and support for Allende grew, the right and the PDC feared the Left would win.

At this point, the U.S. intervened to ensure Allende did not become the next president. According to a declassified U.S. Government memo dated April 1st, 1964, “it be[came] necessary to take all possible action to assist Frei in his campaign and to limit the number of former Democratic Front votes that might go to Allende” (U.S. State Department Office of the Historian, 1964). This involved preventing the Radical Party from endorsing Allende, pressuring the Liberals and Conservatives to support Frei and bolstering Frei’s campaign by supplying financial assistance to all these groups and to other groups (labour unions, youth, student, women, peasant and shantytown dwellers’ organizations) as needed. It also meant “in the latter stages of the campaign to buy some votes outright if required” (ibid). Funds were also made available “for specialized propaganda operations, some of which [were] black, to denigrate Allende” (ibid). The right did finally throw its support behind Frei who won with a clear majority. However, despite the anti-Allende political manoeuvring and media campaign, the Left

---

9 This report is known as the Church Report and will be hereafter cited as such.
made substantial gains and attracted a considerable increase in votes over the previous election (Di Tella, 2004).

During the course of his tenure from 1964-1970, Frei implemented a number of significant reforms. Under what was called the Chilenización del Cobre [Chileanization of Copper], the government bought shares in many U.S. copper mine companies to increase Chilean ownership of the mining sector. A major agrarian reform project was also instituted. Alessandri had initiated an agrarian reform program, but these policies had little impact on people’s living conditions and basically left rural communities and agricultural production unchanged. Under Frei, land was expropriated from large estate owners and redistributed among the peasants who worked the land in an effort to reallocate land more equitably and increase agricultural production. Other important reforms included the creation of the Ministry of Housing that undertook significant housing projects, and a restructuring of education.

With major reforms underway, political parties mounted their campaigns for the 1970 presidential elections. Alessandri ran as the right-wing Partido Nacional (PN) [National Party] candidate and Radomiro Tomic, who was on the left of the PDC, was chosen as their candidate after an alliance between the PDC and the Left seemed unlikely. The Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario (MAPU) [United Popular Action Movement], the left wing of the PDC that broke off in 1969, proclaimed Jacques Chonchol as their candidate, the Socialist Party announced Allende would run as their candidate and Pablo Neruda was declared the candidate for the Communist Party. Following negotiations, the Unidad Popular (UP) [Popular Unity], a

---

10 The MAPU was founded after the PDC rejected an alliance with the left. The founders thought the left needed to work together towards socialism and were discontent with the Frei administration’s reforms that did not sufficiently disrupt capitalism (Amorós, 2005).
11 Jacques Chonchol, one of the founders of the MAPU, later became Minister of Agriculture during Allende’s presidency.
12 Pablo Neruda was a politician, diplomat and probably most well known internationally as a poet who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1971. He died shortly after the coup on September 23, 1973 of a serious illness, some say of sadness.
broader coalition of social-democrat and leftist parties, was formed towards the end of 1969 and beginning of 1970 (Openheim, 2007). The UP included the Socialist Party (PS), Communist Party (PC), Radical Party, the MAPU, the Acción Popular Independiente [Independent Popular Action] and the Partido Social Demócrata [Social Democrat Party].

Allende’s *Via Chilena al Socialismo* was a constitutional, peaceful “road to socialism through democracy, pluralism and liberty” (Allende, 1970, translation mine).13 As evidenced by the fact that Allende ran in four consecutive elections, he never advocated armed struggle. The revolution Allende supported was driven by the people; it was, as he said, a “revolución a la chilena con empanadas y vino tinto” [Chilean style revolution with *empanadas*14 and red wine] (Agnic Krstulovic, 2007). Again, Allende campaigned on a platform that promised to make Chile a more socially just and prosperous nation with more equitable income distribution.

Ending neo-colonial capitalist dependence (Pinto Vallejos, 2005) involved putting a stop, “once and for all to imperialist exploitation” (Allende, 2003b, translation mine)15 through the nationalization of key productive industries, taking control of trade, introducing major reforms to the financial sector, and greatly expanding Frei’s agrarian and educational reforms, in order to “creat[e] the social capital that will propel our development” (ibid). However, Allende and the UP’s constitutional, peaceful road to socialism did not appeal to everyone on the Left. The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (MIR) [Revolutionary Movement of the Left], a group that formed in 1965, did not think a non-violent route to socialism was possible and did not join the UP.

As in the 1964 elections, with assistance from the U.S., the right mounted terror campaigns designed to instil fear and hatred of the Left. This time the U.S. termed their

---

13 This quote comes from the speech Allende gave when he took office in November of 1970.
14 Empanadas are traditional meat (and sometimes cheese) turnovers.
15 This quote comes from Allende’s victory speech given in September of 1970.
intervention a “spoiling campaign” against the UP and Allende, which involved covert action aimed at manipulating the outcome of the 1970 election. This included “an intensive propaganda campaign which made use of virtually all media within Chile and which placed and replayed items in the international press as well…using many of the same themes as the 1964 presidential election program” (Church Report, 1975b, p.168). In addition to leaflets, posters, picture books, graffiti and newsletters, the print, radio and television media claimed the state would take people’s earnings, possessions and children, who would be taken to Russia to be indoctrinated. Anti-communist youth posed as UP census workers distributing a form that asked about household assets, from televisions and phones to cars, and included questions about whether families would permanently take people in who did not have adequate housing. The form stated a government representative would collect the questionnaire after Allende’s victory (Auth Caviedes, 2009). One of the most powerful mechanisms employed was the use of El Mercurio, a national right leaning newspaper, as a channel for the scare campaign because they were able to “generate more than one editorial per day based on CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] guidance” (Church Report, 1975b, p.169), which were then broadcast nation-wide on radio networks. In spite of these efforts, the momentum that had been building with each election leading up to 1970 proved victorious for the UP and Allende won the election by a narrow margin over Alessandri.17

As in the 1958 election, with such close election results, Congress would have to choose between the two leading candidates. Yet again, the U.S. tried to prevent Allende from becoming president and decided to proceed along two avenues, both of which were aimed at promoting a coup (Church Report, 1975b). Track I was aimed at influencing the opposition to prevent

---

16 The CIA spent between US $800,000 to $1 million to fund this campaign (Church Report, 1975). In addition to the U.S. Government’s involvement in the election, the multinational corporation ITT contributed $350,000 to Alessandri’s campaign and party, and other U.S. businesses supplied another $350,000.
17 Allende got 36.3% of the votes, Alessandri 34.9% and Tomic 27.8% (El Mercurio, September 5, 1970).
Allende from assuming the presidency through political manoeuvring, economic measures and a propaganda campaign. In consort with the far right of the Chilean political opposition to the UP, Alessandri issued a call to Congress asking the right and the PDC to vote for him, with the understanding that he would resign and another election would then be held in which Frei would run and, with the support of the right, would certainly win (Bitar, 1995). Another possibility was to induce the entire cabinet to resign and convince Frei to replace it with military ministers. The U.S. preferred the former option and tried to persuade Frei to agree; however, according to U.S. sources Frei did not want to intervene in the constitutional process (Church Report, 1975b). When it appeared the cabinet alternative was not an option either, the U.S. implemented its economic strategy designed to create financial instability, which involved discontinuing all credit and curbing foreign investment. Over the weeks following Allende’s election, “the ‘scare campaign’ [which had] contributed to the political polarization and financial panic of the period…[was] exploited even more intensely” (Church Report, 1975b, p.170).

The actions associated with Track II were carried out in accordance with U.S. President Nixon’s “instruct[ions to] the CIA to play a direct role in organizing a military coup d'etat [sic] in Chile to prevent Allende's accession to the Presidency” (Church Report, 1975b, p.170, italics in original). In 1969, a brief military uprising led by General Roberto Viaux, known as the “Tacnazo” had taken place, indicating that there was unrest among the Chilean military. Fully aware of turmoil within the Chilean military and having established contact with twenty-one key Chilean military and police officials “who were inclined to stage a coup [and who] were given

18 Though Chilean law prevents two consecutive presidential terms, technically Alessandri would have been president for a short time and therefore, Frei could run.
19 Sergio Bitar began his career in public service during the Frei government. He was one of Allende’s advisors between 1971 and 1972 and became Minister of Mining in 1973. He was also one of the key leaders of the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left]. After the coup he was imprisoned at Dawson Island and expelled from Chile in 1974, spending his time in exile in the U.S. and Venezuela. He returned to Chile in 1984. In the post-dictatorship period he has been a Senator (1994-2002), founder (1987) and later president of the Partido por la Democracia [Party for Democracy], Minister of Education (2003-2005) during Ricardo Lagos’ presidency, and Minister of Public Works (2008-2010) during Michelle Bachelet’s presidency.
20 It is known as such because it happened in the Tacna Regiment in Santiago.
assurances of strong support at the highest levels of the U.S. Government, both before and after a coup” (U.S. Senate, 1975a).\textsuperscript{21} the CIA proceeded with its plans. The covert nature of these plans was made clear in a cable sent from CIA Headquarters to the CIA Station in Santiago on October 16, 1970 which states “it is firm and continuing policy that Allende be overthrown by a coup…it is imperative that these actions be implemented clandestinely and securely so that the USG [United States Government] and American hand be well hidden” (p.1). A major barrier to orchestrating a coup was General René Schneider, Commander in Chief of the Army, because he was a constitutionalist. Two days before the Congressional vote that ratified Allende, a group of Chilean officers led by General Viaux killed General Schneider in the process of attempting to kidnap him.\textsuperscript{22} President Frei appointed General Carlos Prats, also a constitutionalist, as Commander in Chief of the Army. During this period, the U.S. also threatened the Chilean military with halting military aid if they did not act to prevent Allende’s confirmation as president (Church Report, 1975b).

Meanwhile the UP and the PDC had reached a compromise. The PDC would support Allende’s ratification in Congress as long as Allende agreed to the Estatuto de Garantías Constitucionales [Statute of Constitutional Guarantees] to assure adherence to the rule of law (Bitar, 1995). The Senate approved the Statute the same day as the attempted kidnapping of Schneider (October 22, 1970). By the time the joint session of Congress was to take place on

\textsuperscript{21} In addition to the Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973 report issued in 1975 by the U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, the Committee issued a report titled Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders, also in 1975, cited here.

\textsuperscript{22} Three cables between CIA headquarters and the CIA Station in Santiago show the CIA furnished another group of Chilean officers led by General Camilo Valenzuela with weapons for the Schneider operation. Original documents can be viewed at The National Security Archive web site (direct link): http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch27-01.htm). The CIA collaborated with at least these two groups, and though the CIA claims the Viaux group acted on their own that day, they later paid the group $35,000 “to keep the prior contact secret, maintain the good will of the group, and for humanitarian reasons” (CIA Activities in Chile Report, 2000, p.11). Both General Valenzuela and General Viaux were later convicted by a Chilean military court.
October 24, 1970\textsuperscript{23} it was clear the efforts of the right and the CIA had failed to prevent Congress from ratifying the candidate who had obtained the most votes in the election. Allende was proclaimed President by an overwhelming majority (El Mercurio, October 25, 1970)\textsuperscript{24} and inaugurated on November 3\textsuperscript{rd}, 1970.

**Allende and the Popular Unity Government 1970-1973**

It is with profound emotion that I speak from this platform…from the Student Federation!...I said, and I should repeat: If victory was not easy, it will be difficult to consolidate our triumph and build a new society, a new way of living together, a new ethic and a new country…Revolution does not imply destruction, but construction and the Chilean people are prepared for this great task at this transcendental hour of our life…Latin America and beyond…is looking at our tomorrow. I have complete faith that we will be strong enough, sufficiently serene and strong to open the fortunate road towards a different and better life, to begin to walk through the hopeful avenues of socialism, which the Chilean people will build with their own hands.

- Allende, Victory Speech, September 5, 1970, translation mine\textsuperscript{25}

The electoral victory of Allende, supported by the Popular Unity, generated a profound sense of hope and optimism among workers, peasants, Indigenous peoples, students, artists and intellectuals. A large sector of Chilean society regarded Allende’s election as a unique historical opportunity to peacefully transform economic, social and political structures, and materialize “the ‘desire of another Chile’ that was radically democratic” (Garcés, 2004, p. 27, translation mine). Joan Jara, widow of the New Chilean Song movement singer-songwriter Víctor Jara, recalls that “people danced in the streets holding hands, forming [human] chains and circles” (2008, p. 157, translation mine) and inside the Students’ Federation of Chile building from where Allende gave his victory speech “it was all happiness, hugs and tears” (p.156, translation mine).

\textsuperscript{23} General Schneider who had been in hospital for two days died on this day.
\textsuperscript{24} A total of 153 votes in favour, 35 for Alessandri and 7 left blank.
\textsuperscript{25} See Allende (2003b).
Between 1970 and 1973, the Popular Unity government made a significant effort to create structures and processes that listened to the interests and values of the working and middle classes, peasantry and poor sectors of society. During this period the government encouraged people to practice forms of direct democracy, supporting the formation of popular organizations of industrial workers (Cordones Industriales), workers’ committees in nationalized industries, poor urban dwellers or pobladores (Juntas de Abastecimiento y Precios, JAP),26 and peasant and subsistence Mapuche and non-Indigenous minifundistas or very small farmers (Consejos Comunales Campesinos). These organizations concentrated their efforts on securing better salaries and living conditions (health, education, housing and food) for workers, peasants and their families, and in supporting government efforts to structure a publicly owned sector of key productive industries (Garcés, 2004).

The program the UP government implemented was ambitious both in scope and nature. The redistribution of income was paramount. This was achieved through the nationalization of major economic sectors, agrarian reform, intensifying social spending and raising salaries. Income from nationalized industries would pay for expenditures and wage increases would stimulate the economy. The UP wanted to restructure the economy into three parts: a social area made up of state-owned companies, a mixed area encompassing companies in which the state owned the majority of stocks, and a private area comprised of small businesses. To that end, they completed the nationalization of the copper industry (initiated by Frei) after a unanimous vote by Congress (El Mercurio, July 12, 1971). State ownership of Chile’s most valuable export meant the huge profits from copper sales would remain in Chile. The UP government also expanded the reformation of the agricultural sector, which involved expropriating and buying land from large estate owners, “remov[ing] the enormous obstacle to social progress and income redistribution

26 Middle class neighbourhoods also formed JAP associations, voluntary neighbourhood organizations established during Allende’s government in which residents and local businesses worked together. We will learn more about these associations in Chapter Six.
that this represented” (Editorial, 2004, p. 392). Other major areas that underwent reform were the banking system (the government bought shares to increase state ownership) and the manufacturing and communication sectors.

Almost all sectors received considerable wage increases, the minimum wage rose by 66% (Boorstein, 1977) and pensions improved sizeably. An exceptional decision was made to cap high salaries in the public administration, including those of the President and ministers (Cademartori, 1971). Government spending on health, education and housing greatly increased. The poorest sectors were the first to benefit from housing developments, new mortgage policies and rent laws. Clinics were established in peripheral areas, making health care available to all and campaigns were launched to decrease the incidence of disease, especially childhood illnesses. A national milk program was established that gave children half a litre of milk each per day and shoes were distributed among hundreds of thousands of children. As a result of these health initiatives infant mortality rates dropped significantly.

The main educational objectives of the Allende government were the democratization of education, the encouragement of an active participation of the population in the educational process, and the promotion of popular culture. However, the most critical aspects of the UP educational program were the attempt to abolish private education and the establishment of the Escuela Nacional Unificada [National Unified School]. The National Unified School created quite a controversy in Chilean society, especially between the government and the Catholic Church. In the end, the Catholic Church, with the support of political parties representing the interests of the wealthier sectors of society, forced the government to postpone its implementation in March 1973. Despite the political opposition faced by the government, between 1970 and 1973 enrolment in secondary schools grew by 48% and in technical and
vocational schools, by 64%, with public spending on education peaking in 1972 at 7.5% of the GNP (UNDP, 2002).²⁷

The UP also supported and funded the arts and culture. Folklore, ballet and theatre reached working class districts and Chilean artists thrived. The Nueva Canción Chilena [New Chilean Song], a movement which articulated the political values of this era and which had mobilized the Left in the years leading up to Allende’s election, flourished during the UP “when many forms of popular culture blossomed” (Fairley, 1984, p. 108).²⁸ Born in the 1960s, the movement revived the folk music of rural communities rescued by Violeta Parra, arguably the most important person in laying the groundwork for the movement. The music of Víctor Jara, Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani and Violeta Parra’s son Ángel and daughter Isabel, among others, played a significant role in the leftist political culture of the times. The Peña de los Parra, opened in 1965 by Angel and Isabel, was instrumental in creating a cultural space for the New Chilean Song to develop. We will learn more about the New Chilean Song movement in Chapter Eight.

During this period teams of volunteers worked in rural and urban areas (Collier & Sater, 1996). In an interview with Antonio who lived in southern Chile, he remembers the

work which was done with youth…[who] worked all summer voluntarily, one of the major areas they worked in was constructing roads in areas where there was nothing…[they felt] this is my contribution, because they did not have money…we gave them machetes, a tent, a backpack and they were off. They came from Santiago, from all over, caravans of different young people.

²⁷ This report shows UNDP [United Nations Development Program] with the title; however, the link to the document shows Manuel Riesco as the author of the document produced out of the Taller Inter-Regional “Protección Social en un Era Insegura: Un Intercambio Sur-Sur sobre Políticas Sociales Alternativas en Respuesta a la Globalización [Inter-Regional Workshop “Social Protection in an Unsure Era: A South-South Exchange about Alternative Social Policies in Response to Globalization] held in Santiago, Chile between May 14 and 16, 2002.

²⁸ “The music produced is 'popular' in the sense of being rooted in the music of the people. In other words, folk = popular, representing their values, way of life, struggles, and ultimately intended for their popular consumption. It is not popular in terms of popular = pop, i.e. primarily aimed at commercially popular tastes” (Fairley, 1984, p. 114).
The economic and social policies of the UP produced the desired results during the first year of the UP administration. Despite inheriting a sluggish economy from the PDC and the financial panic created by the opposition with help from the U.S. after the presidential election, industrial production increased dramatically, agricultural production rose considerably, unemployment decreased significantly and prices stabilized (Boorstein, 1977; Guillaudat & Mouterde, 1998). The redistribution of income increased the standard of living of large sectors of Chilean society who, as a result of these policies, had better living and health conditions, educational opportunities, as well as greater purchasing power and therefore access to consumer goods and services.

The satisfaction of a significant proportion of the population with UP policies in the first stages of the Allende government was demonstrated by the increase in popular support for the UP in the municipal elections held in April of 1971. Though the results revealed only a small difference between the UP and the opposition, compared with the 1970 presidential elections, votes cast for the UP rose by approximately 14% (Angell, 1993; Bitar, 1995). The accomplishments of the UP, however, were eclipsed by the many challenges Allende had to cope with early on in his time in office.

Oppositions, Divisions and Negotiations

The next period of Allende’s administration was marked by social unrest. Several factors contributed to the political and economic events that unfolded, including the opposition faced by the UP government, both within Chile and from abroad, a highly mobilized working class, and the divisions within the UP coalition. The U.S. continued its anti-Allende operations, funding the two main opposition parties, the PDC and the PN, as well as a number of splinter groups.

29 According to Bitar (1995), the percentage of votes rose from 36% in the 1970 presidential elections to 50% in the 1971 municipal elections, while Angell (1993) reports the UP obtained 48.6% of the votes in the latter elections. Results for elections on the Government of Chile Ministry of the Interior web site (http://www.elecciones.gov.cl/) are limited to the post-dictatorship period.
Another aim was to provoke the dissolution of the UP coalition. The propaganda campaign persisted through financing the publication of magazines, books and studies, and creating material for opposition newspapers, all opposition party radio stations and several television channels. An opposition research organization funded by the CIA constantly produced economic and technical information for opposition parties and private groups, and even “many of the bills prepared by opposition parliamentarians were actually drafted by personnel of the research organization” (Church Report, 1975b, p.177). Despite the salience of the freedom of the press issue in the anti-Allende international propaganda operation, the U.S. admits “the press remained free throughout the Allende period” (Church Report, 1975b, p. 176) and the multiparty system remained intact as political parties also continued to function freely.

One of the most significant factors that contributed to the economic instability of the Allende years was the pressure the U.S. exerted on the Chilean economy. The handwritten notes taken by CIA Director Richard Helms that document a meeting with President Richard Nixon, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and Attorney General John Mitchell that took place on September 15, 1970 record the intent was to “make the economy scream” and that “$10,000,000 available, more if necessary” for their “game plan” to “save Chile.” While Allende had taken several measures to move away from Chilean dependence on foreign investment, important economic sectors still relied on the U.S. for spare parts, machinery and transport equipment. The drop in credit and exports significantly affected the capacity of the government to buy replacement parts. Bilateral aid went from US $35 million in 1969 to US $1.5 million in 1971, U.S. Export-Import Bank credits fell to zero in 1971, the Interamerican Development Bank curtailed its loans from US $46 million in 1970 to US $2 million in 1972, and the World Bank did not lend Chile any money from 1970 to 1973 (Church Report, 1975b).
By 1972, the PDC and PN had become allies. The murder of Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, who had been Frei’s Minister of the Interior, in June of 1971 created political panic and confusion. This was not the only factor that served to bolster the right wing of the PDC. After the PDC backed the PN candidate in a by-election in July of 1971, several disenchanted members of the PDC, including a number of Deputies, left the PDC. Shortly thereafter, they formed the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left] and joined the UP. While this bolstered the UP coalition, it weakened the left leaning sectors of the PDC and strengthened its right wing. The alliance between the PDC and the PN gave the two parties a congressional majority, which enabled them to obstruct legislation and make constitutional accusations against several ministers beginning with José Tohá, the Minister of the Interior who was impeached in January of 1972 (Spooner, 1994).

The redistribution of income that resulted in the enhanced purchasing power of large sectors of Chilean society created high demand that was not matched by production. A black market emerged and the opposition encouraged speculation and hoarding and “efforts by the elite to sabotage production and distribution, decapitalize the country, and block government attempts to increase production” (Power, 2002, p.186) had a significant impact on the economic situation. Prices increased, inflation rose (Corvalán, 2003) and copper prices fell in 1971 and 1972 (Coeymans & Mundlak, 1993), reducing the nation’s income.

Together with the effects of the anti-Allende propaganda campaign and economic pressures exerted by the U.S., the political and economic situation deteriorated. In December of

---

30 The Vanguardia Organizada del Pueblo (VOP), an extremist group made up mainly of ex-MIR members, was responsible for Pérez Zujovic’s death. The VOP were quickly labelled as terrorists, CIA agents or reactionaries (Del Solar & Pérez, 2008).
31 Several members of the MAPU also joined the Christian Left, including Allende’s Minister of Agriculture, Jacques Chonchol.
32 The formation of the Christian Left actually further weakened the left of the PDC as the MAPU had already split off in 1969 and become part of the UP prior to the 1970 elections.
33 José Tohá was immediately appointed Minister of Defense.
1971, right wing women from the opposition parties staged the *Marcha de las Ollas Vacías* [March of the Empty Pots] to express their opposition to the UP and protest the shortages. A highly mobilized working class, along with members of some of the UP parties and the MIR (which was not part of the UP), organized factory takeovers and land seizures (Cardenas, 2007) without government consent, while other sectors of the UP opposed these actions because it meant production came to a halt and because they put the government in a difficult position. While Allende recognized the illegality of the takeovers, he did not favour acting against them because of his “well-known disinclination to use repressive force – not even against political opponents, let alone the workers, peasants or shantytown dwellers who supported him” (Stern, 2004, pp. 23-24). While some sectors of the middle class supported the UP government, others became disenchanted. In April 1972 the opposition staged a rally to protest supposed violations of freedom by the UP government and shortly thereafter, the UP organized a rally at which Allende stated the opposition was trying to make people believe that Chile was not democratic and that they could not exercise their freedom (Corvalán, 2003).

Confrontations between UP supporters and those who opposed them became more and more commonplace and street violence escalated as the populace became increasingly polarized. Fascist paramilitary groups, notably *Patria y Libertad* [Fatherland and Liberty], attempted to sabotage the UP through acts of violence by carrying out assassinations and bombing industry and transport-related targets (Childress, 2009; Ensalaco, 2000). The group formed when Allende took office and received financial support from the CIA,34 which was officially for demonstrations and anti-Allende propaganda activities aimed at manufacturing an atmosphere of chaos to provoke a military take over (Church Report, 1975b). While assistance was provided to

---

34 *Patria y Libertad* was furnished by the CIA “with $38,500 through a third party during the Track II period in an effort to create tension and a possible pretext for intervention by the Chilean military” (Church Report, 1975, p.31).
opposition political parties, the CIA was aware that given the links among militant and
paramilitary groups and political parties, it was difficult to distinguish among them.

In addition, growing tensions inside the UP and Allende’s Socialist Party about how the
government should move ahead with the transition to socialism also troubled the UP
administration. One camp, mainly the MAPU and the more radical sectors of the Socialist Party
led by the Carlos Altamirano who was a senator and the party’s Secretary General, thought the
UP should proceed quickly. Their view was that the UP needed to “avanzar para consolidar”
[advance in order to consolidate]. Altamirano (1977) maintains they took this position because

“freezing” the process was not possible without sacrificing the revolution. We had
not reached levels that would seriously question the foundations of capitalism, nor
overcome the problems of its dependent development…The practical, visible and
immediate consequence of a premature consolidation would have been the
demobilization and frustration of the working class” (p. 91, translation mine).

The more moderate camp, which included the Socialists Allende was aligned with, the
Communists and most of the other groups that were part of the coalition, thought the UP should
move ahead steadily and secure what they had achieved. Aware of the unrest within the Chilean
military, the polarization and on-going confrontations among the populace, this camp argued the
UP needed to “consolidar para avanzar” [consolidate in order to advance].

Consolidating the UP’s advances towards socialism involved negotiating with the PDC
because they needed the PDC’s congressional votes to pass legislation. Both camps acknowledge
the sectarianism within the UP affected this dialogue. Luis Corvalán (2003), who was a Senator
and the Secretary General of the Communist Party at the time remembers, “the sectarianism
engulfed us. It was one of the factors that impeded consolidating and expanding links and
common actions with the Christian Democrats [PDC]” (p.9, translation mine). Altamirano
(1977) recalls that the sectarianism “constituted serious errors in our behaviour, especially in the
relationships with the Christian Democrat base [and]…while this sectarianism did not determine
the attitude of the PDC towards the Popular Government, it undoubtedly kept the reactionary leadership busy” (p. 43, translation mine). Although Allende and the more moderate camp tried to maintain the channels of communication open with the PDC in order to try to consolidate gains, the more radical camp argued the UP should not make concessions. The slogan “avanzar sin transar” [advance without compromise] illustrates the mindset of this camp.

A highly significant event was the truck owners’ strike in October of 1972, supported by the gremios (professional associations), which not only threatened to paralyze the nation’s transportation system, but its economy. Months earlier, truck owners had petitioned for a further rate increase\(^\text{35}\) and, along with other transportation providers, they demanded an improved supply of spare parts, which were scarce as a result of the economic measures taken by the U.S. Though the government had responded favourably to the truck owners’ demands (Bitar, 1995), in October they launched the strike to protest the government’s plan to create a state-run trucking company in the remote southern region of Aysén (Boeninger, 1998; Boorstein, 1977). While the truck owners claimed the latter was the reason for calling the strike, it became apparent that there were other motives at play.

Opponents of the UP were fully aware of the immense impact the strike would have on the economy, which would further foment an atmosphere of chaos. Not only did the CIA infiltrate the strikers’ organizations (Boorstein, 1977), they provided financial support as well,\(^\text{36}\) to the tune of US $40-$160 per day, per demobilized truck (Guillaudat & Mouterde, 1998). The Chilean opposition mobilized mass support for the strike in an effort to amplify the climate of disorder. The UP and its supporters also mobilized to counter the effects of the strike. The government ensured there was fuel for hospitals and other public services (Corvalán, 2003) and

\(^{35}\) Truck owners had already received a 120 percent rate increase (Boorstein, 1977).

\(^{36}\) When TIME correspondent Rudolph Rauch asked a group of truckers near Santiago where they got the money for the lavish meal they were enjoying, which included steak and wine, they responded with laughter, “From the CIA” (TIME, 1973).
supporters, including professionals and those in transport-related areas continued working, and student and workers formed teams of volunteers (Bitar, 1995) to keep factories running, coordinate transportation for workers, and deliver supplies and food (Power, 2002). As more middle class sectors joined the strike, violence multiplied and acts of sabotage continued, the situation worsened. After about a month, the strike ended shortly after a new cabinet that included members of the military was formed at the beginning of November, with Carlos Prats, Commander in Chief of the Army and a constitutionalist, as Minister of the Interior. The strikers agreed to the conditions the government had tabled weeks earlier (Bitar, 1995).

The strike had further polarized the nation. With a consolidated opposition that included the middle class *gremios*, the opposition parties and groups like *Patria y Libertad* the UP faced a daunting situation as the March 1973 congressional elections approached. The PDC and the PN formed the *Confederación de la Democracia* [Confederation of Democracy] and aimed to obtain a two-thirds majority, which would allow them to remove Allende from office. The UP sought to demonstrate wide support for the government in the March 1973 congressional elections. The opposition got almost 55% of the votes, so it did not attain the majority it needed (Corvalán, 2003) and the UP nearly 44% (Boeninger, 1998), a significant percentage under the circumstances. Disappointed with the results, the opposition abandoned the possibility of ousting Allende through constitutional means and adopted an overtly pro-coup position (Bitar, 1995). Towards the end of March, the cabinet again became completely civilian. In April, the more conservative Patricio Aylwin became the leader of the PDC, which solidified the PDC’s commitment to a military intervention.

Over the following months there were more strikes and violence escalated. Allende searched for a basic political consensus, but his efforts were not fruitful (Bitar, 1995). On June 29, 1973 there was a coup attempt known as the “tanquetazo” planned by a sector of the armed

---

37 After Schneider was assassinated, Prats replaced him as Commander in Chief of the Army.
forces (El Mercurio, February 12, 2006). A few tanks fired at La Moneda, the presidential palace that houses government offices, and Prats intervened to prevent the insurrection spreading to other barracks (Guillaudat & Mouterde, 1998). To intensify the sense of panic and chaos that had been created by the Chilean political and economic opposition, together with the anti-UP sectors of the military and the U.S., *Patria y Libertad* stepped up its line of attack. In his memoirs, the ex-leader of *Patria y Libertad*, Roberto Thieme\(^{38}\) remembers that in mid July the rebel sectors of the military, particularly the Navy, approached the group to carry out a series of assassinations and sabotage to disrupt the country’s infrastructure (El Mercurio, 2006).\(^{39}\) Following the failed coup attempt, Allende reincorporated Prats in the cabinet as Minister of Defense, but he resigned as Minister and as Commander in Chief of the Army towards the end of August under pressure from the Army and their families. Augusto Pinochet, supposedly a constitutionalist, succeeded Prats. The military then proceeded to put other key military officials in place (Boorstein, 1977). It appeared the political and economic conditions were in place to justify a military coup.

On September 4\(^{th}\), the UP held a rally to celebrate the third anniversary of Allende’s electoral victory and to demonstrate widespread support for the government. Chanting “Allende, Allende, el pueblo te defiende” [“Allende, Allende, the people defend you”], hundreds of thousands of people marched through downtown Santiago (Guzmán, 1976). Some people hoped this show of support would deter any possible military intervention (Boorstein, 1977). Derek Paterson from New Zealand was in Chile during the month prior to the coup and recalls that “over a million people thronged through central Santiago and the possibility of a coup d’etat seemed very remote” (Vancouver Province, November 3, 1973).\(^{40}\) Again Allende engaged in

---

\(^{38}\) Thieme is Pinochet’s daughter Lucia’s ex-husband.

\(^{39}\) With explosives and technical guidance from the Navy, they cut off the fuel supply in Santiago, blew up oil pipelines, engineered blackouts and assassinated Arturo Araya, the Naval Attaché to the President. When all this still did not seem to be enough to provoke the coup, the group received a petition to assassinate Carlos Altamirano, the leader of the Socialist Party, but the group declined (El Mercurio, 2006).

\(^{40}\) This article was reprinted in Canadians for Democracy in Chile’s first bulletin in November, 1973.
conversations with the PDC, but negotiations with Aylwin did not lead to any agreements. Though a new cabinet that included a military presence was formed to satisfy the PDC’s demands, the opposition was resolved to bring the government down. At the beginning of September the UP decided to hold a plebiscite to resolve the impasse. Allende informed the UP and his cabinet that he would make a public announcement regarding the resolution on September 11th. On September 9th, he informed the Commander in Chief of the Army, Pinochet, of the decision (Bitar, 1995). According to Orlando Letelier who was Minister of Defense, during a meeting with Pinochet on the morning of September 10th, Pinochet displayed his “admiration for and loyalty towards President Allende, and his decision to uphold his oath as a soldier to defend to the end the Constitution and the President of the Republic” (translation mine). By his own later admission, Pinochet had met not forty-eight hours earlier with Navy and Air Force representatives to express his commitment to participate in the coup. Aware of Allende’s intention to announce the plebiscite on September 11th, the coup planned for September 14th was moved up to the 11th.

State Terror: Chile under the Pinochet Dictatorship 1973-1990

Unfortunately the UP’s attempt at participatory democracy was short lived. Most Chileans remember where they were, what they were doing and who they were with on the morning of September 11th, 1973. The first phase of the military takeover occurred in the port city of Valparaiso and quickly spread throughout the country. La Moneda, the Presidential Palace in downtown Santiago that houses government offices, was bombed and tanks lined the streets. In his famous last speech Allende accused members of the junta of treason for not respecting the oaths they took to respect whatever government Chileans elected. He then went on

---

41 Orlando Letelier testified before an International Commission Investigating the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile in Mexico City in 1975. The full testimonial can be viewed at http://www.memoriaviva.com/testimonios/orlando%20letelier.htm
to urge the Chilean people to remember their agency, pointing out social processes cannot be halted and assuring them freedom would return. A few hours before his death, Allende (2003a) addressed the Chilean people from La Moneda at 9:10 a.m. over the radio:

Surely this is my last opportunity to address you…My words are not ones of bitterness, but disappointment…
I will not resign! Placed in an historical transition I will pay for the loyalty of the people with my life. And I say to you that I am certain that the seed that has been planted in the dignified conscience of thousands and thousands of Chileans will not ultimately wither. They have force and they will be able to overpower us, but social processes cannot be detained, neither with crime nor with force. History is ours and the people make history…
In this definitive moment, I want you to take the opportunity to learn a lesson.
Foreign capital, imperialism, together with reactionary forces, created the climate for the Armed Forces to break their tradition…
I address, above all, the modest woman of our land…the professionals…the youth…the man of Chile, the worker, the peasant, the intellectual, those who will be persecuted because in our country fascism has been present for many hours…
Surely Radio Magallanes will be silenced and the calm metal of my voice will no longer reach you. It does not matter. You will continue to hear it. I will always be with you…
Go forward knowing that, much earlier than later, the grand avenues will once again open where free men walk to build a better society.
Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers!
These are my last words and I am certain that my sacrifice will not be in vain. I am certain that, at least, there will be a moral lesson that will punish felony, cowardice and treason (translation mine).

Allende was found dead inside La Moneda later that day.

Though aware of the threat of the coup, many Chileans could not imagine it would actually take place because of Chile’s more than 150 year tradition of democracy. The kind of dictatorship that took root in Chile

was made possible by the highly professional, obedient, and hierarchical nature of the Chilean military. Paradoxically, these were qualities that stemmed from Chile’s democratic past. The military was not involved in politics and Chilean politicians did not expect it to be the source of political instability or coups (Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1998).

So while Chilean history had been periodically marked by violence, many Chileans thought the democratic tradition would be respected, and nobody, not even many among the opposition or
the military, foresaw the brutality of the coup or the length of the cruel regime of Augusto Pinochet. As Pilar recalls

the analysis was, even early on, it was that the right and the Christian Democrats, who had supported the coup, were not going to sit back with their arms crossed because they had supported the coup thinking they would be the ones to take the country by the reigns. That is, the role of the armed forces was to do the dirty work, quickly, get rid of Allende, end the UP government. I think that aside from staunch right-wing people, nobody really imagined that the coup and that history would be so bloody, but their aspirations, the politicians from that side aspired to be called to the State, to take charge and when Pinochet did not call on them or put them in key positions…they were discarded…we thought it wouldn’t last…that the right and the Christian Democrats and Frei at that time, who had vigorously encouraged the coup…but that out of regret he was going to work so that the United States would change its opinion and they would support them [the PDC].

The justification offered by the military junta for the coup was it was necessary in order to restore law and order, and to fight communism, the internal enemy. In the context of the Cold War and the geographical and temporal proximity of the Cuban Revolution (1953-59), the U.S. found many allies in the Chilean military and oligarchy in their war on the spread of communism. However, they were not only reacting to Allende’s government by destroying it, they also had a project in mind – to establish and maintain a new order: authoritarian capitalism. The intent was “to put an end to one model of development and political style and to inaugurate a new historical stage” (Garretón, 1986, p.145). As Commander in Chief of the Air Force General Gustavo Leigh said on the evening of September 11, 1973 at 9:00 p.m. when the Junta appeared on television,

After three years of putting up with the Marxist cancer, which led us to an economic, moral and social disaster…[and] which could not be tolerated any longer…we have no choice but to take on the sad and painful mission we have carried out…(Guzmán, 1976).

The New Order

Indeed, the days, months and years that ensued were extremely trying times in Chile that seriously altered the political, social and economic landscape. The regime sought to completely transform Chilean society. On the day of the coup the military constituted the Junta de Gobierno
[Government Junta] through Decree Law 1, thus “assum[ing] Supreme Command of the Nation, with the patriotic commitment to restoring *la chilenidad* [Chileanism], justice and broken institutionality, knowing that it is the only way to stay true to national traditions, the legacy of the Fathers of the Land and the History of Chile” (Decree Law 1, National Library of Congress of Chile, translation mine). The members of the Junta were Commander in Chief of the Army, General Augusto Pinochet, who was also named President of the Junta; Commander in Chief of the Navy, Admiral José Merino; Commander in Chief of the Air Force, General Gustavo Leigh; and the General Director of the Carabineros [police] César Mendoza. While the Junta promised to “guarantee the utmost efficacy of the ascribed Judicial Power and to respect the Constitution and the laws of the Republic,” given their patriotic mission it would only do so “to the extent that the current national circumstances would allow” (ibid, translation mine). Initially the leadership of the Junta was supposed to rotate among its members, but in less than a year Pinochet had concentrated power in his own hands through the *Estatuto de la Junta de Gobierno* [Junta Government Statute] which gave him control of executive power. He also named himself Supreme Chief of the Nation and six months later, named himself President of the Republic of Chile through a new constitutional decree. The title of president and the legislative power of the Junta were reaffirmed in the 1980 Constitution that replaced the 1925 Constitution (Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1998). Though the new Constitution provided a framework for governance, Pinochet had exceptional power.

Also on September 11th the Junta declared a national State of Siege (Decree Law 3, National Library of Congress of Chile), which was reinstated every six months for several years, and declared the next day to be understood as “state or time of war” (Decree Law 5, Diario

---

42 In Chile the police force was under the Ministry of the Interior. Pinochet made it into a branch of the military.
In addition, a series of *Bandos* (edicts) were issued which deposed the UP government (Bando 5) and required UP officials and leaders to present themselves to the Ministry of Defense (Bando 10). All media were warned that any information communicated publicly was to be confirmed by the Junta (Bando 12) and strict censorship of the press (Bando 15) was also proclaimed that very day. Groups of people were prohibited from being on the streets (Bando 8) and a strict curfew was imposed (Bando 16). The curfew began at 6 p.m. on September 11th and was in effect all day on September 12th in Santiago, after which it ran from 6 p.m. to 6:30 a.m. as of September 13th. The Internal Security Jurisdictional Areas set curfews in other areas of Chile. The curfew, subsequently reduced to night hours, was not lifted until April 1978, together with the state of siege (Diario Oficial April 19, 1978). Both the curfew and the state of siege were later periodically reinstated and not lifted until 1987.

On September 13th, Congress was closed through Bando 29 and all parliamentary positions were declared vacant (El Mercurio, September 14th, 1973). Congress was then dissolved through Decree Law 27 (Diario Oficial, September 24th, 1973). The Junta also cancelled the legal status of the *Central Única de Trabajadores* (CUT) [Central Workers’ Union], the largest labour federation, through Decree Law 12 (Diario Oficial, September 24th, 1973) and less than a month later, all UP parties and any Marxist associations or movements were prohibited, dissolved and stripped of their legal status through Decree Law 77. Organizing, promoting or inducing organization and propagating Marxism in any form was henceforth prohibited.

---

43 The Diario Oficial de la República de Chile or Official Gazette of the Republic of Chile will be henceforth cited as Diario Oficial.
44 El Mercurio, which as we already saw the CIA had used as a channel for anti-Allende propaganda before and during his presidency, and La Tercera de la Hora were the only newspapers that were allowed to continue publishing. Both these newspapers were required to submit editions to the newly established Press Censorship Office for review prior to publication. All other newspapers were closed.
45 All Bandos reproduced in (Garretón, Garretón, & Garretón, 1998)
46 The curfew and state of siege were reimposed in the mid 1980s when civil unrest peaked and when an assassination attempt against Pinochet occurred in 1986.
considered a crime. In addition, all assets held by the parties or entities would “become property of the State” and the Junta would “do with them as it saw fit” (Decree Law 77, National Library of Congress of Chile, translation mine). In some cases, these assets were used as torture centres. One of the most infamous of these was Londres 38, known as such because it is the street address of the centre in Santiago, which had been a Socialist Party headquarter. Other examples are Melinka and Ritoque, both detention camps in seaside towns near Valparaiso. Built by the Allende government for low-income families to vacation, Melinka and Ritoque were owned by the CUT until it they were seized by the military. All political parties, and associations and movements “of a political character” not covered by Decree Law 77 were declared “in recess” by Decree Law 78 (Diario Oficial, October 17th, 1973, translation mine). These parties and organizations were ordered to not engage in any activities until a regulation was dictated. Unlike the parties, associations and movements prohibited by Decree Law 77, the assets of these groups were not confiscated.

The years spent under the military dictatorship were marked by a sharp turn in the direction of the global neo-liberal trend towards privatization, decentralization, deregulation and the commodification of health, education and social programs. Pensions were privatized and private health care and education were strongly supported and expanded, contributing to further inequality. The economic experiment carried out during the dictatorship was run by the “Chicago Boys,” a group of technocrats who used Chile as “a test case for the purest application of the most orthodox laissez-faire economic model” (Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1986, p.7). The deregulation, privatization and opening of the economy to “free” global trade, together with significant modifications to productive structures and patterns of income distribution produced almost entirely negative results. There was little or no economic growth, the external sector faced a severe crisis, investment rates fell significantly, unemployment rates increased more than
three-fold, government expenditure on social programs dropped, actual salaries and pensions declined, and income polarization increased (Foxley, 1986). During the Pinochet years, social and cultural capital became even more concentrated in the hands of the oligarchy and new rich and only a small proportion of the population enjoyed the nation’s wealth.

In addition to the Edicts and decrees, the Junta employed a number of other strategies to establish and maintain the new order. As we saw, the media was targeted – television, radio, newspapers, etc. – to control the content and form in which information was presented in order to achieve a number of aims. First, the news did not report arrests, disappearances or deaths in an effort to create the illusion that the military had “restored law and order” by imposing military rule. Second, and tied to the previous point, the media was used to demonize communists, socialists – basically all leftists – to justify military actions. Third, the media was used to rally support for new socioeconomic policies. On the front page of the September 14th, 1973 edition of El Mercurio, the Junta communicated to the Chilean people that “the entire citizenry expresses its jubilation for its reconquered liberty” which would not have happened without “the spirit of sacrifice, the nobility and the courage of the soldiers of the Armed Forces and Carabineros to carry out their duty.” The Chilean people, therefore, owed “this dawn of liberty” to the soldiers’ “love for the fatherland.” The Junta was also concerned about its international image and how the Chilean people would respond to international coverage, asserting, also on the front page, that some of the press claim their intentions are to install a totalitarian government, when really it was the UP that tried to “sink Chilean democracy into a Marxist dictatorship.” These “premature judgements” on the part of “some of the press and misinformed governments, or frankly, [those] associated with the Popular Unity, will surely be cleared up in a few days” (translation mine) once they understand that given the circumstances, the military had to intervene.
Universities were also targeted. Less than one month after the coup the Junta proclaimed it would designate a representative in each university (Decree Law 50, National Library of Congress of Chile). This move was followed up with giving the Junta designated representative of the University of Chile absolute power over reformulating governing statues and principles, making all faculty and staff decisions, designating the university president, and over personnel and student disciplinary measures (Decree Law 111, National Library of Congress of Chile) with respect to the University of Chile, its television station and the Copyright Department. All governing bodies were dissolved, including the student federation. Of course this meant that academic freedom was practically nonexistent and that any political activity on the part of students, faculty or staff was considered subversive and subject to severe punishment. Given the Junta’s concern with media and academic censorship, it is not surprising that they burned books and other literary materials (Aguirre & Chamorro, 2008), destroyed and prohibited music by New Song Movement artists and stifled the arts and cultural projects that were considered “subversive” because their content did not correspond with the Junta’s agenda.

To assist the Junta in legitimizing the new regime, U.S. propaganda activities continued and “two CIA collaborators assisted the Junta in preparing a White Book of the Change of Government in Chile. The White Book published by the Junta shortly after the coup, was written to justify the overthrow of Allende. It was distributed widely both in Washington and in other foreign capitals.” (Church Report, 1975b, p.187). The White Book contained information on ‘Plan Z’ – purportedly drawn up by Allende’s Popular Unity coalition in the late period of the Allende government to assassinate important political and military persons opposed to its leftist agenda…[which] the CIA noted was probably disinformation manipulated by the Junta to improve its image and to provide justification for its activities (Central Intelligence Agency, 2000).47

---

47 This quote comes from the “Intelligence Reporting” section. The report also states that “ allegations that reports about ‘Plan Z’ were part of a joint CIA-Chilean operation are inaccurate, although military officers with whom the CIA had contact prior to the 1973 coup were involved in the drafting the [sic] ‘White Book,’ in which allegations of ‘Plan Z’ were a main feature” (Central Intelligence Agency, 2000). As seen in the preceding sentence, the Church report states otherwise.
There has never been any proof of the existence of Plan Z, which was used to justify summary executions of leftist leaders and sympathizers (Comisión Chilenas de Derechos Humanos – Fundación Ideas, 1999). The U.S. government also provided loans that between 1974 and 1976 totalled nearly ten times the amount Chile received during the Allende administration (Angell, 2001).

For the privileged of Chile, within weeks life was as it always had been. Children went back to school, supermarkets were stocked with products that had been so difficult to come by, kiosks displayed fashion magazines, and “society pages announced the weddings of couples with Basque and British surnames – a reassuring sign that the bonds and values of the elite were passing to a new generation” (Constable & Valenzuela, 1991, p. 142). Civic and business associations donated jewellery and money for “national reconstruction” and at the annual song festival, which is well known in Latin America, people sang “Free, we are free” (ibid, pp. 142-143). The Chilean oligarchy quickly realized, however, that their contacts were powerless when it came to helping them when repression hit home. A woman who came from a right wing family recounted how when her sister was detained by the secret police her parents called former senators and a Supreme Court judge, but even though “these were people who had always managed things, whose names were on street signs and wine bottles…they could do nothing” (quoted in Constable & Valenzuela, 1991, p.143).

---

48 Chilean Human Rights Commission-Ideas Foundation. This report is an updated and synthesized version of the report issued by the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación [National Truth and Reconciliation Commission], commonly known as the Rettig Commission, and the Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación [National Reparation and Reconciliation Corporation] created to extend the work carried out by the Rettig Commission. The Rettig Commission carried out its work in 1991 and the Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación in 1992.
Violent Repression: Detention, Torture and Death

If they assassinate me, the people will follow their course, they will continue down the road, with the difference, perhaps, that things will be much harder, much more violent, because it will be a very clear, objective lesson for the masses that these people stop at nothing.

- Salvador Allende, September 11th, 1973, translation mine\(^{49}\)

That the brutality and scope of the repression exercised by the military regime is well known throughout the world is attributable, to a significant extent, to the solidarity movement. As Shayne (2009) points out, the moral outrage felt by Chilean exiles grew out of the anger they felt after their socialist dream was halted and shattered. In addition, the horrific practices of the various military intelligence services and the infamous Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) [National Intelligence Directorate], including arbitrary detention, torture, disappearance and death, motivated them to mobilize once abroad. Tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands among the Chilean Left were subjected to these experiences, as were many exiles before their departure, as well as their family and friends. This no doubt fuelled the work of exiles and non-Chileans alike in the solidarity movement.

Mass arrests began immediately and the Junta warned that “subversive elements that intend to resist the patriotic decision of the Armed Forces” would be “shot on the spot if taken prisoner” (Bando 24, September 12, 1973 in Garretón, et al., 1998, translation mine). On the day of the coup the military began issuing public calls for people to present themselves to the authorities. Many who did were later tortured, killed or disappeared and others were allowed to leave. Among those who were permitted to leave, some were never subsequently detained and others were later arrested by one of the branches of the armed forces or kidnapped by the secret

\(^{49}\) As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Allende addressed the Chilean people over the radio several times on the morning of September 11th, 1973. This quote comes from the third time he spoke at 8:45 a.m. (Allende, 2003a).
police and were ultimately tortured, killed or disappeared. In addition to those who did not present themselves to the authorities, people were detained for their political affiliations, because they were leftist sympathizers and/or because they were members of unions and other organizations. Some were detained in their homes, which were usually ransacked and sometimes looted, others on the street or at work, and many were arrested collectively in factories, shantytowns and universities. While all branches of the military were involved in detentions and torture, the majority of apprehensions were carried out by the Carabineros (43%) and Army personnel (30%) between September and December 1973 (Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura, 2004).

The arbitrary detentions made use of the State of Siege that declared the country was in a “state or time of war,” (Decree Law 5, Diario Oficial, September 22, 1973, translation mine) meaning that some people were held without any charges, right to a lawyer or trial and some were tried by war councils and tribunals. In some cases they were later expelled or commuted their sentence to exile. The dead were dumped in rivers, on highways, in the ocean, buried in unmarked graves and mass graves. Bodies were rarely handed over to the victim’s family and family members were not, in most cases, informed of where their loved ones were buried or given false information (Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos, Fundación Ideal, 1999).\(^5\)

Detention centres and concentration camps were set up all over the country. According to the report published in 2004 by the Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura [National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture], known as the Informe Valech, or Valech Report, there were 1,132 detention centres located throughout Chile, from the northern region close to border with Peru to the Straight of Magellan near Antarctica. These centres included everything from existing prisons, army bases and ships to stadiums, schools, houses and factories, some of which were publicly known and others, which were secret. While people who

\(^5\) Chilean Human Rights Commission, Ideas Foundation. Hereafter cited as CCDH.
testified before the Valech Commission were generally held in state run localities, the Commission did consider cases in which detentions and torture occurred in people’s homes. On average people were detained in three different centres and some up to nine.

According to a chronology put together by La Vicaría de la Solidaridad [The Vicariate of Solidarity] (n.d.), 51 on September 12th, six hundred prisoners who had been rounded up at the Universidad Técnica del Estado [State Technical University] were taken to the Estadio Chile [Chile Stadium], among them the New Chilean Song artist Víctor Jara, and thousands, including Ángel Parra, another New Chilean Song artist, were taken to the Estadio Nacional [National Stadium]. 52 The International Red Cross reported that on September 22nd there were 7,000 detainees there, including between 200 and 300 foreign nationals, many of whom were transferred from police precincts, jails and military academies. Later that month, several of Allende’s cabinet ministers and other UP leaders, along with other prisoners, were taken to Dawson Island in the Straight of Magellan. 53 In early November, some prisoners were transferred from the Estadio Nacional to Chacabuco, one of the largest concentration camps located in the Atacama Desert in northern Chile, to other detention centres and others were set free (Valech report, 2004).

The infamous DINA began its repressive operations in November 1973 and perhaps earlier (CCDH, 1999), but was not officially created until June 1974. The DINA was a national organization “dedicated to the ‘total extermination of Marxism’” (Wright, 2007, p. 63). DINA

51 La Vicaria de la Solidaridad del Arzobispo de Santiago (commonly known as La Vicaria de la Solidaridad), was created in 1976 and replaced the Comité de la Cooperación para la Paz en Chile [The Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile], which was constituted by the Cardinal of the Catholic Church and the Archbishop of Santiago in October of 1973. The mission of the organization was to provide legal and social assistance to victims of human rights violations. The Vicaria concluded its activities on December 31, 1992. See http://www.vicariadelasolidaridad.cl/index1.html

52 Víctor Jara was assassinated in the Estadio Chile days after the military coup. In 2004, the Estadio Chile was renamed Estadio Víctor Jara in his honour and was declared a National Historical Monument in October 2009. Ángel Parra was later exiled.

53 The film Dawson, Isla 10 which premiered in Chile on September 11th, 2009, the 36th anniversary of the military coup, recounts the stories of prisoners during their stay at this concentration camp in the extreme south of Chile.
operations “were secret and above the law” (CCDH, 1991, p. 64) and while it officially answered to the Junta, “in practice it answered only to the President of the Government Junta [Pinochet]” (ibid) and had ample state resources available to it. Among those recruited by the DINA were military and police officers, and ex-Patria y Libertad members (Valech Report, 2004). They are well known for their covert strategies, including kidnapping and secret torture centres, and of course the curfew provided ample opportunities for DINA agents to carry out their activities.

The DINA also infiltrated universities and workplaces. Even high ranking military coup plotters were shocked at “the arbitrary nature of the terror” (O'Shaughnessy, 2000, p. 70) and complained to Pinochet about Contreras running the DINA like the Nazi Gestapo. One general died of blood poisoning in late 1974 and another, General Bonilla, the Minister of Defense and second in command to Pinochet, died in a helicopter accident in March 1975.

This sinister organization run by Manuel Contreras54 is responsible for significant numbers of kidnapped, tortured, desaparecidos or disappeared and dead. In the image below we see an arpillera, which depicts the father missing at the family table.

---

54 According to School of the Americas Watch (http://soaw.org/article.php?id=343#Chile) “The Spanish lawyers who presented the charges that resulted in Pinochet’s 1998 arrest also requested the indictment of 30 other high-ranking officials of the Chilean dictatorship. Ten of those are SOA [School of the Americas] graduates,” including the heads of the DINA and the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI) [National Information Centre] that succeeded the DINA.
Contreras had always been interested in intelligence, having taught it at the War Academy in the mid 1960s. Contreras was sent to Tejas Verdes, an army engineering regiment near Valparaiso where he assumed command in December 1972. Troops posted there report that Contreras started adapting Tejas Verdes for use as a concentration camp on September 9th, 1973 (Ensalaco, 2000). Some detainees testified to the Valech Commission that they were taken there immediately after the coup. Tejas Verdes was “one of the most archetypical torture centres, directly related to the creation of the DINA from 1973” (Valech Report, 2004, p. 310, translation mine). Other infamous secret DINA detention and torture centres include Cuatro Alamos, Tres Alamos, from which many detainees were expelled from Chile, Londres 38, Venda Sexy, known for sexual torture, José Domingo Cañas 1367, and Villa Grimaldi, all located in the metro Santiago area. Of all the centres used by the DINA, the highest number of detainees were held at Villa Grimaldi. Approximately 4,500 people were held there between 1973 and 1978, over two hundred of which remain disappeared to this day. In 1994 Villa Grimaldi was opened to the
public and in 1997 it was inaugurated as Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi [Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace] as a memorial, symbol of the defense of human rights and a place of healing.

Image 2 – Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi

[Photo taken by C. Palacios]

In total, the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación [National Truth and Reconciliation Commission] and National Reparation and Reconciliation Corporation reviewed 4,750 cases of death and disappearance, for which sufficient evidence was established for 3,195, representing 2,008 dead, 1,183 disappeared and four unborn. Others estimate as many as 30,000 were killed (Angell & Carstairs, 1987). A total of 27,255 people were recognized by the Valech Commission as victims of political imprisonment and torture and another 6,845

55 Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi: http://www.villagrimaldi.cl/.
56 The Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación [National Truth and Reconciliation Commission] is commonly known as the Comisión Rettig or Rettig Commission.
57 This does not mean the remaining 1,555 cases are not genuine.
59 Several solidarity movement documents (e.g. newsletters) also estimate 30,000-40,000.
60 This figure does not include those who were tortured and later killed or disappeared.
cases were not because the necessary elements to make a decision were not compiled.\textsuperscript{61} Other sources put the number of arrests at approximately 80,000 (Angell & Carstairs, 1987) or 82,000 based on over 42,000 the regime acknowledged in February 1976, plus another 40,000 recorded by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad after it began operating in 1976, and as high as between 150,000 and 200,000 based on information compiled by José Zalaquett (Stern, 2004), the lawyer for the Comité para la Cooperación para la Paz [Committee for Cooperation for Peace], the precursor to the Vicaría de la Solidaridad.\textsuperscript{62} It also surely the case that the regime did not acknowledge all arrests, especially detentions carried out by the DINA and later the Central Nacional de Informaciones, commonly known as the CNI [National Information Centre], which replaced the DINA in 1977 and functioned until February 1990 (Valech Report, 2004).\textsuperscript{63}

Profiles of prisoners in the Valech Report\textsuperscript{64} reveal that for the most part detainees were men (87.53\%) and nearly half of all cases correspond with people who were between twenty-one and thirty years of age when they were arrested. A little over sixty-seven per cent of people were detained and tortured between September 11\textsuperscript{th} and December 31\textsuperscript{st} 1973. Interestingly, while about ten per cent of those detained in 1973 were women, that number nearly doubled for the periods between 1974 and 1977, and between 1978 and 1990. The majority were skilled workers (30\%), unskilled workers (21\%), professionals and specialists (15\%) and students (15\%) and rank and file members of the two largest UP parties, the Socialist Party and Communist Party. Members of the MIR, which was not part of the UP, were increasingly targeted beginning in 1974.

---

\textsuperscript{61} These cases can be presented in the future and reconsidered with new information.

\textsuperscript{62} According to the Vicaria chronology previously cited, Zalaquett was arrested on November 15\textsuperscript{th}, 1975 and held at Cuatro Alamos and then at Tres Alamos until January 30, 1976.

\textsuperscript{63} Between 1977 and 1990, eighty-four per cent of detentions resulted in prisoners being held in CNI centres at some point while detained.

\textsuperscript{64} The Valech report is full of useful statistical information and while quotes from testimonies help to humanize people who testified, to some extent the report reduces people to numbers. Though I make use of statistical information, it is not my intent to dehumanize people who testified. I include quotes from testimonies and provide some detail about torture precisely to illustrate how dehumanizing people’s experiences were.
Ninety-four per cent of the cases involved torture. Both physical and psychological torture was inflicted, and of course the two are often inseparable. Prisoners were held under deplorable conditions, which in themselves constitute torture, and subjected to such horrific practices that one has to wonder how human beings are capable of committing such atrocities. While some were held for days, others spent several years, with the average time being approximately six months. Detainees were held incommunicado, sometimes for part of the period of their detention and sometimes for the entire duration.

The following section summarizes some of the torture methods employed by the military regime. The main purpose of including this information is to help us understand the moral outrage Chileans and non-Chileans felt towards Pinochet and the torturers who subjected Chileans and foreign nationals to these horrific experiences. In order to do so, it is necessary to illustrate the extent of the cruelty and damage suffered by torture victims. While all torture is fundamentally inhumane, it needs to be clear that during the dictatorship, the methods used went far beyond beatings and keeping prisoners in unacceptable conditions. As Samuel, one of the exiles I interviewed, stressed “the majority of us...had been ferociously tortured, ferociously, not tortured that they hit you with sticks a couple of times.”

In some cases, particularly when detained by the DINA, prisoners were blindfolded or hooded when arrested or kidnapped, and remained that way for the entire time they were held. They were frequently kept in solitary confinement, in darkness with no windows or ventilation. Sometimes detainees were confined to tiny cells where they could neither stand nor sit and sometimes they were crowded into cages, cells or storage units on ships, forcing them to pile up on top of each other, as we can see in the image below which was drawn by a Villa Grimaldi

---

65 According to McSherry (1999), “the infamous School of the Americas and CIA training manuals released in the mid-1990s proved that army and CIA instructors taught Latin American officers methods of torture, including use of electroshock against prisoners, the use of drugs and other means to induce psychological regression, assassination, and coercion against family members to compel compliance.”
In some concentration camps, like Dawson Island, they had to perform forced labour. They were also starved, often receiving no food or water or spoiled food, and in other cases as little as broth and a cup of coffee all day. Sleep deprivation and interruption was used to debilitate detainees and distort their sense of time and many were also deprived of blankets, not allowed to bathe or change their clothing. In addition, they were not allowed to use the washroom at all or had to control their bodily functions in order to follow fixed schedules because if they did not, they were forced to ingest their own excretions. Many were drugged and in addition to the inherent abuse and degradation of the conditions under which they were held and the torture they suffered, it all took place amidst constant threats, insults and humiliation.

Image 3 – Crammed in Cells at Villa Grimaldi

(Photo taken by C. Palacios)

The vast majority of people were interrogated in the nude, either blindfolded or hooded, and frequently more than one torture method was applied simultaneously. People were beaten with rifle butts, sticks, rocks and whips, as well as being kicked and punched. Torturers would walk and jump on them, throw them down flights of stairs and drag them by their hair, neck or

---

66 People were also held in solitary confinement or in collective cells in which there were insects and/or rodents.
other body parts. Some suffered hearing loss as a result of repeated slamming of their ears with open hands of the perpetrator, known as *el teléfono* or the telephone. Detainees were slashed, shot, burned with cigarettes, fire, hot water and corrosive materials. Their arms, legs, feet and hands were broken, sometimes as a result of being run over by vehicles.

Prisoners were hung in various positions for extended periods. One method involved people having their hands and feet tied together and then they were hung upside down suspended by a horizontal bar, known as *pihuelo* or *pau de arará* or flying stick, or with their arms tied behind their backs, known as *la paloma* or the pigeon. They were forced to stand, kneel or hold their hands up in the air for hours, days and at times weeks. Prisoners were also suffocated with plastic bags, known as the *submarino seco* or dry submarine, or submerged in water, sometimes mixed with excrement or other substances, almost to the point of drowning, and in some cases inverted into a vat, known as the *submarino húmedo* or wet submarine.

One of the most frequently used forms of torture was electric shock. More than one third of the cases heard by the Valech Commission involved this method. People were seated in metal chairs or tied to metal cots (known as *la parrilla* or the grill) and electricity was applied to the most sensitive areas of the body. In some cases rods were used to apply electric shocks or people were put in a cold water bath and electricity was discharged. People also faced simulated executions before a firing squad that actually shot, though aiming above the head or on either side of prisoners, and sometimes in the air. They also witnessed real executions. The image below drawn by a Villa Grimaldi survivor shows the infamous *parrilla* and the instruments used to discharge electric shock.
During their detention women were subjected to all kinds of sexual violence, including pregnant women and minors. A woman testified that the torturers would strip us and put us in cells to wait. The torture sessions lasted about twelve hours. This procedure took place daily. I was three months pregnant. I was beaten in the belly…tied to a post, tied for hours…I was subjected to simulated executions and rape. They pulled the nails out of my baby toes and burned my body. I would hear other prisoners being tortured and they would make me listen to a cassette they taped with children moaning and they would tell me they were my children. They made me eat excrement…and as a result of the torture I miscarried. I never received medical attention (Valech Report, 2004, p. 254-255, translation mine).

Almost all the women who testified before the Valech Commission reported some form of sexual violence. In addition to other forms of sexual abuse, women were raped, sometimes repeatedly, by one or several state agents and even by dogs trained for that purpose. While not all reported having been raped, for the Commission there is no doubt that far more women were raped than those who reported it. Some women became pregnant after being raped and of those several miscarried. While it was mostly women who were raped, men too were subjected to
sexual violence. Prisoners were also forced to watch while other detainees were raped and to perform sexual acts with other prisoners and family members.

Likewise, a significant number of people were tortured simultaneously with or forced to watch their family members – for example, spouses, children, parents – or other prisoners while they were being tortured. A woman relates how “the most profound terror a human being can feel invaded me when I realized the screams were coming from my brother” (Valech Report, 2004, p. 244, translation mine). Particularly disturbing is that children and adolescents were not only tortured individually, they were sometimes tortured in front of their parents and they were forced to watch their parents being tortured. Manuel Cabieses Donoso\textsuperscript{67} testified that “a four year old boy, Dagoberto Pérez Videla, was tortured in front of his parents, Sergio Pérez and Lumi Videla” (translation mine). According to the Valech Report 1,080 children and adolescents were detained during the dictatorship, of which 661 cases correspond with 1973. The majority (766) were sixteen or seventeen years old and 226 were between thirteen and fifteen years of age, while 88 were under thirteen. Many were subjected to the same torture methods inflicted on adults, including rape. A woman who was sixteen years old when she was detained\textsuperscript{68} recounted the horrific experiences she endured,

\begin{quote}
I was raped, they would use electricity, they burned me with cigarettes…they inserted rats. I think I was at [secret DINA centre], they tied me to a bed where trained dogs raped me. I always had scotch [tape], then a blindfold and then a hood. They would laugh, they would offer us food and they would give us orange
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{67} Mr. Cabieses Donoso testified before an International Commission investigating the crimes of the Junta in Mexico City in 1975. He was a journalist and ex-Director of the magazine \textit{Punto Final}. His testimony can be found at the International Human Rights Project web site: \url{http://www.memoriaviva.com/testimonios/manuel_cabieses_donoso.htm}. The International Human Rights Project is based in London, UK. Its main objectives are to document human rights violations in Chile, including a web site; take local actions and establish transnational networks to campaign against human rights violations in Chile and Latina America; publish a newsletter, document and analyze the 503 days Pinochet spent under arrest in London; and ecomemory, a living memory in the form of a forest of native trees as an homage to victims of the dictatorship.

\textsuperscript{68} This woman was later expelled from Chile without her family.
peels. They would wake us up at night so we would lose any sense of time (Valech Report, p. 253, translation mine).  

After the Valech Report was published, several individuals who were detained and/or tortured when they were children or adolescents looked up the section on minors (a mere two pages in a nearly 800 page report) in order to read the stories of others like themselves. They realized they “were only an appendix and [that] the report did not provide much information on [their] own testimonies” (Cortez Salas, 2005, p. 10, translation mine) and so they formed the Agrupación de Ex Menores de Edad Víctimas de Prisión Política y Tortura [Association of Ex-Minor Victims of Political Imprisonment and Torture] because they feel they have the moral and political duty to ensure such atrocities never occur in the future and to seek recognition as victims because they were 1) held prisoner and/or tortured for political reasons, 2) disappeared or killed (family members present cases), 3) kidnapped or whose lives were put at risk by private citizens under the pretext of political reasons. The Commission received 32,453 new cases of which

---

69 The [secret DINA centre] insert is in the original passage. The [tape] insert is mine. In Chile people refer to scotch tape simply as “scotch.”

70 The testimony of adults who were children or minors when they were detained and tortured is not included in the two-page section on minors. Their testimony, like that quoted above, comes from the section on Sexual Violence against Women in the chapter on Methods of Torture, Definitions and Testimonies.

71 While many of the victims of political imprisonment and torture who were minors were recognized as victims by the Valech Commission, the majority were those who were adolescents and detained because of their own political activities, most others were not recognized by the Valech Commission.
9,825 cases were recognized, bringing the total number of recognized dead, disappeared, imprisoned and tortured to approximately 38,000.\textsuperscript{72}

Another way to eradicate Marxism and any opposition to the military regime was exile\textsuperscript{73} (Wright & Oñate Zúñiga, 2007). It was “an intrinsic and indispensable part of that authoritarian system of rule” (Angell & Carstairs, 1987, p.166). All exiles lived the repressive climate of the regime before they left Chile and many suffered torture as well as the death and disappearance of their loved ones, a significant motivating factor for their mobilization abroad. Over 3,000 cases reviewed by the Valech Commission were received from abroad, with the highest number coming from Canada. In addition, the political culture of the Chilean Left greatly influenced the actions exiles enacted and their political experiences prior to leaving Chile and in exile played an important role in their learning processes. The conditions that forced exiles to leave Chile varied, but for nearly all of them having to leave, rather than wanting to leave, is what made their departure particularly agonizing. Though not all exiles technically entered the countries to which they fled as refugees, they indeed were, since being forced to leave clearly distinguishes their migration from that of immigrants who choose to leave.

The next chapter examines the mass departure of Chilean exiles and the resulting diaspora. It considers the many circumstances under which exiles left Chile, the Chilean exile community abroad and the transnational solidarity movement. It then turns to the arrival of Chilean exiles in Canada, the solidarity movement in Canada and briefly discusses Chilean exiles in Vancouver, since this is the subject of part of Chapters Six and Seven. The section that follows considers the resistance in Chile in relation to solidarity organizations and actions abroad, and finally, the chapter discusses the reinstatement of a civilian government, Pinochet’s life and death in the post-dictatorship period and whether, when and why exiles returned.

\textsuperscript{72} See www.comisionvalech.gov.cl/InformeComision.html.
\textsuperscript{73} The Junta also employed internal exile. Relegados, as they were called, were sent to live in remote regions far from their families and communities.
CHAPTER THREE: The Politics and Culture of Chilean Exiles and the Solidarity Movement

Exile is not a word, nor a drama, nor a statistic but a vertigo, a dizziness, an abyss, it is a slash in your soul and also your body when one day, one night, you are told that that landscape behind the window, that job, that friend, that chair and that hole in that mattress, that taste, that smell and that air that you had lost you have indeed lost and you have lost it forever, at the root and with no turning back.

- Daniel Sueiro in the preamble to the play *Ligeros de Equipaje* by Jorge Díaz (quoted in Aguirre & Chamorro, 2008, p.23, translation mine)

This chapter examines the exodus and dispersion of exiles and the Chilean solidarity movement. First, it discusses the many and varied circumstances under which exiles left Chile and the challenges they faced in their new surroundings. Next the chapter looks at the metacommunity of Chilean exiles and the transnational solidarity movement. In countries across the globe in which exiles arrived, people were already organizing to denounce the military regime. The solidarity movement in Canada, the subject of the next section, was no different. In addition to denying the Junta the legitimacy it sought, the arrival of Chilean exiles in Canada after the coup is largely the result of the pressure Canadian groups put on the government to provide refuge to Chileans. Over 100 solidarity groups formed in Canada. As in other countries, exiles formed their own groups and worked with non-Chileans to end the dictatorship in Chile. The chapter then turns to understanding the solidarity movement abroad in relation to the resistance in Chile and discusses the reinstatement of a civilian government in 1990 after the first presidential elections were held since Allende was elected in 1970. It concludes by briefly examining Pinochet’s life and death in the post-dictatorship period and the reasons exiles decided to return to Chile or stay in the countries in which they have lived for decades.

---

74 This term for referring to the transnational Chilean exile community comes from Rebolledo (2006b).
Exodus and Diaspora

Exile is a painful experience that presented significant challenges to the hundreds of thousands of Chileans that fled to countries all over the world, many of whom suffered the unspeakable atrocities committed by the military regime prior to their departure. People’s lives were suddenly halted, their personal and political dreams shattered and their future uncertain. As Pilar put it, “our life went to hell [se fue a la cresta] as we say in Chile, and we had to start over.” Families were separated, exiles no longer had their extended family network, children grew up without their cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, all of whom saw their cousins, nieces, nephews and grandchildren grow up through photos they received.

The Chilean diaspora is characterized by its diffuse nature. Though Chileans ended up in at least 100 countries (Wright & Oñate, 1998), including Mozambique, Japan and Algeria, most people went to the Americas and Europe. Between one third and one half of exiles ended up in Western Europe (Wright & Oñate Zúñiga, 2007); tens of thousands arrived in Sweden (Camacho Padilla, 2006) and thousands more in Spain, Belgium, France, Italy, the German Democratic Republic and other Eastern European countries. Most of those who crossed the border to Argentina later left for these European countries or the Americas, arriving along with people who left directly from Chile, in Venezuela, Costa Rica, Mexico, Cuba, the U.S. and Canada. According to Norambuena (2000) more than half of exiles left between 1973 and 1976. Estimates of the total number of exiles vary considerably, from 200,000 to one million people. With a population of about ten million at the time, the one million figure represents

---

75 Based on Swedish government sources cited in Camacho Padilla (2006) 29,188 Chileans arrived in Sweden between 1973 and 1990, nearly 7,000 of whom arrived between 1973 and 1980, indicating that Sweden opened its doors to a significant number of exiles immediately after the coup and about 22,000 more between 1980 and 1990.

76 Based on a report issued by the Oficina Nacional de Retorno (ONR) [National Office for Returning Exiles] in July 1994.
approximately ten per cent of the population. The main reason numbers vary is that some figures distinguish between political and economic exile, however, many scholars find the political/economic distinction blurry (Angell & Carstairs, 1987; Rebolledo, 2006b; Shayne, 2009). There is no doubt that the vast majority of exiles who left during the years immediately following the coup did so for political reasons. Yet, the political/economic distinction is certainly not clear even with this first wave of departure, since many exiles lost their jobs for political reasons. While subsequent waves were perhaps characterized primarily by economic reasons for leaving Chile than the initial wave, many leftists who remained in Chile and people who were not necessarily leftists, but defended human rights could not find work for political reasons.

Some estimates range from 200,000 to 250,000 (Angell & Carstairs, 1987), based on 1984 data from the Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación [Centre for Research and Development in Education], others calculate the number of exiles at 408,000 (Norambuena, 2000), based on research carried out by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, and some at one million (Editorial, Araucaria, 1978, no.1; Bolzman, 2006; Centre Lebret, 1978; Wright, 1995). Wright (1995) asserts 200,000 left for political reasons, while the remaining 800,000 left for economic reasons. While Bolzman (2006) uses the one million figure, he too notes the difficulty in ascertaining the number of exiles, given the variations across sources. Rebolledo (2006b) also discusses the challenge posed by the discrepancies found in different sources. One of the sources she cites is Vaccaro (1990) who asserts the Oficina Nacional de Retorno [National Office for Returning Exiles], World University Service and Comité Intergubernamental para las Migraciones Europeas [Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration] all estimate that

---

77 Recall from Chapter Two that La Vicaría de la Solidaridad del Arzobispo de Santiago (commonly known as La Vicaría de la Solidaridad), was created in 1976 and replaced the Comité de la Cooperación para la Paz en Chile [The Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile], which was constituted by the Cardinal of the Catholic Church and the Archbishop of Santiago in October of 1973. The mission of the organization was to provide legal and social assistance to victims of human rights violations. The Vicaría concluded its activities on December 31, 1992. See http://www.vicariadelasolidaridad.cl/index1.html
around 200,000 exiles left for political reasons. She also cites the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, which she asserts puts the number of exiles at 260,000 and points out that even when the same source is used, as does Norambuena (2000), different figures emerge. Given the distinctions some make between political exile and economic migration, it seems reasonable to at least speculate that estimates in the 200,000 range likely represent political exile, which in some cases includes economic reasons related to political reasons, and that the number is significantly higher when what some consider economic relocation is included. The one million exiles the first issue of the journal *Araucaria* and the Centre Lebret\(^\text{78}\) (1978) estimated had left Chile by 1978 does, however, point to a significantly higher number of political exiles. The fact that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had protected and assisted more than 200,000 Chileans in neighbouring countries by 1974 (UNHCR, 1996) also suggests the 200,000 estimates are low, since this does not include the majority of exiles who did not leave as refugees or who left under other circumstances.

While migration was not a new phenomenon for Chile, no period comes close to comparing with the mass exodus, by any estimation, after the 1973 coup and for the duration of the dictatorship. So many Chileans live abroad that in addition to the thirteen regions into which Chile is divided, “the Chilean community outside Chile constitutes a virtual Fourteenth Region” (Former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos, cited in Soto, 2005, p. 47, translation mine). Since relatively few exiles have returned to Chile,\(^\text{79}\) Chileans living abroad represent a significant community beyond Chile’s borders.

---

\(^{78}\) The Paris based Centre Lebret, known today as the The Development and Civilizations - Lebret-IRFED International Centre, is an organization that focuses on faith and development. (IRFED - Institut International de Recherche et de Formation en vue du Développement Harmonisé [International Institute for Research and Training for Harmonized Development])

\(^{79}\) The *Oficina Nacional de Retorno* (ONR) [National Office for Returning Exiles] served political exiles who returned to Chile. Between its creation in 1991 and 1994 when it closed, the ONR assisted 19,251 political exiles, plus their families, which all together totalled 56,000, who resettled in Chile. This figure includes children born abroad who would not, therefore, be reflected in the estimates of the number of exiles who left. While the ONR was created in 1991, it did assist exiles who returned prior to that year (Norambuena, 2000).
Forced Departure

The vast majority of Chilean exiles were UP leaders, including state ministers and other high level government officials, UP party members and sympathizers, together with leaders and activists in the student, union and urban poor movements. They were journalists, peasants, professionals, priests, academics, Mapuche (the largest Indigenous group in Chile), blue and white-collar workers, and musicians. While Chilean exiles were young individuals and families from all walks of life, a significant proportion were middle class, university educated professionals and students (Angell & Carstairs, 1987; Rebolledo, 2001; Wright & Oñate Zúñiga, 2007). According to the Oficina Nacional de Retorno (ONR) [National Office for Returning Exiles], 50.81% of exiles were/are professionals and specialists (Rebolledo, 2006b). Some characterized the large exodus of intellectuals – academics, writers and artists – as a brain drain (Editorial, Araucaria, 1978).

Exiles left under several different circumstances. Some were officially forced to leave and others were unofficially forced to leave. While the majority of exiles left through legal means (Wright & Oñate Zúñiga, 2007), many were later prohibited from re-entering Chile and others never felt it was safe to return even if they were not on the lists of those banned from returning to Chile. That so many exiles were unofficially forced to leave does not mean they did not experience persecution or that they had not suffered the same repression as those who were officially forced to leave as a significant number had also been arrested, imprisoned, tortured and subjected to many other forms of repression and persecution.

Rebolledo (2001) identifies several waves of departure, each defined by circumstances of departure and corresponding to different time periods. The first (1973-74) refers to people who sought political asylum and the second (1975-79), to political prisoners who were either expelled...
or served their prison sentence in exile. Simultaneously (1973-76), a mass exodus of people left independently in a continuous, though steadily decreasing stream until 1980. According to the ONR, nearly 61% left between 1973 and 1976 (World University Service Chile, World University Service Germany, 1992, cited in Rebolledo, 2006b). Finally, from 1980-90, the periodic departures of exiles correspond to the regime’s repression in response to mounting resistance and because of economic hardship.

The military regime officially expelled and prohibited the entry of citizens and foreign nationals to Chile through a series of laws and the 1980 Constitution. Decree Law 81 (Diario Oficial, November 6, 1973) gave the military regime the authority to expel citizens and foreign nationals in circumstances stemming from a time or state of war (declared by the Junta) and reasons of state security. This law also required the following people to obtain permission from the Ministry of the Interior, through the appropriate Consulate, to re-enter: those who left by way of asylum, who left without adhering to established regulations, who were expelled or obliged to leave, who were serving sentences of banishment and who did not present themselves to authorities after being publicly called to do so because they were abroad. The Ministry of Interior could deny such requests for reasons of state security. When people left directly from prison, they were only allowed to take the clothes on their back (Rebolledo, 2006b).

On August 10, 1974, another significant law was published in the Diario Oficial. Decree Law 604 added another set of conditions under which citizens and foreign nationals would be prohibited entry. This law was based on a doctrine of fierce fascist nationalism that sought to punish anyone who may “dishonour” or “defame” the government or people of Chile from the “exterior.” The law decreed that entry would be prohibited to anyone who propagated or

---

80 This figure is based on ONR data on exiles who returned.
81 Decree Law 604 states that “one of the essential postulates of restorative action” of the junta is “the preservation and accentuation of chilenidad [Chileanism], devotion to the fatherland, its sacred emblems and its historical traditions.”
fomented, in oral or written form or any other means, principles that tended to destroy or alter the social order or government of Chile through violent means; who was a member of a union or who are reputed to be union agitators or activists; who carried out actions deemed crimes that threaten external or internal state security, national sovereignty or public order or against the interests of Chile and finally, who are judged by the government to be a threat to public safety. This gave the Junta broad powers to deny citizens and foreign nationals entry and to cancel the passports of Chileans who engaged in any of the indicated actions. As with Decree Law 81, individuals could request permission to enter Chile through their respective Consulates. In both the case of Decree Law 81 and 604 violations would be dealt with by military courts according to the military code of justice, making exile a government rather than a judicial decision.

Decree Law 604 was significant for exiles active in the solidarity movement because they could be denied entry to Chile and their passports could be cancelled as a consequence of their activities. This is exactly what happened in Ana María Quiroz’s case. Ana María was living in Vancouver when the coup took place and was active in the early movement before exiles began to arrive and in organizing exiles once they were in Vancouver. In fact, she was the first president of the Vancouver Chilean Association (Pilar, Interview). When she went to renew her passport, the Chilean Consulate would not renew it because she was seen as acting “against Chile” (Emilio, Interview).

In 1975 the Junta proclaimed its “willingness” to allow political prisoners, who had been tried and sentenced by military tribunals (many were never even charged) to leave the country by commuting their sentence to banishment through Decree 504 (Diario Oficial, May 10, 1975). Several international organizations participated in mediating this program, including the International Red Cross, the United Nations Refugee Agency – United Nations High
Commissi
[546x53]67
[91x727]oner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Internation
[372x727].

They met with prisoners and relocated them to different countries, among which Mexico and
Venezuela were the first to accept individuals and families in these circumstances (Norambuena,
2000). In Chile, the Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas [Social Assistance
Foundation of Christian Churches] was also instrumental in relocating prisoners (Garcés &
Nicholls, 2005).

When exiles who were expelled or whose sentences had been commuted for banishment
left Chile their passports were stamped with ‘L’ to indicate they were “limited;” that they could
only use their passport to leave and travel outside of Chile (Aguirre & Chamorro, 2008).
Likewise, Chileans who were able to renew their passports through Consulates abroad also had
their passports marked with an ‘L’ if they were not allowed to re-enter because they were on the
list of persons who could not return to Chile. Many also found themselves in the same position
as Ana Maria Quiroz who was without citizenship between the time her passport was not
renewed and applying for Canadian citizenship (Shayne, 2009).

Among those who were unofficially forced to leave Chile are those who sought asylum
and those who left legally or clandestinely without embassy assistance or the help of the
UNHCR or other organizations (Rebolledo, 2006b) in Chile proper. Refugees under the
protection of the UN in Chile were concerned about the slow rate at which their cases were
processed (Chile-Canada Solidarity, November, 27, 1973). People lived in permanent fear,
because they had been called upon to present themselves to the authorities, because they had
been arrested, imprisoned, tortured and released, they had to constantly go into hiding; their
family, friends and/or colleagues had been arrested, tortured, disappeared and/or killed; their
phones were tapped; they were subjected to illegal searches, looting and many had lost their jobs

---

82 CIME later became CIM, Comité Internacional de Migraciones [International Migration Committee].
because of their political affiliations, simply compounding the situation by making it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to subsequently find work.

A considerable number of people sought asylum, notably in the Mexican, Argentinean, Venezuelan, Swedish and French embassies in Santiago, as many UP government members, political leaders and others who felt threatened did. Ariel Dorfman, a well-known Chilean novelist, playwright, journalist, poet, essayist, academic and human rights activist describes his experience in the Argentinean Embassy where he sought asylum in October 1973:

So here I am, after having sworn so many times that I would never seek asylum…It is here where for the first time in my life I encounter victims of torture. During the last weeks, the rumours have reached my ears, they say…do you know what they are doing in the stadium, did you hear what happened to…but they were murmurs and talk without real bodies to confirm the whispers…A few days after my arrival I am walking in the huge garden—we were told we should stay away from the high wall around the embassy…I cannot help getting close every time I can. I am fascinated by the proximity of a Chile that is right outside, the noise of the city that I can only hear…Suddenly a bundle drops at my feet. For a moment, I cannot understand where it could have come from, but now I see two hands holding on to the wall—only fingers, whitened from the effort. Someone is trying to jump over the embassy wall! But now two shots are heard—not even a shriek, not even a scream, not even a grunt—only a deaf thump on the other side of the wall (1998, pp. 273-276, translation mine).

According to La Vicaría de la Solidaridad 7,500 people who sought asylum were issued safe conduct by the military regime between 1973 and 1976 (Rebolledo, 2006b). Other exiles left with official documentation on flights departing mainly to countries in which they had received permanent residence status or in some cases, student or work visas. They also left by land, primarily crossing the Andes to Argentina in cars, buses and sometimes on horseback or on foot.

---

83 Ariel Dorfman was cultural advisor to Allende during the UP government. After going into exile he lived in Paris, Amsterdam and Washington, D.C. He has been at Duke University in North Carolina since 1985 where he is Walter Hines Page Research Professor of Literature and Latin American Studies in the Center for International Studies, and Professor, Romance Studies. One of his most well-known works is La Muerte y la Doncella (1991), Death and the Maiden, a play about a woman who kidnaps the man who tortured her twenty years earlier when he knocks on her door after his car breaks down. He also co-authored with Armand Mattelart Para Leer al Pato Donald: Comunicación de Masa y Colonialismo (1971), translated into English as How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic, which was banned and burned in Chile after the coup and banned for a time in the U.S. after it was published in English in 1975. His latest work, Feeding on Dreams: Confessions of an Unrepentant Exile, will be released in September 2011. In addition to his recent novels, plays and articles Dorfman is a regular contributor to Le Monde, the Guardian and the New York Times, among other newspapers and magazines.
at times without any documentation. The UNHCR provided safety and assistance to huge numbers of exiles, granting refugee status in or outside Chile. In neighbouring countries, by 1974 the UNHCR had protected and assisted more than 200,000 Chileans (UNHCR, 1996) and assisted those without official documentation to obtain travel and/or identity documents. Many of these refugees later went to Sweden, France, Mexico and Canada as did Chilean exiles who after the coup in Argentina in 1976, along with Argentinean exiles, had to leave for other countries.

Another important law came into effect in 1978. Decree Law 2.191 (Diario Oficial, April 19, 1978) ended the State of Siege and curfew (as it turned out temporarily in both cases), and gave amnesty to anyone who was involved in criminal acts during the State of Siege between September 11, 1973 and March 10, 1978. The amnesty law was framed by the Junta as a humanitarian act, which sought forgiveness and reconciliation through forgetting the past. Political prisoners and those whose sentences were commuted to banishment were, of course, only criminals in the eyes of the Junta who considered them subversives. While technically this meant many exiles could return, they were subject to the article in Decree Law 81, which required them to request permission to enter Chile, a request that could be denied for reasons of state security. This law also granted amnesty to state agents for any criminal actions committed during the specified period. This pardoned their crimes, leaving no legal recourse for families of the disappeared. It also implied recognition that crimes had indeed been committed by state agents.

Once the 1980 Constitution took effect in March 1981 declaring the right of all citizens to live in Chile and freedom of movement inside Chile and to leave and return, presumably exile would no longer be officially forced. However, the Constitution stated that the President could proclaim a State of Siege and expel from or prohibit entry to Chile individuals even after the
period of states of exception had expired (Article 41 in Aguirre & Chamorro, 2008). The
Constitution also gave the President the power to prohibit entry to Chile or expel anyone who
spread beliefs that allude to Article 8, that are of a “totalitarian character or based on class
struggle”\(^{84}\) (translation mine), as well as union members and those who “have the reputation of
being activists of such doctrines and those who carry out acts contrary to the interests of Chile or
who constitute a danger to interior peace” (Transitory Article 24, Subsection C in Aguirre &
Chamorro, 2008, translation mine). In addition, these measures were not subject to any recourse
other than the authority that proclaimed them. In June 1985, the Constitutional Organic Law of
States of Exception was promulgated, which asserted “all norms that authorize the suspension,
restriction or limitation of constitutional rights in exceptional situations [for example, state of
siege] are hereby defeated” (Article 22, Law 18415, National Library of Congress of Chile,
translation mine). With that the Decree Laws under which many exiles were expelled during
states of exception were no longer in force.

Nevertheless, between 1982 and 1988 the military regime published lists of exiles who
were prohibited or authorized entry in to Chile. From 1982 to 1983 eleven lists were published
that allowed more than 3,500 people to return. The mass protests and strikes that marked the
period between 1983 and 1985 sparked a new wave of expulsions, mainly of youth who were
pobladores or shantytown dwellers and students. In 1984, the first national list that prohibited
entry, of nearly 5,000 names, was published and instructions were given to airlines to not
transport individuals on the list. This policy was instituted until 1986 when approximately 3,700
names appeared on the ninth and final list. The lists were controversial because they were
published in the press, not in the Diario Oficial, and so the lists often changed, and they included
people who were disappeared, dead, or who had never left Chile, among other errors. Between

\(^{84}\) The source for the quote from Article 8 is taken from the Exilio Chileno web site
(http://chile.exilio.free.fr/chap01.htm) and can be viewed by clicking on Article 8 in the “Violaciones al derecho a vivir en Chile: septiembre 1973” section of the web site.
1986 and 1988 twenty-one lists appeared authorizing entry to more than 3,000 Chileans. It was not, however, until September 1st, 1988 that exile officially ended through Decree Law 203 (Aguirre & Chamorro, 2008).\textsuperscript{85}

Several organizations advocated the right of exiles to live in Chile. In addition to international organizations like the UNHCR, CIME and World University Service, in Chile the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, FASIC, the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos de Pueblo [Committee for the Defense of People’s Rights], the Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos [Chilean Human Rights Commission], and the Comité Pro Retorno [Pro Return Committee] actively denounced exile as a violation of human rights. The latter two in particular led actions to lift the restrictions that prohibited the entry of exiles in Chile and later to assist exiles who returned.

\textbf{El Exilio Dorado?}

The Junta framed exile as a voluntary act or concession granted by the military regime. The \textit{exilio dorado} or golden exile came to be seen as a luxurious existence (Wright & Oñate, 1998) that afforded exiles the opportunity to pursue or further their studies and access benefits offered by the countries in which they lived. Chileans on both ends of the political spectrum regarded exiles as having abandoned their country at a critical time. For the Left, they did not stay in Chile as part of the resistance against the dictatorship (Espinoza, 2005) and for the Junta exiles were traitors (Prognon, 2006). Sergio Fernandez, Minister of the Interior declared that “every exiled Marxist is an agent of international subversion” (Qué Pasa, April 2-8, 1981, 7; El Mercurio, May 8, 1975, cited in Wright & Oñate, 1998, p. 9).

However, exile was anything but golden. After suffering the repression of the military, people left their families, friends, homes, work, communities, culture and language behind and found themselves in a new environment in which they had to struggle to make a life for

\textsuperscript{85} Aguirre and Chamorro (2008) is the source for all the information in this paragraph.
themselves. While people were grateful to be safe, “the first few years were awful…I saw compañeros\textsuperscript{86} who went through a terrible time, age very quickly…it was a constant struggle for survival” (Bonatti quoted in Espinoza, 2005, p.42, translation mine). Depending on the country in which they arrived, exiles received varying levels of assistance, and many did not receive any. They had to start from scratch and faced many of the same challenges all immigrants encounter in a new society and culture – learning a new language and culture, finding housing, daycares and schools for their children and employment, which required having their credentials evaluated and often not recognized. Again, all in addition to repression, mourning dead loved ones, sudden uprooting, disillusionment and anger with the coup and its aftermath.

The physical, psychological and social effects of the repression are and continue to be felt by all of the military regime’s victims, including exiles. The Valech Commission received a total of 3,110 imprisonment and torture cases from exiles in forty countries. The highest number of cases came from Canada (510), followed by Argentina (498) and Sweden (408) (Valech Report, 2004). Like others who have experienced extreme violence, many exiles manifested post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and survivor guilt (Flores-Borquez, 1995), which sometimes led to suicide (Norambuena, 2000). Exiles also experienced a persistent sense of persecution (Gonsalves, 1990), a fear which was not unfounded. Not only were exiles used to living in constant fear that they would be the next victims of the military regime before their departure, the DINA also went after exiles abroad and therefore, “an entire generation of political exiles [was] forced to look over their shoulder wherever they were in the world” (Dinges, 2004, p. 229, cited in Wright & Oñate Zúñiga, 2007, p. 41).

\textsuperscript{86}The word compañero or compañera has no English equivalent. As Ariel Dorfman (1998) points out, neither soul mate, nor buddy, friend, comrade or companion works because these terms are not embedded in pan, the word for bread. A compañero/a is someone who you break bread with and thus becomes your brother or sister, a person who shares not only your bread, but your vision of and action towards a more socially just world.
Divorce was common among exiles due to a host of factors. Experiences of imprisonment, torture and persecution, which forced couples and families to be apart, some of whom were only reunited in exile, were a contributing cause. Some young couples had not been married for long before they left Chile and so had not cemented their marriage, evidenced by the higher number of divorces among young couples than older ones (Rebolledo, 2006b). Another reason divorce was common is the restructuring of gender roles as a result of the shifts in the public and private spheres that took place during the UP, after the coup and in exile (Kay, 1987). Some women got divorced in order to have the freedom to make their own decisions with respect to their lives (Shayne, 2009). The amount of time people dedicated to the solidarity movement was another factor. Though he had not realized it until it came up in our interview in the context of the strong commitment of exiles to their political work, Matias relates that of all the couples in the group with which he worked

none of the marriages survived. I’m referring to about ten or twelve—none of these ten families are together and I would blame—”the political [which is] probably why they [the marriages] ended—I don’t know if it would have happened naturally—I was going to say half, a quarter, but no, none—interesting, I had never thought of it—it’s like a revelation to think about it.

These processes of working through trauma, living in a new culture and reconstructing identities is described and analyzed by Vázquez and Araujo (1990) who identify three stages of the exile experience. The first involves, above all, trauma and grieving. The traumatic effects of the repression used to terrorize and demobilize any resistance to the military regime, together with the violent uprooting and the sense of loss and survivor guilt felt by exiles characterize the initial stage. During the second phase, transculturation, exiles learn to live in a new society amidst rejection of the new culture and “overcoming the constant idealization of the forbidden country” (ibid, p. 48, translation mine). The third and final stage topples myths and gives way to a process of identity reconfiguration during which exiles merge their identity as exiles with other
identities, in some cases national identities or Latin American identities. For other exiles, feelings of guilt do not allow them to experience exile without “the tonic of drama” (ibid, p.68, translation mine). It is particularly intellectuals who more quickly create bridges between their identity rooted in their country of origin and the new culture in which they live. Accepting the indefinite, albeit less than satisfactory, state of exile in which they live often involves coming to terms with the complex identities that integrate them. Feeling like a Chilean-Canadian, for example, can be a less painful and more gratifying way of overcoming being neither from here nor there.

**Worldwide Solidarity: International Reception, Networks and the Metacommunity of Chilean Exiles**

As exiles began arriving in countries all over the world, they were welcomed by empathetic people who had been following the world’s first non-violent path to socialism unfold. Solidarity with the Chilean people already existed among the Left and exiles quickly organized groups of their own and worked with non-Chilean groups. All over the world people expressed their disapproval of the military intervention in Chile.

In the days following the coup 250,000 people marched in Buenos Aires, and 100,000 demonstrated in Mexico City, where they burned the U.S. flag, as did 5,000 angry marchers in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Activists in Venezuela, Switzerland, Italy, and New York City firebombed offices of International Telephone and Telegraph because of its financial and political opposition to Allende (U.S. Senate, 1975, pp. 11–13, cited in Power, 2009).

As we already know, while Chilean exiles were dispersed across the globe, they primarily arrived in Europe and the Americas. Much of the UP leadership went to Europe, including Western European countries and the Soviet bloc, Mexico and Venezuela. While parties were reconstituted in exile, they did not form a UP government in exile. When a group of twelve
UP representatives who were abroad when the coup occurred held a press conference in Rome on September 18th, 1973 one week after the coup were asked whether they intended to arrange a government in exile, they responded that any decisions of this nature needed to be made in Chile by the UP leadership and ministers who were still alive (Kevin Devlin, Radio Free Europe, September 24, 1973). Though a UP government in exile was never formed, the Socialist Party, and the UP set up their headquarters in Berlin, at the time in the German Democratic Republic, the Communist Party in Moscow, and the MIR in Havana and Paris. Leaders also collaborated across party lines. Chile Democrático, centred in Rome, was one such example (Wright & Oñate Zúñiga, 2007). There is no doubt the organization UP representatives referred to at the press conference in Rome is what became Chile Democrático. In their appeal for international solidarity and pressure to end repression in Chile they “announced the planned formation in the Italian capital of a permanent secretariat to ‘coordinate the activities of all forces supporting Popular Unity’” (Kevin Devlin, Radio Free Europe, September 24, 1973). Chile Democrático was connected with exile solidarity organizations in diverse areas of the world. It coordinated actions and published an important periodical, *Chile América*. The musical group Quilapayún also lived in Rome, while Inti-Illimani made Paris their home, along with Ángel and Isabel Parra, and the CUT, the largest labour organization. Members of the New Chilean Song group Illapu were forced into exile upon their return to Chile from France in 1981. They spent six years in France and three years in Mexico.

As Chihuailaf (2003) points out, for Mapuche exiles leaving Chile after the coup was not the first time they had been displaced. Like most Chilean exiles, the majority of Mapuche exiles

---

87 The UP representatives who were abroad when the coup occurred reflected the parties of the UP coalition. There were three Socialists, three Communists, two members of the Radical Party, one member of the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left], one MAPU member, and two independent leftists.

88 Recall the MIR was not part of the UP.

89 Prior to moving to Paris Ángel Parra spent two years in Mexico after he was released from Chacabuco and exiled in 1974. Isabel Parra spent ten years in exile.
also went to Europe. About fifty Mapuches who were active in leftist politics in Chile lived in Western Europe, most of whom were peasant and student leaders, as well as union leaders. While they were mainly peasants and students, workers and people with technical and professional backgrounds also made up a significant proportion of Mapuche exiles. The meeting Mapuches held in London in late February 1978 was a highly significant event because they documented their testimonies of repression in Chile and of discrimination, both in pre-coup Chile and in exile. This meeting laid the foundation for the formation of the Comité Exterior Mapuche [Mapuche Committee in the Exterior], a solidarity organization that existed from 1978 to 1984. The Mapuche exile community published articles in bulletins and newspapers and published their own newsletters. Over time, the movement increasingly focused on autonomy and cultural sovereignty, evoking their Indigenous land and language rights. Like the entire solidarity movement, solidarity activities decreased towards the end of the 1980s, after which time Mapuche peoples who remain abroad have strengthened links with Mapuche organizations in Chile that strive for cultural pluralism.

Perhaps the most prominent among the UP representatives at the Rome press conference was Volodia Teitelboim, a Senator and member of the Communist Party, who was in Moscow at the time of the coup. Teitelboim was active in the metacommunity of exiles and the solidarity movement. He was the voice of ¡Escucha Chile! [Listen Chile!], a program heard over Moscow Radio all over the world. On the day of the coup, Radio Moscow was the only radio on the air that was not under military control and ¡Escucha Chile! became a vital source of information not only for exiles, but for Chileans inside Chile, thus serving to connect Chileans outside with those inside (Rebolledo, 2006b). The program opened with the commentator Katia Olévskaya

---

90 The Italian Communist daily L’Unità published an interview with Teitelboim on the day of the coup in which he urged dialogue between the UP and the PDC (Kevin Devlin, Radio Free Europe, September 24, 1973). Teitelboim was in Rome on September 10th and travelled to Moscow on the 11th to fly back to Chile (Teitelboim in Pérez Ferrada, 2001).
announcing “Radio Moscow begins its daily program for Chile…‘Escucha Chile’…The news the junta conceals and prohibits, what is happening in Chile and the voice of world solidarity” (Manuel, cited in Rebolledo, 2006b, p.103). Through this program political prisoners,\(^91\) the resistance in Chile and exiles scattered all over the world learned about the Junta’s actions and solidarity activities abroad. The program was also a source of information for Pinochet supporters in Chile (Pérez Ferrada, 2001). Teitelboim recalled that “there were torturers who said to their victims ‘Yesterday those wretches named me over the radio. You have to tell them I am not that bad, that I only obey orders’” (Teitelboim in Pérez Ferrada, 2001, translation mine).

Teitelboim was also a celebrated writer. In 1978 he founded and directed, until its last issue, *Araucaria de Chile*, arguably the most important publication abroad during the dictatorship. While many important periodicals were published, what made *Araucaria* unique was that it was a cultural journal. Despite the “cultural blackout” imposed by the Junta, they were not able to silence everyone. The editorial of the first issue asserts “they cannot cut out an entire country’s tongue. They cannot prevent people from thinking, writing, painting and singing” (*Araucaria de Chile*, 1978, p. 5, translation mine). According to Carlos Orellana, who worked with Teitelboim producing *Araucaria*, once it became clear that Pinochet planned to stay for a long time, new issues of concern emerged, one of which was “culture as one of the components of the global battle that exiles waged against the Pinochet regime” (Orellana, 1994, p. 13, translation mine). And so, in May of 1977, *Araucaria* was founded in Rome.\(^92\)

*Araucaria* aimed to continue the political and cultural tradition of the Chilean Left by bridging the cultural and intellectual production of exiles and Chileans in Chile. Based first in

---

\(^91\) Prisoners held at Dawson Island and DINA centres such as Ritoque listened to ¡Escucha Chile! (Pérez Ferrada, 2001).

\(^92\) Though *Araucaria* was founded by the exterior executive of the Communist Party and its content was without question political, it was not a partisan publication (Orellana, 1994).
Paris and for the majority of existence in Madrid, this journal sought to bring Chilean and Latin American writers, artists and intellectuals together.\(^93\) The first issue explains its objectives,

> It is the desire of *Araucaria* to become a demanding and unifying expression of advanced Chilean intellectuality of those who live within and beyond its borders…*Araucaria* is not only the symbol of a people who for three centuries resisted the oppressor.\(^94\) It is also the tree that, in winter or summer, represents hope. The hope is ours…In the face of the cultural blackout, it is up to us to turn all the lights on. *Araucaria* lights today its travelling lantern. We are sure its bright light will be ever more strongly projected over time and with the cooperation of those to whom it is directed (Araucaria de Chile, 1978, pp. 6-7, translation mine).

Though *Araucaria* did aim to encompass intellectual and cultural production both in Chile and abroad, it was mainly that of exiles that filled its pages. During the early years, many testimonies of experiences before exile and later of the prolongation of exile were published. It was not only cultural analysis and critique, but poetry, narratives and theatre pieces that were published, together with reproductions of paintings, photographs and *arpilleras*.\(^95\) With all its cultural content, *Araucaria* was clearly political because the two are inseparable in Chile and Latin America (Orellana, 1994). Between 1978 and 1990 a total of 48 issues were published. The last issue\(^96\) reflects on these 12 years,

> This is the last issue of Araucaria in exile. Its publication ceases together with the end of exile, which begins to be an experience rooted in the past from the instant that, by an inexorable popular decision, the dictatorship has been brought to an end…During twelve of the sixteen years that the dark parenthesis associated forever with the name Pinochet lasted, our journal was a light which was constantly lit around the principles and norms established at the time of its founding (Araucaria, 1990, p. 5, translation mine).

\(^93\) While several Latin American intellectuals wrote pieces, including Eduardo Galeano and Gabriel Garcia Márquez, it was mainly a Chilean journal.

\(^94\) This is a reference to the Mapuche, the largest Indigenous group of Chile, who fought off the Spanish for three hundred years. Their traditional territory is in southern Chile.

\(^95\) *Arpilleras* are embroidered tapestries made by women political prisoners, families of the disappeared and shantytown dwellers. We will learn more about *arpilleras* in the findings chapters.

\(^96\) This was a double issue, numbers 47/48.
**Different Contexts of Arrival**

While Europe was definitely an important centre of the solidarity movement, the Chilean metacommunity of exiles and the solidarity movement also carried out critical work in other parts of the world. To get a sense of organizations and the solidarity movement in different parts of the world, both in a country receptive to Chilean exiles and then in one far less so, we will examine Mexico to illustrate the former and the U.S. as an example of the latter. The differences between these contexts are to a large extent related to the histories of the countries proper, their relationship with Chile and the number of Chilean exiles who arrived there.

Most Chilean exiles who left for Mexico did so after seeking asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Santiago. The reception of and solidarity with Chilean exiles was rooted in a number of factors. Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda\(^{97}\) had spent a number of years in Mexico and Allende had visited in December 1972, less than a year before the coup. Luis Echeverría, who was an admirer of Allende, was president and Allende’s visit was a significant event that was broadcast widely. In addition, important links had been created between Mexican and Chilean intellectuals during the UP government, which proved vital to Chilean academics who found work in Mexican universities. With the great prestige Allende enjoyed as a leader in Latin America, his death on the day of the coup and horrible aftermath provoked a strong reaction among Mexicans (Rojas Mira, 2006, pp. 109-110).

Many high profile UP exiles who arrived in Mexico were among the founding members of the *Casa de Chile en México*, which was “the collective home of exiles and the international action centre for re-establishing democracy in Chile” (Rojas Mira, 2006, p. 125). On the initiative of Pedro Vúskovic, who had been Allende’s Minister of Economic Affairs, *Casa de*

\(^{97}\) Both Mistral and Neruda are well-known Chilean poets who each won the Nobel Prize for Literature, Mistral in 1945 and Neruda in 1971.
Chile was founded on September 11th, 1974, together with several Mexicans. Among the Chilean founding members were Hortensia Bussi, Allende’s widow, and Clodomiro Almeyda, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs during Allende’s presidency and a major figure of Chilean exile. Casa de Chile received substantial financial assistance from the Public Education Secretariat of Mexico, which contributed to renting a site and paying for salaries and expenses. As part of the transnational solidarity movement, this organization was in constant contact with solidarity movement groups all over the world, especially Chile Democrático in Rome, and engaged in many of the same activities. Casa de Chile provided medical and social assistance to Chilean and Latin American exiles, carried out research, published books, magazines, newsletters, held conferences, organized cultural events, dance and musical groups, had a radio program, created and kept a photo archive, in addition to other materials that comprised their Documentation Centre.

In contrast to Europe, Latin American countries such as Mexico and Venezuela, and Canada, the small presence of Chilean exiles in the U.S. meant the solidarity movement in the U.S. was largely comprised of non-Chileans. In the U.S., a small movement of mainly leftist Allende sympathizers grew significantly after the coup in response to events in Chile (Power, 2009). However, the U.S. government did not allow any Chilean refugees to enter until 1975 when 400 exiles plus their families were accepted. Chilean exiles were required to find sponsors in the U.S. and consequently, Churches played a vital role in locating sponsorship for them (Power, 2009). Among the activities carried out by the solidarity movement in the U.S. were letter writing campaigns demanding the release of political prisoners, organizing fundraisers in order to send money to political prisoners’ families and to support the resistance in Chile, and protesting the Esmeralda, which was one of the ships aboard which torture was carried out by the military regime. As was the case in solidarity movement actions across the globe, cultural

98 Hortensia, who was known as Tencha, died in Santiago at the age of 94 in June 2009.
events played a significant role. In addition to concerts by Chilean groups in exile, like Quilapayún, several U.S. artists sang in solidarity with Chile, including Joan Baez and Holly Near.99

**DINA Activities Abroad**

We learned earlier that the solidarity activities of exiles were monitored and that as a result, many were denied their citizenship and prohibited entry to Chile. Not only did the military regime monitor exiles, the DINA also operated abroad. Since the new regime saw high profile opponents in particular as a threat, the DINA assassinated several prominent exiles. In 1974, Carlos Prats, former Commander in Chief of the Army who was succeeded by Pinochet, was living in Argentina when he and his wife, Sofía Cuthbert, were assassinated by a car bomb in 1974 that shocked even sectors of the military. Prats had been working on his memoirs, which framed the coup as a betrayal, not as an act of salvation from Marxism as the Junta did (Stern, 2006). The following year, Bernardo Leighton and his wife were gunned down in Rome. Though the couple survived, Leighton’s wife was paralyzed. Leighton had been a Minister during Frei’s presidency and one of the few PDC members to oppose the coup. He had always supported dialogue with the UP and was working with other exiles against the dictatorship (Constable & Valenzuela, 1991).

Then, in 1976, Orlando Letelier, who had been Ambassador to the U.S. and later a Minister in Allende’s cabinet, was killed along with his colleague Ronni Moffitt, a U.S. citizen, when their car exploded on Embassy Row in Washington D.C. Letelier was tortured and held at Dawson Island, from which he was released and expelled to Venezuela in 1974. He later moved to Washington. Letelier was influential in liberal U.S. political circles which included Senator

---

99 One of the songs Holly Near sang time and again was *Hay Una Mujer Desaparecida* [There is a Missing Woman], which she wrote for an event organized by a women’s group in San Francisco who carried out letter writing campaigns to locate missing women in Chile in the early 1970s (Power, 2009).
Kennedy and advisors to Carter and had persuaded a Dutch company to cancel a US$ 60 million investment project in Chile (Stern, 2006). He was also active in the solidarity movement and only a few weeks earlier, on the day the Junta revoked his Chilean citizenship, had delivered a speech at Madison Square Garden’s Felt Forum at a concert that featured Joan Baez and Pete Seeger. Letelier expressed his appreciation of the “impressive worldwide movement of solidarity with the Chilean people…[that] has expressed, from the most diverse ideological and political perspectives, the repulsion of the civilized world for the barbaric and brutal violation of all human rights by the Chilean military junta” and refers to the DINA as the “cornerstone of [Pinochet’s] regime…the repressive apparatus built by the dictatorship (Letelier, 1976, translation mine).

The Letelier/Moffit and Prats/Cuthbert assassinations and attempted murder of Leighton and his wife were all carried out as part of Operation Condor. Under the initiative of Manuel Contreras, the director of the DINA, the intelligence agencies of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil had collaborated in their anti-communist activities. Towards the end of 1975, during a meeting in Santiago, Paraguay and Bolivia joined the others in the repressive network. Most of the victims of Operation Condor were Chileans, Argentineans and Uruguayans (Soto & Villegas, 1999). Between May 1974 and February 1975, 119 Chileans turned up dead in Argentina. After their disappearance in Chile, family members approached human rights organizations. Only months after their detention, their names appeared in two Argentinean and Brazilian publications (in their first and only issue), and reproduced in Chilean newspapers, stating that they had died at the hands of their own comrades (Aguirre & Chamorro, 2008). This cover-up of DINA assassinations was called Operation Colombo.
Chilean Exiles and the Solidarity Movement in Canada

I think we got together…I think it was maybe three days after September 11th and we had a public meeting…out of our horror of what was going in Chile, we formed Canadians for Democracy in Chile…within 2 weeks of September 11th.

- Janet, founding member of Canadians for Democracy in Chile

Together with people all over the world, many Canadians had followed events in Chile for years. Allende’s democratic path to socialism led to the world’s first democratically elected Marxist President. People watched intently as events unfolded during his presidency and were shocked to learn the coup had taken place. As reports of detention camps, torture houses and bodies floating down rivers reached the international community, Canadians pressured the government to empathize with the plight of so many Chileans in need of refuge. The Canadian government was slow to allow Chileans to enter Canada, in large part because of their leftist political views and the related security screening which drew out the acceptance process (Knowles, 2000).

In Canada there were over 100 solidarity committees (Sznajder & Roniger, 2007). One of the groups most active in solidarity with Chile was the Latin American Working Group (LAWG) in Toronto, which created Chile-Canada Solidarity. A LAWG letter dated September 22, 1973 addressed to collaborating groups discusses the creation of Chile-Canada Solidarity and illustrates the early response and coordination of Canadian organizations,

Dear friends,
Since the Sept. 11th, military coup in Chile, LAWG has been involved in solidarity work on a round-the-clock basis. There has been a constant flow of requests from various organizations and Solidarity Committees across the country for information about the situation in Chile…Due to the increasing demands placed on LAWG, and feeling that this type of work must be done at this critical moment, LAWG has set up a special project CHILE-CANADA SOLIDARITY. We feel that this new project is one of the best ways that LAWG can respond effectively in carrying out the needed solidarity work…
Chile-Canada Solidarity had its own office, published the Chile-Canada newsletter and disseminated news, informed solidarity groups about and helped to coordinate national and international activities, and provided educational materials for use by groups across the country, in addition to helping set-up educational events, including names of potential speakers.

Among other solidarity organizations were the Canadian Committee for Solidarity with Democratic Chile, and the many church-related groups, including the Inter-Church Committee on Chile, the Canadian Council of Churches, and the Canadian Peace Congress. A Canadian Fund for Refugees from Chile was also set up by the Canadian Council of Churches, which received money from across Canada to assist arriving exiles (Canadian Council of Churches, 1974). The Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Association of University Teachers also expressed their outrage over events in Chile and their solidarity with Chilean refugees (Rochlin, 1994). In 1976, the Inter-Church Committee on Chile sponsored a fact-finding mission to Chile, which three Members of Parliament carried out in September that year. This highly receptive context was one of the factors that enabled exiles to create networks with non-Chilean groups, together with their prior political experiences and socialization in leftist politics in Chile (Landolt & Goldring, 2009).

Exiles formed groups, such as the Asociación de Chilenos en Montreal [Montreal Chilean Association], a multi-party organization, and the Asociación Pablo Neruda [Pablo Neruda Association] in Québec City, which was in theory open to all, but primarily integrated by members of the Communist Party (del Pozo, 2006a). In Toronto, there was the Toronto Chilean Society (Landolt, Goldring, & Bernhard, 2009) and in Alberta there was the Chilean Calgary Association (Blanca, Interview). In Vancouver the first group exiles formed was the Vancouver Chilean Association. Like all the countries in which exiles arrived several more were created
along party lines as time went on and political divisions affected groups. We will explore this in more detail in Chapter Six.

Before exiles arrived in Vancouver, the Chile Solidarity Committee and Canadians for Democracy in Chile had already formed. Canadians for Democracy in Chile was established in 1973 within weeks after the coup. Among many other activities, they sponsored letter writing campaigns to members of parliament, the United Nations and the Junta in Chile, they sent aid to regime opponents in Chile, and published a bulletin. In large part, the result of the pressure these and other Canadian groups put on the Canadian government was the implementation of the Special Chilean Immigration Program.

According to a statement made by Robert Andras the Manpower and Immigration Minister at the time, “an estimated 600 to 800 people affected by the September 11 military coup in Chile are expected to arrive in Canada under the Special Chilean Immigration Program” (Office of the Minister Manpower and Immigration, dated February 25, 1974, issued March 6, 1974). The program was specifically for refugees and therefore, the applications were “dealt with as if the refugees were sponsored by Canadians,” and while they were not subject to the point system used to measure the “capacity of immigrants to be self-sustaining,” character and background were considered. In addition to Chileans authorized to enter Canada as refugees under the special program, immigration officers in Santiago were also processing more than 8,000 “ordinary immigration applications.” Chileans who entered Canada as “regular immigrants” were not treated as refugees and did not, therefore, receive assistance such as travel loans. Mr. Andras also stated that “the greater number and most urgent cases have now been dealt with and that the need for special efforts is past,” a point Canadians pressuring the government would have no doubt disagreed with given the ongoing urgency of the situation in
Chile for what turned out to be far longer than the five months that had passed since the coup when the Minister made this statement.

Waves of Arrival

Though numerous people went into exile in the months following the coup, the mass exodus began in 1974. According to non-Canadian sources, almost one tenth (9%) of exiles went to Canada in the first years after the coup (Espinoza, 2005). This source does not specify the number of exiles upon which this percentage is extrapolated. Based on the Vicaría de Solidaridad information Norambuena (2000) uses, 3.85% of the 408,000 exiles who left Chile ended up in Canada, which would put the number of exiles at approximately 15,000. The Chilean Commission for Human Rights estimates 12,000 exiles went to Canada (Angell & Carstairs, 1987).

According to the statement made by Minister Andras, as of February 20, 1974, 577 people had been authorized to enter Canada, 275 of which had already arrived. Another 592 were waiting for the outcome of background and medical checks. Immigration officers had received 1,654 “special” applications from Santiago and other centres, of which 545 were made by people in refugee camps, fifteen per cent were withdrawn by people who had also applied to other countries, and 300 were found inadmissible. While immigration staff would be reduced as of March 1, they would stay at least until the end of 1974. With respect to the 8,874 “ordinary immigration applications” received by immigration officers, 350 had been given authorization to enter Canada and 520 were withdrawn, and 3,626 (40%) “failed to meet the selection criteria” (Office of the Minister Manpower and Immigration, dated February 25, 1974, issued March 6, 1974).

While some Chilean exiles entered Canada as refugees, mainly with help from the UNHCR and the Red Cross, most entered as landed immigrants. Between 1970 and 1973,
approximately 350 Chileans per year migrated from Chile to Canada (Office of the Minister Manpower and Immigration, dated February 25, 1974, issued March 6, 1974). Up to and including 1972, Chile did not appear in immigration statistics as a separate country. Instead, Chileans were classified under ‘South America – not elsewhere specified’ as part of the 3,577 people whose country of last permanent residence was not Argentina, Brazil or Mexico (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974). In 1973, the first year all South American countries were listed individually, Chile was the country of last permanent residence for 493 people. For 1974, the country of last permanent residence for 1,884 people was Chile and 2,104 people entered Canada whose country of birth was Chile, a difference of 200. In large part the difference is explained by Chileans arriving via other countries, particularly from Argentina. In 1974, 203 people whose country of birth was Chile arrived from Argentina. These numbers closely resemble those given by Minister Andras, which we know include exiles classified as refugees and as “regular immigrants” and therefore, we can conclude that immigration statistics include both (see footnote 102).

Several waves of arrival can be distinguished after 1973, which roughly correspond with the waves of departure discussed by Rebolledo (2001) in her analysis of exiles. Diaz (1999)

100 While data is available for country of last permanent residence and for country of birth in subsequent years, in 1973 Chile was not listed individually in the country of birth table. Instead Chileans are grouped under “South American not elsewhere specified.”

101 All statistics come from Immigration Statistics reported by Manpower and Immigration (1973-1976) and Employment and Immigration Canada (1977-1989). References for each year are listed in the primary sources.

102 As of February 20, 1974 according to Minister Andras 577 people had been authorized to enter, though of the 275 who had already arrived, some may have entered in 1973. We also know that another 592 were waiting for the final word from immigration officials. Of the 1,654 “special” applications received by immigration officers we know that 300 were found inadmissible and that 248 (15%) were withdrawn. If we subtract these 548 applications from the 1,654 received, we end up with 1,106, a difference of 63. If we subtract 577 from 1,106 we get 529, so it is possible there was an error because if we add 529, 577 and 548 we get 1,654. Another 350 had already been authorized to enter Canada as “regular immigrants” giving us a total of 2004, which roughly corresponds with immigration statistics (1,884 - Chile as last country of permanent residence, 2,104 – Chile as country of birth). Of course not all the 592 (or 529) waiting for results would have been authorized to enter Canada and not all 577 who were authorized to enter necessarily did if, for example, they had applied to more than one country and decided to go elsewhere even if they had already been authorized to enter Canada. In addition, of the 8,874 “ordinary immigration applications” about half were in process, some of which would have been withdrawn and of those authorized to enter Canada, many may have entered Canada in 1975, since refugee applications were accepted at least until the end of 1974.
identifies four waves – between 1974 and 1978, from 1979 to 1982, between 1983 and 1986, and finally from 1987 to 1992. These waves cover significant periods of the dictatorship, with the first referring to the initial post-coup wave, the second to the phase between this first critical period and the third wave, which corresponds with the years of mass protest and repression in Chile. The last wave identified by Diaz (1999) covers a number of years after the reinstatement of a civilian government and therefore, while I will follow these waves in examining immigration statistics (original sources), the fourth wave I will consider is the period between 1987 and 1989. The rationale for this is that it covers the two pre-plebiscite years, 1987 and 1988 (the plebiscite was held at the beginning of October 1988) and takes us to the end of 1989, the last full year of the dictatorship.

According to Immigration Statistics, from 1974-78 a total of 9,388 people’s country of last permanent residence was Chile. The number of people whose country of birth was Chile for the same period is 12,175. As we already saw, the difference is largely explained by Chileans arriving particularly via Argentina, a trend that appears consistently in immigration statistics until 1979. It seems reasonable to assume that at least 11,000 and probably close to 12,000 people had arrived from Chile by the end of 1978. The influx of Chileans during this wave peaked in 1975. We already saw that approximately 2,000 Chileans entered Canada in 1974. In 1975 a total of 3,127 exiles arrived in Canada. These figures declined between 1979 and 1982 to 4,764 for the entire period, ranging from about 1,100 to 1,300 each year.

Despite the repression associated with the mass protests of the mid 1980s, the third phase from 1983 to 1986 was marked by a further decrease in the number of people who entered Canada from Chile to 2,654, with the highest number (790) entering in 1983 and the least (541)

---

103 At least 2,300 Chileans arrived in Canada via Argentina between 1974 and 1978.
104 This and all subsequent statistics reflect country of birth figures. The rationale for this decision is that when country of last permanent residence data is added to the number of Chileans who arrived via Argentina the result closely approximates country of birth data.
in 1985. However, during the period between 1987 and 1989, the number of Chileans who arrived in Canada increased significantly. In 1987, 1,462 entered Canada, in 1988 that figure dropped by about one third to 1,005, and in 1989, it rose slightly to 1,044. According to Diaz (1999), the decreases over the last three waves, particularly the third wave (1983-1986), are not due to a lack of desire on the part of Chileans to emigrate to Canada, but because the Canadian government curtailed the acceptance rate. Like those who left Chile because of political persecution over the first decade or so of the dictatorship, people who left during the 1980s continued to leave for the same reason. Moreover, as already indicated, economic hardship was often tied to political persecution, since people who were blacklisted because of their activism could not find work. Many also left mainly because of the harsh effects that resulted from the neoliberal socioeconomic policies of the regime.

As we already know, a considerable proportion of exiles were middle-class and university educated. Among other countries, Canada favoured professionals in its selection process (Rebolledo, 2006b) and this is reflected in the intended occupations identified by most Chileans upon arrival in Canada. According to immigration statistics most stated they planned to work in professional, managerial and white-collar jobs. Many were twenty-five to thirty-five years old at the time of departure and had small children. Nearly all Chileans were working within weeks and many within days of arrival. However, before they could work in the intended occupations, most had to learn English and/or French and accumulate Canadian experience, so they worked as unskilled labourers. While not all Chileans have ultimately worked in the same field as they did in Chile, most hold and/or have held comparable positions to the ones they held prior to leaving.

105 For the period between 1983 and 1986 and between 1987 and 1989 country of birth data is almost equal to country of permanent residence data, probably because, as already mentioned, beginning in 1980 the number of Chileans arriving from Argentina dropped sharply. Still, figures reflect country of birth data.
For the most part, Chileans settled in urban centres. Initially, they overwhelmingly lived in Ontario and Québec, though a substantial percentage settled in British Columbia (B.C.), Alberta and Manitoba. This pattern has remained relatively stable up to the present. Though the majority continue residing in Ontario and Québec, today more Chileans live in B.C. and Alberta than Manitoba compared to the provinces in which they arrived in the 1970s. Statistics Canada reports that of the 38,180 Chileans who identified their ethnic origin as Chilean in the 2006 census, nearly two thirds live in Ontario (12,795) and Québec (11,585), and the other third in B.C. (4,440), Alberta (6,680) and Manitoba (1,475) (Statistics Canada, 2008b).

In the years following the coup, most of those who arrived in B.C. settled in Vancouver and Victoria. A total of 2,935 people who live in Vancouver identified their ethnic origin as Chilean in the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2008a). In early June of 2011 the Chilean Consulate in Vancouver informed me that about 2,800 Chileans have used consular services, but that they suspect there are many more in Vancouver. However, this figure roughly coincides with the 2006 census.

Like all exiles, they were coping with the multiple effects of what they endured in Chile and the circumstances under which they left. Their belief that the regime would only be temporary and a constitutional government would quickly be reinstated prevented people from settling in to life in Canada, as elsewhere, since most awaited the fall of the military dictatorship so they could return. It is common for Chilean exiles to say that for at least the first year, they lived *con las maletas hechas* [with the suitcases packed]. However, after many realized Pinochet was not going anywhere, they unpacked their suitcases and began to put roots down in Canada.

While exiles were concerned with settlement, many also spent much time and energy on working towards ending the dictatorship in Chile. Some formed associations of Chilean and/or Latin American immigrants that sometimes combined their political work with cultural and
settlement issues, while other individuals and groups concentrated their efforts exclusively on political action oriented towards Chile. An example of a group in Vancouver that simultaneously addressed settlement issues (though not necessarily perceived as permanent) and created space for political activities is the Chilean Housing Coop. Built in Vancouver in the early 1980s, this coop has organized an array of activities for over twenty-five years, many of which were fundraisers for the resistance in Chile. Their small community centre continues to serve as a venue for educational, cultural and social events and provide a space for their political work. Though most occupants are still Chilean, many residents now come from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. We will learn more about this coop in Chapter Seven.

Across Canada, exiles engaged in diverse political activities at local, national and international levels similar to those exiles carried out across the globe. They raised funds to support the resistance in Chile by organizing dinner/dances and selling empanadas (traditional meat turnovers) and arpilleras (embroidered tapestries) made by Chilean women political prisoners and whose family members were disappeared, they staged rallies and protests, carried out letter writing campaigns, held lectures and seminars, published newsletters, and supported concert tours of exiled musical groups. Moreover, individuals participated in consciousness-raising on a daily basis in their personal and professional lives.

**Supporting the Resistance in Chile**

The transnational solidarity movement needs to be understood together with and in support of the collective action that took place in Chile to end the dictatorship. After the 1973 coup, the relationship between the state and civil society changed drastically in Chile. In the decades before the coup, the state had increasingly engaged civil society. A highly politicized and mobilized populace faced a completely new political landscape after the military takeover. With state structures that concentrated incredible power in the hands of Pinochet, the nearly
complete retreat of the state from the economy, and severe repression unleashed on the Chilean people, civil society certainly faced trying times. The sharp separation of state and civil society, and the demobilization, but not the depoliticization of society (Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1986) sent civil society into a recess. Although there were a few exchanges between small armed groups and the armed forces in the weeks that followed the coup, these armed groups did not form into large guerrilla movements to bring down the military regime, nor did the general populace rise up in an armed struggle. Instead, those opposed to Pinochet built solidarity and reclaimed the public sphere.

Many horrific years passed before civil society began to show signs of life. Political parties went underground after the coup, continuing to operate with people who had not been detained and/or disappeared, killed or exiled. In part because political parties could not publicly function, other people began to organize small groups, reviving existing social movements – trade unions, students, women, urban poor and Indigenous groups – and generating new social movements – human-rights – that played a critical role in the reinstatement of a civilian government in Chile (Baldez, 2002; Garcés, 2004; Garretón, 2001; Guillaudat & Mouterde, 1998; Olavarria, 2002; Oxhorn, 1995; Schneider, 1995; Valenzuela & Valenzuela, 1986).

In the context of a decidedly repressive authoritarian regime, collective action became a high risk activity, making a strong sense of collective identity essential in mobilizing people in a climate of fear and danger. Among the first to protest were families of the disappeared, who organized the Asociación de Familiares de los Detenidos Desaparecidos [Association of the Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared] around 1974-1975 under the protection of the what would become the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (Garcés & Nicholls, 2005). In particular, women searching for loved ones held vigils and took to the streets demanding their right to know what happened to their husbands, brothers, sons and fathers.
Women and youth played an instrumental role in the poblaciones (shantytowns) where the pobladores, or urban poor, faced conditions of extreme poverty. Between 1982 and 1986, subsistence organizations tripled (Oxhorn, 1995). Since they were segregated (both spatially and socio-economically) from the middle and upper classes, the poblaciones were the target of severe repression. Despite this, according to Schneider (1995), “strong grassroots networks, trust between neighbours, and a history of successful collective action imbued residents with the courage and confidence to confront the regime” (p.157).

Music also had a strong cultural influence on protest. The *Nueva Canción Chilena* [New Chilean Song] had played an important role in mobilizing people during the 1960s and early 70s because of its social and cultural power (Numhauser, 1989), and so it is not surprising certain music was prohibited and destroyed. Under the regime, the *Nueva Canción Chilena* remained a symbol of a time of popular participation and new pro-democracy musical groups emerged during the dictatorship that reached out to all Chileans, and especially the generation that grew up under Pinochet. Moreover, many musicians living in exile toured Europe and the Americas to raise consciousness about what was happening in Chile and to keep hope alive that the dictatorship would soon end.

Another important cultural expression can be seen in the *arpilleras* (embroidered tapestries) created by Chilean women whose family members were disappeared, women political prisoners and shantytown dwellers. These tapestries document and tell the story of their experiences of loss, repression, torture, protest and poverty during the regime. The Vicaría de la Solidaridad initially organized workshops and sponsored them until 1992 (Baldez, 2002), giving birth to what eventually became referred to as the *arpillera* movement (Agosin, 1996).

Political parties that went underground after the coup resurfaced after the mass protests of the early 1980s. The party system that existed prior to the coup was reinforced during the first
decade of the dictatorship largely because parties were forced to operate in a clandestine fashion, leaving little space for new structures and leaders (Garretón, 1986, 1989). As parties publicly emerged, they formed alliances with social movements that sometimes created opportunities for cooperation, and sometimes created divisions.

Networks among groups within a movement and between and across movements at the local, national and international level were vital to building solidarity. These social webs contributed to consolidating the anti-Pinochet movement that spanned diverse movements and political parties, and to coordinating collective action throughout the country. Furthermore, networks with exiles were an important connection with the international community. Exiles denounced the regime, broadcast human rights abuses, worked for the release of political prisoners, coordinated boycotts of Chilean products and supported the resistance in Chile through fundraising activities. For example, exiles mounted art exhibits and sold arpilleras abroad in order to generate an income for artists and the Vicaría and to internationally publicize life under Pinochet.

In May of 1983 a national protest was staged, initiating the first cycle of national protests (Garretón, 1995, 2001; Oxhorn, 1995). Protest actions included banging on empty pots (Constable & Valenzuela, 1991), just as right wing women did in 1971 to express their opposition to the UP government and protest food shortages, except now it was to protest the military regime and its harsh economic policies. The near monthly protests continued until late 1986 and involved large unions, students, Indigenous and women’s groups, pobladores, and human-rights organizations. While repression was commonplace, the case of Carmen Gloria Quintana, eighteen, and Rodrigo Rojas, nineteen, caused international outrage. Carmen Gloria was an engineering student who came from a poor family and Rodrigo was the son of exiles who lived in the U.S. The two had met at a soup kitchen where they volunteered. On July 2, 1986, the
first of two national days of protest, Carmen was going to help build a barricade and Rodrigo was going to photograph the protests. Soldiers captured them and proceeded to beat and burn them alive before leaving them for dead in a remote area. Rodrigo died four days later and despite her severe burns, Carmen Gloria survived after receiving treatment in Chile and Canada (Stern, 2006).

The mass protests of 1983-86 revealed the resilience of the resistance, forced the regime to yield to some concessions, and carved out political space in civil society. While mass mobilization was necessary for the reinstatement of a civilian government, it did not in and of itself bring about structural changes. The impact of collective action was limited by the inability of anti-Pinochet groups, fragmented by ideological and expressive differences, to articulate a shared political vision (Garretón, 2001).

A Civilian Government Returns

After diverse groups crystallized into social movements in the early 1980s as it became easier to gather and therefore, organize and plan action strategies, public protest and strikes became more frequent, literature was circulated and musicians performed anti-dictatorship protest songs as pressure mounted in anticipation of the 1988 referendum. The new constitution Pinochet introduced in 1980 made provisions for a referendum in October of 1988 on whether his regime should continue. Consequently, strong campaigns were mounted by both ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ supporters in the years leading up to the referendum. The referendum was part of a political process that required political parties to legally register to participate and people to register to vote. Although there was significant opposition to Pinochet, tensions between social movements and political parties and between political parties and factions had to be minimized in order to convert “a social majority…into a political majority” (Garretón, 1995, p.95, my

106 Just over ninety percent of eligible voters registered (Garretón, 1995).
Eventually, an agreement was reached by opposition parties, except the Communist Party, to form a centre-left coalition, the *Partido por la Democracia* [Party for Democracy] to face the regime. United by their shared desire for the reinstatement of a civilian government, social movements and political parties cooperated to oppose the regime. With over seventy per cent of the votes counted, newspapers reported the “NO” had won with 53.31% of the votes, while the “SI” had obtained 44.34% (El Mercurio, October 6th, 1988). People flooded the streets to celebrate the victory. Elections were held in 1989 and in March of 1990, Patricio Aylwin became what is referred to as the ‘transition president’ – the same individual who supported the coup in 1973. In 1997, Aylwin admitted he had been wrong about Pinochet and stated that he should have been tried like the Nazis in Nuremburg for his crimes (Senado de Chile, 1997).

The neoliberal policies of the military government, although not as strong, have continued during the democratic governments of the last two decades, contributing to the social injustices still prevalent among significant sectors of Chilean society (Alexander, 2009). Inequalities were exacerbated during the dictatorship and although the attempts of post-1990 civilian governments to minimize them are showing improvements, inequalities still persist (OECD, 2011). If the rationale for privatization, decentralization and the commodification of health, education, pensions and social programs is that it will decrease inequality in society, it is clearly not the case. Rather than minimizing inequality, it has reproduced and even exacerbated it. Not everyone has equal access to social and cultural resources. The social and cultural wealth concentrated in the hands of the oligarchy and new rich has increased their collective strength, and their children, therefore, have advantages over other groups. The current emphasis on economic competitiveness also serves to exacerbate inequality since socially marginalized groups do not usually have the social and cultural resources to take advantage of the supposed opportunities the market offers.
Despite their shortcomings, the governments that followed the dictatorship have made significant strides in housing, health and education, and in documenting the horrors that unfolded during the dictatorship, having delivered reports from National Commissions on the tortured, disappeared and dead. Some of the perpetrators of the deaths, disappearances and torture carried out during the military regime have also been convicted and have or are serving sentences, but many have not. Social movements continue their struggle for social justice and new movements, such as the Homosexual Liberation Movement, have emerged in the post-dictatorship era.

The Concertación, a centre-left coalition, had been in power since the dictatorship ended. This coalition is significant because, among other parties, it represents an alliance between the Socialist Party and the PDC, which as we know, was never possible before or during Allende’s presidency. The first two post-dictatorship presidential terms were held by members of the PDC (Christian Democrat Party) – Patricio Aylwin (mentioned above), then Eduardo Frei, the son of Frei who was president immediately before Allende. The next two terms were held by members of the Socialist Party – Ricardo Lagos and Michelle Bachelet, whose election marked a highly significant moment in Chilean history, not only because she is the first woman president of Chile, but also because she survived Villa Grimaldi, the well known torture centre in Santiago, and lived in exile.107

In December 2009, Chileans went to the polls for the fifth time since the dictatorship ended. Though a right-wing government had never been elected in the post-dictatorship period, Sebastián Piñera,108 of Renovación Nacional [National Renewal], won the presidential election

---

107 At the time of the coup Bachelet was studying medicine and became a member of the Socialist Youth and remained active in the party after the coup. She and her mother were detained by the DINA in 1975, held at Villa Grimaldi and then Cuatro Alamos. After their release, they lived in exile in Australia, then Germany. She returned to Chile in 1979 and became a doctor/surgeon. Bachelet’s father, Alberto, was a General in the Chilean Air Force. In the days following the coup he was detained, tortured and he died in March 1974 of a heart attack provoked by the torture he had suffered (La Nación, January 15th, 2006).
108 Piñera ran against Bachelet in 2005 and was the campaign manager for Buchi, the right-wing candidate who had been a cabinet minister under Pinochet. In March of 2011 he was ranked by Forbes as one of the richest people in the world with an estimated fortune of US$ 2.4 billion (http://www.forbes.com/profile/sebastian-pinera).
in January 2010 after running against the centre-left coalition candidate, former president Eduardo Frei, in a run-off election. Piñera is the first right-wing president to legitimately hold office since Alessandri in 1958. As Roberto Márquez of the musical group Illapu recently noted in an interview and as the Chilean Left surely agrees, “Chile has taken a huge political step back with the return of the right, the same one which supported the Pinochet dictatorship. Still, I maintain that the right did not win, rather the Concertación lost” (Saccavino, Diario Uno, March 26, 2011, my translation).

**The Life and Death of Pinochet in the Post-dictatorship Period**

Pinochet remained as Commander in Chief of the Army after Aylwin became president in 1990. In March of 1998, he stepped down from this position and was immediately sworn in as a lifetime senator. In September of that year, Pinochet travelled to London to meet with arms suppliers and Margaret Thatcher. After having surgery in early October, he was served with an arrest warrant while recovering in a clinic on October 16\(^{th}\), 1998 (O'Shaughnessy, 2000).

The highly publicized arrest of Pinochet brought elation and hope, both in Chile and abroad, that the dictator would finally have to account for the atrocities committed during the dictatorship. There was a major backlash among Pinochet supporters in Chile who protested violently in front of the Spanish and British embassies in Santiago (Muñoz, 2008). His arrest came after two Spanish judges, Baltasar Garzón and Manuel García Castellón, issued an international arrest warrant and subsequently sought his extradition to face charges for the murder of Spanish citizens and crimes against humanity. Then president of Chile Eduardo Frei, claimed the arrest violated Pinochet’s diplomatic immunity as a senator for life and Chilean

---

\(^{109}\) Up until the 1970 elections, candidates needed a majority of votes, which often meant minority governments were elected before the dictatorship. The Constitution instituted during the dictatorship in 1980 modified the electoral process so that presidential candidates must obtain at least fifty percent of votes to win an election. Since none of the candidates attained the minimum requirement in December 2009, the two who obtained the highest number of votes, Eduardo Frei and Sebastián Piñera, faced off in the second round in January 2010.
right-wing party leaders travelled to London to support Pinochet. British judges voted to strip Pinochet of his immunity, appeals were unsuccessful and extradition hearings proceeded. Pinochet spent 503 days under house arrest in London. On March 2nd, 2000 he was set free after British Home Secretary Jack Straw released him on humanitarian grounds because of his medical condition. While Pinochet had consistently appeared in a wheelchair in London, when he returned to Chile he stood up at the airport and walked across the tarmac.

In August of 2000, Pinochet was denied his parliamentary immunity in Chile while the Caravan of Death case was investigated. In July 2001 the Chilean courts judged Pinochet unfit to stand trial for reasons of dementia. One year later the Supreme Court confirmed this decision and Pinochet resigned his position as lifetime senator in July of 2002. However, since Congress gave him the status of ex-president, he still had immunity. Between 2001 and 2004, Pinochet was stripped of his immunity, placed under house arrest, released on bail and again placed under house arrest several times in relation to his involvement in Operation Condor, the 1974 murders of General Carlos Prats, Pinochet’s predecessor as Commander in Chief of the Army, and his wife Sofía in Buenos Aires, Operation Colombo, the disappearance of dissidents in 1975, and torture committed at Villa Grimaldi and the disappearance of the Spanish priest Antonio Llidó (BBC Mundo, 2006).

In 2004 Pinochet’s bank accounts were frozen pending a concealment of assets and money laundering investigation. According to a U.S. Senate report (2005), Pinochet had at least 125 bank accounts in the U.S. alone, which he opened using his real name, variations of his name and aliases, along with false passports, in addition to accounts held under family members’ names and shell companies. While the exact amount could not be determined because funds

---

110 The report was issued on March 16, 2005 by the United States Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs under the title Money Laundering and Foreign Corruption: Enforcement and Effectiveness of the Patriot Act, Supplemental Staff Report on U.S. Accounts Used by Augusto Pinochet.
were constantly moved, at least US$18 million passed through U.S. banks over ten years in some cases and during Pinochet’s twenty-five year relationship with Riggs Bank.111 When Pinochet was detained in London in 1998 and under a Spanish court order instructing a worldwide freeze of his assets, Riggs Bank intentionally helped Pinochet conceal and move funds.112 Pinochet was later charged in Chile with tax evasion, fraud and embezzlement of public funds.

An article published in The Independent in 2009 claims Pinochet amassed a fortune of US$1.5 billion, much of it through drug and arms dealing, and the privatization of state holdings after the 1973 coup. The article also claims that British authorities and the financial sector helped Pinochet conceal his fortune in Gibraltar, Bahamas and Hong Kong,113 among other (former) colonies (O’Shaughnessy, The Independent, August 23, 2009). The Chilean judge investigating the Pinochet family fortune denied there was evidence of such a large sum. Instead he stated that though still in process, the information available pointed to about US$27 million (Chaparro, La Nación, August 25, 2009). The Chilean courts have still not determined the total amount of the Pinochet family fortune.114 The Riggs case, as it is known, tarnished Pinochet’s reputation among some of his strongest supporters who, until these charges came to light, revered and defended him. Unlike the human rights-related charges, they did find the corruption allegations disgraceful.

On December 10th, 2006 Pinochet died in Santiago at the age of ninety-one. Ironically, December 10th is International Human Rights Day. During the public viewing held at the Military Academy several of his supporters gave him a fascist salute as they stood beside his

111 The Riggs Bank paid a US$16 million criminal fine for failing to report suspicious activity.
112 Spanish authorities filed civil and criminal charges against the Riggs Bank for violating the 1998 court order freezing Pinochet’s assets. The Riggs Bank settled, paying $1 million in court costs legal fees and US$8 million to a foundation established to assist victims of the regime.
113 In 2006, Pinochet reportedly had $160 million in gold bars in an international Hong Kong bank (Chaparro & Molina, 2006).
114 In October 2007 Pinochet’s widow and five children were arrested in relation to the investigation into the $27 million Pinochet allegedly embezzled, along with seventeen others, including retired military officers (de la Jara, Reuters, October 4, 2007).
coffin. Then President Michelle Bachelet did not allow a state funeral for the dictator. Pinochet was never convicted for any of his crimes.

**Pinochet’s Legacy**

Augusto Pinochet will be remembered by much of the world as a cold-blooded dictator who is ultimately responsible for the illegal imprisonment, torture, death and disappearance of at least tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Chileans and citizens of many other countries, as well as the hundreds of thousands and possibly one million exiles forced to leave Chile after the coup. Together with Chileans who organized to end the dictatorship in Chile, the visibility of Pinochet’s legacy as a brutal dictator can in large part be attributed to the exiles and non-Chileans in the solidarity movement who worked tirelessly to denounce the atrocities committed during his regime. Despite the fact that Pinochet was never convicted of any crimes, many Chilean military officers have been convicted. Manuel Contreras, the head of the infamous DINA, was first convicted in 1995 for the death of Orlando Letelier. After countless charges and convictions, he is in prison serving more than 360 years, plus two lifetime sentences (Bustamante, BBC World, 2009).

**El Retorno: A Bracketed Life Awaiting Return?**

The question of whether to return to Chile was a complex one for exiles. For most, at least initially, exile was seen as “a bracketed life” (Vazquez & Araujo, 1990, p. 61), always yearning for and awaiting the day they could return to Chile. Some went back clandestinely to join the resistance and others returned during the 1980s when their names were removed from the list of those who were prohibited entry, often also to join the resistance or by the late 1980s, to consolidate the opposition to the dictatorship in anticipation of the 1988 referendum. There were also those who went back after the reinstatement of a civilian government. Of those who
did return, a relatively small number stayed in Chile, while many moved back to the countries in which they spent their time in exile.

The first post-dictatorship government established the Oficina Nacional de Retorno (ONR) [National Office for Returning Exiles] in August 1991 (Law 18.994, National Library of Congress of Chile) to assist political exiles\textsuperscript{115} who had or wished to return by 1994. According to the ONR, 40% of those who returned did so between 1978 and 1989, another 21% went back in 1990 and 38.7% during 1991 and part of 1992. The average time in exile was twelve years (World University Service Chile, World University Service Germany, 1992, cited in Rebolledo, 2006b). The ONR served 56,000 people by the time it closed in 1994 (Norambuena, 2000), including children of exiles born abroad. Even with the lowest estimates that put the number of political exiles at 200,000, this would mean only about a quarter of exiles have returned, or perhaps less if we consider the 56,000 the ONR assisted includes children born after exiles left Chile. This is not to say children born abroad are not exiles in that the reason they were born outside Chile is that one or both of their parents had to leave, however, these children had not been born when the number of exiles who left were estimated, which means less than a quarter have returned. On the other hand, the 56,000 figure does not account for those who never sought the services of the ONR, which in any case would not significantly change that the majority of exiles have not returned to Chile, a fact that is even more evident if we consider the higher estimates of exiles who left Chile.

There are several reasons that the retorno was difficult. For many it was like a second exile. Many exiles felt lonely and isolated, like strangers in a country they expected to recognize, in contrast to when they left Chile and arrived in a country they did not expect to understand.

\textsuperscript{115} The law that established the ONR specified that it would provide services to exiles who commuted their prison sentence to banishment, were expelled or obligated to leave, left and were subsequently prohibited from re-entering, sought asylum in embassies, after leaving Chile became UN refugees, left because they had lost their jobs for political reasons and were later prohibited from re-entering Chile, and the children and family members of political exiles.
(Rebolledo, 2006a). As a result of the image of the golden exile promoted by the military regime, many retornados (the term used to refer to those who returned after the coup) were treated as “‘traitors, cowards or privileged’” (Espinoza, 2005, p.42). Returning to Chile meant living in a country so drastically different from the one they left – a new cultural code with different values, political, economic and social structures – and a country that was not, and to a large extent still is not, ready or willing to remember the past as it was experienced by those who remained in Chile during the dictatorship and those who live/d in exile. Finding work was a challenge because credentials were not recognized and because exiles were labelled upelientos or UP supporters (Wright & Oñate, 2005), which also alienated them socially because many people feared being connected with anyone who was associated with the UP (Rebolledo, 2006a). As Antonio explained “it was a change, big change to move again. Many people moved and had to return again…you’re not from here nor from there. That’s the biggest problem with resettling and they returned, most came back [to Canada].”

After more than thirty years abroad, many exiles have chosen to stay in the countries in which they have lived for decades. They have put down roots, their children have grown up outside Chile and the cultures of the countries in which they have lived for so many years has left an imprint and even become part of their identity. Many feel bicultural and others feel comfortable, yet still like outsiders, both in the countries in which they continue to live and in Chile. In an interview last year, Isabel Allende, the well-known Chilean author and also an exile,116 said “I feel like a foreigner and I will always feel that way, I will always have an accent, I will always look like a Chilean in the United States, but it doesn’t matter…after 21 years,117 I feel like a foreigner in Chile too” (Berger Wegsman, NY Daily News, May 13, 2009).

---

116 Isabel Allende’s father was Salvador Allende’s cousin. She was first exiled in Venezuela where she spent about ten years and later moved to the U.S.
117 Presumably since she moved to the U.S. in 1988.
After the mass exodus following the 1973 coup, Chilean exiles and non-Chileans formed networks at the local, national and international level, working collaboratively to denounce the Junta’s human rights violations and support the resistance in Chile. In Canada, as in all corners of the world, Chilean exiles formed groups and organizations that engaged in similar activities to meet these objectives. They made and sold empanadas, coordinated concert tours of exiled musicians, published newsletters, organized marches and boycott campaigns and held *peñas*, which bring people together to share protest music, empanadas and red wine. Political parties were reproduced everywhere Chilean exiles arrived, who brought the sectarianism of the UP with them. These divisions did not, however, stop them from achieving the greater task at hand. Their tenacity and dedication contributed to ending the dictatorship (Wright & Oñate, 1998) and to recovering their right to live in Chile.

In the next chapter I discuss the conceptual tools used to understand the solidarity movement and the learning and knowledge production processes within and beyond the movement. The chapter explains how civil society and social movements are understood in this study and the relationships among the concepts used to understand the data, which draw on the cultural orientation of the new social movement tradition, as well as Freire, Gramsci and Habermas. Specifically, the pedagogically rooted ideas of Freire, particularly conscientization, are complemented by Gramsci’s broader notions of hegemony and Habermas’s formulation civil society and the public sphere, as well as Freire and Gramsci’s understanding of praxis, at the core of both their thought. Together, their ideas help illuminate the actions and the learning and knowledge production processes in which exiles were engaged in the context of the solidarity movement and the learning and knowledge production processes among the wider public.

---

118 Recall from the previous chapter that *peñas* were central to the development of the New Chilean Song movement. We will discuss *peñas* in detail in Chapter Seven.
CHAPTER FOUR: Understanding Learning and Knowledge Production in the Solidarity Movement

This chapter discusses the conceptual tools used to understand the solidarity movement and the learning and knowledge production processes of the movement and among the public. Qualitative research is such that it constantly evolves. The ideas presented in this chapter are the result of continuously moving between the literature and the data throughout the research process, during which time the relationships among the concepts used to understand the data became clearer. Thus, the theoretical approach presented here is the outcome of the iterative nature of qualitative research.

While the concepts used to understand the solidarity movement and the learning and knowledge production processes of the movement and among the public draw generally on new social movement theory in terms of its focus on culture, it relies mainly on the work of Paulo Freire, Antonio Gramsci and Jürgen Habermas. In this chapter I first discuss what is meant by ‘civil society’ and ‘social movement.’ Next, I present a brief overview of the resource mobilization approach to social movements in order to contrast it with the new social movement stream and discuss the relevance of this stream to this research. In the remainder of the chapter, I focus on the ideas of Freire, Gramsci and Habermas. I draw on Habermas’ understanding of civil society and the public sphere and complement this with Gramsci’s notion of hegemony, Freire’s formulation of conscientization and the centrality of praxis in both Gramsci and Freire’s thought. Though there are differences between Freire, Gramsci and Habermas, there are a number of parallels that enable us to see how their ideas can work together and most importantly how they can illuminate solidarity movement group actions and the learning and knowledge production processes in which movement participants were engaged.
Civil Society and Social Movements

The state-civil society relationship has been conceptualized in different ways since its initial classical conception in Western history. The emergence of nation-states and increase in commerce of the early modern period led to the first major break from a conception of state and civil society as one and the same to a differentiation between the two. Enlightenment thinkers proposed social contract theories in an effort to describe the changing relationship between the individual and the new nation-state (e.g. Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau) and social models capable of reflecting the increased differentiation of the social world were developed by theorists of the nineteenth (e.g. Hegel, Marx) and twentieth century (e.g. Gramsci, Habermas). In the second half of the twentieth century, scholars have continued to theorize civil society (e.g. Cohen & Arato, Young) and the notion of global civil society (e.g. Kaldor, Keane), as well as the public sphere (e.g. Benhabib, Fraser, Keane, Habermas, Young).

One of the major shifts in which the state-civil society relationship is understood is the differentiation of economy from civil society. Though economic activity is still sometimes included within civil society by some theorists, many contemporary theorists distinguish between the voluntary associational forms of civil society from both state and economy (Young, 2002). The theoretical approach used to understand the data in this research rests on Habermas’ understanding of societies as both systems and lifeworlds because it distinguishes between private and public in two ways – in systems between public state and private economy and in lifeworlds between the private intimate sphere and the public sphere. The institutional core of civil society consists of “nongovernmental and noneconomic connections and voluntary associations” (Habermas, 1996, p. 366).

Civil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organizations, and movements that, attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life sphere, distill and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the public sphere. The core of civil society comprises a network of associations that institutionalize
problem-solving discourse on questions of general interest inside the framework of organized public spheres (Habermas, 1996, p.367).

Not all scholars and activists agree as to the place of social movements in relation to civil society. With the different forms of association\textsuperscript{119} that characterize contemporary civil society, the question has been raised of whether social movements can be thought of in the same way as civil society. In some circles, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are seen as the arms of neo-liberalism and imperialism (Petras, 1999). For many, the critique of NGOs and many civil society sectors arises out of a tension between the kind of officially sanctioned political participation in most NGOs and civil society sectors oriented towards rallying consent for neo-liberalism, and the less polished world of social movements that auto-define the terms of their collective political action (Esteves, Motta, & Cox, 2009).

While trying to define civil society and social movements is problematic given that “there are enormous regional variations in the social realities and political histories described by these phrases [civil society and social movements] and the intellectual frameworks and political contexts within which they are deployed” (Esteves et al., 2009, p.3), it is necessary to establish what is meant by ‘social movement’ and ‘civil society’ for the purposes of this research. The solidarity movement that sought to end repression and restore a civilian government in Chile is certainly characterized by the popular protest and direct action many associate with social movements in contrast to what some see as the coopted political participation associated with NGOs and some civil society sectors. As stated above, the conception of social movements that is used for analyzing the solidarity movement and the learning and knowledge production processes involved in this study distinguishes between civil society, state and economy and understands social movements as one of the associational forms of civil society.

\textsuperscript{119} The term association is used here in the sense of relationships or connections, not a formalized group or organization.
With this broad understanding of social movements, we move on to exploring the trajectory of social movement theories in the next section. The conceptual tools used to understand the data will be further elaborated after examining how new social movement theory is relevant to the solidarity movement.

**Social Movement Scholarship**

The study of social movements is rooted in two main traditions. In the U.S. the resource mobilization (RM) approach has led social movement theory and research and the new social movement (NSM) stream has dominated social movement thought in Europe. Each focuses on different aspects of collective action and is anchored in different understandings of social movements in late/post industrial societies. This section traces the development of each of these traditions, briefly discusses recent developments in social movement theories and discusses how the European tradition can inform this research.

**Collective Action**

Before the early twentieth century, most collective action had taken the form of revolts, revolutions, insurrections and/or riots. These forms of collective activities were seen as irrational and even pathological. The extension of the concept of collective behaviour differentiating it from collective psychology represented an important move from an analysis of individual motivations to observable actions which shifted the centre of analysis from individual to collective behaviour and from individual reasons for participation to social constructions of collective action. A number of other approaches developed during this period, including the mass society, political geography-sociology and institutionalist approaches (Zald, 1992).

When scholars began to analyze social movements of the 1960s, they turned their attention to the purposefulness of collective action; social agents were no longer seen as irrational actors acting in a spontaneous and disorganized fashion. Though theorists recognized
the intentionality of social movement activities, there remained an implicit, if softer assumption of irrational behaviour. For example, in his *Theory of Collective Behaviour*, Smelser (1962), along with other supporters of the structural-functionalist approach, still considered collective action a reflection of unstable behaviour that stood outside lawful behaviour and signalled a breakdown in the political process.

Up until this time, it had been assumed individuals are motivated to act for the collective good. However, Olson (1965) contested this assumption pointing out members of society can benefit from the collective good regardless of whether they contribute. Yet, people mobilize even though “free riders” take advantage of collective goods, clearly indicating there are other factors at work. This analysis focused attention specifically on the relevance of mobilization and later played an important role in the development of RM theory (Mueller, 1992).

**Resource Mobilization**

The apparent proactive nature of social movements led theorists to revisit collective behaviourist constructions of social movements in an attempt to identify and investigate rational collective action. Based on rational choice theory and on organizational models, sociologists in the U.S. developed RM theory in the 1970s. RM theory is mainly concerned with how resources limit and influence social movements and with how social movements affect political issues. According to this view, collective action increases in affluent societies as more resources are accrued and available to social movements. Moreover, the welfare state has facilitated collective activities by funding community organizations.

Accepting, but wanting to move beyond the cost-benefit analysis of individual participation in social movements proposed by rational choice theory, McCarthy and Zald (1977) developed RM theory, focusing on the types and sources of resources available to social movements, the dynamics among social movements as well as relations with other socio-
political actors. However, the language of economics, the unclear distinction from interest
groups, along with the disregard for grassroots movements and for ideological commitment
present in their model raised many concerns that later led to the emergence of alternative models
(Tarrow, 1998).

**Political Processes: Opportunity Structures, Networks, Frames and the Dynamics of Protest**

In an effort to consider the political context of RM theory, political process theorists
began to examine how the political system facilitates and hinders opportunities for change.
Political process theorists are especially concerned with the state–civil society relationship. They
are interested in how social movements enact strategies by mobilizing resources, how they
engage structures, as well as with the dynamics of socio-political action. Collective action
involves not only accumulating diverse resources, but also putting them into motion.

Using a polity model, Tilly (1978) led the development of the political opportunity
structure tradition, claiming social movements are challengers outside the polity that face certain
conditions that may or may not favour mobilization. Among other dimensions identified by
Tilly, scholars have focused on facilitation-repression and in particular, on opportunity-threat.
With the heightened political activity of the 1960s, many social movements became formalized
in social movement organizations (SMOs). Tilly (1978) also discussed the relationship between
shared interests and internal group structures, or networks, and group organization, arguing well
organized groups have extensive networks and a highly developed sense of collective identity.
SMOs depend on the development of internal structures to secure legitimacy and financial
stability (McCarthy & Zald, 1987). Moreover, it is essential they maintain networks for sustained
social movement activities (Oberschall, 1973) and attend to the role of allies in movement
outcomes (Gamson, 1975).
McAdam (1982) brought together a multi-level analysis of RM with political opportunity structures and the consciousness-raising dimension of collective mobilization into what is now referred to as the political process model. His early work mainly explored tactical innovation (1983) and recruitment (1986). Another significant contribution to this model was made by Tarrow’s (1993) analysis of cycles of protest. Building on Tilly’s (1978) discussion of the tactics used by social movements, in which he maintains they tend to employ a similar, limited “repertoire of contention” that changes slowly over time, Tarrow links these repertoires with “cycles of contention,” asserting tactical innovation accelerates with heightened protest. According to Tarrow (1998), opportunities are about movement access to the polity, alignments with other groups, interactions with elites and the dynamics of influence. They are also about repression and facilitation.

Finally, Snow, Benford, Rochford and Worden (1986) proposed frame alignment processes as a way of connecting RM with social psychological approaches to participation in social movements. Borrowing from Goffman (1974), who used the term “frame” to refer to the ways in which people organize knowledge and give meaning to their experience, Snow et al. (1986) argue individual and collective interpretive frames need to converge for movements to survive, making frame alignment necessary for participation. Framing processes were later extended by Gamson (1992) who examined how individual and collective frames are constructed, asserting they are articulated as ‘injustice’ frames.

**New Social Movement Theory**

While social movement scholarship in the U.S. generally developed the strategic aspects of social movements (resources, opportunities, tactics, dynamics), European theorists focused more on cultural dimensions (identity, meaning). As those concerned with collective action reflected on the social movements of the 1960s and 70s, European scholars came to the
conclusion Marxism was limited in understanding these new forms of collective action. In contrast to U.S. thought, the European tradition foregrounds collective identity formation in relation to structural transformations and conflicts that emerged after the Second World War.

New social movement theorists agree the privileging of economic relations undervalues the relevance of a cultural understanding of collective action and it overemphasizes organization around class identity. The newness of the movements refers mainly to a move away from material conflicts (that characterize the labour movement, for example) to social and cultural conflicts (that characterize identity movements such as those associated with ethnic, linguistic, disability and sexual identity movements) in post-industrial or late capitalist societies. They identify a crisis in late capitalism to which social actors are responding through the formation of new collectivities. Social movements, according to this tradition, are engaged in a struggle for meaning-making that puts cultural re/production at the centre of their analysis.

Working from a critical perspective, Habermas (1975) identifies a ‘legitimation crisis’ in late capitalist societies. As he was beginning to formulate his theory of communicative action, Habermas argued that normative structures that are intersubjectively established through communication cease to bind and integrate complex societies.

As long as motivations remain tied to norms requiring justification, the introduction of legitimate power into the reproduction process means that the “fundamental contradiction” can break out in a questioning, rich in practical consequences, of the norms that still underlie administrative action…If governmental crisis management fails, it lags behind programmatic demands that it has placed on itself. The penalty for this failure is withdrawal of legitimation. Thus the scope for action contracts precisely at those moments in which it needs to be drastically expanded (Habermas, 1975, p. 69, italics in original).

This was elaborated in his fully developed theory of communicative action which included the thesis of internal colonization which refers to the colonization of the lifeworld by the state and economic subsystems (Habermas, 1987). In pre-modern societies, there was a high degree of correspondence among the internal spheres of the lifeworld. In modern societies, the
“differentiation of a highly complex market system destroys traditional forms of solidarity without at the same time producing normative orientations capable of securing an organic form of solidarity” (ibid, p.116). As systems differentiate out of the lifeworld, systems and lifeworld become uncoupled. With the emergence of capitalism and the steering medium of money, the state surrenders its function of concentrating on society’s capacity for action and transactions with noneconomic environments (the state and private households)\textsuperscript{120} take place through money. Through the structure-forming effects of money, capitalism, the institutionalization of wage labour and a taxation-based state gives rise to “an intersystemic medium of interchange…[and] power becomes assimilated to money” (ibid, p.171, italics in original).

A specific type of objectification is experienced as systems take shape as “a norm-free sociality that can appear as…an objectified context of life” (ibid, p.173, italics in original). The “ethically neutralized system of action that is institutionalized directly in forms of bourgeois private law” (ibid, p.178, italics in original) no longer coordinates action linguistically and interactions that were once normatively embedded become instrumentally oriented. The subsystems “force a process of assimilation” (ibid, p. 355) on the lifeworld and “the mediatization of the lifeworld assumes the form of colonization” (ibid, p. 196), disturbing the communicatively oriented lifeworld. However, there are limits to this assimilation. The instrumental media of systems are unable to replace the trust and reciprocity needed for constructing meaning. The state tries to legitimate itself through its strategic media of coordinating action, but cannot circumvent the normatively embedded communicatively coordinated action of the lifeworld. Thus, a legitimation crisis arises as people’s confidence in the justness of social institutions that have not been ethically grounded in intersubjectively recognized norms is eroded.

\textsuperscript{120} Situating households outside economic environments and solely within the realm of symbolic reproduction is problematic. See for example, Fraser (1995). Many feminist critiques of Habermas’ theories take up these and other issues, some of which are discussed throughout this chapter.
New social movements are responding to this crisis by attempting to protect, and in some cases reclaim, the communicative form of coordinating action of the lifeworld through which norms, values and meaning are created. Social movements are engaged in conflicts that “arise along the seams between system and lifeworld” (Habermas, 1987, p.395). With welfare state capitalism not only is the market protected and deficiencies offset and compensated for under the guise of the absolute right to private enterprise, social labour is pacified through monetary rewards and securities guaranteed by law. The mediatization of lifeworld interaction is institutionalized in four roles anchored in the lifeworld: employee, consumer, client and citizen, and it is the instrumentalization of these very roles at which protest is directed.

Offe (1985) also signals a crisis, but for him, it results from the inability of the capitalist state to both make up for market breakdowns and refrain from regulating the market. Social movements have critiqued modernism, established participatory organizational structures, defended solidarity and recovered autonomous spaces. In contrast to movements of the past, NSMs are more concerned with social than economic transformation (della Porta & Diani, 1999).

From Touraine’s perspective, NSMs have gained momentum as post-industrial society has emerged (Touraine, 1985). According to Touraine, social movements are engaged in struggles over historicity, over controlling the production of meaning, and culture is the outcome of this struggle. For Touraine (1995), social movements are “at once a social conflict and a cultural project” (p.240). He explains his emphasis on historicity is not at odds with the term post-industrial because it only refers to the stage that follows the industrial era, not towards an historical telos. He argues a better term is “programmed society” since it is cultural commodities that have become more important than material ones. Touraine (2002) refers to an information society in which social movements have a vital role to play in today’s world. As global

---

121 For a discussion on the absence of the nurturer role see, for example, Chapter Six in Fleming (1997).
connectedness increases, democracy depends on humankind’s capacity to rally around a common cause, like anti-capitalism, that can transform into a social movement strong enough to challenge the concentration of power in the hands of a few global actors. The terrain of social conflict that characterizes civil society is exactly the space that needs to be nurtured if the world is to avoid deterioration into international war.

Like Touraine, Melucci (1985) asserts social movements are at once means and ends. Having studied with Touraine, Melucci was attracted to his approach because it did not encounter the problematics raised by classical Marxism and functionalism. Melucci (1989) maintains collective action ought to be seen as “composite action systems which are socially constructed” (p.11) that pose questions about meaning that challenge “complex societies” characterized by ambiguity. In his theory of collective action, Melucci argues new conflicts emerge “in those areas of the system where both symbolic investments and pressures to conform are heaviest” (ibid). Moreover, social movements function as signs that symbolically challenge dominant codes. The term ‘social movement’ denotes collective phenomena that entail solidarity and conflict, and that rupture and push system boundaries beyond the limits that reify its structure. In this regard, social movements are themselves messages. Despite the similarities SMOs share with any organization, they tend to have some distinctive features, including a decentralized structure with a wide distribution of power, a stress on participation, and strong internal solidarity (Melucci 1985, della Porta & Diani, 1999). Thus, the structure of SMOs in and of itself challenges dominant codes (Melucci, 1985). Focusing more on cultural themes in social movements, Melucci’s (1996) concerns with the information age involve how collective actors challenge codes. He spotlights identity, meaning and agency in his analysis of social movements, asserting social movements are not merely reacting to external forces; they are creative as well.
Also influenced by Touraine, Castells moved away from an economistic, class-based approach to social movements to a more cultural one. However, unlike many social movement scholars, he paid particular attention to social-spatial relations. Based on his research on urban social movements, Castells (1983) argues urban protest movements are cultivated around three main themes: collective consumption, defence of a territorially-bound cultural identity, and political mobilization in relation to the state that is mostly oriented towards local government. This analysis highlighted the social-spatial dimension in the study of social movements. Building on earlier work, Castells (1996, 1997, 1998) argues a ‘new society’ has emerged as a result of structural transformations in relations of production, power and experience produced by the information communication technology revolution, the economic crisis generated by a global, hard capitalism, and the rise of NSMs that challenge this new form of capitalism. Presented in three volumes, he comes to the conclusion these processes have created new social, economic and cultural structures, generating the ‘network society’ of the information age.

**Current Social Movement Thought**

Though RM and NSM theories grew out of different understandings of the changes taking place in late capitalist or post industrial societies and emphasized different aspects of social movements, scholars from each tradition drew on each others’ work and attempted to integrate the two streams (Gamson & Meyer, 1996; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Oberschall, 1996). While this integration has led to a richer understanding of social movement actions and purposes, for some there were still in the late 1990s considerable differences with respect to what each tradition emphasizes and a sustained need to synthesize them (Canel, 1997). McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) claim recent developments reveal a shift in social movement thought. This shift involves a more dynamic approach to mobilization and has moved from looking at opportunity structures to perceived threats and opportunities, and from a transgressive
inventory of collective action to an innovative one. Moreover, the focus is more on social appropriation than mobilizing structures, and on the social construction of framing, rather than its strategic value (pp.46-48). With the enhanced cooperation across disciplines in recent years, not only disciplinary, but geographic, thematic and historical borders have been traversed (Klandermans & Roggeband, 2007).

The most recent trends in social movement theory are oriented towards an understanding of social movements that takes into account emerging global conditions (Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 2003; Touraine, 2002). Furthermore, there is a growing body of literature on movements that seem particularly relevant in contemporary society. This includes anti-corporate movements (Karagianni & Cornelissen, 2006); ethnic identity movements in relation to political opportunities (Alimi, 2006), resources and participation (Wilkes, 2004); and framing processes in relation to the anti-genetic engineering movement (Schurman & Munro, 2005) and sexual identity movements (Miceli, 2005) to name a few.

**Critiques of Habermas’ Version of New Social Movement Theory**

The new social movement tradition stresses the significance of a cultural understanding of collective action and works from the perspective of a structural strain approach to social movements, identifying new conflicts in late capitalist or post-industrial societies that are not centred around economic relations. With cultural re/production at the core of these conflicts, social movements, according to this stream, are forming new collectivities as they struggle to make meaning. Since Habermas’ understanding of civil society and social movements is most relevant to the theoretical approach employed to understand the data in this study, this discussion will focus on his ideas.

Critiques of Habermas’ approach for relying too heavily on structural strains as the source of collective grievances point out that despite ever-present strains and grievances, social
movements are relatively sporadic. Therefore, more than discontent is needed for social movements to be successful (Edwards, 2008). These critiques, mainly forwarded by RM theorists, are concerned with the lack of attention paid to strategy and resources. While critiques made by RM theorists are valid, RM overemphasizes the strategic dimensions of social movements and so, cannot on its own enrich social movement scholarship. As we saw, social movement scholars have increasingly drawn on both approaches in areas in which the two streams can complement each other.

The NSMs, according to Habermas (1987), are mainly particularistic. Most contemporary social movements are movements of resistance and withdrawal that are more defensive in that they seek to protect communicatively coordinated domains and experiment with new ways of collaborating and engaging in community life. One exception is the feminist movement, which is both identity oriented and has emancipatory aims, which “means not only establishing formal equality and eliminating male privilege, but overturning concrete forms of life marked by male monopolies” (p.393). This claim, however, has been disputed on the grounds that not all social movements have moved away from materially-based conflicts to symbolic ones; they are not all resistance and withdrawal movements with no emancipatory potential. Social movements are at once defensive and offensive (Touraine, 1985). Thus, it is not that all social movements share a newness, but that “some identities, implying specific forms of organization and struggle within the contemporary movements, are new” (Cohen, 1985, p.665, italics in original).

After much debate over what constitutes a ‘new’ social movement122 and the continued presence of conflicts over economic production and distribution – as in the global anti-capitalist movement, for example – some scholars argue it is time to move beyond this debate (see

---

Edwards, 2007). In both social movement streams the significance of civil society is paramount. Civil society is “the indispensable terrain on which social actors assemble, organize, and mobilize, even if their targets are the economy and the state (Cohen, 1985, p. 682). There is no reason to abandon Habermas’ system/lifeworld approach because he may have overstated the newness of NSMs (Edwards, 2004). Instead, some scholars have sought to extend RM theory and Habermas’ theory of social movements by turning to the resources implicit in the lifeworld. Edwards (2008) argues the three structural components of the lifeworld – culture, society and personality – can be thought of as resources “in relation to specifically collective and political types of action, such as participation in social movements” (p. 303). Therefore, critiques of Habermas do not fundamentally change the validity of his system/lifeworld model upon which his understanding of civil society, social movements and the public sphere is founded. The fact that scholars continue to not only employ, but expand his model is proof that it is useful and remains relevant.

**The Solidarity Movement and Social Movement Theory**

The theoretical approach employed in understanding the data draws on the NSM paradigm in examining the solidarity movement because of its emphasis on culture and normative questions. An analysis that focuses on the instrumental aspects of the solidarity movement would certainly be an interesting and fruitful undertaking, but I am more interested in and think a cultural perspective is vital to understanding the movement and the learning and knowledge production processes in which movement participants were engaged.

Cultural re-production was central to the solidarity movement. The very survival of the Left that the military regime sought to eradicate was an act of defiance in itself (Shayne, 2009). Movement participants were interested in preserving and teaching their political values (political
culture and identity of the Chilean Left)\(^{123}\) and Chilean culture and history (ethnocultural identity), not only because this was a way of expressing their culture and teaching it to their children, but because it was an important part of the learning and knowledge production processes involving the general public. Thus, the movement reaffirmed cultural and political identities (which are not necessarily distinct) and created new collective identities as exiles and as Chileans in a new society. Cultural re-production through artistic expression – music, arpilleras, dance, literature, film – was, therefore, central to the political activities (Shayne, 2009) and the learning and knowledge production processes in which exiles were engaged.\(^{124}\)

As social movement scholars have pointed out, some social movements are still involved in conflicts involving the state and economy. This does not necessarily detract from new social movement theory; rather it means that paying attention to cultural relations need not exclude political and economic ones. Solidarity movement knowledge production processes certainly involved political, economic and cultural relations. The overarching purpose of the solidarity movement was to reinstate a civilian government in Chile. The military regime took control of the state illegitimately and dismantled the liberal democratic model that had been in place since Chile’s independence from Spain and expanded the capitalist economic model to an unforeseen extent. While the movement sought mainly to change the state, economic relations were also significant. Many movement groups worked with unions in Canada and supported unions in Chile. In part the solidarity that was expressed was with the workers of Chile and with the poor. The solidarity movement was not, however, organized around class identity; it was not a workers’ movement like those associated with “old” social movements and the networks involved alliances across a wide range of civil society sectors at local, national and international levels.

\(^{123}\) This is not to say that for some these values did not change over time, a topic that will be taken up in Chapters Eight and Nine.

\(^{124}\) Shayne refers specifically to the educational role of mothers as cultural ambassadors who taught their children Chilean culture and history through cultural expressions.
levels. Movement activities were, then, oriented towards both political and economic transformation, particularly in terms of the nature of the democracy movement participants sought (a point which will be explored further in Chapter Six), and these actions engaged processes of cultural re/production.

**Political and Economic Society**

In light of the above discussion, it is important then, to consider 1) the limits of civil society to influence the state and economy, and 2) whether political parties are better understood as civil society actors or whether, because they are so closely related to the state, they are better understood in terms of political society, not to be understood as it is sometimes used in the sense of state, but in the sense of a mediating level between state and civil society. The concepts of political society and economic society proposed by Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato (1992) are exactly the mediating levels needed to understand how civil society initiatives can influence the state and economic subsystems. They argue that while Habermas’s system/lifeworld theory is more concerned with defending the lifeworld than “the equally important project of controlling and redirecting the political and economic subsystems” (p.471), it is possible to employ it in a way he has not done. The direction of influence theorized by Habermas does not need be restricted to how systems influence the lifeworld. From the perspective of the lifeworld, it is possible to extend Habermas’ model by introducing political society and economic society as an institutional level of mediation between civil society and the state and economic steering mechanisms to theorize how civil society can permeate the system. In this conception, political parties, along with other key institutions (political associations and parliaments) correspond with political society and unions and other forms of plural ownership of productive property (communities, non-profit organizations) correspond with economic society. Figure 1 below is a
graphic representation of political and economic society in relation to Habermas’ system/lifeworld model (Palacios, 2004).

**Figure 1 – Political and Economic Society**

As Cohen and Arato (1992) point out, the influence associational forms of civil society and of particular concern here, social movements, can exert in political society is greater than the influence it has traditionally exerted in economic society. In part it is because the communication structures of the political public sphere are more open than “economic society, where conditions of publicity and therefore the possibilities of democratization are even more restricted” (Cohen & Arato, 1992, p. 713, note 134). This does mean that there is no potential for civil society to influence the economy. Cohen and Arato suggest that in principle possibilities exist in the community and non-profit forms of ownership of productive property. I would point to how consumer and corporate behaviours have changed in response to social movement actions like those of the environmental, slow food and simple living movements - for example, people buying locally, often organically grown food and fairly traded goods, and corporations employing them in their products. While these changes do not reflect transformations in
economic structures, they do indicate that civil society initiatives can influence the economic subsystem to some extent.

The limited capacity of civil society to transform political and economic systems is illustrated by the fact that while the efforts of Chileans in Chile, together with the solidarity movement abroad, did contribute in large measure to the reinstatement of a civilian government, it was necessary to convert “a social majority…into a political majority” (Garretón, 1995, p.95, my translation), as we saw in the previous chapter. In other words, the power that was mobilized among social movements had to be translated into political power in order to effect change. Moreover, the form of government that was reinstated was the liberal democracy that existed before the military coup and until recently the 1980 Constitution remained largely unchanged. Even more telling is the fact that the laissez-faire economic model that was implemented during the dictatorship has not fundamentally changed in post-dictatorship years and it is likely that under the current right-wing government of Sebastián Piñera more socially concerned government programs will be cut and that the economic model of the dictatorship period will be strengthened. Given the limits of civil society to generate political and especially economic transformation, civil society is not, as Iris Young (2002) tells us,

a preferred alternative to the state today for promoting democracy and social justice…[rather] a strengthening of both is necessary to deepen democracy and undermine injustice, especially that deriving from private economic power. Each social aspect—state, economy, and civil society—can both limit and support the others. Thus social movements seeking greater justice and well-being should work on both these fronts, and aim to multiply the links between civil society and states (p. 156).

Gramsci and Habermas

The theoretical approach I employed to understand the data draws on Gramsci, Habermas and Freire. Up to this point, we have examined social movement thought and focused on Habermas’s approach. While Gramsci is not traditionally associated with this stream, a number of his ideas correspond with the concerns of NSM thought and with Habermas: his
differentiation of state, civil society and economy\textsuperscript{125}, his identification of a crisis brought on by capitalism and the modern state, his concern with cultural relations, and his recognition of new forms of plurality and association in modern civil society. A significant departure from the NSM approach and from Habermas, but not from Freire, is Gramsci’s emphasis on class, which, while important, is not entirely incompatible with this stream, since emphasizing the cultural does not necessarily exclude the material. Therefore, this departure is not as problematic as it may seem for understanding Freire, Gramsci and Habermas together.

In drawing on Gramsci, Habermas and Freire, I rely on Habermas’ systems/lifeworlds model, complemented by Cohen and Arato’s concepts of political and economic society, for the purposes of establishing how civil society, social movements and the public sphere are understood in this research. In the next section, I turn specifically to discussing how this understanding is complemented by the Gramscian notion of hegemony, the Freirean notion of conscientization and the centrality of praxis in both Gramsci and Freire.

**Linking Gramsci, Habermas and Freire**

In the remainder of this chapter I develop the greater part of the theoretical approach that will help shed light on solidarity movement group actions and the learning and knowledge production processes in which movement participants were engaged. This approach has two main purposes. While the study focuses primarily on the learning and knowledge production processes of the solidarity movement and therefore, conceptual tools that can elucidate them are central, it is important to understand the learning and knowledge production processes in which movement participants were engaged in relation to the actions and aims of the solidarity movement. Therefore, while an analysis of the movement is not at the core of this study, theoretical tools for understanding the movement itself are also needed.

\textsuperscript{125} While the differentiation of civil society from economy is clear in Gramsci’s writings, his treatment of civil society and state is ambiguous and will be explored in more detail later in the chapter.
In order to accomplish these two aims I make use of the ideas of Gramsci, Habermas and Freire. In particular I discuss how the notions of hegemony, conscientization and praxis complement Habermas’ understanding of civil society, social movements as one of the forms of associational life, and the public sphere. While I argue Habermas’ model is more useful for theorizing civil society and thus social movements and the public sphere in relation to the solidarity movement, hegemony, conscientization and praxis are more helpful for understanding other dimensions of the solidarity movement and the learning and knowledge production processes in which movement participants were engaged. The way Gramsci develops hegemony captures ideas that are not expressed in the same way in Habermas. It has been proposed that Gramsci’s formulation of hegemony complements Habermas’ public sphere (Eley, 1992).

Indeed, a number of scholars have proposed understanding hegemony as constructed through the public sphere (Birchfield, 1999; Eley, 1992; Fraser, 1992).\footnote{This will be discussed further in the subsection: Constructing and challenging hegemony and cultural action for domination through the public sphere.}

While Habermas’ theory of communicative action provides “the necessary boundary frame and constituent conceptual elements for the study of social learning processes” (Welton, 1995, 134), I find Freire’s appreciation of praxis (together with Gramsci) and his notion of conscientization most useful. It is not that Habermas’ ideas are not informative; rather that Freire’s ideas are more helpful for understanding the learning and knowledge production processes of the solidarity movement as embedded in the actions and aims of the movement.

**Freire, Gramsci, Habermas and Critical Adult Education and Learning**

Many critical adult educators have examined the contributions of Freire, Gramsci and Habermas to adult education and learning. While several have compared and contrasted Freire and Gramsci’s ideas, comparisons of Freire and Habermas are scarce. Following a review of the English language adult education literature on each of these scholars, I argue the existing
scholarship on Freire and Gramsci’s thought, read together with the scholarship on Freire and Habermas, though limited, provides a number of parallels that make it possible for the three to be understood in relation to each other. It is not my intention to undertake a full scale comparative study that may or may not make it possible to synthesize them; rather I am interested in establishing how they can inform each other in the context of this research and therefore why I find drawing on their ideas useful.

**Paulo Freire**

Paulo Freire is one of the most renowned adult education theorists and practitioners. Indeed, “few figures among the educational Left are as well known and as universally revered as Paulo Freire” (McLaren, 2000, p. xix). Freire wrote over twenty books during his life, including several “talking books” or dialogues with, for example, the critical pedagogist Ira Shor (Shor & Freire, 1987), Myles Horton, the adult educator and cofounder of the Highlander Folk School (Horton & Freire, 1990) and the critical linguist Donald Macedo (Freire & Macedo, 1987). His most well-known work is *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire died in 1997. His legacy lives on as a compassionate, humble, loving man who never lost his faith in humanity and the power of love, and it lives on in his work, which has inspired so many committed to liberation and social transformation. 127

Freire’s work, which is often cited for his assertion that “education is a political act” (Freire, 2005, p. 112), began with adult literacy. It has been incredibly influential in adult education and extends, but is not limited to, social work education, participatory action research and critical pedagogy (McLaren & Leonard, 1993). For many, “Paulo Freire is without question the most influential theorist of critical or liberatory education” (Weiler, 1991, p. 450). His writings on cultural action that serves domination or liberation, the culture of silence, praxis,

127 Freire’s life and experiences will be examined further in the final section, Critical Learning and Social Movements: Knowledge Production in the Solidarity Movement.

The extensive literature on Freire in adult education reflects the long standing engagement of adult education theorists and practitioners with Freire’s ideas (Allman, 1988, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2001; Allman & Wallis, 1997; Butterwick, 1987; Coben, 1998; Cunningham, 1992; Grabowski, 1972; Jarvis, 1987; Kekkonen, 1977; Kirkwood & Kirkwood, 1989; Mayo, 1991, 1993, 1994c, 1996, 1999, 2004; Schugurensky, 1998; Schugurensky & Madjidi, 2008; Shor, 1980/1987; Youngman, 1986). Scholars have debated Freire’s radicalism, arguing Freire was a liberal who became a revolutionary (Mackie, 1980) or that his methods do not lead to individual or social transformation (Taylor, 1993). Others contend Freire’s ideas can be robbed of their radical potential (Kidd & Kumar, 1981). Allman (1994) worries that Freire’s ideas are threatened by postmodernist projects that lack a sound and consistent theoretical thread. Along with McLaren (1994), Mayo (1999) has expressed concern over some “strands of postmodern thought which are characterized by a nihilistic and paralysing streak” (p. 4). Both McLaren (1994) and Mayo (1999) look to Freire for a reprieve from postmodernist streams that abandon the possibility of collective action oriented towards liberation and to Freire’s insistence on hope.

Several feminist critical pedagogists have examined Freire’s ideas (Butterwick, 1987; hooks, 1989, 1993, 1994; Weiler, 1991). While they also forward liberatory education, they challenge Freire’s universalizing treatment of oppression that does not acknowledge different and specific experiences of oppression. In comparing feminist consciousness raising and conscientization, Butterwick (1987) argues the former focuses on subjectivity and the latter on
objectifying the process. Drawing several parallels between feminist pedagogy and Freire’s approach to education, Weiler (1991) argues feminist concerns can enrich and advance Freire’s emancipatory and transformational aims. As an African-American inspired by Freire who, in addition to gender, is interested in a conception of oppression that takes up race, hooks (1989, 1993, 1994) mobilizes his ideas despite his early lack of attention to gender. In spite of some harsh feminist critiques, hooks (1993) points out that Freire acknowledges he, along with other men, must be a part of feminist and anti-racist movements. Apple (2003) also recounts that “from Paulo’s own experiences in northeastern Brazil, he clearly had the sense that in many ways oppression was ‘colour-coded’ [and along with class and gender realities] he also saw the politics of race as a major arena that needed equally serious transformations” (p. 108).

Recent adult education scholarship explores Freire’s legacy of hope in relation to democracy and social justice as it relates to contemporary efforts to construct a new common sense in times of neo-liberal imperialism. The book edited by Shaughnessy, Galligan & Hurtado de Vivas (2008) includes essays on familiar Freirean themes like praxis, as does Slater, Fain and Rossatto’s collection (2002), which is organized around personal, theoretical and practical reflections on Freire the person, his ideas and the implications of his ideas in practice. Looking to reinvent Freire for contemporary social justice work, Darder (2002) links these efforts to social movements and Mayo (2004) puts politics, culture and power at the centre of critical and particularly adult education theory and practice in analyzing Freire’s work as an antidote to right wing discourses and policies. In examining transformative learning for social justice, Torres (2007) considers how Freire’s ideas contribute to active democratic citizenship, which involves both political and pedagogical practices and Schugurensky and Madjidi (2008) also discuss the application of Freire’s ideas to citizenship education in schools and social movements. Freire himself discussed working “inside” and “outside” the system in his dialogue with Horton
(Horton & Freire, 1990). This relationship, which was surely interesting for Freire in his work as Secretary of Education of the municipality of São Paulo in Brazil, was the subject of O’Cadiz, Wong and Torres’ (1998) research on the educational reforms implemented by Freire in which they looked at state-social movement and teacher-curriculum reform relationships. In his latest piece on Freire, Schugurensky (2011) looks at Freire’s life work and the continued relevance of his ideas.

**Antonio Gramsci**

Gramsci’s writings on schooling, the role of intellectuals in constructing and challenging common sense and hegemony, and of adult education in these processes, particularly in social movements, have been very influential. English language works on Gramsci and education appeared not long after Gramsci’s (1971) *Prison Notebooks* were first published in English and a number that focused on Gramsci in relation to adult education appeared soon after (Adamson, 1980; Lovett, 1978; Entwistle, 1979; Ireland, 1987; Morgan 1987; Torres, 1990; Youngman, 1986). The “turn to Gramsci,” according to Mayo (1995), who called attention to the increased interest of adult education scholars in Gramsci, is because of his commitment to radical adult education. He reviews the literature up to that point, indicating how Gramsci has been taken up by adult education theorists. Youngman (1986) looks to Gramsci for the possibility of constructing a socialist adult education theory and Torres (1990) relies on Gramsci in developing the framework in his compilation of studies on nonformal education in Latin America.

In relation to social movements, Gramsci’s conception of political education is the subject of Thompson’s (1983) work on continuing education and Lovett’s (1978) article that looks at the working class in Ireland and community education. Morgan (1987) also examines workers’ education and the role of adult education in constructing a counterhegemony, as does Armstrong (1988). Ireland’s (1987) monograph focuses solely on the significance of Gramsci to
adult education, particularly popular education in Brazil. In a controversial piece, Entwistle (1979) argues Gramsci advocated a conservative approach to schooling\textsuperscript{128} and political adult education, much like banking education (Borg & Mayo, 2002) described by Freire. Morrow and Torres (1995, 2001) engage Entwistle’s polemic interpretation of Gramsci, contrasting it with the more radical reading of Gramsci by Adamson (1980) who discusses political education as challenging common sense.

More recently Holst (2002) argues for the relevance of working class struggle and the role of adult education in constructing alliances across old and new social movements. Working class learning is also the focus of Livingstone’s contribution to Borg, Buttigieg and Mayo’s (2002) edited collection, Gramsci and Education. This compilation contains many contributions relevant to political adult education. For example, Fontana looks at political education, hegemony and rhetoric, Buttigieg examines the relationships between education, intellectuals and democracy and McLaren, Fischman, Serra and Antelo look at intellectuals and revolutionary praxis. Coben takes up the topic of her earlier piece (1994) that deals with adult political education and transforming common sense into good sense, and Allman examines Gramsci and radical adult education, as she has in other work (1988, 1994, 1999). Finally, going back to original sources, Mayo (2008) examines Gramsci’s writings on adult education in relation to a variety of topics ranging from literacy to prison education and immigration.

**Freire and Gramsci**

Freire was strongly influenced by Marx and Liberation Theology. He was also influenced by Gramsci, which is evident in his use of terms like common sense (Freire, 1992, 2005), sometimes in relation to good sense (Freire, 1998) and especially in one of his dialogues with the Chilean philosopher Antonio Faundez (Freire & Faundez, 1989) in which the two discuss

\textsuperscript{128}It is mainly this claim that was so controversial. See Alden (1981) and Jackson’s (1981) responses in *Convergence*, volume 14, number 3.
Gramsci at some length. According to Morrow & Torres (1995) it was his Chilean colleague Marcela Gajardo who introduced him to Gramsci around 1968 when Freire was in exile in Chile. In an interview with Torres in 1990, Freire said he had not read Gramsci before writing Education as the Practice of Freedom, originally published in 1967, or Pedagogy of the Oppressed, originally published in 1968, but he had read Croce, which may explain the similarities in Freire and Gramsci’s thought.

Among adult educators who have examined Freire’s work, several have also been interested in Gramsci. From a Marxist point of view, Youngman (1986) assesses Freire’s pedagogy and concludes that while Freire’s work does contain important insights, it does not provide an adequate foundation for adult education for socialism and instead turns to Gramsci. Likewise, Coben (1998) turns to Gramsci because for her Gramsci and Freire do not resonate sufficiently with each other “to be usefully conjoined in the construction of a political theory of radical adult education” (Coben, 1998, p. 201). Drawing on Entwistle’s (1979) controversial conservative reading of Gramsci, Hirsch (1998) not only thinks Freire and Gramsci are not compatible, they are opposites. He argues that whereas Freire advocated changing methods to ones that would promote intellectual autonomy and resistance, and content that would value local culture, Gramsci “held that political progressivism demanded educational conservatism” (p.3). Yet,

Gramsci’s views on education cannot be located in terms of the spectrum of a vague notion of “radical” as opposed to “conservative” education based on contemporary debates…Gramsci’s specific focus – like that of Freire – is on adult education as a context of political conscientization (Morrow & Torres, 2001, p. 334).

Not all scholars agree Gramsci’s ideas are more useful than Freire’s or that Freire and Gramsci are incompatible. In earlier work, Allman (1988) examined how Gramsci, Freire and Illich can inform education for socialism. She has been concerned with the influence of Marx on Gramsci and Freire, arguing the coherent thread in reading them lies in interpreting them with
Marx (Allman, 1994). Building on this work, Allman (1999) takes Marx as the point of departure for clarifying several Freirean concepts and argues Freire and Gramsci can be brought together. Allman and Mayo (1997) have also collaborated in examining Freire and Gramsci. Mayo (1988) began his comparative analysis of Freire and Gramsci in relation to adult education with his Master’s thesis and proceeded to write a number of articles on the two scholars (Mayo, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996). In his project to synthesize Freire and Gramsci for the purposes of exploring the role of adult education in “possibilities for transformative action,” Mayo (1999) argues the significant parallels in Freire and Gramsci’s thought set forth the basis from which the two scholars can be brought together and complement each other. Specifically, they each emphasize aspects the other either misses or minimizes, such that “there are insights by Freire that can contribute to the macro-level analysis normally associated with Gramsci, in the same way that Gramsci addresses issues pertinent to the Freirean analysis of learning processes” (p. 126). Similarly, Schugurensky (1998) argues “Freire’s emphasis on culture of the oppressed, then, could be enriched with a systematic and wide-ranging analysis of the hegemonic culture, such as the one undertaken by Gramsci” (p. 24).

**Jürgen Habermas**

Though Habermas has not written extensively on education or adult education specifically, his democratic project is clearly driven by individual and social learning processes. According to Habermas (1987), learning capacities become part of collective interpretive schemes. As modern societies change and resolve system problems they learn. Action systems reorganize and new forms of social integration are shaped, which in turn creates the opportunity for implementing existing or generating new technical-organizational knowledge. Therefore, the learning processes involved in moral-practical consciousness set the

---

129 See pages 313-316 in Habermas (1987) for a more detailed account of learning processes in his theory of communicative action.
pace for social progress. As we saw earlier, Habermas sees social movements as the primary agents of social change and therefore, defending the lifeworld is central to adult education (Welton, 1995).

Several adult educators interested in emancipatory and democratic learning have looked to Habermas’ social learning theories. Mezirow was the first to draw attention to Habermas’ theories in adult education (Brookfield, 2005; Connelly, 1996). Relying on Habermas’ early work, Mezirow (1981) wrote on perspective transformation, which he later developed as a theory of adult transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991, 1995, 1990; Mezirow & Associates, 2000). Like Mezirow, Brookfield (Brookfield, 1995, 2005) has written on Habermas and adult education from a more humanist perspective than that of other critical adult education theorists interested not only in critical thinking, but critical theory (Connelly, 1996). Writing from this latter perspective, several adult education theorists have critiqued Mezirow’s interpretation of Habermas on the grounds that it weakens Habermas’ theory by under theorizing relations of power (Griffin, 1988; Hart, 1990) and does not fully recognize the dominating consequences of instrumental reason on adult education (Collins, 1985; Hart, 1992; Plumb, 1995). Perhaps one of the most systematic readings of the relevance of Habermas’ work to adult education in relation to civil society has been that of Michael Welton, which began with his discussion of the “critical turn” in adult education scholarship (1991, 1993a) and continued to build on Habermas’ social learning theories by connecting them up with democratic adult education projects (Welton, 1995, 1998). Welton (2001) speaks specifically to Habermas’ learning theory in relation to civil society and the public sphere and in recent work, discusses the lifeworld curriculum in the context of the just learning society (Welton, 2005).

Drawing on feminist pedagogical theories, Hart (1990) argues the overly cognitive dimensions of Habermas’ theory of communicative action do not consider establishing solidary
relations on the basis of caring “as vital a component of an overall liberatory educational practice as the fostering of critical reflectivity” (p. 135). Gouthro (2000) also critiques Habermas’ theory of communicative action from a feminist perspective. While she appreciates Habermas’ analysis of instrumental rationality, she argues Habermas overlooks how women are oppressed more broadly in society and the importance of the homeplace as a learning site of gendered relations. Despite critiques, adult education theorists continue to draw on Habermas because they recognize the emancipatory potential of communicative action (Collins, 1998; Hart, 1992), and because his theories have “served to advance a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of some of the complex social processes at work in our world, key to informing the direction of future critical adult education discourses” (Gouthro, 2006). This is evident in the recently published book on Habermas and education edited by Murphy and Fleming (2010), in which contributors discuss the familiar Habermasian themes of the lifeworld, communicative action, rationality and deliberative democracy. The book does not, however, focus on adult education as it endeavours to introduce Habermas more broadly to the field of education.

Freire and Habermas

As mentioned above, Mezirow was influenced by Habermas, however, Freire (1970) figured in his work before he incorporated the ideas of Habermas. While Mezirow drew primarily on Habermas’ (1971) three domains of learning – technical, practical, emancipatory – when he articulated his critical theory of adult learning and education (Mezirow, 1981), he also drew on Freire’s (1970) notion of conscientization (Kitchenham, 2008). Though Mezirow was not attempting to synthesize Freire and Habermas, he clearly saw parallels. For example, what he called dialogic learning in his theory of adult transformative learning corresponds with Habermas’ practical domain of learning and the importance of dialogue in the process of conscientization in Freire. In the context of a discussion on how Mezirow draws on Habermas
and Freire, Pietrykowsky (1996) argues for the extension of their ideas by attending to the relationships between knowledge and power. Rather than tuning in to the modernist inclinations in Freire, he proposes a postmodern reading of Freire to achieve this.

There are, however, far fewer systematic comparisons of the ideas of Freire and Habermas than Freire and Gramsci. To the best of my knowledge, in the educational literature (and perhaps beyond), the first to discuss the two in relation to each other was an article in which Misgeld (1975) argues, that though Habermas’ analysis of repression is more systematic than Freire’s, the latter’s pedagogy “could prove to be more faithful to the radical educator’s experience” (p. 35) and that Habermas’ “notion of dialogue is not a sentimental or romantic one [like Freire’s]… Yet, Habermas formulates it, having intentions similar to Freire’s in mind” (ibid). This was followed by a chapter synthesizing Habermas’ theory of communicative rationality and Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed that focused on cultural invasion and language in both of their thought (Misgeld, 1985). In the same edited collection (Forester, 1985), in the only other chapter that deals with critical studies on education, O’Neill (1985) argues the “ethical matrix” found in Habermas is remarkably similar to the moral foundations of Freire’s pedagogy and that his “work provides a vital extension to critical theory and its implicit pedagogy” (p. 58). A related observation is made by Lankshear and McLaren (1993) who comment on the extent to which the intent of Freire and Habermas’ emancipatory projects resemble each other, despite differences, they contend, in the details of their metaphysical, ontological and epistemological assumptions.

Prior to Morrow & Torres’ (2002) systematic examination of Freire and Habermas, the only sustained analysis of Freire and Habermas that also includes Habermas’ later work (Morrow & Torres, 2002) is Plumb’s (1989) master’s thesis which looked at the significance of Habermas for Freire’s pedagogy and adult education practice. Pointing to several commonalities,
Morrow and Torres (1998) assert that they can be brought together in a complementary fashion. This work was further developed and presented in their book (Morrow & Torres, 2002), which examines Habermas and Freire’s ideas in laying the groundwork for a critical theory of education. In comparing Habermas and Freire, they seek to highlight how their ideas are mutually illuminating by focusing on their “shared critical theory of the dialogical and developmental subject” (p. ix, italics in original). Again the significance of communication is at the centre of a recent article in which Ordónez Carvallo (2009) argues, in a discussion on the need to broaden how quality in education is conceived, that dialogue and communicative action are vital to the teaching process and critical transformation in students.

Freire, Gramsci and Habermas

As I stated in the opening of this subsection, I am not engaging in a full-scale comparative analysis of Freire, Gramsci and Habermas. What I am interested in doing is exploring some of the affinities among them and especially how their ideas complement each other and how they can inform this research. Though it may not be possible to draw all of the parallels presented in the works on Freire and Gramsci and Freire and Habermas across all three scholars, it is clear that there are significant relationships among Gramsci, Habermas and Freire. I have not included a detailed discussion of all the works presented in the previous discussion; however I will discuss some of the broad commonalities I see in light of this review and my own reflections.

While it appears Gramsci and Habermas are further apart than either Freire and Gramsci or Freire and Habermas, in my view, the scholarship reviewed points to a number of parallels among Freire, Gramsci and Habermas, as well as complementarities. As we saw, adult education scholars have made important contributions to adult education theory by drawing on Habermas. Though Gramsci does discuss adult political education and social movements in more detail, as
several theorists have indicated, Freire’s focus on adult education practice is particularly important in complementing Gramsci and Habermas’ broader social theories and vice versa. Critical adult education and pedagogy is rich with theoretical discussions and while theory is an essential dimension of praxis, we cannot forget the corresponding dimension of practice and so, it is to Freire we need to look for emancipatory adult education practice (Finger & Asún, 2001).

Perhaps the most salient of the overarching commonalities is the connection between emancipation and critical learning and its significance for democracy, and related to this, social movements. Moreover, Freire, Gramsci and Habermas all emphasize communication. Habermas’ theory of communicative action and more recently, discourse ethics, the role of dialogue in conscientization in Freire and the construction and challenging of hegemony and common sense in the public sphere in Gramsci all stress the significance of communication. All three also formulate theories of domination that involve fragmented or incomplete consciousness. Each of these points are relevant to the role of social movements in constructing counter-hegemony in the public sphere and to the social movement learning and knowledge production processes involved in those constructions.

Previously I stated this study examines the learning and knowledge production processes in which solidarity movement participants were involved. These processes need to be understood together with the actions and aims of the movement. Since this study analyzes a social movement and a social movement is understood here as an associational form of civil society, it is important to further elaborate what is meant by civil society and what its relationships are with the state and economy. To do this in the next section I consider Gramsci and Habermas’ understandings of civil society as separate from state and economy and discuss the rationale for opting for a Habermasian model. Next, I explore three key themes to illuminate similarities among Gramsci, Habermas and Freire and show specifically how hegemony and
conscientization can be understood together with a Habermasian understanding of civil society and the public sphere.

**Beyond a Dualistic State/Civil Society Model**

Hegel and Marx used a base/superstructure framework in which civil society and economy correspond to the base and state corresponds to the superstructure. Gramsci and Habermas differentiate the economy from civil society and employ a distinction between state, economy and civil society. Gramsci conceived of two superstructural levels of civil society and state, leaving the economy in the base. Though Habermas uses the systems/lifeworlds model in which systems consist of state and economy and civil society is in the realm of the lifeworld, these roughly correspond with the base and superstructure respectively.  

Before we can understand how Gramsci’s reformulation of the base/superstructure model results in a three part model, we need to examine his ambiguous treatment of civil society and state. Gramsci (1971) refers to two levels of the superstructure, “one that can be called ‘civil society’…and that of ‘political society’ or ‘the State’” (p. 12). Civil society has the corresponding function of hegemony and the state of direct domination. He uses the term “State in the narrow sense of the governmental-coercive apparatus” (p. 265) that exercises direct domination and also uses a “general notion of State [which] includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society” (p. 263). When Gramsci uses the “general notion of State” (p. 263) he refers to the “integral State…[which is] not government technically understood” (p. 267), rather it is “State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion” (p. 263).

---

131 The discussion in this section is meant to briefly address the ways state and civil society appear in Gramsci’s writings for the purposes of establishing how a three-part model of society can be understood in Gramsci. For an extensive discussion of the different interpretations of Gramsci’s treatment of state and civil society, see the often cited works by Althusser (1969), Anderson (1976), Adamson (1987/1988), Bobbio (1988), and Buci-Glucksmann (1980).
132 The notion of hegemony will be explored further as the chapter progresses.
It is clear that for Gramsci civil society corresponds to the superstructure, but in the general notion, civil society and political society appear to form the state and therefore, it is in the narrow sense of state as political society that civil society is clearly treated as separate from state. The three part model results first from the differentiation of civil society from the economy and second, understood in the narrow sense, from the differentiation of civil society from state. The distinction between state and civil society is, according to Gramsci (1971), methodological, but “in actual reality civil society and State are one and the same” (p. 160). Considered together with the way he discusses hegemony, Gramsci is clearly referring to how domination is exercised through the state coercively and through consent hegemonically in civil society when he states the two “are one and the same” – civil society and state are the same in that domination (through consent and coercion respectively) is effected through both, but this does not necessarily mean they are themselves the same; they are “two major superstructural ‘levels’” (p.12). What Gramsci was trying to do is distinguish civil society from state, while maintaining a link between the two because “otherwise the tactic of creating an alternative hegemony would make little sense” (Adamson, 1980, p. 215).

In Habermas’ framework, societies are at once conceived of as systems and lifeworlds. In modern societies, the economic and state systems have differentiated out of the lifeworld and the two have become uncoupled. The distinction between system and lifeworld is methodological in that participants cannot grasp functional integration through their intuitive knowledge of lifeworld contexts…they require a counterintuitive analysis from the standpoint of an observer who objectivates the lifeworld. From this methodological point of view, we can separate the two aspects under which the integration problems of a society may be thematized. Social integration presents itself as part of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld…[and] by contrast, functional integration is equivalent to a material reproduction of the lifeworld that is conceived as system maintenance…it only comes into view when the lifeworld is objectified” (Habermas, 1987, pp.232-233, italics in original).
These two societal levels of systems and lifeworlds are interconnected by way of the institutionalization of the economy and state apparatuses in the lifeworld through private (civil) and public law. From the perspective of members, systems are anchored in the lifeworld.

The lifeworld is “composed of a cultural stock of knowledge that is ‘always already’ familiar” (Habermas, 1987, p. 125) and can be understood as having two levels (Cohen & Arato, 1992). At one level is the cultural-linguistic background and at another is the structural level. The lifeworld has three structures – personality, society and culture – that are related to the three corresponding reproduction processes of socialization, social integration and cultural reproduction. Through “interactions woven into the fabric of everyday communicative practice” (Habermas, 1987, p.138) these processes reproduce the structures of the lifeworld and the cultural-linguistic background.

It is here, on the institutional level of the lifeworld, that one can root a hermeneutically accessible, because socially integrated, concept of civil society [which] would include all of the institutions and associational forms that require communicative interaction for their reproduction and that rely primarily on processes of social integration for coordinating action within their boundaries (Cohen & Arato, 1992, p. 429).

By rooting civil society at the structural level of the lifeworld, Habermas’ systems/lifeworld approach yields a three part model that differentiates between civil society, state and economy. Habermas appears to accept Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato’s (1992) understanding of civil society rooted at the structural level of the lifeworld, stating that “its institutional core comprises those nongovernmental and noneconomic connections and voluntary associations that anchor the communication structures of the public sphere in the society component of the lifeworld” (Habermas, 1996, pp. 366-67).

Both Gramsci and Habermas depart from the classical Marxist tradition in differentiating civil society from economy and in treating civil society as corresponding to the cultural. There are, then, at least two important conceptual similarities in Gramsci and Habermas that are central
to understanding civil society 1) as separate from state and economy and 2) as related to culture.

So why opt for the Habermasian systems/lifeworlds model over Gramsci’s base/superstructure approach? The most significant reason for the purposes of the present discussion is that Habermas’ version permits two ways of understanding the distinction between private and public – in subsystems as public state and private capitalist economy and in lifeworlds as public and private (intimate) spheres. Since the subsystems are anchored in the lifeworld, from the perspective of these steering systems, “the three-part model becomes articulated as a four-part model understood in terms of the redoubling not only of the public sphere…but of the private sphere as well” Cohen & Arato, p. 429). The two ways of distinguishing public/private enables a more complex understanding of the relations between state and economic subsystems, between public and private lifeworld spheres, and between systems and lifeworlds.

Similar to Habermas, for Gramsci civil society is “the public space between large-scale bureaucratic structures of state and economy on the one hand, and the private sphere of family, friendships, personality and intimacy on the other” (Adamson in Birchfield, 1999, p.43). However, while “Gramsci depicts civil society as constituted in the public sphere” (Birchfield, 1999, p. 42), his approach does not distinguish between public and private in a way that enables the more nuanced understanding that Habermas does. For Gramsci, the relations of civil society do include private intimate (family, household) and non-intimate ones. However, in his base/superstructure model, the base involves private economic relations and the superstructure the public state and public/private civil society (recall civil society and state comprise two levels of the superstructure). Therefore, while both Gramsci and Habermas distinguish between civil society, state and economy, and between private and public relations of civil society, there is a significant advantage in employing Habermas’ model in terms of understanding civil society and its relationship with the public sphere.

Critiques of the public/private distinction and Habermas’ notion of the public sphere will be taken up later.
The main purpose of the next two sections is to discuss the concepts of the public sphere, hegemony and conscientization. While several parallels between Gramsci, Habermas and Freire are drawn in order to establish similarities that show how they can be understood in relation to each other, my central concern is with these three concepts. Through a discussion on domination and emancipation, the next section first examines hegemony before turning to the public sphere and further developing hegemony and cultural action. The final section looks at conscientization and praxis through the lens of critical learning and knowledge production in social movements.

**Dominance and Emancipation: Culture, the Public Sphere, Hegemony and Cultural Action**

**Domination and Fragmented Consciousness**

Gramsci’s theory of hegemony is closely related to common sense, a notion that corresponds with the way Freire and Habermas see consciousness. This subsection begins to examine hegemony and cultural action by exploring these commonalities. The discussion takes as its starting point the ways in which Gramsci, Habermas and Freire theorize domination.

There is a clear parallel in the way Gramsci, Habermas and Freire see domination. For Gramsci (1971), domination is exercised through the state by way of coercion and through civil society hegemonically. Direct domination is exercised juridically through “the apparatus of state coercive power which ‘legally’ enforces discipline on those groups who do not ‘consent’ either actively or passively” (p. 12). Social hegemony, exercised by the primary dominant group throughout society, refers to “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life” (p. 12).

That Gramsci employs the state in the general or integrated sense and in the narrow sense of the coercive government apparatus does not mean it is necessary to choose one to understand hegemony. The “general notion of State” that integrates political society and civil society implies the state exercises both direct domination and hegemony. In the “narrow sense” the state appears
to only exercise “command” and civil society to exercise hegemony. In either sense, hegemony is associated with civil society and is organized through consent. Dominant groups secure hegemony, “by weaving [their] own cultural outlook deeply into the social fabric” (Adamson, 1980, p.149), which becomes solidified in common sense.

Gramsci (1971) refers to common sense as “the diffuse, unco-ordinated features of a generic form of thought” (p. 330) and “its most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential” (p. 419). Common sense is dynamic and socio-culturally and historically situated. It is

in continuous transformation, becoming enriched with scientific notions and philosophical opinions that have entered into common circulation. ‘Common sense’ is the folklore of philosophy and always stands midway between folklore proper (folklore as it is normally understood) and the philosophy, science, and economics of the scientists. Common sense creates the folklore of the future, a relatively rigidified phase of popular knowledge in a given time and place (Gramsci, 1985, p. 421).

According to Habermas (1987), domination takes place through the colonization of the lifeworld by the system. The instrumentally coordinated actions of the system via money and power invade the communicatively coordinated action of the lifeworld, producing “a ‘fragmented consciousness’” (p. 355). The lifeworld is “a culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretive patterns” (Habermas, 1987, p.124) that do not appear problematic. Specific components of the lifeworld can, however, be problematized. When people are engaged in communicative action, the lifeworld “is present to them only in the prereflective form of taken-for-granted background assumptions” (Habermas, 1984, p. 335, italics added). Recall the lifeworld can be understood as having two levels – a cultural linguistic background and a structural level (Cohen & Arato, 1992). It is at the level of the cultural-linguistic background that this “reservoir of taken-for-granteds, of unshaken convictions”

134 Consent will be taken up in more detail in the next section, Critical Learning and Social Movements: Knowledge Production in the Solidarity Movement.
(Habermas, 1987, p.124), that are fragmented by the colonization of the lifeworld, can be understood as akin to Gramsci’s notion of common sense and Freire’s semi-intransitive consciousness.

Freire discusses domination as relations between oppressors and the oppressed. For Freire (1985), dominant groups engage in cultural action that serves domination. By creating a “culture of silence,” which is a “historical-cultural configuration…a superstructural expression that conditions a special form of consciousness” (p. 72), dominant groups infuse myths in the individual and collective consciousness of the oppressed that silence their voices. The dominated or semi-intransitive consciousness of the oppressed goes unquestioned; it is not critical consciousness.¹³⁵ Freire is careful, however, to point out that the “culture of silence” is not imposed by dominant groups, rather it is created by structural relations involving dominators and the oppressed; it is an expression of the dialectical relationship between infrastructures and superstructures and cultural institutions are the key structures through which domination is exercised.

Be it through hegemony (Gramsci), through the colonization of the lifeworld (Habermas), or through cultural action that serves domination (Freire), domination fragments consciousness. Domination, therefore, is maintained hegemonically through the cultural institutions of civil society that “anchor the communication structures of the public sphere” (Habermas, 1996, pp. 366-67) in the lifeworld. Dominant groups secure hegemony by organizing consent in the public sphere. Thus, hegemony and common sense are constructed in the public sphere (Eley, 1992). Common sense knowledge that forms this dominated consciousness is learned and unlearned through sociocultural interaction that is closely related to politics. As Freire and Gramsci point out, learning

¹³⁵ The process of conscientization, through which semi-intransitive consciousness becomes naïve transitive consciousness and finally critical consciousness will be discussed further in the final section: Critical Learning and Social Movements: Knowledge Production in the Solidarity Movement.
domination and learning for liberation, takes place in and across a variety of public arenas, including and most relevant to this study, in social movements.

In Chapter Two we saw that in Chile the public sphere was essential to the Right and to the Junta for constructing common sense and exercising hegemony. It was also vital to the Left in challenging common sense and constructing a counterhegemony via conscientization, before and after the coup. Likewise, the public sphere was central for the solidarity movement. The next section examines Habermas’ conception of the public sphere, feminist critiques and his responses and reformulation in light of these (and other) critiques, and discusses the relationships between hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere.

**Emancipation and the Solidarity Movement: The Public Sphere, Counter-hegemony and Cultural Action for Liberation**

While solidarity movement actions took place in the context of the countries in which exiles arrived, their activities were oriented towards transformation in Chile. In Canada and other countries, solidarity movement participants engaged in raising critical awareness among the public as part of a process that would ultimately lead to transformation in Chile. This involved learning and knowledge production processes among the general public, movement allies and in political arenas. The public sphere, then, was not only important for the anti-Pinochet movements in Chile, it was vital to the solidarity movement for contributing to creating the counter-hegemony, through conscientization, that eventually crystallized in the historical bloc which restored a civilian government in Chile.
According to Habermas (1981) social movements generate public debate. As an integrated public, civil society actors articulate matters of common concern and express them in the public sphere. In one of his early formulations, Habermas explains:

By the ‘public sphere’ we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest (Habermas, 1974, p. 49).

The political public sphere is distinguished from the literary public sphere in that public debate is concerned with that which is connected to state activities. Specifically, its institutional core consists of communicative networks that make possible the participation of a public of private persons in cultural reproduction and “social integration mediated by public opinion” (Habermas, 1987, p. 319). From the point of view of the state, both “the cultural and political public spheres are viewed as the environment relevant to generating legitimation” (ibid, italics in original). The public sphere is distinguished from private spheres of life, which are linked with the family and neighbourhood and voluntary associations.

A number of feminist critiques were waged against Habermas’ early formulations of the public sphere, which stemmed mainly from a concern with the exclusion of women from the public sphere, the related public/private distinction and what constitutes the common good. These critiques take up issues relevant not only to

---

136 This article, The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article, which appeared in the journal New German Critique in 1974 and cited here was originally published in 1964, two years after Habermas published his first book, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, which was published in German in 1964, but not translated into or published in English until 1989.

women, but to difference in general, and relevant to broader critiques of Habermas’s early formulations. They also form the basis for Habermas’s more recent formulation of the public sphere, which considers the critiques forwarded by feminist and other scholars. While I discuss women and issues of gender in the solidarity movement in subsequent chapters, it was not the focus of this study and this discussion is therefore presented here in order to understand how Habermas has reconsidered the public sphere in light of these critiques.

In her widely cited piece, Nancy Fraser (1992) contrasts Habermas’ account with revisionist or alternative historiographies that all point to Habermas’ idealization of the public sphere. Drawing on this work, she argues Habermas’ account fails to see several important exclusions, notably women, because he does not appreciate to its fullest the complexity of the publicity-status relationship, including, the role of civil society in constructing hegemony and constituting the exclusionary “bourgeois masculinist” public sphere. That Habermas “declar[es] a deliberative arena to be a space where extant status distinctions are bracketed and neutralized is not sufficient to make it so” (p. 115). Participatory parity requires the elimination of cultural and material inequalities, not their mere bracketing.

In addition to the existence of inequalities “infecting” public spheres and “tainting” deliberations, conceiving of a singular public sphere aggravates inequalities because in the absence of arenas for self-articulation free from the supervision of dominant groups, subordinate groups are less able to express and defend their concerns in the broader public sphere. Borrowing the term ‘subaltern’ from Spivak (1988) and ‘counterpublic’ from Felski (1989), she proposes the singular public sphere is better understood as a multiplicity of parallel alternative publics or ‘subaltern counterpublics’
that enable subordinated groups to circulate oppositional discourses. Contrary to representing the supposed devolution of the public sphere, multiple publics actually advance democracy. She also challenges Habermas’ assumption that publicity is about the common good, where the common (public) good is understood as those matters that exclude private issues, such as domestic violence. Topics of public discussion are not known in advance, rather they are often “discursively constituted in and through it” (Fraser, 1992, p. 130).

While Fraser observes the way Habermas formulates the public sphere allows us to maintain the distinctions between civil society, state and economy that are vital to democratic theory, the sharp separation of state and civil society is also problematic in that it promotes ‘weak publics’ or publics that only involve discursive practices oriented to opinion formation, not decision-making. Sovereign parliaments are ‘strong publics,’ which involve deliberative practices that include opinion formation and decision-making, similar to, but not the same as Cohen and Arato’s political society. Fraser (1992) concludes what is needed is a post-bourgeois conception of the public sphere that does not necessitate a sharp distinction between civil society and state and enables us to imagine a more significant role for publics in decision-making, the relations between and hybrid forms of strong and weak publics, and “democratic possibilities beyond the limits of actually existing democracy” (p. 136).

Also concerned with the public/private distinction that prevents private issues from being taken up in the public realm, Seyla Benhabib (1992) points out that while the women’s movement has made questions of justice that were once considered external to the private sphere into public issues by exploding the confines of the public sphere, these issues and transformations of the private sphere are still neglected. She argues Habermas’
discourse ethics ignores the different experiences of women and men in all areas of life and the power relations that permeate the private intimate sphere. Discourse ethics is based on criteria that enable the evaluation of dialogue; it is practical discourse that is not constrained by neutrality and avoids majority rule. The procedures of the ‘ideal speech situation’ are such that the fairness and appropriateness of the normative constraints of dialogue can themselves be deliberated. Though the private/public distinction is assumed in any theory of the public sphere, public and publicity, this distinction has been drawn based on the domination and exploitation of women in the private sphere. If the very model of discourse is buttressed by democratic norms, then this also has to be the case with familial norms, including the gendered division of labour. A radically open agenda means all issues can be brought forth for deliberation and that, therefore, what are deemed public issues cannot be predefined; they “are ‘subsequent’ and not prior to the process of discursive will formation” (1992, p.110).

Focusing on Habermas’ communicative ethic, Iris Marion Young (1989) argues the call for universality or impartiality in addressing a public claim in his formulation is unsuitable. If this communicative ethic is grounded in reality and the outcomes of deliberations and decision-making are to be just, then it “should promote conditions for the expression of the concrete needs of all individuals in their particularity” (p.263). However, since the proposed differentiation in democratic procedures is not about encouraging the pursuit of self-interests, Young contends the best way to avoid this is through group representation. Not only would voices that would otherwise be excluded or marginalized be heard, it is precisely when persons confront other points of view that stem from different experiences, needs and priorities that it is possible to evaluate whether a public claim is just and not merely a manifestation of self-interest.
Young (1989) proposes understanding the public sphere as heterogenous publics. Rather than attempting to hide differences by transcending them, each group that constitutes an ideal “rainbow coalition” moves beyond tolerance and “affirms the presence of others and affirms the specificity of its experiences and perspective on social issues” (p. 264). Arriving at what constitutes the common good does not involve transcending differences, but making them visible so that privileged groups do not continue to reinforce and exercise their privilege (Young, 1996).

For disadvantaged groups, demanding equal rights has seemed like the only sensible approach in the struggle against oppression. However, by not attending to difference, universal articulations of rights and rules do not challenge but maintain relations of oppression. This presents a “dilemma of difference” for social movements struggling for the inclusion and participation of these groups because they must at once deny the existence of differences that prevent inclusion and participation and affirm differences to avoid disadvantages that arise from equal treatment. However, this dilemma only exists if differences are constructed against a universal norm as deviant or deficient. Instead, in certain cases some groups ought to have special rights.

The above discussion of feminist critiques is certainly not exhaustive (see also, for example, Fleming, 1997; Landes, 1988). What we can discern is a shared concern with what counts as a public claim and what constitutes the common good in terms of how private and public issues are constructed. It also points to multiple publics relevant to subaltern groups, and of particular interest to this study, to social movements that challenge dominant discourses and practices. Neither Fraser nor Benhabib or Young suggest rejecting the notion of the public sphere, or other dimensions of Habermas’ work; rather as critical scholars they seek to extend it. Benhabib (1992) asserts she is not
attempting to merely confront Habermas’ critical theory with feminist demands, rather she seeks conceptual clarity and affirms Habermas’ system/lifeworld model as one that broadens participation in ‘discursive will formation’ because participation is not limited to political activity, rather it is expanded to social and cultural activity. Young (1996) argues for a communicative democracy that requires a “minimal unity” in order to mutually understand each other because “difference is not total otherness” (p. 127). It is in understanding different meanings and perspectives in communicative interaction that transformation takes place and so, rather than transcend differences, these understandings enable us to transcend initial understandings.

Responding to some of these critiques, Habermas (1992) stated “the exclusion of women from this world [the bourgeois public sphere] dominated by men now looks different than it appeared to me at the time” (p. 427). The feminist literature has made scholars, himself included, more sensitive to and aware of the patriarchal nature of the public sphere and the family at “the core of bourgeois society’s private sphere and the source of novel psychological experiences of a subjectivity concerned with the self” (ibid).

Habermas demonstrated he has seriously considered the critiques put forth by feminists, among other scholars, in the more nuanced understanding of the public sphere he later developed in *Between Facts and Norms*. In this more recent formulation, Habermas (1996) describes the public sphere as comprised of an extremely complex network that mediates between the political system and the private sectors and functional systems (reproductive processes) of the lifeworld. This network extends to a vast number of overlapping arenas, from international to local and subcultural, and a multiplicity of public spheres open to everyday people, including but not limited to artistic, feminist,

---

alternative, religious publics and those concerned with environmental and health-care
issues. The public sphere is also differentiated by density of communication,
organizational complexity and spatial scope into ‘episodic’ publics (cafés, the street),
‘occasional’ publics (concerts, church congresses), and ‘abstract’ publics of dispersed
persons connected through the mass media.

The public sphere is a social phenomenon; it is not to be understood as an
institution or an organization. While the public sphere is reproduced via communicative
action, it does not refer to the functions or contents of everyday communication. That is,
the public sphere is not specialized in the general reproductive functions of the lifeworld
– cultural reproduction, social integration or socialization – or in various dimensions of
validity involved in everyday communicative action – truth, rightness or veracity.
Instead, it is its communication structure that distinguishes the public sphere as “the
social space generated in communicative action” (Habermas, 1996, p. 360, italics in
original).

Recall the institutions of civil society “anchor the communication structures of
the public sphere in the society component of the lifeworld” (Habermas, 1996, pp. 366-
367). As a general public, civil society articulates will and seeks to have an effect on
public opinion and will formation. However, the associational forms of civil society are
not the most visible constituent of the public sphere. The cultural complex or mass media
that amplifies the communication networks of the public sphere are implicated in the
production of mass loyalty. In his discussion of the colonization of the lifeworld,
Habermas (1987) argues that mass loyalty is not only produced through the provision of
social welfare programs, but also by controlling public dialogue. This is achieved
“through a sociocultural filtering of access to the political public sphere, through a
bureaucratic deformation of the structures of public communication, or through manipulative control of the flow of communication (p. 346).

Despite the influence of the administrative system, upheld by the informal circulation of power, and the power of the mass media to dominate the public sphere and thus place issues on the agenda, Habermas (1996) argues

*under certain circumstances* civil society can acquire influence in the public sphere, have an effect on the parliamentary complex (and the courts) through its own public opinions, and compel the political system to switch over to the official circulation of power (p. 373, italics in original).

While the signals social movements and other civil society sectors send out are usually “too weak to initiate learning processes or redirect decision making in the political system in the short run” (ibid), civil society can form what Fraser (1992) calls a *strong* public. Habermas acknowledges, then, that as Fraser argues, groups on the periphery generally form *weak* publics because they do not for the most part influence decision making, though he does not attribute this, as Fraser does, to the sharp distinction between civil society and state.

Their marginal status notwithstanding, civil society sectors can influence decision making when they mobilize the public sphere and compel an issue on to the public agenda. The peripheral position of civil society is advantageous because its close connection with the communicative structures of the public sphere makes civil society more sensitive to new issues. Habermas (1996) points to plenty of evidence of how civil society has forced issues on to the public agenda from the periphery, from concerns with an overburdened natural environment and poverty to issues raised by feminists and ethnic and linguistic minorities. Issues move from the periphery and are put on the public agenda first through various platforms, then social movements and subcultures effectively present them so that the mass media will engage the issues, which ultimately
make their way to the political centre where they are formally considered. While there are other ways issues get placed on the public agenda, “power relations shift as soon as the perception of relevant social problems evokes a crisis consciousness at the periphery” (Habermas, 1996, p. 382). As actors in the public arena, civil society can be successful because at the end of the day, they, like the mass media, “owe their influence to the approval of those in the gallery” (ibid).

**Challenging Hegemony and Cultural Action for Domination through the Public Sphere.**

The significance of Habermas’ theories and the concept of the public sphere is recognized as “an indispensable resource” (Fraser, 1992, p. 109) and as a notion that needs revival (Birchfield, 1999). Of particular interest to understanding the learning and knowledge production processes in which solidarity movement participants were involved is how hegemony is constructed through and challenged by a multiplicity of publics. The relationship between public opinion and political hegemony is described by Gramsci (in Adamson, 1980) as “the point at which civil society makes contact with political society…The state, when it wants to undertake an unpopular action, creates adequate public opinion to protect itself; in other words, it organizes and centralizes certain elements within civil society” (pp. 219-220).

The connection between hegemony and the public sphere is made by Geoff Eley (1992) who critiques Habermas’ early formulation of the public sphere for idealizing rational discourse and overlooking the sectional, exclusive and repressive nature of the institutions upon which the public sphere was founded. In order to understand these dimensions, he proposes extending Habermas’ conception of the public sphere to a broader public realm that considers how subaltern groups contest authority by
introducing the Gramscian concept of hegemony. According to Eley, “Gramsci expressly links hegemony to a domain of public life (which he calls “civil society,” but which might also be called the public sphere)” (1992, p. 323). The construction of hegemony in the public sphere is explained by Fraser:

The public sphere produces consent via circulation of discourses that construct the common sense of the day and represent the existing order as natural and/or just, but not simply as a ruse that is imposed. Rather, the public sphere in its mature form includes sufficient participation and sufficient representation of multiple interests and perspectives to permit most people most of the time to recognize themselves in its discourses. People who are ultimately disadvantaged by the social construction of consent nonetheless manage to find in the discourses of the public sphere representations of their interests, aspirations, life-problems, and anxieties that are close enough to resonate with their own lived self-representations, identities, and feelings. Their consent to hegemonic rule is secured when their culturally constructed perspectives are taken up and articulated with other culturally constructed perspectives in hegemonic sociopolitical projects (1992, endnote 13, p. 139).

Just as the public sphere can be a vehicle for dominance, it can be used to counter hegemonic discourses, for self-expression and for liberation. To frame the process of establishing and maintaining or countering culturally constructed dominance as predicated on consent requires some clarification as to the nature of the consent involved. While positive hegemony does not require coercion, it may be created on the basis of active or passive consent (Birchfield, 1999). When consent is passive and indirect it is based on common sense. For consent to be active and direct, it needs to be created on the basis of good sense. Like philosophy, good sense, according to Gramsci, is critical and supersedes common sense. “In this sense it [philosophy] coincides with ‘good’ as opposed to ‘common’ sense” (1971, p.326). Though common sense is fragmented and disjointed, it does contain a “healthy nucleus” of good sense “which deserves to be made more unitary and coherent” (p. 328).

A new or counter hegemony, therefore, is not constructed in order to replace one dominant order with another, rather active consent means that consent is granted critically. In other words, consent is genuine when it is arrived at through a critical process. Freire’s cultural
action for liberation, as opposed to domination, also involves genuine consent through the
development of critical consciousness via the process of conscientization. If uncritical
consciousness comprised of taken-for-granted assumptions is to be transformed, common sense
needs to become good sense. “[T]he more we practice methodically our capacity to question, to
compare, to doubt, and to weigh, the more efficaciously curious we become and the more
attuned becomes our good sense” (Freire, 1998, p. 61).

As Keane (1999) points out, the public sphere is a crucial space that creates space for
sparking debate and “shaking the world, thereby stopping it from falling asleep” (p.14). For the
solidarity movement, the public sphere was important for challenging the common sense notions
forwarded by the military regime. This involved engaging the public in critically analyzing the
information circulated by the regime and other hegemonic forces that attempted to legitimate the
coup and the physically and culturally repressive practices of the regime. This entailed producing
knowledge and involving the public in learning processes in order to transform common sense in
to good sense, a process in which exiles were also engaged in other ways within the movement
and with other movements and civil society sectors. In the section that follows, the discussion
turns to the learning and knowledge production processes involved in challenging hegemony by
transforming common sense in to good sense, a process Freire refers to as conscientization.

**Critical Learning and Social Movements: Knowledge Production in the Solidarity
Movement**

This final section focuses on Freire and Gramsci’s approaches to education and learning
and, of particular concern here, their thoughts in relation to the transformation of common sense,
or what Freire calls semi-intransitive consciousness in to critical consciousness through
conscientization. The significance of praxis in both their ways of understanding learning, and
specifically political learning, is also taken up in the context of a discussion on critical learning
and knowledge production in social movements.
Transforming Common Sense and Semi-intransitive Consciousness: Challenging Hegemony and Silence

While Gramsci discusses formal education, this discussion will focus on his ideas on political learning and their relationships with hegemony, common sense and intellectuals. His conception of education and learning was broad and stressed their diffuse nature. For Gramsci educational relationships are found across society and especially relevant to this research, in non-formal educational activities and learning processes of social movements. Gramsci was concerned with the intimate relationship between education and hegemony, asserting that “every relationship of ‘hegemony’ is necessarily an educational relationship” (Gramsci, 1971, p.350). Given his preoccupation with how hegemony can be contested, the relationship between the critical learning processes that unfold in civil society and the transformation of common sense into good sense are vital.

The familiar Gramscian terms ‘traditional’ and ‘organic’ intellectuals are commonly circulated in academic discourses. “‘Organic intellectuals’ which every new class creates alongside itself” (p. 6) give a social group “homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields” (1971, p. 5). For example, “the capitalist entrepreneur creates alongside himself the industrial technician, the specialist in political economy, the organisers of new culture, of a new legal system, etc.” (ibid). The entrepreneur has some measure of directive and technical capacity, but an elite among entrepreneurs must also be capable of organizing society more broadly, all the way up to the state because that is how the conditions most likely to expand their own class are created. While these “new intellectuals” are “specialized,” they are not necessarily “directive” or political, a point we will return to below.

The other main type of intellectual is traditional intellectuals. When each social group comes into being it creates together with itself organic intellectuals, but it also inherits traditional
intellectuals from the “categories of intellectuals already in existence” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 7). Traditional intellectuals “seemed indeed to represent an historical continuity uninterrupted even by the most complicated and radical changes in political and social forms” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 7). They appear to lend permanence because they present themselves as apolitical, that is, “they put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group” (p. 7). However, traditional intellectuals can have a hegemonic function in society, which has “consequences in the ideological and political field” (p. 7). The ones who most exemplify traditional intellectuals are the ecclesiastics, but philosophers, artists and journalists, for example, are also considered intellectuals of this type.

Gramsci (1971) argues that in trying to establish a “unitary criterion” that can characterise the many and varied activities intellectuals carry on and that can simultaneously distinguish these intellectual activities in a fundamental way from those of other social groups, the most widespread error of method seems to me that of having looked for this criterion of distinction in the intrinsic nature of intellectual activities, rather than in the ensemble of the system of relations in which these activities (and therefore the intellectual groups who personify them) have their place within the general complex of social relations (p.8).

The distinction between intellectuals and non-intellectuals is usually made on the basis of whether the work they do is more cerebral or more physical. However, all human activity involves intellectual activity. “All men [sic] are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men [sic] have in society the function of intellectuals” (p. 9). What determines a person’s position in society is not whether she or he does brain work, but particular social relations.

Gramsci (1971) explains that each human “carries on some form of intellectual activity…and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought” (p.9). It is exactly the inherently intellectual nature of humans, through “critical elaboration,” that will form the foundation of new ways of thinking about and being in the world and of a “new type of intellectual.” In contrast to the new
intellectuals referred to above, who are new in the sense that they emerged with capitalism and who are mainly the intellectuals of the dominant group, the new intellectuals Gramsci is referring to here are indeed “directive” or specialized and political.

The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, ‘permanent persuader’ and not just a simple orator (Gramsci, 1971, p. 10).

Unlike traditional intellectuals, who are more oriented towards cerebral activity, the new directive intellectuals who will lead the movements are engaged in thinking and acting, they are engaged in praxis, and unlike traditional intellectuals and what we might refer to as new non-directive intellectuals who tend to present themselves as apolitical, the new directive intellectuals embrace the political nature of their role. In Freirean terms, traditional intellectuals and non-directive intellectuals generally carry out cultural action for domination, while directive organic intellectuals engage in cultural action for liberation. Thus, while all organic intellectuals are organic to their social group, non-directive intellectuals generally serve dominant groups and contribute to maintaining hegemony and directive intellectuals challenge common sense and build a new, genuine hegemony.

That traditional intellectuals tend to support dominant groups does not mean all traditional intellectuals do. Gramsci discusses traditional intellectuals as those who remain from the previous economic structure to distinguish them from organic intellectuals who are created together with emerging social groups, and in the sense of historically having the function of intellectuals in society. Having this function does not mean all traditional intellectuals mobilize this function hegemonically. They can certainly align themselves with subaltern groups in constructing new ways of seeing and being in the world. In the same way that “any social group that is developing towards dominance” can organize hegemony by endeavouring “to assimilate and to conquer ‘ideologically’ the traditional intellectuals” (Gramsci, 1971, p.10), so too can
counterhegemonic forces, and to the extent that organic intellectuals are elaborated alongside social groups, this process is accelerated and more efficacious. The role of intellectuals in constructing and maintaining hegemony depends on their “organic quality,” their “degree of connection with a fundamental group” and the “gradation of their functions” (p. 12).

Likewise, organic intellectuals of the non-directive type may mobilize their function for cultural action for domination. The term ‘directive’ is translated from the Italian dirigente,\(^{139}\) which means leader. Non-directive organic intellectuals, Gramsci notes, are only specialized and not political. Given dirigente means leader, it seems to me that this type of intellectual is not political because she or he does not engage in leadership, since she or he does not recognize her or his function as an intellectual as political and being aware of one’s political function as an intellectual is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for leadership. Even awareness of the political nature of having the function of an intellectual in society does not mean one would engage in leadership. It does mean, however, that one chooses not to contribute to the construction of new ways of being in the world and that in so doing one is contributing to the construction and maintenance of hegemony, just as someone who is apparently unaware of the political role of intellectuals does. The way Gramsci discusses directive organic intellectuals as the “new type of intellectual” who becomes a dirigente means that they are not only conscious of the political nature of their role, but also leaders who are active participants in the construction of a new, genuine consent and political organizers who mobilize subaltern groups and create alliances across social movements and civil society sectors.

Freire’s approach to education also stems from his concern with the political nature of education itself and the emancipatory political project that education can support. For Freire, challenging hegemonic power relations was central.

\(^{139}\) Noted in footnote 9 on page 10 by the translators and editors, Hoare and Nowell Smith in Gramsci (1971).
One of the tasks of progressive popular education … is to seek, by means of a critical understanding of the mechanism of social conflict, to further the process in which the weakness of the oppressed turns into a strength capable of converting the oppressor’s strength into weakness (Freire, 1992, p. 125).

Contextualizing individuals in social, political, cultural and historical contexts is vital because analyzing and acting upon the world must be understood historically. “Reflection and action become imperative when one does not erroneously attempt to dichotomize the content of humanity from its historical forms” (Freire, 1981, p. 52).

A fundamental aspect of collective agency is critical consciousness. Oppressed individuals and groups experience a “mode of consciousness…historically conditioned by social structures [and] the principal characteristic of this consciousness…is its ‘quasi adherence’ to objective reality, or ‘quasi immersion’ in reality” (Freire, 1985, p. 75). Freire called this mode of consciousness, so important for creating a culture of silence that enables domination, semi-intransitive consciousness. It is when people see silence as mutable, when it is no longer a given, that a new phase of consciousness “emerging from silence” grows such that they begin to see what was formerly not clear. This mode of consciousness is naïve transitive consciousness and as a still dominated consciousness, it contains elements of semi-intransitive consciousness, much like, as we saw, common sense contains a “healthy nucleus” of good sense.\(^\text{140}\) While this may not imply that the culture of silence has been overcome, it does indicate the emerging protagonism of the masses as historical agents as they pressure dominant groups. This moment is not only a moment in the process of conscientization for oppressed persons and groups, it is also a moment in the developing consciousness of the power elite [because]… the silence of the popular masses would not exist but for the power elites who silence them, nor would there be a power elite without the masses…[and so, as with the masses] there is a corresponding surprise among the elites in power when they find themselves unmasked by the masses (Freire, 1985, p. 77).

\(^{140}\) More precisely, then, common sense seems to correspond with something resembling a combination of semi-intransitive and naïve transitive consciousness. The term semi-intransitive consciousness, however, does seem to imply some measure of good sense.
This transitional phase eventually gives way to an ever more critical consciousness. Freire discusses this moment as an awakening among progressive groups who increasingly ally themselves with the popular masses through diverse ways, including artistic, literary, educational and sport related means, thus realizing a “communion” with them. This was certainly the case in Chile before and during the Allende government, and in the solidarity movement. As professionals and artists, a significant number of exiles correspond with the progressive groups of intellectuals Freire refers to, or the directive organic intellectuals or dirigente Gramsci considered central to challenging the hegemony of dominant groups as allies of the popular masses. In Chile both pre and post coup, and in the solidarity movement, these alliances and the many forms of politico-cultural production created by diverse individuals and groups, from arpilleras and music to paintings and literature, were integral to the resistance inside and abroad. Creating alliances across social groups is how an historical bloc takes shape and grows to the critical point of producing transformation. We will discuss the historical bloc below.

Critical consciousness, though never complete, involves the process of conscientization. In Freire’s earlier works, he discusses this process as cultural action for liberation in the context of “a climate of prerevolution” whose dialectical contradiction is the coup d’état (Freire, 1985, p. 80). This is not to say conscientization is only relevant to full-scale revolutionary projects. There is, at the same time, an ever present orientation to revolution in the sense of radical transformation as the task of social movements, the adult educator and, though not as relevant to this research, educators in the formal education system.

As Mayo (1999) does in his book I consider it vital at this point within this discussion on conscientization and critical consciousness, that we briefly examine Freire’s life and

---

141 Revolution refers to radical transformation, not to armed struggle.
142 Mayo (1999) examines both Freire and Gramsci’s lives in his comparative book. For the moment, we will look at Freire’s life because it is most relevant to the present discussion. We will examine Gramsci’s life shortly.
experiences for two main reasons. First, it will help us understand the transitional phase between naïve transitive consciousness to critical consciousness and the context in which his thoughts on emancipatory learning developed, not only at the individual, but more importantly at the collective level. Second, and especially relevant to this research, is that Freire lived in exile following a military coup in Brazil and his reflections on the learning experiences associated with this dimension of his life are particularly illuminating in relation to the learning and knowledge production processes in which exiles were engaged.

In 1964, the Brazilian military staged a coup, removing then president João Goulart. At the time Freire was involved in a national adult literacy project Goulart had invited him to collaborate on when the coup suddenly ended this work (Mayo, 1999). Freire was arrested shortly thereafter and spent several months in jail. He spent almost sixteen years in exile. Following a short stay in Bolivia, he moved to Chile where he lived from 1964-1969. In Chile he carried out literacy work with peasants as a UNESCO consultant with the UN Food and Agriculture Organization and the Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute (Freire, 1969) during Eduardo Frei’s Christian Democrat government which preceded Allende. It was during his time in Chile that Freire completed and published two of his most well-known works, his first book, *Education as the Practice of Freedom*, originally published in Portuguese in 1967, and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, originally published in Portuguese in 1968 (Freire, 1992). He also wrote and published *Extension or Communication* during his stay, which discusses conscientization in the context of agricultural extension programs in Chile. Freire’s work in Chile had a significant impact on educators there and its socially committed nature clearly made a lasting impression on Pinochet who pronounced him “persona non grata” (Mayo, 1997).

---

143 Recall from Chapter Two that the agrarian reform began under Frei and was extended during the Allende government.
144 An interesting note about *Extension or Communication* is (Freire, 1969/2008) that the preface was written by Jacques Chonchol with whom Freire worked during the Frei government. Shortly thereafter, Chonchol became Allende’s Minister of Agriculture and was therefore responsible for the agrarian reform.
In his dialogue with the Chilean philosopher, Antonio Faundez, the two reflect on their experiences of exile and its many lessons, only a few of which are mentioned here. Freire discusses exile as a tragic experience that means a break with the past, but also one that is not entirely negative, and so “the question is whether we are capable or not of understanding the situation in which we are placed in exile and then learning from it” (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 5). Recalling what an exiled Brazilian friend and philosopher said to him in Santiago, Freire reiterates that “when you are in exile, you are living a borrowed life” and that is why “exiles have to learn…to live in a constant state of tension” (p. 10) between the life and culture they left behind and the new environment. If exiles are able to cope with this ambiguity, if they can, as Faundez says “set a conversation going between these two environments” (p.14), then their time in exile, Freire feels, “will become for them a time of hope” (p. 11). Freire also reflects on how the distance of being in new environments (in exile and travelling while in exile) enabled him to better see Brazil and himself. Similarly, because this process could take place in a way not possible by activists in Chile, exiles had a different reading of the situation in Chile (both pre and post coup) and their role in restoring a civilian government.

Just as the distance of exile creates the opportunity to see one’s country of origin and oneself from a new perspective, objectifying the world is a central aspect of conscientization. Critical consciousness involves the capacity to see the world objectively and it is precisely because humans can “emerge from the world” and reflect on it that they can objectify it and immerse themselves in it. Because hegemony is so powerful, culture has been “interiorized” and shapes human action. It therefore needs to be objectified in order to be transformed. Being critically conscious is not unique to people who have experienced a distance from their reality, but most people who have, be it because of exile or because they have lived in an environment they are not familiar with – another home, community, city or country – or because they have
travelled, would agree the experience of being removed from and confronted with a new environment sparked a reflective process that enabled them to see their original environment and themselves in a new light.

During the transitional phase of naïve transitive consciousness that is part of the awakening of the people and progressive allied groups, the prerevolutionary climate was met, in many Latin American countries, with a coup. The passivity of the people confronted with violence and arbitrary military rule is explained by the reactivation of the quasi immersion of the semi-intransitive phase of consciousness characteristic of the culture of silence. The extent of this reactivation depends on the scope of the violence of the coup and the repression that follows. A coup, as Freire argues, “qualitatively alters the process of a society’s historical transition” (1985, p. 80).

It is from this context that exiles left Chile and arrived in various countries of the world. The reactivation of the culture of silence would have had a more profound impact on Chileans who remained in Chile than for exiles who left in the years immediately following the coup, as is the case with the exiles that were interviewed in this study. As solidarity movement participants, however, they were concerned with resisting and transforming the culture of silence that was reactivated among the Chilean people as a result of the coup and the culture of silence the military regime projected to the international community.

Cultural action for freedom involves denouncing reality and announcing the future (Freire, 1985) and this process is strongly embedded in praxis because denunciation requires “a commitment to transform and there is no transformation without action” (Freire, 1981, p.76). For exiles denouncing the repression of the military dictatorship in Chile was central to their actions towards announcing the reinstatement of a civilian government in Chile, though as we shall see in subsequent chapters, not all exiles agreed as to the future they were announcing. Engaging in
cultural action for freedom, then, was central to the emancipatory project of the solidarity movement. This was evident in the learning and knowledge production processes exiles were engaged in as individuals and solidarity groups among exiles and with other civil society sectors, as well as in raising critical awareness among the general public.

Praxis, a notion we will return to momentarily, was central to both Freire and Gramsci’s emancipatory projects. Gramsci was also trying to understand how, beyond violence and other coercive means, a fascist regime could maintain its dominance. Gramsci was the General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party and a member of the Chamber of Deputies when, under Mussolini, he was arrested in 1926 and imprisoned. He died of a cerebral haemorrhage in 1937 in a clinic in Rome one month after he was released from prison on the recommendation of doctors (Mayo, 1999). It is possible the time Gramsci spent in prison created the distance analogous to that experienced by Freire in exile and similarly, Chilean exiles, and that the distance enabled a different perspective for his analyses in the Prison Notebooks.

The dialectical relationships between structure and superstructure and reflection and action were at the core of Freire and Gramsci’s theories of domination and liberation and thus, the critical learning processes involved in transformation. For Gramsci, identifying “theory and practice is a critical act, through which practice is demonstrated rational and necessary, and theory realistic and rational” (1971, p. 365). For Freire, “critical consciousness is brought about…through praxis – through the authentic union of action and reflection” (1985, p. 87), since action is only human when it is not divorced from reflection. Beyond superseding the quasi-immersion of semi-intransitive and naïve transitive consciousness, conscientization entails a “critical insertion” in reality.

According to Freire (1985), in prerevolutionary moments when the possibility of a coup is imminent, communion of revolutionary leaders with the masses is essential for cultural action
for freedom and “only praxis in the context of communion makes ‘conscientization’ a viable project” (p. 84-85). Conscientization is a collaborative project that occurs in humans among humans who are connected “by their action and by their reflection upon that action and upon the world” (p. 85). Like Freire, Gramsci (1971) discusses how “the problem of the identity of theory and practice is raised especially in the so-called transitional moments of history, that is, those moments in which the movement of transformation is at its most rapid” (p. 365). When “the objective conditions for the revolutionizing of praxis” (p. 366) exist, an historical bloc forms that “is based on the necessary reciprocity between structure and superstructure, a reciprocity which is nothing other then the real dialectical process” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 366). The revolutionary moment or “catharsis” comes about with revolutionary consciousness. Structure is “transformed into a means of freedom” (p. 367) and of creativity because it is no longer a crushing force that makes humans passive. Thus, “the cathartic process coincides with the chain of synthesis which have resulted from the evolution of the dialectic” (p. 367).

Critical consciousness, Freire argues, has not necessarily come about when transformation has taken place. Conscientization is a continuous process, such that “when the annunciation becomes concrete” (1985, p. 86), critical consciousness becomes even more important, “both horizontally and vertically” (ibid). Just as humans are “beings in the process of becoming…unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality” (Freire, 1981, p. 72), cultural action for freedom at the heart of transformation must become “permanent cultural revolution” (Freire, 1985, p. 86). It is through the continuous process of conscientization that myths are dispelled and naïve transitive consciousness can become critical consciousness and avoid distortion, and thus fanatic consciousness.

The centrality of local knowledge in the process of conscientization is a point Freire consistently defended, despite critiques from people who interpreted his concern with local
knowledge as though what he was proposing was that the critical learning process revolves around and stops at common sense knowledge. Freire (1992) thinks these critiques are based on misreading his texts because what he proposed is that local knowledge generated from lived experience is the starting point for conscientization. While a respect for local culture is vital, it does not mean staying only with popular knowledge, or with more critical knowledge, without “a view to getting beyond” both. As discussed above, conscientization is an on-going process that demands constant criticality.

Being “conscious selves” involves two forms of knowing. The first is the knowing that results from exposing ourselves to the world, without necessarily asking ourselves about it and so, it is “made from pure experience” (Freire, 2005, pp. 167-168). The second is the knowing generated by distancing ourselves through objectification, which offers “the thinking subject a margin of security that does not exist in the first kind of knowing, that of common sense” (p. 168). Local knowledge, then can be understood as knowledge generated through lived experience that is tied to common sense. We can conclude, however, that to the extent that it goes unquestioned, it is common sense and the more critical it becomes, the more it is transformed in to good sense. Local knowledge, then, does not always amount only to common sense. Likewise, local knowledge, that was central to the solidarity movement, would constitute common sense to the extent that it went unquestioned. Exiles, however, were constantly engaged in praxis and, as we will see in subsequent chapters, many of their common sense notions were transformed. In drawing on their own lived experience, on that of Chileans who remained in Chile, and of non-Chileans in Canada, exiles continuously critically analyzed the situation in Chile, their condition as exiles and as solidarity movement participants.
The Power of Love and Hope

Freire always hoped for and had faith “in the creation of a world in which it will be easier to love” (1981, p. 24). For Freire love is a fundamental dimension of education and hence, conscientization. “The naming of the world is not possible if it is not infused with love” (1981, p. 77). Love means commitment to other humans and to liberation. Only when oppression is eradicated “is it possible to restore the love which that situation made impossible” (p. 78). Love must “be an ‘armed love,’” the fighting love of those convinced of the right and duty to fight, to denounce, and to announce” (Freire, 2005, p. 74), which also requires courage in order “to fight and to love” (p. 75). The creative and emancipatory nature of revolution necessitates perceiving the revolution “as an act of love” (Freire, 1981, p. 77, note 4) and the fact that the capitalist world has distorted the word ‘love’ does not take away from the loving nature of the revolution, nor from revolutionaries “affirming their love of life” (p. 78, note 4).

Together with love, Freire advocates what he calls a utopian pedagogy because for him hope is essential for liberation. He points out, however, that “to be utopian is not to be merely idealistic or impractical,” (1985, p. 57). It is not sufficient to hope for transformation to become a reality. Reflective action is necessary for the dream to be realized. Hope is found in praxis, in “the unity [of] denunciation and annunciation” (p. 58) and without annunciation “hope is impossible” (p. 58). It is precisely because utopian hope implies transformation that dominant groups, who are themselves dominated and who seek to maintain the status quo through cultural action for domination, “have nothing to announce… [and why they] can never be utopian” (p.58). Conversely, cultural action for freedom involves humans, who as uncompleted beings, are motivated by hope in the continuous emancipatory project of becoming more fully human. Hope is what keeps the possibility of making the dream a reality on the horizon.
While having to leave Chile was difficult, exiles never lost hope that a civilian government would be restored in Chile. The political culture of the Chilean Left was vital to solidarity movement actions and their vision and values were intimately tied to their learning once abroad. The conceptual tools discussed in this chapter will help us understand these processes and in particular, how praxis and conscientization were central to the learning and knowledge production processes within the solidarity movement, as well as how the relationships among hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere can help us understand learning and knowledge production among the public. However, before we turn to the findings we will examine the methodology and data collection methods in the next chapter. First it examines sources used in historical research, focusing on oral history interviewing. Next the chapter explains how data was collected, introduces the study participants and details how the data was analyzed. The chapter ends by discussing issues of soundness and rigour.
CHAPTER FIVE: Research with Chilean Exiles in the Solidarity Movement: A Qualitative Study using Historical Methods

It is better to remain silent and forget. It is the only thing we should do. We have to forget…FOR-GET: that is the word, and for this to happen, both sides have to forget.

- Augusto Pinochet, September 13th, 1995, translation mine

The military regime aimed to induce amnesia among the Chilean people. While deaths and disappearances were investigated by the Rettig Commission during the early years of Patricio Aylwin’s administration, the first post-dictatorship government, it was not until 2004 that political imprisonment and torture was investigated by the Valech Commission. If it took fourteen years after the reinstatement of a civilian government for these latter human rights violations to be recognized, it is certainly no surprise that even now exile is not a topic of public debate. The absence of exile and return to Chile from discussions about memory was evident in commemorations on the thirtieth anniversary of the military coup in 2003 in Chile (Rebolledo, 2006b).

Given how exile has largely been erased from the collective memory of Chileans (Cancino, 2003), recording experiences of exile is vital. One of the purposes of this research was to document an important dimension of Chilean exile – the solidarity movement. Specifically, this study uses qualitative historical methods to understand the learning experiences and knowledge production processes in which Chilean solidarity movement participants were...

---


146 Recall from Chapter Two that the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación [National Truth and Reconciliation Commission] is commonly known as the Rettig Commission and that the Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación [National Reparation and Reconciliation Corporation] extended the Rettig Commission’s work.

147 Recall from Chapter Two that the Comisión Nacional de Prisión Política y Tortura [National Political Imprisonment and Torture Commission] is commonly known as the Valech Commission.
engaged. The chapter begins by briefly discussing sources used in historical research, then examines oral history interviewing. Next it describes the data collection procedures and introduces the participants. Finally, the methods used for data analysis and issues of soundness and rigour are addressed.

**Historical Research Methods**

Depending on the researcher’s aims, historical research may be undertaken to understand and/or explain social change by discovering the laws of history to describe causes and effects, in order to make generalizations and predict the future, to describe causes and effects within a given context only, to understand the meaning of events and experiences, and/or to recreate historical descriptions and explanations. This study sought to understand the learning experiences and processes of solidarity movement participants, with a particular focus on Chilean exiles. The learning experiences of exiles are embedded in their experiences of exile and are subjective appreciations of their lives. This inquiry did not attempt to try to capture an objective reality, rather an intersubjective understanding of how exiles constructed and reconstructed meaning in the context of their experiences. Historical research methods were used in this study because they were the best way of collecting data to answer the research questions I sought to address. The research questions are:

1) What collective learning practices and processes were Chilean exiles engaged in within the context of the solidarity movement?

2) How was knowledge produced and reproduced within the movement and in relation to the wider public?

A variety of sources are used in historical research, including artifacts, written and oral accounts of events and experiences, and an assortment of documents. Sources fall into two categories, primary and secondary. While data can be gathered from either, primary sources are
preferred, since they are first-hand accounts of events and experiences, whereas secondary sources are produced based on primary sources and are thus second-hand accounts. All sources involve some level of interpretation because even first-hand information is generated from the perspective of the person who produced the written or oral source. Nevertheless, primary sources, which had a direct relationship with the events under study, are considered more valuable than secondary sources (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Most often archival materials, including personal journals, newspapers, (auto)biographies, government documents, diaries, oral histories, and records kept by private, non-governmental and/or non-profit organizations, are employed in historical research (Howell & Prevenier, 2001).

Useful sources in conducting historical research on social movements include documents produced by organizations, newspaper archives and oral histories. Though all of these sources can be helpful in researching past social movements, the focus of the research establishes which are most valuable. For example, newspaper archives are particularly useful if protest events and repertoires, and/or framing and grievances are the topics of interest to the researcher (Clemens & Hughes, 2002). This information is still important for other research foci, but may not be the principal source of data.

In this study, primary sources formed the bulk of the data. While newspaper archives were consulted, the informal personal archives of participants and a collection kept at The University of British Columbia (which is described in more detail below) were the main sources of written materials. Given the purposes of this study and that documentary information for some social movements can be limited, as is the case with the solidarity movement,148 oral histories were the most valuable source of data. Oral histories generated rich data on dimensions of the movement that would not be and was not available from written sources, including the

---

148 Formal and informal archives did contain extensive materials, however, the availability of artefacts and documents was limited in that their provenance was not from a wide range of solidarity movement groups.
experiences of rank-and-file members of the movement\textsuperscript{149} in relation to cultural re/production, collective identities, dynamics and networks (Blee & Taylor, 2002), all of which was strongly related to the learning experiences and knowledge production processes in which solidarity movement participants were engaged.

**Oral Histories**

The term oral history research is used to refer to research that entails interviewing people about their life, focusing on their individual and collective experiences to different degrees. Researchers may be interested in individual life histories, their relation to collective events and experiences and/or oral traditions. Life histories may be autobiographical or biographical, involving one person in a research project. Together, a number of life histories may be explored in the context of broader events and experiences. The researcher may also be concerned with a particular period of history, concentrating more on individual accounts of collective experiences. Finally, researchers interested in oral tradition focus on knowledge of history and traditions passed on through successive generations orally.

Oral histories were employed in this research to understand the learning experiences of exiles who participated in the solidarity movement. Oral history interviews enabled me to create “a robust or ‘thick’ description of a historical period or situation from the perspective of those who lived through that time” (Blee & Taylor, 2002, p. 102). This is especially important in the context of the military regime, which used censorship in place of public dialogue (Rebolledo, 2006b), in an effort to silence opposition and erase exile and the atrocities committed by the regime from the collective memory of Chileans and therefore, “the testimonies represent what the regime has sought to evaporate” (Pratt, 2000, p.20, cited in Rebolledo, 2006b, p. 17, translation mine). If exile is already marginalized, the experiences of exiled political leaders,

\textsuperscript{149} While many key informants were interviewed, they too were rank-and-file members of the solidarity movement, as opposed to high profile Popular Unity ministers and leaders in exile.
which figured most prominently in the mass media when the retorno\textsuperscript{150} began, has made exile a predominantly masculine experience of high profile individuals. This has further marginalized the experiences of women exiles, youth and children, and also of everyday men (Rebolledo, 2006b). Oral histories are perhaps the only way to document and understand the lived experience of exiles, including their experiences in the solidarity movement, and of constructing collective memory through a multiplicity of voices (Rebolledo, 2006b).

Interviewing women and men exiles who were rank-and-file members of the solidarity movement counters the regime’s attempts to erase exile from the collective memory of Chileans and creates a collective memory of experiences of exile from the perspective of everyday people who participated in the movement. Though this study did not focus on women, seven of the interviewees, out of a total of seventeen Chilean exiles who participated in the study, were women, which contributes to capturing and understanding the experiences of women exiles. In addition, another two participants were women who were members of a non-Chilean solidarity movement group. Documenting the oral histories of these nine women, who make up approximately half of the interviewees, furthers what is known about the experiences of women in the solidarity movement. Of the ten Chilean exile men who participated in the study none were high profile leaders of the movement, and therefore, the study also contributes to understanding the experiences of everyday men in the solidarity movement.

Since oral histories do not restrict history to the histories of the powerful, in this case, the military regime, or to high ranking leaders, they enable the interpretation of events and experiences that may not have been included the “official” version of Chilean history. Oral histories “always cast new light on unexplored areas of the daily life of the nonhegemonic classes” (Portelli, 1991, p.50). They provide data from a grassroots perspective (Thompson, 1988) and therefore, contribute to documenting and understanding the past in a way written

\textsuperscript{150} Recall from Chapter Three that retorno refers to the return of exiles to Chile.
records rarely capture. Oral history “provides a means for radical transformation of the social meaning of history” (Thompson, 1998, p. 28).

Using oral sources can also generate data that goes beyond what happened to what people aspired to do, what they thought they were doing and how they see what they did in retrospect (Portelli, 1991). What “makes oral history different, therefore, is that it tells us less about events than about their meaning…the unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian and which no other sources possess in equal measure is the speaker’s subjectivity” (ibid, p. 50). This subjectivity, however, is not a limitation, but an asset in that it expresses to all those involved in the interview process (one or more participants and the researcher) a great deal about how people interpret their experiences and therefore, what their experiences mean to them. Subjectivity in oral history is unavoidable and vital to the meaning-making process and understanding lived experience is exactly what qualitative research aims to do (Yow, 2005).

Closely tied to subjectivity is memory. The relationship between history and memory has been conceptualized in different, yet often related ways. Some oral history scholars suggest conceptualizing history as a collection of memories tied together by themes (Slessor, 2006). From this perspective, neither the relative truth of past experience nor laws of history are more relevant than understanding history as the meaning-making process by which humans construct themselves and the past. Another way of imagining memory is as ideal, physical and cultural “sites of memory” where the process of collective meaning-making unfolds (Nora & Kritzman, 1996). While this notion highlights the spatial dimension of memories, it does not capture the meshing of past and present ideas because it implicitly makes memory and history mutually exclusive (McGregor, 2005). In addition, the tensions between memory and place and the contradictory nature of historical experience (Gordillo, 2005), and the ways in which collective
memories are used by leaders for collective action (Harris, 2006) are important issues in understanding and interpreting oral history interviews.

Historians working from a positivist epistemological perspective concerned with “facts” and objectivity have questioned how memory and the researcher-participant relationship affect oral histories (Thomson, 2006).\(^{151}\) We have already established that objectivity – both in terms of arriving at the “truth” about the past and not “interfering” in the interview process – is not the goal of this research and that subjectivity is one of the strengths of oral history as a method for generating data on past events and experiences. The distortions that supposedly make memory unreliable are not then of central concern to research that seeks to understand the past precisely from the subjective perspective of individuals and groups. As the well-known Colombian writer and journalist, Gabriel García Márquez,\(^{152}\) (2002) wrote in the epigraph to his memoirs, “life is not what one lived, but what one remembers, and how one remembers it in order to tell it.”\(^{153}\) Remembering is about reconstructing and reinterpreting the past with the social referents of the present (Rebolledo, 2006b). Through the active process of creating meaning (Portelli, 1991), individual and collective memory is continually reconstructed. Oral history interviewing makes it possible for collective memory to be integrated by a multiplicity of voices, most significantly, the voices of the marginalized. Today memory is “a respected historical source” (Thomson, 2006, p.62) with which many disciplines and fields work, including qualitative sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and literary, cultural and interdisciplinary studies.

Oral histories are generated out of a collaboration between the narrator and interviewer (Portelli, 1991; Yow, 2005) and thus the relationship between them influences the interview process. Power relations along various dimensions – researcher-participant, as well as age, ethnicity, class and gender – affect the oral history created, as do rapport, trust, the questions

\(^{151}\) Issues of reliability and credibility will be taken up later.
\(^{152}\) Gabriel García Márquez won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1982.
\(^{153}\) *Vivir para Contarla* [Living to Tell the Tale] is the first volume of an autobiographical trilogy.
asked and how the interview unfolds. In addition, both narrator and interviewer are affected by the interview process. While this process is potentially affirming and destabilizing (Rickard, 1998, cited in Yow, 2005), the narrator has the opportunity to think through past events and experiences and what they mean for them and to share this with another person who considers their experiences and reflections valuable. This validation is particularly important for people who are devalued in society (Yow, 2005), like the rank-and-file Chilean exiles who were part of the solidarity movement whose experiences are scarcely documented.

The interview process was as much a learning experience for the Chilean exiles who reflected on and articulated their experiences as it was for me. The critical reflection that takes place during the interview process results in large part because of the time elapsed and therefore the distance created by interviews realized decades after the coup and the participation of exiles in the solidarity movement. As we saw in the previous chapter, a central aspect of conscientization is objectifying the world in order to critically analyze it and that distance is key to this process. Exiles who are removed from their past in Chile and the solidarity movement through time are in a position to reflect on the past and what they have learned from their experiences precisely because of the distance they have from these events and experiences. While exiles had certainly reflected on some of the experiences they shared during interviews, there were many others they had never thought through or that they saw differently as a result of reflecting on and articulating their experiences during the interview. This does not mean their subjectivity was not at play, rather that because of distance they can be more critical of events and experiences, and their interpretations of them. Perhaps the most significant learning experience for me was that through the exiles’ oral histories I learned more about the Chilean exile community in Vancouver so that I now have a more complete and diverse sense of their

---

154 The narrator-interviewer relationship in the context of this study is discussed in the data collection procedure section below.
experiences. This is important for me coming from a Chilean exile family and for the aims of this study. Not only does this research contribute to documenting the experiences of Chilean exiles, it contributes to understanding the meaning of these experiences and in particular, of the solidarity movement and related learning experiences.

**Data Collection Procedures**

To document and understand the learning experiences of Chilean exiles in the context of their participation in the solidarity movement in Canada, data was gathered from formal and informal archival materials and oral histories (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Data collection began with examining newspaper archives in October 2007 and archival materials in November of 2007 and continued after I began interviews. The nature of solidarity movement activities became evident mainly in the Canadians for Democracy in Chile (CDC) fonds, but also in newspaper articles. While newspaper articles and the CDC fonds helped me identify some solidarity movement groups, mapping the Chilean exile community and solidarity movement with community contacts proved far more informative in this respect. Newspaper articles provided information on some solidarity movement actions and were useful for getting a sense of how solidarity movement events were covered by the media. The CDC fonds contained extensive information on that group and several exile groups involved in the solidarity movement. Of particular significance were the meeting minutes, correspondence, activity announcements and flyers, concert programs, and newsletters produced by CDC and exile groups. Together with materials obtained from participants’ personal archives, these materials helped in the development of interview questions. Oral history interviews were conducted between January and June 2008.

---

155 The materials from participants’ personal archives were made available during the first month of interviews.
Formal Archives

Several archives were consulted in conducting this research. One source was newspaper archives, including the Vancouver Sun, The Ubyssey, Globe & Mail, The Ottawa Citizen, The Gazette (Montreal) and the Toronto Star. Of particular significance are the Canadians for Democracy in Chile fonds kept at The University of British Columbia (UBC) Library Rare Books and Special Collections division. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Canadians for Democracy in Chile was established in Vancouver within weeks of the 1973 military coup in Chile. Since CDC will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter (six), I will not go into detail here; however for the purpose of understanding the importance of these fonds as a source of data, it is worth pointing out that as part of the solidarity movement, this group carried out a range of important activities, often collaborating with Chilean exiles and an array of civil society groups. As such, the fonds provide rich information about the solidarity movement as a whole and on exile groups. For example, the CDC kept newsletters published by exile groups and minutes record the presence of representatives from exile groups at meetings. The fonds consist of the following materials:

• administrative records - minutes of meetings, records of donations, mailing lists, sponsor lists, donor lists, membership rosters, committee rosters
• resolutions
• press releases
• correspondence – letters sent and received, telegrams
• publications – newsletters, flyers, produced by CDC and by other groups and organizations
• newspaper clippings
• photographs
• posters

Participants’ Informal Archives

Most participants no longer had any materials from their days in the solidarity movement. A number stated that at some point after 1990, they decided to divest themselves of the materials because they were taking up much needed storage space and they did not think they would be of
any interest to anyone. A notable exception is one participant who had recently found a box of materials in her basement, which she generously offered for use in this research. The extensive compilation consists mainly of correspondence, cultural event announcements and programs, newspaper clippings, posters, flyers, photos, newsletters and documents primarily related to logistical aspects of coordinating events. Examples of the materials a few other participants saved include items from boycott campaigns and cultural events - posters, buttons, concert programs - and a collection of the journal *Araucaria de Chile* produced by exiles with contributions from across the diaspora and published in Europe (see Chapter Three for more on this journal).

**Oral History Interviews**

Chilean exiles expressed a great deal of enthusiasm for this research project. They commented on the importance of this kind of research for the Chilean exile community for documenting and learning about experiences of exile and the solidarity movement. Many exiles thought it was significant that coming from an exile family, someone of my generation (those of us who arrived as children or who were born outside Chile) is interested in exile experiences and the solidarity movement. As one woman said, “0.1%...have really suffered this Junta thing and are interested…I wish they had this more inside them and it’s not” (Teresa, Interview).

**Identifying Potential Participants**

To identify exiles who might be interested in participating in this study, I contacted acquaintances in the Chilean community to map the Chilean exile community during the period under study (1973-1990). The contacts identified solidarity movement groups and individuals from different groups. I also asked these contacts to post a recruitment ad on bulletin boards and to circulate it on e-mail lists. Ultimately, participants were recruited from the groups and individuals identified by community contacts as I did not receive any responses to the
recruitment ad. The contacts also became research participants because they met the criteria and were eager to contribute to the study.

After mapping the Chilean exile community as it existed during the solidarity movement, purposive sampling was used to recruit participants from a cross-section of exile groups and individuals according to the following criteria: 1) women and men Chilean exiles who left after the 1973 coup and 2) active in the solidarity movement. Active was defined as group members and non-group members who coordinated and realized activities, supported and/or participated in these activities. While the reason I defined active broadly was because I wanted people who were involved to varying degrees to contribute, my intent was to recruit the majority of participants from the pool of individuals whose level of involvement was relatively high as they would be in the best position to supply relevant data about the solidarity movement and their related learning experiences.

In addition to exiles, I decided to interview two members of Canadians for Democracy in Chile based on the information contacts shared with me about their extensive involvement in the solidarity movement. Including these two individuals meant I was able to capture the perspectives of non-Chilean solidarity movement participants and interview members of the group who donated the materials in the CDC fonds at UBC. The importance of interviewing these two women was confirmed when many exiles I interviewed mentioned their names and spoke to the important work the CDC carried out. This was also the case among Chilean exiles. During interviews, the names of people who had participated in different solidarity movement groups when I mapped the community with contacts came up time and time again as key individuals, assuring me the research sample included participants who played vital roles in the movement.
While this study does not specifically focus on gender, it was important to interview both women and men Chilean exiles to learn about the learning practices and processes of solidarity movement participants as a whole and to do that, the perspectives of both women and men were important. In the case of CDC, I am not in a position to offer any insights in this respect, since I interviewed two women. This not only means I do not have sufficient data about the experiences of non-Chilean men in the solidarity movement, it also means conclusions cannot be drawn about the experiences of non-Chilean women in the movement based on these two interviews. However, together with data gathered from Chilean women exiles, the data does offer some important insights about women’s experiences in the solidarity movement.

All the interviews done with exiles in this study involved individuals with whom I shared an ethnocultural understanding as Chilean exiles, though not of the same generation. In most cases we also shared the same class, and in the case of women participants, the same gender. The dimensions along which we were not similar were age and the narrator-interviewer relationship. That we have a common ethnoculture was important in that we share cultural codes with respect to conversation dynamics, and understanding Chilean Spanish, expressions and humour, for example.

A total of nineteen solidarity movement participants were interviewed – seventeen Chilean exiles and two non-Chileans from CDC. The resulting sample included individuals recruited from a wide range of groups that formed the solidarity movement in Vancouver. Table 1 shows the distribution of participants in each group.
Table 1 – Participant Distribution across Solidarity Movement Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vancouver Chilean Association&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socialists – Group A</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 former Vancouver Chilean Association member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 former Vancouver Chilean Association member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communists - Chilean Housing Coop</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(former Vancouver Chilean Association member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socialists – Group B</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario Ayudistas (Support Group)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canadians for Democracy in Chile</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Supporters&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 women <em>(1 former Vancouver Chilean Association member)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 men <em>(1 former Vancouver Chilean Association member)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> One woman was later a member of MIR and one woman and one man were later members of the Socialists. These three individuals appear twice, since they are included in the Vancouver Chilean Association and in their respective subsequent groups. One woman and one man did not do not join any group after their participation in the Vancouver Chilean Association. While the table includes all nineteen people who were interviewed, the two individuals who were not later members of any group appear in supporters and three people were never members of any solidarity movement group. Therefore, the total number of people in the six centre groups is fourteen.

<sup>b</sup> The MIR group also organized the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Chile, of which the woman was a member.

<sup>c</sup> Three individuals included here were never members of any solidarity movement group. However, one of the men participated in community groups and organizations related to the Latin American community in Vancouver and Canada.

Of the seventeen Chilean exiles I interviewed, seven were women and ten were men. When the two women from CDC are added, nine women participated in the study, making the sample approximately half women and half men. Women and men are represented in each of the
following exile groups: the Vancouver Chilean Association, two Socialist groups, Communists, Revolucionaria (MIR) [Revolutionary Movement of the Left]. In addition to these groups, I interviewed one man who was a member of the MIR Ayudistas [MIR Support Group], one woman had also been a member of the Chilean Calgary group before she moved to Vancouver, and two other participants were also involved in other groups that while relevant to the Latin American community, were not part of the solidarity movement. The Vancouver Chilean Association was the first exile group that formed in Vancouver. Several exiles were members of this group and later members of other groups, some did not subsequently join any groups and others were never members of this group because they arrived in Vancouver after it dissolved.

Almost all participants were group members whose participation went beyond supporting the solidarity movement by attending events or occasionally performing tasks related to movement activities. Table 2 details each participant’s group membership and role in these groups. People who were interviewed alone appear individually and couples appear together.

156 The history of the solidarity movement will be discussed in detail in the next Chapter Six where the significance of the groups will be clearer.
Table 2 – Group Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Group Membership</th>
<th>Role&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanca</td>
<td>Chilean Calgary</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Communists – Saskatchewan</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Communists – Vancouver</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adela</td>
<td>Socialists (both)</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego</td>
<td></td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco</td>
<td>Socialists (both)</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriela</td>
<td>Gabriela was also a member of Latin American community organizations.</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergio</td>
<td>Vancouver Chilean Association (both)</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcela</td>
<td>Socialists (both)</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberto</td>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matias</td>
<td>MIR Ayudistas</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilar</td>
<td>Vancouver Chilean Association</td>
<td>second president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Chile</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>Vancouver Chilean Association (both)</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Later not members of any group</td>
<td>supporter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>both supporters of activities organized by diverse groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilio</td>
<td>not members of any group</td>
<td>supporters of activities organized by diverse groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignacio</td>
<td>Latin American community groups</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elspeth</td>
<td>Canadians for Democracy in Chile</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>Canadians for Democracy in Chile</td>
<td>organizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Roles are defined as follows: leaders refer to people who played leadership roles, not to whether they were official leaders of their respective groups or political parties and who most often were also organizers; organizers are people who participated in meetings, coordinated and carried out activities; and supporters are people who mainly attended solidarity movement activities and who were occasionally organizers.
Participant Profiles

Since a more detailed account of participant stories will be presented in the upcoming chapter (six), the profiles of the Chilean exiles who participated in the study presented here are intended as a general description which provides mainly demographic information (please see Table 3 below). Aside from two individuals, all the Chilean exiles I interviewed left Chile during 1974 and 1975, corresponding with the initial post-coup wave of arrival in Canada. One left in December of 1973 and one in 1980. Approximately half lived in Santiago and the other half in various cities close to Santiago and the southern region of Chile. While most travelled directly to Canada, one couple first went to Argentina, one man and one woman (not a couple and interviewed individually) went to the United States before travelling to Canada. The majority of the exiles entered Canada as landed immigrants; however, several entered either as refugees or commuted their prison sentence to exile. More than half of the exiles arrived in Vancouver and the others in Victoria, Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Montreal before moving to Vancouver the same year they arrived and or several years after arriving in Canada.

Most of the exiles were in their late twenties or early thirties and nearly all of them were married and had small children when they arrived. Like many Chilean exiles, a number of participants were later divorced; some remarried and others did not, however, most are still married to the same person with which they left Chile. The majority are university educated professionals who came from a middle class background and today, all are middle class, including those who came from a working class background.
### Table 3 – Exile Profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Circumstances under which arrived in Canada</th>
<th>Month and Year of Departure from Chile/Destination</th>
<th>Month and/or Year/Place of Arrival in Canada</th>
<th>Month and/or Year of arrival in Vancouver</th>
<th>Marital Status upon Arrival/Children</th>
<th>Level of Education/Occupation in Chile and eventually in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Landed immigrant</td>
<td>April 1975 Canada</td>
<td>April 1975 Calgary</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Married 2 children born in Canada</td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanca</td>
<td>Commuted prison sentence to exile</td>
<td>December 1975 Canada</td>
<td>December 1975 Calgary</td>
<td>May 1985</td>
<td>Married No children</td>
<td>secondary school/unskilled labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Commuted prison sentence to exile</td>
<td>September 1975 Canada</td>
<td>September 1975 Saskatoon</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Married 3 children</td>
<td>professional/skilled labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilio</td>
<td>Landed immigrants</td>
<td>July 1975 Canada</td>
<td>July 1975 Vancouver</td>
<td>July 1975</td>
<td>Married 2 children</td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignacio</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>January 1974 United States</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Married 1 child</td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adela</td>
<td>UN Refugees</td>
<td>April 1974 Argentina</td>
<td>October 1974 Vancouver</td>
<td>October 1974</td>
<td>Married 2 children</td>
<td>technical college/stay-at-home mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>technical college/specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco</td>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td>June 1975 Canada</td>
<td>June 1975 Vancouver</td>
<td>June 1975</td>
<td>Married 3 children</td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriela</td>
<td>Landed immigrant under special government</td>
<td>September 1975 Canada</td>
<td>September 1975 Vancouver</td>
<td>September 1975</td>
<td></td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberto</td>
<td>Landed immigrant</td>
<td>April 1974 Canada</td>
<td>April 1974 Edmonton</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Married Baby in utero</td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcela</td>
<td>UN Refugees</td>
<td>May 1974 Canada</td>
<td>May 1974 Vancouver</td>
<td>May 1974</td>
<td>Married 1 child 1 child born in Canada</td>
<td>secondary school/clerical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>Landed immigrants</td>
<td>February 1975</td>
<td>February 1975</td>
<td>July 1975</td>
<td>Married 3 children</td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1975 Canada</td>
<td>April 1975 Montreal (both)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>university/professional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interview Process

Most interviews were conducted in participants’ homes. At the request of participants, two were conducted at the participant’s office, one was conducted in a café and one other in my home. In the majority of cases, we spent at least half an hour chatting, which helped establish rapport and discuss the study. Prior to taping interviews I reviewed the information covered in the consent forms with participants and after addressing any questions, participants were asked to sign the consent form and given a copy for their records. The interview guide (see Appendix) included questions that covered demographic information, political participation in Chile and in Canada, focusing on the solidarity movement, learning processes related to their experiences in the solidarity movement and as exiles, and current political activities. Oral history interviews followed a semi-structured format. This approach provided consistency in terms of topics covered in each interview while at the same time creating opportunities for exploring these and emergent topics, events and experiences in more depth.

Seven participants were interviewed individually and twelve (six couples) were interviewed together. In almost all cases couples had participated in the solidarity movement together and in all cases both were interested in participating in the study. Each couple was asked if they would prefer to be interviewed separately or together and if they chose to be interviewed separately, whether they would prefer to be interviewed alone. With one exception, all chose to be interviewed together. In these cases, interviews were conducted with both individuals present and participating simultaneously. In the case of the couple that chose to be interviewed separately, both were present, but interviewed individually. The couples that chose to be interviewed together were married at the time they participated in the solidarity movement and still are and the couple that chose to be interviewed separately were not in a relationship
when they were involved in the movement and have been in a common-law relationship for over ten years.

The main advantage in interviewing couples together has to do with process. By describing and reflecting on their experiences in each other’s presence, they shared their individual perspective and dialogued with each other. What transpired is they sometimes validated what the other person said and at other times questioned it or offered a different point of view. If anything, this enriched the data. In terms of content, in many ways the data from couple interviews paralleled individual interviews. Both women and men who were interviewed individually described similar experiences as women and men who were interviewed as a couple. When they concurred, across couples and the majority and sometimes all interviews, the data reflected that in some respects participants had experienced the solidarity movement in a similar fashion. When couples questioned each other, it was evidence that experiences had differed or that the person being questioned had not looked at certain experiences from a different perspective. In these cases, the person whose interpretation had been questioned sometimes saw an alternative point of view, adding it to their own, sometimes abandoning their own in light of seeing through a new lens, and at other times, rejecting the alternative interpretation in disagreement. Couple interviews also helped with recall about dates and details of solidarity movement activities. However, since arriving at an objective account of events and experiences was not the aim of this research, the significance of interviewing couples together is that their interactions enhanced the richness of the data, particularly with respect to their reflections on experiences. Thus, couple interviews had the advantage of in-depth one-on-one interviews and of dialogue in focus groups such that differences and similarities can be discussed (Morgan, 1988, cited in Palys, 2003), while avoiding the disadvantages of the focus group set-up, which can
make some people uncomfortable, less willing to express themselves for fear of ridicule or to project a particular public image (Palys, 2003).

Interviews with individuals lasted between one and three hours, with most taking at least one and a half hours. Interviews with couples ranged from one hour and 15 minutes to three hours, with several lasting two to three hours. The interviews flowed as free conversation so that topics were covered as they arose, rather than in a set order and events and experiences that arose were probed in more depth. All interviews were tape recorded and conducted in Spanish.

Although all participants are fluent in English, Spanish continues to be the language Chilean exiles most often use at home and as newcomers to Canada in the 1970s, Spanish was even more integral to their lives and their involvement with the solidarity movement. Conducting the interviews in Spanish meant participants could share their experiences in the solidarity movement and express themselves in the language that is so closely tied to their identity. Given I am a Chilean-Canadian who is fluent in Spanish, I understood the vocabulary, grammar, idioms and slang particular to Chilean Spanish used by interviewees. This was essential because it diminished concerns about “issues of meaning and interpretation [that] arise when someone other than the researcher translates spoken or written words” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 112, italics in original), since I conducted and transcribed all the interviews and translated all excerpts that appear in this dissertation. In addition, the meaning of language, which can vary with intonation for example, was entirely clear to me because I interviewed all participants myself and transcribed all the interviews.

Data Analysis

The data analysis processes involved in examining and making sense of the data collected in this study were guided by the research questions. Nevertheless, I approached the data in an inductive manner. That is, I coded the data and generated themes from the raw data,
rather than beginning with a “start list” (Miles & Huberman, 1994) of predetermined codes. While I was familiar with the theorists and concepts discussed in the previous chapter, I did not begin with codes constructed from these concepts and look for instances in the data that fit these categories. Data analysis was an iterative process (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) which involved continuously collecting, organizing and coding data, generating themes, interpreting data and going back and forth between the data and the literature, as well as the data and interview questions. The raw data was constantly revisited throughout the data collection, analysis and writing processes, all of which were interconnected. Thus, while I coded the data inductively, the entire research process was simultaneously inductive and deductive. This practice is widely accepted in qualitative research precisely because it is emergent and therefore, investigators move between data and theories (Willis, 2007).

Archival Materials

Since data collection began with formal archival materials, analysis began at this point. Newspaper articles are often used in social movement research as a source of data on protest events, repertoires, framing and grievances, networks and activist careers (Clemens & Hughes, 2002) and they did provide important information on these facets of the solidarity movement. The number of articles that reported on solidarity movement actions was, however, limited because many actions were not covered by the media. Given the main focus of this study was not on protest events, repertoires, framing and grievances, networks and activist careers, the data newspaper articles provided were considered together with the materials contained in the CDC fonds, participants’ informal archives and oral history interviews, all of which generated much richer data on these aspects, in order to learn about solidarity movement actions, strategies, networks. Therefore, while newspaper articles were thematically analyzed to some extent, the
bulk of thematic analysis was done with oral history interview data and materials in the CDC fonds and participants’ informal archives.

I approached the documents in the CDC fonds by reading through a variety of materials, including correspondence, bulletins published by the CDC and other solidarity movement groups, press releases, meeting minutes, newspaper articles and event announcements. The participant who made her extensive personal archives available to me was interviewed within the first month of the interview phase, at which time she gave me the materials she had. The materials contained in the fonds and this personal collection were initially organized in relation to several groupings and criteria.\(^{157}\) For example, specific types of activities\(^ {158}\) (e.g. rallies, concerts, public meetings, boycott campaigns, lectures, *peñas*)\(^ {159}\) and publications (e.g. newsletters produced by various solidarity movement groups). Much of what the personal collection consisted of could be grouped under these first two kinds of materials as was the case with some of the CDC materials. Documents from the CDC fonds were also organized into additional sets, such as correspondence and administrative records, which were arranged according to specific kinds of documents. For example, administrative records were grouped as meeting minutes, resolutions and press releases, etc. In some cases a particular sub-grouping contained so much material that it became necessary to further subdivide the materials. For example, after newsletters were grouped together by title, some were organized chronologically, as was correspondence, in addition to being arranged according to the group or organization it was sent to and/or received from.

\(^{157}\) While the materials from the CDC fonds and the participant’s personal archives were kept separate in order to distinguish the source, I approached the materials in a similar fashion.

\(^{158}\) Materials grouped with each kind of activity might include event announcements, concert programs, leaflets distributed to public for boycott campaigns and/or newspaper articles covering events.

\(^{159}\) *Peñas* were one of the most emblematic activities of the solidarity movement in most, if not all the countries in which Chilean exiles arrived. *Peñas* are politico-cultural events during which songs are performed, poetry is read and people enjoy *empanadas* (traditional meat turnovers) and red wine. We will learn more about *peñas* in subsequent chapters.
Sometimes materials were cross-referenced or grouped across sets. For example, if for a rally there were materials corresponding with the activities set (announcements, leaflets), with the correspondence set (letters coordinating action with other civil society groups) and with the administrative records set (discussion of rally in meeting minutes), then these materials were sometimes placed in a single file folder labelled with the event and the materials contained in the file folder were noted. In other cases, each kind of material remained in one of the sets and the file folder containing materials relevant to the rally, to continue with the above example, were noted on each folder so that they could be easily located. The main criterion for deciding whether to group materials across sets or keep them in various sets and cross-reference them was how significant the event or activity appeared in the context of all the archival data. When it seemed highly significant, related materials were placed in a single file folder. As interviews were transcribed and coded, I continuously revisited the archival data and regrouped materials in light of data emerging from the interviews.

After organizing archival materials, codes were assigned and themes generated by carefully reading through the materials. Data was selected according to the research questions and therefore, I focused on data that could illuminate the learning and knowledge production processes in which solidarity movement participants were engaged. Since these processes need to be understood together with solidarity movement actions and aims, I also looked for data on groups, organizations, activities and networks. Following the manual organization of archival materials, I opened a Microsoft Word file in which I entered codes and themes, and described archival materials that corresponded to the themes.

**Oral History Interviews**

The interview guide for the semi-structured oral history interviews included a consistent set of topics, which were covered during all interviews. These topics were partially developed
based on the research questions and partially on what I had learned from archival materials. While the original questions were maintained, questions were refined and added as I began transcribing and coding, such that the original topics were expanded and other areas were explored based on the experiences of each narrator. As preliminary themes emerged and interviews proceeded, I was constantly engaged in the inter-related processes of collecting and analyzing the data, as well as writing initial interpretive thoughts, which became more elaborate as these processes progressed.

Before transcribing each interview, I listened to at least the first half hour to re-immers myself in the interview. I also read over any notes I had taken during conversations with participants before the interview began, during and after the interview. Coding was done using Microsoft Word. I read through each transcript carefully highlighting words or passages and created a separate file where I named codes and themes as they emerged, noting the transcript and page numbers from which they came. Examples of codes include specific learning practices and processes, activities and events. I also made a list of key words that reflected the codes and would facilitate subsequent retrieval. Not all passages, however, contained the key words and therefore the key words were not equivalent to the codes. In addition, codes and themes were identified and named because they were considered significant in relation to the research questions and while those that emerged frequently across interviews were included, so were others that may have emerged in one or a few interviews.

Once several interviews had been transcribed and coded, I began to add short passages from interviews that corresponded with each theme and sub-theme. After all interview transcription, coding and theme generation was complete, I reread transcripts to verify existing codes and ensure I had not overlooked any codes or themes. Next, I proceeded to link interview codes and themes with the ones arising from archival materials where relevant. For example,
data on particular events and activities, which appeared in archival materials, such as event announcements and newspaper clippings, were connected up with passages from transcripts that made reference to or discussed those events in detail. Themes relating to learning experiences in archival materials were carefully connected with corresponding themes from interviews. Codes and themes generated from archival materials were thus merged in some cases with those generated from interview transcripts. Coding and theme generation was a continuous, iterative process during which codes were organized around themes and in some cases, later rearranged with different themes, and sometimes the theme names changed as the research process progressed. The themes and sub-themes discussed in subsequent chapters do not reflect all the data; rather they focus on the objectives of the research (Blee & Taylor, 2002).

**Soundness and Rigour**

Until recently, most historical researchers relied mainly on written documents, largely because of their reservations with respect to the reliability and validity of oral sources. However, oral sources have been used for thousands of years. The very written texts cited as “true” accounts of history relied, at least in part, on oral sources. Herodotus, often referred to as the “father of history,” used oral history in his accounts of life in diverse parts of ancient Greece (Luraghi, 2001). Orality and writing have not existed independently. Written sources often considered legitimate in “standard historical research” – trial proceedings, meeting minutes, interviews in newspapers – come from oral events (Portelli, 1991). From a positivist perspective, written sources are subject to many of the same limitations as oral ones. Concerns with how personal biases, the self-interest of the informant and the socio-historical context at the time the account was produced also affect written records.

Another cause for suspicion of oral histories from the perspective of mainstream science is the extent to which memory affects oral sources. Again, while memory may pose a challenge
for oral sources, the reliability and validity of written records may also be affected if a written account is created a significant number of years after the events and/or experiences. It was far more important in this research to document and understand the social movement learning and knowledge production processes of Chilean exiles in Canada, than whether they remember specific details in the exact same way. As individuals and as a collective what matters is what the learning experiences of exile and the solidarity movement mean to exiles and understanding past experiences as the meaning-making process by which humans construct themselves and the past.

The issues raised in oral history research are ones that relate to appropriate criteria for evaluating rigour in scientific research, which are not the same for quantitative and qualitative research because each seek to accomplish different aims. Rather than discover and predict, qualitative research seeks to describe and understand social phenomena. Since meaningful criteria for assessing qualitative studies need to be based on the goals of qualitative research, positivist criteria for establishing the soundness of research have been adapted to the assumptions of qualitative studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Therefore, the criteria used for evaluating qualitative research are not framed in terms of positivist conceptions of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. Instead, “parallel criteria” or trustworthiness (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) are used in assessing the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999). Credibility refers to confidence in how “true” research findings are (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), that is, the extent to which findings reflect reality. Transferability denotes demonstrating the applicability of research findings to other contexts and depends on the extent to which overlapping characteristics exist (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Dependability refers to the consistency of findings such that they could be repeated by another researcher following a similar iterative research design. Finally, confirmability is about neutrality of the findings in that they are not shaped by the researchers’
biases and agenda. Guba & Lincoln (1989) suggest ways researchers can establish they have met the criteria for trustworthiness, some of which will we will return to below.

These criteria for assessing qualitative studies, nevertheless, seek to establish reliability and validity. The difference with criteria for evaluating quantitative research is the markers of rigour have been adapted to the principles and goals of qualitative research. While most qualitative investigators agree the criteria cannot be the same (Barbour, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002; Patton, 2002), they do not always agree using different terminology is the solution. Morse et al. (2002) argue the move away from the terms reliability and validity in qualitative research has inadvertently made it seem as though qualitative research lacks rigour, and therefore scientific legitimacy, and has shifted the responsibility for demonstrating rigour from investigators to reviewers. Just as the same criteria cannot be applied to quantitative and qualitative studies, blanket criteria cannot be used for all qualitative research (Barbour, 2001; Morse et al., 2002). Moreover, the criteria which have been adopted by many qualitative researchers have become checklists – for example, multiple coding, triangulation and respondent validation or member checks – which are sometimes used prescriptively, resulting in these checklists dictating qualitative research (Barbour, 2001). Instead, qualitative studies need to have built in ways of ensuring rigour in the research design and analysis processes, rather than evaluating rigour after research is complete (Barbour, 2001; Morse et al., 2002).

**Relevant Criteria for Assessing the Quality and Integrity of this Study**

As Morse et al. (2002) point out, some of the widely accepted criteria of rigour in qualitative research, most often based on Guba and Lincoln’s criteria described above and their accompanying indicators for establishing each, are not applicable to all qualitative methods. For example, confirmability, which corresponds with objectivity in mainstream science, is not
relevant to philosophical perspectives which see the investigator and her/his experience as
forming an integral part of the data and which take an ontological position that reality is fluid,
such as feminism and critical theory. Many oral history scholars share this position, arguing for
the value of subjectivity in oral histories, both in terms of the subjective experiences of narrators
and of investigators in the collaborative production of oral history interviews. Oral histories are
always partial because they are told from many perspectives and in the telling narrators take
sides and because they are unfinished (Portelli, 1991). The criterion of confirmability, therefore,
is neither applicable nor appropriate for assessing studies which employ oral history methods
and are interested in subjectivity. The neutrality of the researcher is not possible or even
desirable. As critical theorists have pointed out, science “cannot be fully neutral with respect to
human values because they inevitably mediate social relations” (Morrow & Brown, 1994, p. 63).
Patton (2002) argues objectivity is needed for research to be credible because without it, one
cannot be confident that the findings are not product of researchers’ biases and self-serving
interests. However, he also points out that neutrality need not be understood as detachment,
rather as “empathetic neutrality” (p.51), since investigators are themselves researcher
instruments and therefore part of the research process. Therefore, the involvement of
investigators does not translate into shaping data to serve her or his self-interests.

In quantitative studies, reliability refers to the replicability of research findings. The term
dependability used by some qualitative researchers (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) also points to
consistency of research findings. However, if one of the distinctive features and strengths of
qualitative research is the uniqueness of the social world and therefore, the people and situations
researchers investigate (Cohen et al., 2007), then replicating findings is not important. Since this
inquiry was concerned with understanding, not universal laws, it did not seek to be replicable nor
generalizable and thus reliability for these purposes is not relevant (Willis, 2007).
That oral histories tell us more about meaning than about events “does not imply that oral history has no factual validity” (Portelli, 1991, p. 50), in other words, that what narrators say is not credible. Even though this study aimed to learn about exiles’ subjective experiences, not whether exiles shared an objective account of the solidarity movement or whether they remembered exact dates of events, many facts can be established. For example, in addition to all exiles discussing the same kinds of actions, identifying solidarity movement groups and networks, most remembered the year many events took place, especially if they were highly significant, from hunger strikes and visits by touring exiles, to concerts. The activities, groups and networks are evident in solidarity movement materials – for example, newsletters, announcements, newspaper clippings and CDC meeting minutes. Thus, multiple sources verified each other and so, the oral histories do contain factual validity. More important and relevant to this study, these sources made it possible to appreciate exiles and their learning experiences in the solidarity movement from a multitude of perspectives, which enriched the findings. As Portelli (1991) argues “oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may not lie in its adherence to fact, but rather its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge” (p.51, italics in original).

The credibility of documents rests first on their authenticity. It is possible to verify the authenticity of materials from the formal and informal archives examined in this study. Some newspaper archives were searched in the ProQuest Canadian Newsstand index/database (e.g. Globe & Mail) and others directly through their on-line archives (e.g. The Ubyssey). The provenance and authenticity of the CDC fonds at UBC were established by the archivist who determined the person who donated the materials was a member of that group and I personally verified informal archival materials from participants. Not only did I receive them directly from
participants, many of the materials – event announcements, newsletters – were produced in a similar way, with the same names of groups, logos and graphics, pointing to their genuineness.

It is not only the credibility of sources that matters, but also data collection and analysis procedures that enhance credibility. As discussed above, whether the terms credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability or mainstream validity and reliability are used, what is most important is that criteria for determining the rigour of qualitative research corresponds with its general foundations and aims, and the specific perspective from which the research is undertaken. Though Morse et al. (2002) argue the terms validity and reliability should be maintained, the strategies they outline for demonstrating qualitative studies are valid and reliable are based on criteria relevant to qualitative research. Rather than attempting to show a study is rigorous after it is complete, ways of ensuring validity and reliability need to be built in to the entire research process. Thus, they suggest a number of constructive verification strategies for actively attaining validity and reliability. Verification refers to mechanisms integrated into all aspects of the research process in order to ensure rigour. Since qualitative research is an iterative process, its quality rests heavily on the responsiveness of the investigator. The ways the researcher uses the mechanisms is vital to the outcome of an inquiry and according to Morse et al. (2002), lack of researcher responsiveness is the biggest threat to validity, in addition to being difficult to detect when post hoc evaluations of research are used to establish validity and reliability. The five verification strategies they discuss are dynamic and interactive and include methodological coherence, appropriate sampling, concurrent data collection and analysis, thinking theoretically and theory development, to which we will return.

Examining the Research Process and Findings

I have already argued the criteria of confirmability and dependability are not relevant to this research and discussed some issues related to the credibility of the findings in this study.
Most importantly, I think it is necessary to discuss why I think this is a legitimate and rigorous study in terms of the aims of this research and the principles on which it is founded, and that the findings are valuable because they were arrived at through a careful and thoughtful process. To do this, I used the verification strategies outlined by Morse et al. (2002) because I think they are relevant and meaningful for this study. Though I appreciate their argument for using the terms validity and reliability in order for qualitative studies to be taken seriously by mainstream science, I can also appreciate arguments for terminology that does not invoke positivist principles and standards. What Morse et al. (2002) share with the latter is that their strategies also seek to define rigour in terms of the general foundations and goals of qualitative research. In addition, criteria for assessing rigour need to be compatible with the specific aims of particular studies and perspectives from which researchers work. Though the strategies Morse et al. (2002) forward are intended to ensure validity and reliability, I think they are useful for evaluating the quality and integrity of this inquiry because they are consistent with its principles and aims, and because I agree mechanisms for ensuring quality and integrity need to be woven into the research process.

The goal of this study was to understand the learning experiences of Chilean exiles in the solidarity movement. In order to appreciate exiles and their experiences in the solidarity movement intersubjectively, this understanding cannot be separated from the broader context in which these experiences were lived or from the subjective perspectives of exiles involved in the solidarity movement. Thus, in addition to the strategies suggested by Morse et al. (2002) and how I implemented them throughout the research process, I discuss how I contextualized the findings.

The first strategy is *methodological coherence*, which refers to coherence between the research question(s) and data collection and analysis methods, all of which may change during
the research process, as could sampling plans. There also needs to be consistency between these components, analytic aims and methodological assumptions. In this study, answering the research questions was best done through historical methods for several reasons. First and most obviously, because the solidarity movement existed during the period of dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990). Second, since written records were relatively limited, especially in terms of archival materials from a diversity of groups in Vancouver, oral histories were a vital source of data. Third, given the purposes of this research, oral histories documented experiences of exile and generated relevant data. Rich and diverse subjective perspectives of exiles involved in the solidarity movement and their related learning experiences were captured by interviewing a cross-section of exiles. Interviews with couples are also consistent with the foundations and purposes of this study, since their dialogues enhanced understanding their subjective experiences and the meaning of these experiences. While interviews with couples do not constitute a focus group, they contribute to coherence because they enable the convergence of theory, research, pedagogy and politics (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). In addition, data collection and analysis involved constant examination, coding, theme generation and interpretation of archival materials and oral history interviews. Both a multitude of sources and employing more than one method contributed to the breadth and depth of the data.

An appropriate sample includes participants who can speak to the research topic(s) and ensures data saturation. Rather than saturate participants by interviewing them repeatedly, new participants are interviewed until no new data emerges and data repeats, thus ensuring comprehension and completeness. By interviewing men and women exiles who participated in a wide range of groups and many who were leaders or very actively involved in organizing and realizing activities, I made sure the exiles I interviewed would be knowledgeable about the

---

160 Participants may be interviewed more than once to explore topics or events in more depth, but Morse et al. (2002) argue it is more fruitful to bring in more participants than to interview the same participants until no new data emerges.
solidarity movement. By also interviewing some exiles who were less active, the perspectives of those were not always thoroughly immersed in the movement were also included. As mentioned in the data collection section above, most in-depth interviews with individuals lasted one and a half hours and between two and three hours with couples. While I did not interview participants repeatedly (though I did contact some for more details or clarification), the lengthy interviews enabled us to engage topics in detail. A total of nineteen people were interviewed, including two members of CDC, and I decided to stop interviewing additional people when much of the data repeated and I could therefore be sure that no new data was likely to emerge and that the data generated was comprehensive and complete.

The third strategy, *concurrent data collection and analysis*, is about the reciprocal, iterative interactions between data and analysis throughout the research process. As mentioned several times throughout this chapter, the entire research process was iterative such that data collection, coding, theme generation, interpretation and moving between the data and the literature was a constant and interconnected process.

*Thinking theoretically*, the fourth strategy, refers to considering ideas emerging from the data in relation to new data. During the research process initial themes were reconsidered as new data was generated and so, some themes were further developed, expanded and sometimes codes were rearranged and themes renamed. In addition, new themes emerged in earlier stages of data collection and new ideas were considered in relation to data generated up to that point.

Finally, *theory development* involves micro-macro thinking, constantly moving between the data and conceptual/theoretical understanding. Rather than guiding analysis with a framework, theory develops from the data. This does not, however, mean that existent theory is not relevant, rather that theory developed from data needs to be linked with the established literature (Morse, 1994). As I discussed previously in the data collection section, I began with an
inductive approach to the data in that I did not use predetermined codes and look for instances in the data which fit them. I did, however, use an inductive/deductive approach in that I constantly went back and forth between the data and the theoretical and empirical literature. I also developed theory in exploring the affinities between Freire, Gramsci and Habermas, in particular the relationships among hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere in relation to learning and knowledge production among the public s a result of solidarity movement activities. Another area of development was what Gramsci means by organic intellectuals and in understanding the important role of rank and file intellectuals as local organizers and mobilizers and in articulating the values and vision of the movement.

Since this inquiry sought a situated understanding (Willis, 2007) of the learning experiences of Chilean exiles in the solidarity movement, their historicity is integral to this understanding, and therefore contextualizing the findings is an important dimension of this study. Several chapters are dedicated to historically situating the pre and post coup experiences of exiles, the solidarity movement and the learning processes in which exiles were engaged. Chapter Two discusses the political culture and experiences of exiles prior to their departure from Chile, including the decades leading up to Allende’s election, the Popular Unity years, the coup and life under the Pinochet dictatorship. Chapter Three examines the many and varied reasons for and circumstance under which exiles left, the transnational solidarity movement and metacommunity of exiles, their arrival in Canada, and the Canadian solidarity movement. The upcoming chapter (six) focuses on the origins and trajectory of the solidarity movement in Vancouver. Together with participants’ stories of departure from Chile and life in Canada, the chapter explains how solidarity movement groups were formed and how they changed over time. Chapter seven describes how these groups were structured, the networks they created and the nature and purposes of movement activities.
Context is also important in relation to the transferability of the findings. While this study did not aim for generalizability, the findings may be applicable to other contexts. The extent to which the findings are relevant to other contexts can only be determined by readers (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The contextualization of findings in this study, as described in the above paragraph, together with the comprehensive explanation of data collection and analysis procedures employed, can facilitate readers’ decisions as to the applicability of the findings to other contexts.

Given the research questions, the qualitative historical methods used to collect data were ones that generated information-rich data on the solidarity movement and learning and knowledge production processes within the movement and among the public. Oral history interviewing, together with formal and informal archives produced a vast amount of data which were then re-coded and and themes re-generated as data collection proceeded and as I moved between the data, interpretation and the literature throughout the research process.

The next chapter, the first findings chapter, begins to immerse us in the lives and experiences of exiles before and after they left Chile. The first part relates exiles’ stories of their lives in Chile prior to their departure, including the UP years, the coup and ensuing repression and their paths to exile. The second part of the chapter focuses on the early solidarity movement in Vancouver. It explores how solidarity movement groups took shape before and after the arrival of Chilean exiles, as well as the ties and the differences among exile and non-Chilean groups.
CHAPTER SIX: Stories of Exile and Action: Journeys from Chile to Canada and the Early Solidarity Movement

I think they were the best times of our lives…during Popular Unity…It was beautiful to live it, the organizations, the streets, the people…It was wonderful and people were happy…and then to arrive here and everything was sad at first…it was not so beautiful.

- Teresa

In this chapter we will learn about exiles’ stories of joy and hope, disillusionment and sorrow, pain and anger, then healing and hope once again as they began to reconstitute their shattered lives and selves. First the chapter relates exiles’ memories of the UP years, their active engagement in making their dreams a reality and their experiences after the coup. The chapter then moves on to their journeys from Chile to Canada and the challenges they faced in a new society. Next, the early solidarity movement in Vancouver is recounted, including the first acts of solidarity before exiles arrived, the founding of Canadians for Democracy in Chile and the subsequent establishment of the first Chilean exile association. Finally, the chapter examines unity across and divisions among solidarity movement groups.

Dreams, Disappointment, Outrage and Pain

All the stories exiles shared with me of life after the coup, their departure from Chile and arrival in Canada were permeated with sadness and lament. Their stories of life before and during Allende’s presidency were quite the opposite. With all its imperfections, the majority of exiles remembered the UP years as a time full of life, beauty and meaning. For the Chilean Left, the 1960s were a time of hope and working towards their socialist dream, not only in Chile, but Latin America and perhaps beyond. Pilar explained that Chilean exiles were part of a generation who were convinced that the revolution was going to happen in our times…we were convinced that Latin America was going to be a socialist continent during our lifetime…we were a great deal [of people] and we dedicated our life to that.
That was our reason for living for many, many years…that passion for change and for social justice (Interview).

So when Allende’s Popular Unity coalition was elected in 1970, the Chilean Left rejoiced. Emilio recalled that “when Allende was elected, we were with a million other people because that was more or less the number [of people] on the Alameda\textsuperscript{161} …everyone was singing, screaming” (Interview). The moment came to enact what they had been working for, or as Gabriela put it, it “was the opportunity to put into practice what we dreamed of” (Interview).

**The Popular Unity Years**

We lived a period of life that was unique in Chile, of history.

- Diego, Interview

Exiles shared how the political values of the Left permeated almost every dimension of their lives in Chile before and during the UP government and explained how these values were put into practice. Pilar participated in literacy programs in the marginal neighbourhoods of Santiago before 1970 and lived the political atmosphere of the University of Chile where she studied education. The department was known as a political hub alive with discussion. On her first day there she went in to the cafeteria, which “was full and everyone was screaming…talking and then ‘pa’ absolute silence and there is this young man standing on a table giving a speech and it turned it was [name], who was the president of the student association” (Pilar, Interview).

For Pedro, the Allende years evoke memories of “that human warmth and that general mobilization with the UP and the interesting reactions of people who lost their privileges…the rallies, Allende’s speeches, of the movement in general, it was a beautiful period.” Diego recalled that during Allende’s presidency, “there were so many kinds of activities…you spent the whole day carrying out political activities.” Pedro worked in a school where the students came from a range of class backgrounds, from “the high class of Santiago…workers’ children,

\textsuperscript{161} The Alameda is the main east-west artery that runs across Santiago, including the downtown core.
gardeners…industries, who got their education with the highest elite of Chile.” In addition to classroom work, teachers would take groups of students “for a week to work at the country estates…of large landowners and even the most right wing would return convinced of what they saw, the poverty…all that came out of inequalities.” Pedro feels that for the school community, this approach to education “was an excellent experience, excellent, extremely valuable, that’s the best memory [of the school].”

Several exiles participated in the Juntas de Abastecimiento y Precios (JAP) [Supply and Price Committees], the voluntary neighbourhood organizations established during Allende’s government in which residents and local businesses worked together to ensure adequate supply of goods and eliminate speculation and the black market. While it was mainly women who were active in the JAPs, both Gabriela and her husband participated in their local JAP. In addition, Gabriela, an architect who worked in the Ministry of Transportation as a planner, participated in the Centros de Unidad Popular [Popular Unity Centres], which in theory were meant to bring people from the spectrum of UP parties together “to promote and develop a participative system in the workplace” at the base level. According to Gabriela, they ended up functioning more like an organized space to be aware of what was happening, to be informed about what was happening and also to participate in discussions about a specific project when necessary…at least in my workplace, but the whole Ministry was very mobilized…everyone on the Left was participating in one way or another in that [the Popular Unity Centres].

Antonio was an associate professor at the university where he and his wife lived. In addition to teaching and research, he was involved in community projects, in which the university and community worked collaboratively. With agrarian reforms underway, small farmers found themselves running farms themselves. Antonio was mainly involved in collective farm projects aimed at increasing production which merged local and “official” scientific knowledge and fostered collective modes of production.

---

162 The school and educational experiences Pedro discusses are depicted in the film Machuca (2004).
Not all the memories of the UP years were of a beautiful time in Chile. Exiles also critiqued themselves as part of the Chilean Left and Allende’s government. In addition to the political and economic interventions of the United States, exiles also brought up the sectarianism during the UP government. Another dimension of the exiles’ experience prior to the coup was the polarization of the Chilean people. Diego explained that “the country was very polarized in those years…it reached an extreme that was either you were for or against [the UP]…a division was generated even within families…In my case, for example, my brothers were on the other side.” We will return to the processes of critique and reflection in which exiles engaged in subsequent chapters.

Although for many the coup did not come as a total surprise, many exiles expressed they did not believe it would happen and certainly none foresaw the brutality or length of the Pinochet dictatorship. “We were part of the idea of the popular government, that is, we were going to build a more just society. And so we were in the middle of doing that…and of course we were not prepared for that [the coup and its aftermath]” (Diego, Interview). Given Chile’s long democratic tradition, Chilean exiles thought “nothing will ever happen here” (Pedro, Interview) and their genuine belief that it would not occur meant that they “were all so naïve….and the reason most of the people died was because they were naïve” (Antonio, Interview). For Emilio and Claudia the coup did come as total surprise:

For us it was a tremendous shock…For us having a dictatorship in Chile at that time was as natural as it would be today in Canada, as if all of a sudden the government becomes a fascist dictatorship…And all of a sudden it occurred, so of course we thought it was very odd, we weren’t used to the idea (Emilio, Interview).

---

163 For more on this see Chapter Two.
Sources of Pain and Moral Outrage

After the coup, all you thought about was the coup, so you would dream about the coup and cops and illegal searches…[once there was] a shooting and my daughter and my nephew got under the bed…the two of them trembled.  

- Adela

The months and years exiles lived in Chile following September 11th, 1973 were extremely difficult times. It was very common for leaders and rank and file members of UP parties and independent leftists who were Allende supporters to lose their jobs after September 11th, but that was certainly not the worst that could happen. The majority of exiles I interviewed lost their jobs and several were imprisoned – half of the men and two woman. Some of the exiles lived clandestinely because either the DINA or the official security forces were looking for them, some until they left Chile and others on and off, and their family members, friends and colleagues had been arrested, tortured and/or killed. While losing their jobs was minor considering the violence that enveloped the Chilean Left at the time, it had devastating consequences. Teresa and Pedro had three school-aged children. Pedro lost his job a month after the coup and was placed under house arrest and with Teresa’s salary they could only survive for a week and a half, after which they had to eat at her aunt’s house.

Alberto was a member of the MIR. As an economist who worked for the Ministry of Agriculture in the Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario [Agricultural Development Institute], he was involved in the agrarian reform in the rural areas of metro Santiago, where he also carried out his political work as a MIR leader. He lost his job immediately after the coup and spent six months in hiding before leaving for Canada. His younger sister was detained on September 19th and spent more than two years in jail. Though not a member of any political party in Chile, Pilar collaborated with the MIR. Two of the students she had worked with who were part of the MIR were executed a few days after the coup, along with about ten others who were “extraordinary people.” As Alberto explained, “that period from ’74 to’75 in Chile was very hard for the MIR.
The leader [of the entire MIR] was assassinated, the majority of the leaders were either assassinated or held prisoner.”

Sadly, that is exactly what happened to Matias’ brother who was a member of the MIR. While Matias was never politically active in Chile, his brother remains on the list of the disappeared to this day. A few months after the coup his brother went into hiding and one day he called and said he had been detained. It was only around ten years ago (about twenty-five years after the fact) that Matias’ family found out what happened to him. Matias explains:

He spent a couple of months in two torture camps in very bad shape…I’ve learned many details, many things, it was very, very, very sad…We’ve been able to speak with people…there is no trace of him for a couple of months after he was detained, but we are sure he was assassinated at the same time as a couple of other people with which he worked.

Matias’ mother was active with the mothers of the disappeared. It was very painful for her to search for her son and as if that were not enough, she and the other mothers were intimidated and harassed whenever they asked any questions. Matias was also intimidated. He was a high school student at the time and studied at the same school his brother had attended. Since his brother’s case was well known, there was the assumption that he might also be involved in similar political activities. Matias explained that “there were some teachers…they were called rats, who worked for the security apparatus” and they were asked to keep an eye on activists’ family members.

Antonio was detained a couple of times and released. He lost his job at the university about a month after the coup. He was an active Communist Party member and began underground political work immediately after the military takeover. Antonio helped produce an anti-fascist newspaper in which the names of political prisoners were printed and distributed. Only a small number of copies were made (about 30) using an hectograph164 and others would

164 An hectograph is used to make paper copies. A master copy is made on a stencil and reproductions are made by pressing a sheet of paper on a gelatin coated pad.
reproduce the copies and so on. Publishing the names of political prisoners was paramount. The newspaper made its way to Argentina where the information was transmitted to Radio Moscow, which would in turn transmit it back to Chile and Latin America and that was how people knew who had been arrested. Antonio related that when the security forces started arresting his compañeros he was advised that he was in danger and should not participate in any political activities and so he, like many others, “were not secure and [they] roamed the country.” While they still had money, they sometimes went to the movies where “in all the theatres one had to stand up because at the beginning of the show the Junta’s edicts would appear and one had to stand up and sing the national anthem.”

Like Antonio, Ignacio was a professor who was also “purged” from the university where he worked in the Faculty of Philosophy and Education. The new military appointed Dean told Ignacio “with the military intervention I have been ordered to clean this university.” He proceeded to question Ignacio about whether he was a Marxist and told him he should resign. Ignacio decided to consult with his brother who was a General and his brother advised him to leave Chile. Despite the fact that he was second in command to one of the members of the Junta, Ignacio’s brother told Ignacio “there are some things…that not even we control.” Ignacio explained that “he was referring to the DINA.”

Gabriela and Francisco were independent leftists. After the Allende was elected, Francisco decided to join the Socialist party. He was a union leader and a mid-level political leader when the Junta seized power and though he had been fortunate enough not to be home when security forces came looking for him, they eventually arrested him. Francisco was imprisoned for a year and a half, part of which he spent in the National Stadium and in Chacabuco in northern Chile. Adela and Diego were also members of the Socialist party. Adela participated in their local JAP and her grandfather was a founding member of the Socialist Party

165 See Chapter Three for more on Radio Moscow and its role during the dictatorship in Chile and abroad.
of Chile, along with Allende. Adela explained that, “in my family it [socialist politics] is in our blood.” At the time of the coup Diego was a union leader and had been a student leader and a member of the Socialist Youth. Diego was arrested and held at a naval academy in the port city where they lived.

Leaving Chile: Paths to Canada

With the exception of one couple, all of the exiles left Chile on airplanes bound for Canada. Pilar and Ignacio (not a couple) left for the United States, where they stayed temporarily before their arrival in Canada. The circumstances surrounding exiles’ departure, however, varied significantly.

Adela and Diego left for Argentina with their two daughters in the early hours one April morning in 1974. With blankets, clothing and milk for their four-year-old and eight month old daughters, they drove across the Andes to Mendoza, a city on the Chile-Argentina border. It was a decision they made overnight. They “didn’t even have time to say good-bye, nothing.” (Adela, Interview). Everyone in the building Adela and Diego lived in were Allende supporters. One day when she was chatting with a neighbour, the woman said she thought the situation was only going to get worse. Adela decided it would be wise to get identification cards for their children, sell some of their belongings and save up a little money, so they would be prepared to leave. When Diego was arrested and later released, they knew Diego’s freedom was likely temporary. As Diego explained, “they would set you free, but every day they would come looking for you again…and then anything could happen and you disappeared…they let me go that time and we said we’re leaving, immediately.”

Some people who tried to go to Argentina were turned away at the border, so it was not until they were in Argentinean territory that Adela and Diego felt they could breathe. In

---

166 Chileans do not need a passport to travel to Argentina; they only need their identification card.
Mendoza, Adela, Diego and their two daughters were welcomed by Chileans who on a daily basis awaited the arrival of their compatriots. After spending a few days there they left for Buenos Aires where they approached the United Nations and were given refugee status. During their six month stay in Argentina, Adela and Diego applied to numerous countries and were accepted in Algeria, the German Democratic Republic and Canada. They opted for Canada because it was the closest country of the three to Chile.

Marcela and Sergio, who were also Socialists, were both imprisoned. Sergio was held in the National Stadium, released and arrested again, after which they were expelled. Through several contacts, they got in touch with the Swedish or Norwegian Embassy (Marcela and Sergio recalled different ones) and explored the possibility of going to Australia. A contact then sent them to speak with a friend who had recently arrived at the Canadian Embassy to conduct interviews with applicants. Marcela and Sergio went to speak with the man, who interviewed them. Like many exiles who commented on their interviews, they are sure the man was a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officer. Marcela and Sergio were admitted as refugees, likely under the Special Chilean Immigration Program. After they obtained safe conduct in order to leave Chile, they arrived in Vancouver in May of 1974.

It was one of Pilar’s friends who was living in Chile at the time of the coup who helped her family get out. After being imprisoned and expelled, she was back in the U.S. In December of 1973, Pilar left for California with her husband and four and five year old daughters. They arrived on a visitor’s visa, which was later changed to a student visa because Pilar was accepted at the University of California San Diego. A committee there formed to help Chilean refugees and persuaded the university to accept seven students and hire two Chilean professors. They decided to apply to Canada and when they received their papers, they left for Vancouver in an
old Chevrolet a friend gave them. Their intention was to go to Montreal, but the car only made it to Vancouver and since her brother and his family were there, they decided to stay.

When the Junta declared that political prisoners could commute their prison sentence to banishment through Decree 504 (Diario Oficial, May 10, 1975), many countries accepted individuals and families in need of relocation. In addition to Mexico and Venezuela, Canada was among the countries that worked with international organizations to relocate political prisoners. Under this relocation program, Blanca left for Calgary in December of 1975. She had been sentenced to 20 years in prison and though she was not pleased about having to leave Chile, she felt “it was better to be here [Canada] than to be in jail.” Blanca lived in Calgary for nearly ten years before she moved to Vancouver in May of 1985. Samuel also left for Canada under the relocation program after spending two years in prison. He had been sentenced to 25 years, which was reduced to 20 years, according to Samuel, due to pressure from the UN and the Red Cross. He explained that commuting his prison sentence to banishment meant that “I had to serve the 20 year sentence. I had to serve it here [Canada], without being able to return to Chile.” Samuel arrived in Saskatoon in September of 1975 and moved to Vancouver in 1979. Both Blanca and Samuel left for Canada directly from prison. They did not choose Canada; rather Canada participated in the relocation program and they were accepted. As Blanca said, “I made use of Decree 504…where one’s prison sentence was commuted for a particular country and I ended up coming to Canada.”

Living anywhere other than Chile was not something exiles had ever considered. While some had thought about pursuing graduate studies abroad, moving to another country was certainly not on the horizon, so if the coup had never taken place, exiles would never have left. The most common response when I asked whether they had ever thought about living anywhere
other than Chile was “No. No way.” In the following passage Claudia and Emilio recount how they decided to leave Chile on the day of the coup and how they decided where they would go:

Emilio: It never occurred to us to leave Chile until the evening of September 11th, 1973 when we started to hear the military edicts on the television. We looked at each other and we said

Claudia: We have to take off

Emilio: We don’t like this. Claudia went and got the atlas, a big atlas we had, we still have it, and she opened it and said *where shall we flee?*\(^{167}\) So

Claudia: I swear

Emilio: That was the first time we thought about the possibility of going somewhere, but a year earlier it would never have crossed our minds.

Carolina: Right, so it was directly because of the coup

Emilio: But without a doubt it was because of that. The only difference is that there are people here in Vancouver who were being persecuted and we were not being persecuted, at least that’s what we believed.

Claudia and Emilio were the only exiles who said “we did not leave for political reasons” (Claudia, Interview). Yet Emilio also explained that

We were not members of any political party and they were not, apparently they were not looking for us, and I say apparently because there are doubts about that because they visited me at my office looking for me. But, we were leftist sympathizers, but we were not involved in anything special and we left only because we did not like the idea of living in a dictatorship.

When I asked them whether they said they did not leave for political reasons because they were never arrested or imprisoned, they responded that they said that because “they were not looking for him [Emilio].” It seems that Emilio’s assessment arises out of comparing their situation to that of others and coming to the conclusion that since the worst had not happened, they thought

\(^{167}\) As previously stated in Chapter One, all interview quotes are English translations of original Spanish transcripts. Words said in English during interviews appear in italics to reflect they were originally said in English.
there was no immediate danger. From Claudia’s perspective, however, there was reason to feel their security was threatened. Emilio was involved in hiding people the security forces were looking for in their home. Claudia said that even though Emilio was not fearful, she was indeed scared. Claudia and Emilio arrived in Vancouver in July of 1975.

Depending on their experiences prior to leaving Chile, exiles discussed a multitude of reasons for leaving. As we already know, Blanca and Samuel commuted their prison sentence for banishment and Marcela and her husband Sergio were expelled. Many of the remaining exiles had also been imprisoned, their family, friends and colleagues had been tortured, disappeared or killed, they had been harassed and almost every single one had lost their job. Some felt they could do far more from the “exterior” than from the “interior” where they could be imprisoned and possibly killed. In addition to these reasons, several exiles aside from Claudia and Emilio discussed not wanting to live in a dictatorship as a reason for leaving. For example, Teresa said they “feared the children would grow up in a dictatorship…We didn’t want that for them or for us either.”

A Rebirth: First Experiences in Canada

As we learned in Chapter Three, most Chilean exiles entered Canada as landed immigrants because, as Alberto explained, “technically the majority of us were able to come as part of the immigration process… refugees per se were the minority. More than 35,000 Chileans arrived in Canada and I don’t think more than 1,000 of them were listed as political refugees.” Ana Maria Quiroz, who was already in Vancouver, welcomed many Chilean exiles who arrived. A small number of exiles already knew some Chilean exiles who arrived in Vancouver before them and who greeted them at the airport, but the majority did not know anyone. Adela and Diego recalled that when they arrived they were welcomed by their compañeras and

---

168 Ana María was introduced in Chapter Three and we will learn more about her later in the chapter.
compañeros with empanadas and wine. The emotional and cultural support their compañeras/os gave them was surely significant; however, since they were all in the same situation, they were not in a position to provide material support and so for many, it was local churches that provided them with the basics like beds, a table and chairs.

Several of the first exiles to arrive in Vancouver lived at a hotel just off of Denman Street in the West End. Adela and Diego spent about a month there and Marcela and Sergio also spent a short time there. The hotel is so emblematic for Chilean exiles that Carmen Aguirre wrote a play about it. Aguirre is a playwright, actor and director, and comes from an exile family that lived at the hotel for a few weeks when her family first arrived. Through the stories of eight Chilean exiles, The Refugee Hotel is about “the universal truths the victims and survivors of political oppression continue to experience everywhere” (Talon Books, 2010). As Aguirre said “there’s nothing historical about this play… it’s about as Canadian and as current as you can get” (Alameda Theatre Company, 2009).

Building a new life in Canada was certainly not easy. While the Canadian government provided accommodations for refugees until they found permanent housing, most Chilean exiles did not receive any government assistance with housing. Some who had little or no English were given support to attend language classes. Once exiles arrived in Canada, the majority began working immediately, within days in many cases. Of course English was a major barrier to finding work and adjusting to living in a new society, but other factors were equally, if not more, challenging. Blanca explained that “arriving here was a very radical change.” What was most challenging “was the language problem and the climate…and the customs too, [which were] so adverse for us.” As Blanca points out, in addition to the language and culture, adjusting to the

---

169 The West End is a vibrant neighbourhood located in downtown Vancouver.
170 Carmen Aguirre is a graduate of Studio 58 and formed the Latino Theatre Group in Vancouver. The fifteen plays she has written and co-written include Chile con Carne and Que Pasa con la Raza, eh? (in collaboration with the Latino Theatre Group). Her memoirs, Something Fierce, were released in May 2011.
climate was also difficult. For exiles who arrived directly to Vancouver, the climate was not drastically different. In fact, the Pacific Northwest is quite similar to southern Chile, so for some exiles it is just like the region where they lived in Chile. Before they left, a friend of Gabriela and Francisco said to them “you’re going to Vancouver? It’s just like Valdivia [a city in southern Chile]” (Francisco, Interview), “it rains and rains” (Gabriela, Interview). However, almost all exiles who were sent or advised by immigration authorities to go to the Prairie provinces said the climate was a tremendous shock, particularly in winter.

Several exiles were fluent in English, which made a huge difference in terms of finding work and pursuing graduate studies. Pilar, who was an English teacher in Chile, was accepted as a graduate student at The University of British Columbia where she pursued a degree in literature. She got an assistantship and student housing which meant her family could finally “breathe” because they had permanent residence status (after living on a visitor’s, then student visa in California), housing and an income. As an architect, Francisco found work a month after arriving. Though he did not speak or understand spoken English, he could read in English and as his wife Gabriela, who is also an architect, explained most of what they learned in Chile was applicable in Canada because

many of the codes which are used in Chile are of American influence…The other thing is that a large part of the language is graphic language…if your spoken language is not very good, that’s part of what you need to get in. The most important thing you need, really, is your pencil.

In Chile Gabriela had worked as a planner, which she could with a degree in architecture. In Canada, however she quickly realized she would have to go back to university to work as a planner because it was difficult for her to find work. Francisco also pointed out that as a man he

---

171 Though many exiles degrees were not fully recognized, their university degrees were often enough to get them in to graduate school. The higher education system in Chile is such that people pursue a specific degree from their first year – be it social work, medicine, law or education – rather than an undergraduate degree in the arts or sciences. Programs take between five and seven years and include coursework, a thesis and oral exam, and a practicum. Therefore, degrees are more on par with a Master’s degree in North America.
had an advantage. In his words, “I had one handicap, which was being a foreigner, not having Canadian experience and Gabriela had two, not having Canadian experience and being a woman, which was much more difficult.”

Most exiles were not as fortunate as Francisco with respect to finding work in their field and worked as unskilled labourers – for example, as janitors, hotel maids or on assembly lines – for several years while they studied English and/or went to graduate school. For many exiles learning English was the first thing they set out to do. However not all exiles were eager to learn English. Adela recalls that for her learning English was tied to a host of other emotions she was dealing with at the time:

It’s what’s called a depression because I had allergies, my hands would crack and bleed, what I had was a depression…and it was so negative because I didn’t want to know anything about anything…For example, the language, nothing, it took me many years to one day say I have to go to school and start to learn English because if I don’t there’s no other way I’m going to be able to communicate with a doctor…with the teacher, the children and that’s when I started I remember because it was really difficult for me, it took about four years.

Cultural differences also presented a challenge for exiles. In Pedro’s experience, “five years go by and you still don’t understand what Canadian society is like…so you just function.” The positive side, in Pedro’s opinion, was that learning to live in a new society “made you stronger, stronger because you, it’s not that you don’t adapt to Canada, that is, you did the best you could and Canadians were kind, very kind in every respect.”

**Living with Their Suitcases Packed**

There was not one person who did not have their suitcase ready.

- Teresa

The suitcase metaphor exiles used to describe their initial belief that the dictatorship would not last more than a few years and therefore, that they would soon return to Chile came up over and over again during interviews. For Adela, “the saddest part is that we said we would be
abroad for four, five years and it’s been 34.” As Alberto said, “the idea was to leave for a period of time. I think that was common among the majority of exiles…We never thought the dictatorship was going to last seventeen years.” Diego explained that “Chile has a history of being a democratic country, so we believed this thing [the dictatorship] can’t go much further, but we were all wrong.”¹⁷² From Antonio’s perspective the dictatorship would have to end in four years or less…our illusion was quite optimistic because we did not know how to measure the consequences of what a totalitarian society really meant…there was no historical record in Chile of something so cruel…We thought “we Chileans are not going to tolerate this”…that’s basically the crude analysis that was made a priori and that our stay abroad would be short.

While for most exiles in the solidarity movement packed suitcases represented their belief that the dictatorship would not last and they would return to Chile, for the MIR they represented not only being ready to return to Chile, but anywhere the MIR felt they were needed. Matias recalls that among the folks in the MIR he worked with in the solidarity movement, there were people who were very dedicated who lived with their suitcase packed in the closet…they were willing to leave, leave the country, they would go somewhere if the party [the MIR] called them to action, or if the dictatorship ended or if something changed, they were ready to return to Chile. They always had their suitcase in the closet.

This is not to say that was not the case with other political parties, but none of the exiles who participated in other groups mentioned this dimension in relation to what it meant to live with their suitcases packed.

Exiles also used the suitcase metaphor when they discussed the point at which they decided they would stay in Canada. While some exiles never discarded the possibility of returning to Chile at some undefined point in the future, unpacking their suitcases meant putting roots down in Canada. Time passed and Pinochet remained in power and as Antonio said, “you can’t have your suitcases packed for so many years.” Though nearly everyone concurred that

---

¹⁷² All interviews were conducted in Spanish. Italicized words indicate they were said in English during interviews.
they did not think the dictatorship would last more than a few years, their approach to starting their life in Canada varied considerably.

Few exiles decided they were going to build a life in Canada months or a few years after they arrived. The majority of exiles were convinced they were going to return to Chile for many years before they accepted they were not going back anytime soon. For Teresa and Pedro it was “after about ten years that [they] began to realize, maybe it’s going to be a little longer” (Teresa, Interview). Marcela, however, knew straight away that she did not want to go back to Chile, asserting

I never thought about going back…imagine, I always used to say “they kicked us out,” you have to start from the premise that they kicked us out and they didn’t kick us out because we were ugly or fat or short. They kicked us out because we didn’t think the same way they did and they kicked us out and they killed so many people.

Marcela said her husband Sergio always wanted to return, but Sergio said it was not that he always wanted to, rather that he, like most exiles, thought exile “was transient, that we had to go back to Chile.”

Gabriela and Francisco’s experience was different from most exiles in that they decided almost immediately that they were going to settle in to life in Canada. Gabriela and Francisco explain:

Gabriela: Look, we took a position. Yes, we were convinced that in December we were going to go back, or January, a matter of months, we knew it…that’s what we assumed. But, at the same time, in part because of Francisco’s experience when he was held prisoner, we made a decision very early on that we were going to stay here and try to function as if we were going to stay, that is, forget, maybe we’ll go back tomorrow, maybe we’ll go back in ten years, maybe we’ll never go back, we didn’t know, but we unpacked our suitcases, that is, we made that decision very rationally…we live here, so we’re not going to think about tomorrow. We live here and we’re going to make the best of it…For some reason, I don’t know why we did it, in part because when

---

Francisco was imprisoned for a long time...when they transferred him to Chacabuco he was very depressed for some time and the depression started to go away when another compañero said this to him “look, you’re imprisoned here, we don’t know for how long, so Francisco: “live like a prisoner”

Gabriela: “I live here” he would say “I live here, so I make my life here and I make the best of it.”

It is evident that the different experiences exiles lived in Chile and the ways exiles understood them, together with their English proficiency and work situation, had a significant impact on their approach to life in Canada when they first arrived. While a number of exiles “were not able to adapt [and] some moved to other countries [and] others ended up in very poor condition [because] it was not easy” (Blanca, Interview), most exiles eventually learned English, found fulfilling work, raised their families and established social support networks.

The cultural and emotional ties exiles have with Chile meant they were particularly eager to visit Chile at least during the first ten years they lived in Canada. Most exiles who were not on the list of those prohibited entry visited Chile during the dictatorship. Some went after about four years, others waited ten years before they went and some never went back until the dictatorship ended. Pedro and Teresa went for the first time in 1982 and then another three times while Pinochet was still in power. Pedro and Teresa said that what was most disturbing was the atmosphere in Chile. “It was scary to arrive at the airport, not because you could be detained, to see a country that was black, black with sadness.” Teresa explained that people lived in fear, that was the most terrible thing...people who before were really good friends, family, they would pretend they didn’t know you, in part because they were scared to invite you in...and it is possible they were being watched. That part was terrible...I have an aunt who I knew was inside and I would ring the doorbell and they wouldn’t answer.

Alberto was prohibited from entering Chile until the end of 1982. He travelled to Chile in January of 1983 as soon as he was removed from the list. Alberto was interrogated for two hours
at the airport when he arrived. Other exiles were never allowed to enter Chile during the dictatorship. Blanca and Samuel, who both commuted their prison sentence to banishment, appeared on the list until a civilian government was reinstated. Their passports were stamped with the “L” which meant it was “only valid to leave and if you wanted to enter the country you could only do so with the authorization of the government authority, that is, the Ministry of the Interior…They put that on your passport…So while the Junta was there, we could not visit Chile” (Blanca, Interview). The Junta even denied Blanca permission to visit Chile in 1985 when her brother was ill with cancer. Samuel asked for permission to enter Chile shortly before the dictatorship ended, but was not given the right to visit.

To Return or Not to Return

Among all the exiles I interviewed only two either returned to Chile or moved to Latin America, in both cases temporarily. Pilar, a member of the MIR group in Vancouver and a MIR supporter in Chile, moved to South America in 1979 to support the resistance in Chile. She and her then partner (she had divorced her husband) moved with her two daughters to Bolivia and Argentina for five years and then returned to Vancouver. Alberto, also a member of the MIR group in Canada and of the MIR in Chile, moved to Chile in 1985 with the intention of living there permanently. However, he moved back to Vancouver in 1988. Alberto did not share whether he was involved in the resistance in Chile, but did say that in 1979 he decided to no longer participate as a member of the MIR, though he did continue his work in the solidarity movement.

The reasons most Chilean exiles all over the world decided not to return to Chile, even after the reinstatement of a civilian government, have a lot to do with the length of the dictatorship. Even though for many years he and his wife hoped to return to Chile, Antonio explained there was a point at which they “began to get used to the idea that it was not possible
and what, were you going to continue marking time here? Mixed feelings.” There were also practical considerations that arose from being abroad for so long, including finding work and the enormous logistics of moving literally more than half way across the globe.

Perhaps what most influenced exiles’ decision to stay in Canada is that after so many years in the countries to which they moved after the coup, many exiles feel like outsiders in Chile, mainly because the Chile they knew is no longer the Chile of today. Antonio explained that

when you arrive in Chile you are confronted with another reality and that reality is that you are originally from there, but you’re not [anymore]…basically Chilean society has fundamentally changed…we have a subjective notion of what Chile is and when you arrive there you are confronted with the objective [reality], which is completely different…the values people had before 1973 have totally changed.

Though none of the exiles I interviewed have moved back to Chile permanently, some exiles in the Chilean community who have now retired live part of the year in Vancouver and part of the year in Chile. The only exile I interviewed who does this is Samuel, who spends about six months in each country.

**The Early Solidarity Movement**

Chilean exiles began arriving in Vancouver in 1974. All but two of the exiles I interviewed arrived in Canada in 1974 and 1975 and several moved to Vancouver from the Prairie Provinces where they spent their first months or years in Canada. Ana María Quiroz was one of the few Chileans living in Vancouver when the coup took place. She and her now ex-husband, a Viet Nam War draft-dodger, moved to Vancouver from the United States in 1968. Ana María was a Ph.D. student at The University of British Columbia and quickly became a spokesperson for exiles before they had even arrived (Shayne, 2009). At a march organized by the Chile Solidarity Committee on November 3, 1973 (Letter to CDC, October, 31, 1973) Ana María spoke to 150 demonstrators about the situation in Chile in front of the immigration office
where they read out a resolution appealing to the Immigration and External Affairs Ministers to admit Chilean exiles to Canada (Sterchi, The Ubyssey, November 9, 1973). UBC students were urged to attend the demonstration and a “Teach-in and Film” which included a discussion over coffee after the screening (Announcement, The Ubyssey, November 2, 1973). Pilar recalls that Ana María “was very active in welcoming the first Chileans, in helping and all that, and in organizing us.”

Just as exiles in Vancouver went to the airport to welcome exiles arriving on flights from Chile, Blanca recalled that in Calgary they did the same:

> We went to pickup Chileans who were arriving at the airport to help them get oriented and so the person in charge at Manpower\(^{174}\) would say “You want help? Go to the Chilean Calgary,” that is, the Chilean association is going to help you.

The association rented a space where volunteers worked shifts (after their paid work day) to provide settlement services and offer support to exiles. There was a wellbeing committee responsible for welcoming new exiles whose members collected household items, called newly arrived exiles to ask them how they were doing and accompanied them when they needed someone who spoke English.

According to Marcela, she and her family were one of only about three exile families in Vancouver when they arrived in May of 1974. Among the exiles I interviewed, they were the first to arrive in Vancouver; only Alberto arrived in Canada before them in April of 1974, but in Edmonton. Marcela explained that they would meet at a park and later at each others’ homes to brainstorm what they could do in solidarity with Chileans in Chile. They were among the founding members of the Vancouver Chilean Association (VCA), the first group formed by Chileans. Ana María Quiroz was the first president of the VCA and Pilar was the second president. The VCA included exiles who had been members of various political parties in Chile.

---

\(^{174}\) Blanca is referring to Manpower and Immigration, a department of the Canadian government at the time. It was later known as the Department of Employment and Immigration.
Of the exiles I interviewed who were members of the VCA, Pilar had been a MIR supporter in Chile, and Adela, Diego, Marcela, Sergio and Teresa were Socialists. Teresa’s husband also participated in the VCA, but was an independent leftist in Chile.

The VCA published a newsletter called *Venceremos*, which means ‘we shall overcome.’ In the editorial of the first issue they published, they explain that “our organization is constituted essentially by Chileans who were witness to or participants in the great social and economic renovation project initiated by President Allende” (*Venceremos*, Volume 1, Number 1, May 1975). In addition to providing detailed information about the specific achievements of the UP government and how the coup violently halted the democratic process towards socialism, the editorial informs readers that

> It will be our “companeros” [sic] from within Chile, who will form the basis of the struggle against the dictatorship and who will write the future pages of our history.
> But we, away from Chile continue with the labour of denouncing and exposing the yoke of the oppressor, of amassing forces on all fronts to achieve the re-establishment of democratic liberties, the end of repression, the isolation of the Junta and it’s [sic] ultimate fall.

It was important for the VCA to point out that their compañeros and compañeras in Chile were the protagonists of the resistance and that the role of exiles was to support the efforts of Chileans in Chile. The newsletter was usually published monthly (sometimes every two months) at least for the first year, and each issue typically included an editorial and several sections that reported news from Chile about repression and the resistance, and international news detailing solidarity actions from across the globe. Solidarity movement events were also announced through *Venceremos*.

Blanca’s experience in Calgary prior to moving to Vancouver illustrates how exiles across Canada organized similar organizations. The members of the Chilean Calgary Association were also members of the parties that made up the UP coalition, including the Socialist,
Communist and Radical parties, Christian Left, the MAPU¹⁷⁵ and independent leftists. Politically, what unified them was that they had all been part of the UP government and in the case of the MIR, supporters of the UP project. This unity among Chilean exiles, while not completely lost, was short-lived and divisions were already evident in the first issue of the *Venceremos*, which states that “the editorial is the responsibility of the leadership of the Vancouver Chilean Association and does not reflect the views of all parties of the Chilean left.” We will return to these political differences shortly.

**The First Acts of Solidarity in Vancouver**

Before Chilean exiles began to arrive in Vancouver, non-Chileans were already organizing. As we learned in Chapter Three, Allende sympathizers all over the world had been following events in Chile. This support for Allende and the UP experiment that existed before the coup means that the solidarity movement can be said to have begun in the early 1970s and grown after the coup (Power, 2009). However, for Janet of Canadians for Democracy in Chile, the solidarity movement emerged on the day of the coup. She explains:

I think one of the interesting things about the Chilean solidarity in Canada anyways is that it had a definite start date. Like the women’s, you could look at the women’s movement…it sort of eased in and gradually grew and stuff. But with Chilean solidarity, September 11⁰, 1973 starts it. Before that Chile was just a dot on the map…we were all interested in Allende, but the solidarity movement started September 11⁰, 1973…[which] makes it very definite, you can look exactly at that date, what was the difference between September 10⁰ and September 12⁰? and see…very clearly how a movement got born.

The first protests took place within days of the coup and within weeks several solidarity groups had formed. Elspeth of Canadians for Democracy in Chile recalls that

the people in the peace movement and a lot of other people here were keeping quite close check at the time of events that were taking place in Chile and…the day of the overthrow, when the news came here, there was I think the next day, or certainly not more than two days later, a demonstration in Vancouver and it was

¹⁷⁵ Recall from Chapter Two that the MAPU is the *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario* [United Popular Action Movement].
organized, I think that was organized by the B.C. [British Columbia] Peace Council and I was there that day and so was one of my sisters.

Canadians for Democracy in Chile (CDC) was one of the two main solidarity groups, which formed in Vancouver before exiles arrived. According to a CDC document, 300 people demonstrated in Vancouver the day after the coup (Declaration of Support to the People of Chile, September 11, 1977), which may have been the demonstration organized by the British Columbia Peace Council to which Elspeth refers. Shayne (2009) reports that according to Gary Cristall, a Canadian who lived in Chile for a year and a half during Allende’s presidency, he and his colleagues organized the first protest in Vancouver on September 15th, 1973. Gary had returned to Vancouver in the summer of 1973 and was scheduled to fly back to Chile on September 11th when he heard the news on the radio. Gary was a member and founder of the other main solidarity group, the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC), which formed on the day of the coup (Shayne, 2009). In addition to protests, this group held several sit-ins at the Vancouver immigration office to demand that Chilean refugees be allowed in to Canada. According to a spokesperson for the committee, the group was “an ad hoc coalition of Trotskyites, the revolutionary Marxist group and some NDP [New Democratic Party] supporters” (Stephens, The Ubyssey, November 22, 1973). In addition to the formation of CDC and the CSC, many local organizations reacted immediately to the situation in Chile. The Victoria Peace Council sent telegrams to Prime Minister Trudeau and Mitchell Sharpe, the Secretary of State for External Affairs denouncing Canada’s recognition of the new regime and appealing for Chileans to be given asylum (Letter to CDC, October 9, 1973) and the North Shore Young New Democrats circulated petitions condemning the military takeover and planned to picket the Chilean Consulate (Letter to CDC, October 5, 1973).

As all these immediate actions demonstrate, networks were already in place when exiles arrived among church groups, unions, student organizations and political parties, many of which
were often represented in individual solidarity groups. At first, the absence of exiles and their connections with Chileans in Chile meant there was little information coming directly from Chile, as Janet of CDC recalled:

Right in the beginning, we didn’t have very many Chileans here doing work and of course Chileans from Chile, or even the few that escaped around the world, they weren’t organized enough to be sending us information or stuff, there was no world network and there was certainly nothing coming out of Chile or nothing coming out of Chile progressive.

Once more exiles arrived they helped connect the local, national and international solidarity movement with the resistance in Chile. Exile groups established alliances with many of the existing solidarity groups and worked to broaden networks together with non-Chileans.

**Canadians for Democracy in Chile**

Canadians for Democracy in Chile\(^\text{176}\) was formally established ten days after the coup on September 21\(^\text{st}\), 1973. Janet, a founding member of CDC, recalls that about three days after the military takeover, the founding members got together and as she stated, “out of our horror of what was going on in Chile, we formed Canadians for Democracy in Chile.” Janet explained that because there was such a political atmosphere with the Viet Nam War and the shooting at Kent State University in Ohio which resulted in the death of four students in relation to Viet Nam War demonstrations, “we were politicized, we were already organized…it was just one step to be organized for other things as well.” CDC was integrated by twenty or thirty leftists who were already politically involved, including members of the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE),\(^\text{177}\) the Communist Party of Canada, people who had opposed and fought fascism during the Spanish Civil War, the left wing of the New Democratic Party (NDP) and trade unions.

\(^{176}\) Since I interviewed two members of Canadians for Democracy in Chile and carried out archival research examining the CDC Fonds at The University of British Columbia, I have extensive data on that group and therefore, focus on that group in terms of data on non-Chilean groups in Vancouver.

\(^{177}\) COPE is now the Coalition of Progressive Electors.
Alliances had formed with trade unions in Chile prior to the coup and therefore, relationships between trade unions in Canada and Chile had already been established.

Janet was active in civic politics with COPE and with the Canadian Congress of Women. Janet is also the mother of three children, who were very young at the time, and worked (and still does) full-time at the Trade Union Research Bureau. She explained that Trade Union Research Bureau “was the backbone of the B.C. peace movement,” also supporting political work with Canada-Cuba Friendship, Viet Nam and Chile. Her work there enabled her to combine her political work with her paid work as Trade Union Research Bureau supported employees and members in their social movement activities while on the job and therefore, as Janet said, “I didn’t have to be discreet about it…everybody here agreed with what I was doing.”

Elspeth joined CDC shortly after it formed. While she was not at the first meetings, she was asked to chair the committee and then became president of CDC for its entire existence. Elspeth’s parents were social activists and she has been involved with the Left her entire life. In the 1930s and 1940s there were not many women pursuing a law degree. Elspeth was one of the few women doing just that. She graduated from UBC with a law degree in 1942 and worked at a firm which represented trade unions when they “fell into trouble” with the courts. While Elspeth was mostly active in the peace movement, she was also involved with the Canada-Cuba Friendship Association and in getting Canadian citizenship for Russian and Ukrainian immigrants in the 1960s. She is married and has two children, which she successfully balanced with her career and political work, serving as a role model for other women.

Before Elspeth became the chairperson for CDC, Philip Rankin, a founding member, had chaired the committee. Phil Rankin was the son of Harry Rankin, a Vancouver City Councillor

---

178 When she was pregnant with her second child, Elspeth opened her own office because she needed to earn more money. Even though she was going to be working twice as much, the firm she was then working with was not willing to double her salary. Upon communicating her plans to open her own office, she was told she would not be able to make what she expected, to which she responded “that will be my problem not yours, won’t it?” Shortly thereafter Elspeth was making what she expected to earn.
and lawyer who was known for advocating for the disenfranchised both as a politician and in his
law practice.\textsuperscript{179} Early CDC meetings were held at the Rankin home, which was known to
activists as the Rankin Hotel because they provided accommodations for activists visiting
Vancouver (Tim Hawthorn, Globe and Mail, March 5, 2002).\textsuperscript{180} In addition to the support of
COPE, many exiles discussed the NDP’s support of the solidarity movement, particularly Svend
Robinson, the Member of Parliament (1979-2004), and of Dave Barrett, then Premier of B.C.\textsuperscript{181}
Janet recalled that “Dave Barrett was fond of Allende and he would say, ‘I am the Allende of the
North.’”

**Immediate Responses**

According to a CDC press release (September 24, 1973), among the first actions taken by
this “citizen’s committee to assist the defence of democracy in Chile” was to wire then Prime
Minister Pierre Trudeau “adding its voice to the world-wide revulsion against the military
overthrow of the democratically-elected government of Chile” and appealing to the Canadian
government not to recognize the military Junta. News of the severe repression taking place in
Chile had clearly reached the global media as in the press release they refer to the thousands of
socialists, communists and trade unionists, among other Chileans, who had been incarcerated
and tortured. They also urged the Canadian government to exercise their influence at the United
Nations towards “the immediate release and safety of seven thousand political prisoners held in
the National Football Stadium in Santiago de Chile,” the same figure given by the Red Cross just
days earlier.

---

\textsuperscript{179} Harry Rankin was a Vancouver councillor for 24 years. He was first elected in 1966 and retired from municipal
politics in 1993. In 1986, he ran for mayor against now B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell and lost. Rankin was
involved in forming the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE), now the Coalition of Progressive Electors.
\textsuperscript{180} This article appears on Tim Louis’s website (http://www.timlouis.ca/harry-rankin.html#top). Louis has served on
the Vancouver Park Board and as a City Councillor.
\textsuperscript{181} Dave Barrett was the first NDP Premier of B.C. (1972-1975) and later the Leader of the Opposition (1975-1983).
Only eight days after the coup, CDC had already sent an invitation to the members of the Chilean government who were in Rome when the coup took place and to Hortensia Bussi, Allende’s widow exiled in Mexico to address a public meeting in Vancouver. Hortensia Bussi did tour Canada and spoke in Vancouver in December of 1973 at John Oliver High School, Simon Fraser University and at The University of British Columbia (CSC, CDC, B.C. NDP & Vancouver Area Council of the NDP) press release, November 28, 1973). The public meeting held at John Oliver High School, co-sponsored by CDC, the CSC and the NDP182 was an “outstanding success” (CDC statement, n.d.).

By October 10th, 1973, about a month after the coup, CDC had sent a delegation to the parliament buildings in Victoria to urge the provincial government of British Columbia (B.C.) to condemn the federal government’s recognition of the military Junta. In a letter to then Premier David Barrett announcing their trip to Victoria,183 CDC argued this recognition legitimated the Junta in the same way that recognition of Hitler and Franco legitimated their fascist regimes. In addition, they asked the provincial government to demand that the federal government provide political asylum to Chileans and to publicly denounce the human and political rights violations occurring in Chile. In the letter CDC also claim the Junta used Canadian prisoners “to blackmail Canada into recognizing their regime” (Letter to David Barrett, October 1st, 1973). In November of 1973, CDC published their first bulletin, The Voice of Chile, which announced the formation of the committee, called British Columbians to action and reported on the dire situation in Chile and on the first acts of worldwide solidarity.

Replication of Political Parties in Exile: Specific Divisions, Broad Unity

It did not take long before exiles began organizing around the political parties they had been members of or sympathized with during the UP government. Most exiles said that by 1976,

---

182 Specifically, the British Columbia branch and Vancouver Area Council of the NDP.
183 This letter was also made public through a press release.
groups were organized along party lines. As we learned in Chapter Three, the political parties that made up the UP coalition were reconstituted in exile and therefore, “the main form of organization was based on replicating the Chilean party scheme…[because exiles] continued to identify with the parties with which [they] had been associated with in Chile” (Alberto, Interview). The reproduction of political parties also meant the same divisions and alliances that existed among the various UP coalition parties and factions were reflected in exile. As Diego put it, “those agreements between parties which existed in Chile were also transferred here.”

The disagreements among the Chilean Left that existed before the coup which exiles brought with them were not the only source of differences. The rifts also began to reflect the different positions of the various parties and factions with respect to the appropriate strategy for ending the dictatorship. The MIR, who had always supported an armed route to socialism, maintained this position and eventually the Communist Party also adopted this stance, along with some sectors of the Socialist Party, which brings us to the intraparty divisions among the Socialists. These divisions reflected debates among the Socialist party leadership in exile who lived in Europe and continued to reflect the two main camps who, before the coup, had disagreed as to whether the UP government ought to move more slowly or more quickly towards socialism in Chile. In exile the socialist leadership differed as to how the resistance ought to proceed. The socialist faction of the VCA underwent philosophical changes and while they still supported Altamirano who led the more radical socialist camp, they “denounce[d] most of the established exiled Socialist Party leadership…and the present policies of the Popular Unity parties” (CDC Letter to VCA, November 3, 1976). Sergio explained that there were two Socialist groups in Vancouver because, as Marcela put it, “like good Chileans, two Chileans and each one organizes a political party.” The other camp supported Almeyda, who represented the more moderate position. The Communists remained united in exile, as they had always been in Chile. With the
exception of the MIR who always supported and continued to support armed struggle after the coup (though they ceased armed activities during Allende’s administration), the other major UP parties and factions modified their positions as time went on. Altamirano, exiled in France, played a decreasingly important role and Almeyda took a more radical stance. By the early 1980s, the Communist Party openly supported armed resistance. While they maintained a political position, they were closely tied to the guerrilla movement *Frente Partiótico Manuel Rodriguez* [Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front].

The various parties and factions also had different positions as to the form of democracy they envisioned in post-dictatorship Chile, which while more nuanced than the two I present here, were basically manifested in two different views. One group forwarded a social democracy founded on the liberal democratic model Chile had before the coup. The other group still wanted to see a socialist Chile in which the people actively constructed their future. They did not wish to return to a pre-UP Chile. Pilar explains:

> We did not want that democratic Chile of the rich and the poor and the drastic class differences…We wanted a Chile of participative democracy, a socialist Chile, that was what we wanted. So, our purpose was not only to bring Pinochet down…it was also to find an avenue which would take us to that socialism to which we aspired, but the way to get there, that’s where we had different ideas.

Almost every exile I interviewed felt the divisions were regrettable. Gabriela remembered that “what was really beautiful in the work at the beginning was the unity…we were all working together.” Sadly what happened was

the sectarianism, which unfortunately had existed during the UP [government], continued, which was a shame because it was a time for unity…each could have their ideas and their way of thinking, but, why not remain united, if not together in the same mix, at least together and allied? each one with their own slogan, but a coalition, but we didn’t do that, and each party went off on its own and did their own thing (Pilar, Interview).

Eventually, this resulted in the end of the VCA and exiles continued their solidarity work mainly with and through their respective political parties.
Several exiles discussed Laura Allende’s visit to Vancouver in 1975 as a significant event in and of itself and some recalled it as a turning point with respect to the divisions. Laura Allende was Salvador Allende’s sister and a (Socialist) politician in her own right. According to Gabriela and Francisco, her comments during her visit to Vancouver were a major contributing factor to the divisions. One of the issues that affected the solidarity movement were arguments about where the money they raised should be sent. Several exiles discussed how at first the money raised by exiles from all corners of the world was sent to a centralized account in Luxembourg. According to a Canadians for Democracy in Chile document, money sent to the Luxembourg account went to Chile Democrático, the UP organization headquartered in Rome. However, as Gabriela and Francisco explained, when Laura Allende met with the exile community and said

Gabriela: she did not trust the Luxembourg account…the result was a disaster

Francisco: Ms. Laurita created a disaster

Gabriela: It was a disaster because from that day forward there was no more solidarity. So from then on, the socialists went that way, the communists the other way and the

Francisco: It was a meeting, so Ms. Laurita… who met with all of the exile community, the Chilean collective who were

Gabriela: who were from all sides

Francisco: from the MIR to the PC [Communist Party], they all contributed money, but in the end Ms. Laurita said “no, this money goes to my party” and that’s when

Gabriela: that’s when the alliance ended, that’s when the unity among the parties ended.

The majority of exiles said each political party basically sent the money they fundraised to their respective political party, but many people from different parties also said they sent money to

184 Laura Allende was elected Deputy for the Socialist Party three times, in 1965, 1969 and 1973. In 1974, she and her daughter were arrested and taken to the Cuatro Alamos detention camp. She was then expelled from Chile, lived in Mexico for a short time, then moved to Cuba in 1976. She committed suicide in Habana in 1981. Biographical information from the National Library of Congress of Chile: http://biografias.bcn.cl/pags/biografias/detalle_par.php?id=545
organizations like the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* [Vicariate of Solidarity] and the *Comité de Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo* [Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the People].

These political divisions fragmented the Chilean exile community in cities across Canada (and in countries around the world). Alberto, who lived in Edmonton for a few years, said exiles there were organized along party lines there too. Antonio said divisions also affected the exile community in Calgary, and by the time he arrived in Vancouver, he encountered the same situation. Referring to the in-fighting as a disgrace, Antonio discussed the same issue surrounding money and how disagreements led to the “end of the Chilean community, so each political group organized its own thing.” Political divisions were also present among exiles in Québec where the Montreal Chilean Association dissolved in 1980 because of political disagreements (Del Pozo, 2006).\(^\text{185}\) In Toronto, groups based on political parties formed, as well as an umbrella organization similar to the VCA called the Toronto Chilean Society (Landolt, Goldring & Bernhard, 2009).

**Other Sources of Division**

Another source of division was the discussions over whether Chileans should organize themselves in terms of their place in Canadian society. When the issue first arose around 1978-1979, it created some tension because many exiles still thought the dictatorship would not last (Gabriela and Francisco, Interview). Up until this point exiles had focused on the situation in Chile and their imminent return. The tensions were between exiles who thought it was time to consider being a part of Canadian society and exiles who were entirely focused on Chile. Exiles who took the former position were concerned with how the Chilean community might work together to support each other as Chileans in Canada and how they could contribute to Canadian society, while exiles who took the latter position thought their energy should be focused

\(^{185}\) According to del Pozo (2006), the Pablo Neruda Association in Québec City managed to survive until 1990 because of the smaller Chilean (and Latin American) population present in Québec City.
exclusively on solidarity work with Chile. Some people did redirect their energy mainly towards carving out a space for Chileans in Canadian society, some did both settlement and solidarity work, and others chose to continue to only be active in the solidarity movement.

Finally, intergroup criticism, individual interests and interpersonal issues affected the work of the exile community. As Matias said, “I think there are things beyond politics that divided us.” While in his group (the MIR Support Group) people would refer to the communists or the socialists in a pejorative manner, Matias feels there were also personal reasons behind the comments. Antonio explained that groups would criticize each other for what they did or did not do and once organizations were well established, some people were more interested in personal gain than their work as a community. Being the president of an organization meant having a certain status, which made some aspire to reach such positions out of personal interest and others jealous. Antonio’s analysis is that the individualism emphasized in Canadian society had eroded some exiles’ values of working collaboratively for the collective good, which they had held and practiced in Chile.

**Political Differences among the Non-Chilean Left and with Exiles**

Political differences also existed among non-Chilean groups and were present from the outset. According to CDC “problems began almost immediately after the Coup in 1973 with the Revolutionary Marxist Group…[who] portrayed the Popular Unity Government and Salvador Allende as betrayors of the Chilean people” (CDC letter to VCA, November 3, 1976), along with the Maoists and what CDC calls “ultra left groups.” Though they were two separate groups, the Revolutionary Marxist Group leadership was involved in founding the CSC. What CDC claims is not constructive is that the issues these groups raise are divisive. Similarly, after Hortensia Bussi spoke at John Oliver High School in Vancouver in December of 1973, CDC produced a statement in which they stress her call for unity and the contrast of her message with the
literature in the auditorium lobby which included leaflets and books condemning Allende’s government and others accusing certain sectors of the UP with its own downfall. In a document CDC asserted this was “plain garbage [because] those responsible for the Coup are multinational and international imperialism, oligarchy, militarism and capitalism, with the CIA as inducers and conspirators” (Madame Allende’s Memorable Visit to Vancouver, 1973). Recall that Hortensia Bussi’s visit to Vancouver in December of 1973 was co-sponsored by the NDP, CDC and the CSC. In their statement CDC asserted that had it not been for “the self-appointed chair of the meeting” giving credit to the CSC for sponsoring the meeting and claiming that CDC arrived later on the scene, they would not have to emphasize their early involvement in her visit to Vancouver. While CDC did not feel it was necessary “to explain at long length the unfair manipulation of that affair” they did point out that they contributed more than two hundred dollars for the ad placed in the Vancouver Sun and the auditorium rental.

Elspeth of CDC also recalled that once when both groups organized demonstrations on the same day she refused to let them join the CDC demonstration with their own signs because “they were more likely to be putting out more leftist kinds of slogans.” Elspeth explained that few people turned out to the CSC demonstration so they thought they would come and join ours, so they came over, said “We want to join in yours” I said, “Not with those signs…but if you want to pick up our signs and join us, you’re welcome” and they said, “Well that’s not democratic” I said “Well, you know say what it is, but I’m saying you can’t come in our demonstration unless you’re carrying our signs” so they took off and we continued on with our demonstration.

While CDC and the VCA worked collaboratively by 1976 there was some disharmony between the two groups. In a letter to the VCA, CDC state they “find it particularly sad that of all the organizations [they] have been able to claim the consistent support of, the Vancouver Chilean Association is not one of them” (November 3, 1976). The letter was written specifically because of issues that arose during the course of jointly planning September activities in 1976.
According to CDC they received letters accusing them and John Radosevic, then CDC secretary, of misrepresenting where the proceeds of a planned concert would be sent. At the end of the nine page letter recounting events over the preceding months, Radosevic concludes that after explaining the money situation numerous times, the only explanation is that there was lying involved, since it was not possible that VCA members had repeatedly misunderstood him. Given the internal philosophical changes within the VCA, particularly the socialist faction, the major source of conflict was whether the funds raised by the concert ought to be sent to Chile Democrático in Rome through the Luxembourg account. Like Laura Allende, the VCA representative Radosevic was in contact with did not trust the Luxembourg account, nor did he (or according to him the socialist faction of the VCA) agree with the policies the UP parties forwarded. CDC maintained, throughout its existence, its philosophical and financial support for Popular Unity as represented by Chile Democrático and ultimately, the concert proceeds were sent to Chile Democrático.

**Broad Unity**

Despite all the differences and conflicts that existed in the solidarity movement and specifically the ones discussed above in the Chilean exile community, the common goal of ending the dictatorship managed to prevail because “at the end of the day, it was the same enemy” (Alberto, Interview). Several exiles described a post-VCA coordinating body, which they referred to as a board through which activities were organized across groups. While each political group met on its own, they would send delegates to meetings at which broader decisions were made. For example, they might decide what kinds of activities they would organize during the month of September (to commemorate the coup and celebrate Independence Day) and each group would organize different events or work together on a single event. Nevertheless, each

---

186 A telegram received by CDC in April of 1974 shows not long after the coup CDC had sent two thousand dollars to Chile Democrático in Rome.
political party or group maintained its autonomy, so “there was a common denominator, which was Chile, but everyone worked according to their principles” (Diego, Interview). Many event announcements show the “Chilean Community” as the organizing group and even when political parties appeared separately, they co-organized events. The September 1978 activities included a political presentation sponsored by UP and the MIR at which a “representative of the Chilean Resistance [spoke] on the unity of the left” (Venceremos, vol. 4, no. 1, June-August 1978).

According to Antonio, forming the Chilean Community was an attempt to unite the political parties and though everyone was welcome, everyone was not represented, rather it was mainly the communists and the Allende socialists (one faction of the socialist party).

The fact that some groups boycotted each others’ activities did not mean that all groups or individuals did so. Though divisions came up in all but one of the interviews, many exiles said that “in general you saw everyone everywhere” (Gabriela, Interview) because when it came to “solidarity in those years, we all participated…no group ever subtracted themselves from an activity which benefitted the work for Chile” (Diego, Interview). For instance, Pedro said that when there was a peña\(^\text{187}\) people attended “from all sides, without division, it didn’t run that deep.” Matias recalls that he would “participate in everything. If they called for something, I was there…to support [them], it was a common cause.” Likewise, Gabriela and Francisco said “it didn’t matter to us where, who was doing something…we went to do support work” (Gabriela, Interview).

There were different reasons exiles participated in activities organized by diverse political parties. From Pedro’s perspective, divisions were a healthy part of democratic practices. In his words, “I don’t consider that division harmful…it’s part of what it means to live peacefully in a democracy.” Matias explained that he had another way of seeing the political

---

\(^{187}\) Recall from the previous two chapters that peñas were integral to the New Chilean Song movement and to the activities organized as part of the solidarity movement. We will learn more about peñas in the next chapter.
divisions because he was of a younger generation (recall that Matias arrived in 1980 at the age of 18). Although he was deeply affected by the military repression because his brother is disappeared, unlike him, exiles who were older than him “learned politics when they were children” and therefore they experienced political unity and divisions in a way Matias did not. Matias also felt that his attitude towards political differences may have had to do with his individual way of thinking. Gabriela speculated that people who were more heavily involved with a particular party were more likely to boycott other groups’ activities than those who worked with a political party, but were not as focused on only supporting events organized by their party.

Most political parties organized their own activities and worked together on events across party lines. In addition, not everyone who participated in the solidarity movement worked with a particular political party. As Samuel pointed out, there were people who were members of political parties, others who were “friends” of political parties and independent leftists, which was also the case with non-Chilean solidarity movement participants. One example of multiparty coordination is concert tours performed by exiled musicians like Quilapayún or Inti-Illimani. Concert tours required Canada wide coordination, so while one group usually took a leading role in liaising with solidarity groups in other Canadian cities in order to schedule concert dates and the corresponding travel itinerary for visiting performers, all solidarity groups would sell tickets and publicize the concert. Another example is boycott campaigns. All exiles individually boycotted Chilean products (mostly fruit and wine), however, not all groups organized boycott activities such as picketing supermarkets and liquor stores. Groups that did carry out these activities would agree on picket dates and distribute locations for which each group would be responsible. Therefore, while divisions created tensions, the shared goal of ending the

---

188 Boycott campaigns were not restricted to fruit and wine. Exiles were also involved in isolating the Junta more broadly. We will explore these actions in more detail in the next chapter.
dictatorship in Chile was far more important. As Pilar explained, “sure, we fought. I don’t remember why we fought, surely because of political positions, but that’s not what stands out, that’s not what I remember. What I remember is working well, working well together.”

Exiles lived a vibrant historical period of Chilean and Latin American history, during which time they envisioned and enacted their socialist dream. That dream came crashing down in the most violent possible way and radically altered their lives forever. In the months and years immediately following the coup they made their way to Canada and tried to come to terms with what had just happened to their dream, their country, their families and themselves. Upon their arrival, they found Allende sympathizers were already organized and together they mounted a formidable campaign to support the resistance in Chile and denounce the Junta abroad. Even with the differences which divided them, they formed a unified front and along with others around the world worked to end the dictatorship in Chile. To do this, they employed multiple and varied actions ranging from cultural events and hunger strikes to demonstrations, boycott campaigns and establishing alternative media. In Chapter Seven we examine solidarity movement groups and their actions more closely. The first half of the chapter covers movement groups, their dynamics and alliances, as well as motivations and aims. The second half focuses on the activities carried out by movement groups.
CHAPTER SEVEN: Structures of Learning and Solidarity Movement Actions

The first thing we did was organize ourselves as Chileans. Solidarity work was the most important. Solidarity.

- Blanca

Organizing abroad was vital to exiles. They felt a moral obligation to stand in solidarity with their compañeras and compañeros in Chile who continued to endure the horrors of the military regime. Similarly, non-Chileans who shared their values and vision for a more socially just world felt compelled to ensure exiles and Chileans in Chile did not feel they were alone in their efforts to restore a civilian government and respect for human rights in Chile. Together they organized a range of actions which included many forms of artistic expression, investigations and presentations, alternative media and a number of campaigns.

To understand learning and knowledge production in and beyond the solidarity movement, we need to look at the structures and dynamics of the movement as a whole and specifically, of movement groups. Not only did these structures and dynamics play an important role in exiles’ learning in and of themselves, they were the backbone of the solidarity movement and thus of movement actions. This chapter opens with a section on movement groups and their dynamics and alliances, which includes communication, decision-making and the division of labour. It also explores the role of women in the movement, both in terms of relations of power and women’s groups and their actions. The section that follows discusses motivations and aims and the remainder of the chapter focuses on the action repertoire of the solidarity movement. While solidarity movement groups carried out actions similar to those of other social movements – for example, demonstrations, hunger strikes, boycotts and letter writing campaigns – they also organized actions which drew on, reflected and expressed the particular political culture of the Chilean Left through various forms of artistic expression.
Solidarity Movement Structures, Dynamics and Alliances

We learned in the previous chapter that as political parties reconstituted exiles in Vancouver eventually organized along party lines and the VCA dissolved. While there were exiles in Vancouver (and elsewhere) who were members of the smaller UP parties – for example, the MAPU and Christian Left – the majority of exiles had been members or sympathizers of the larger UP parties – the Socialist and Communist parties – and the MIR (which was not part of the UP coalition). Thus, the solidarity movement groups which formed in Vancouver reflected this reality. Almost half of the exiles I interviewed participated in the VCA and of these, all but two were also part of other groups. These groups included the Communists, two Socialist groups, the MIR and the MIR Ayudistas or MIR Support Group. Exile groups, particularly the Communists and the MIR, developed strong working relationships with the two main non-Chilean solidarity groups. The Communists worked closely with CDC and the MIR with CSC.

Solidarity Movement Groups

Most of the groups were not registered as non-profit societies and all the groups were participatory and consensus-based in terms of their discussion and decision-making practices. The Socialists described their groups as very informal in the sense that they were fluid and emergent. There were people who took leadership roles, but more to give some direction or guide the group than to delegate responsibilities. In Gabriela’s words, “it was very organic…it was not that we had an agenda [for the meeting]….that he is the president, so he is in charge or that we had to vote or have a majority, no, it was something else, it was much more participatory.” Planning often happened spontaneously, so there was no calendar, rather the fact that they were friends also meant that they would get together socially and as Diego said, solidarity activities were “always going to come up…so we would talk, ‘hey, why don’t we do this?’ ‘sure, the next time we get together with the others we’ll coordinate it.’”
Although the Communists and the MIR were also very participatory and consensus-based, their groups were more formal than the Socialists in terms of their structures and planning. In Canada the MIR’s structures consisted of national and local central committees. As the national coordinator for Canada where there were around 200 MIR members, Alberto often travelled to the Prairie Provinces, Montreal and Toronto on MIR business. Both in Chile and elsewhere, the MIR had official party members and supporters. Not everyone became a party member because
to be a member of the party was not an easy thing…You had to go through a certain rigour [a rigorous process] and here, here it was even more difficult to be a member of the party because everything was very compartmentalized, everything was very secret, the money thing, the issue of who got orders from where (Matias, Interview).

Activities were not generally planned too far in advance and dates for some activities were often picked so that they did not clash with other groups’ activities in order maximize the turn out. While most decisions were made collectively, Matias, who was part of the MIR Ayudistas and therefore not a party member, explained that “there were certain things…[decisions] only members of the local central committee made because they were party members.”

As we learned earlier, the MIR and the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez were the two main armed resistance movements in Chile during the dictatorship. In the late 1970s the MIR implemented Operación Retorno [Operation Return] which involved MIR members going to nearby countries to pave the way for others to enter Chile clandestinely. Matias described how this was done:

You needed to create the structures in neighbouring countries, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, many others, so compañeros were sent to those places to look for, to create security houses in these countries so that as compañeros arrived from all over the world [they] entered these security houses and those compañeros who were living in these countries, they found the best way to enter Chile.
Matias admired the MIR members who were involved in these activities because he felt it took a lot of courage. He was pleased to report that all the MIR members who went to South America from Vancouver returned safely.

The Communist group was registered as a non-profit society. Samuel explained their group was one of many cells, which is

a form of organization that…is practiced clandestinely…because if one [cell] gets caught, they won’t catch the others because they don’t know who the others are given the form of organization. It’s a very old way of working the party continues to use, working in cells.\footnote{Members of the Communist Party of Chile operated clandestinely in Chile after the \textit{Ley de Defensa Permanente de la Democracia} [Permanent Defense of Democracy Law] was passed in 1948 during González Videla’s presidency (1946-1952). This law declared the Communist Party of Chile illegal and stripped members of their political rights.}

There were leaders who were part of the secretariat who would act as chairs at the meetings and each person at the meeting would contribute to the discussion in turn. The group would meet every two or three weeks to discuss what was happening in Chile and coordinate action and while some activities were planned in advance, others emerged in response to calls to action from Chile. For example, commemorating September 11\textsuperscript{th}, the day of the coup, was always planned, but urging the Canadian government and international organizations to pressure the Junta to release political prisoners arose when activists in Chile were arrested.

There were strong connections between the Canadian Communist Party and unions. Samuel recalled how “those of us who are members of the Communist Party of Chile were welcomed with open arms…by the [local] Canadian Communist Party leader” who helped them find work because the leaders of the “unions were fond of the party.” It was mainly communist exiles who were also involved in local CUT committees.\footnote{Recall from Chapter Two that the \textit{Central Única de Trabajadores} (CUT) was the largest labour federation in Chile before the coup.} Though the CUT was outlawed in Chile in 1973, unionists remained active in Chile and in exile where locals were set up all over
the world. When exiles representing these locals approached unions they were pleased to learn that unions were familiar with the CUT. Blanca recalled that in Calgary unions were knowledgeable, they knew what the Central Única de Trabajadores, the CUT, was very well known, highly respected, so that allowed us, the CUT, only with the name, to have unions open their doors…So, in that respect we had a lot of help…economically and in terms of solidarity.

Janet explained that “the trade unions here in B.C. had formed alliances with trade unions in Chile as they became socialist, you know, it was very exciting to people here and so there were alliances and friendship and groups back and forth.” Indeed, the president of Canadian Labour Congress met with a CUT representative in Vancouver in May 1973, months before the coup (Photo and caption, CDC newsletter draft, n.d.).\(^{191}\) In Vancouver, the CUT published a bulletin and organized a Solidarity Conference with the Workers of Chile in 1984 (also sponsored by the Vancouver and District Labour Council and the Canadian Labour Congress). In 1983, CDC, the Chilean Community and the CUT sponsored a speaking tour for Alamiro Guzmán, the secretary of the Coordinadora Nacional Sindical [National Union Coordinating Body] formed in 1978 after the CUT was outlawed (Event poster, September 11, 1983). Guzmán toured five Canadian cities.

While their ties with the Communist exile group were strong, unions also collaborated with other exile groups. Exiles from different groups consistently cited the Fishermen’s Union [United Fishermen and Allied Workers’ Union], the Marine Workers Union and the Dock and Shipyard Workers Union [Marine Workers and Boilermakers Industrial Union], Construction Workers Union,\(^ {192}\) and the B.C. Teachers’ Federation. Unions supported solidarity actions in several ways – they honoured picket lines, they offered their facilities for photocopying and events, they donated money and they passed resolutions denouncing the Junta, the Canadian government’s recognition of the Junta and supported the boycott of Chilean products.

\(^{191}\) While there is no date, given dates the newsletter makes reference to, it appears to be from 1974.

\(^{192}\) Currently, there appear to be at least two unions representing construction and allied workers in BC.
The Chilean Communist Party group also worked closely with CDC. In fact, CDC meeting minutes show that two or three communist exiles were consistently present at their meetings. CDC was very formal, both in its structure and its dynamics. In contrast to any of the exile groups, all their meeting minutes show they ran their meetings according to Robert’s Rules of Order with the chairperson, Elspeth (for almost all of CDC’s existence) and a secretary who recorded the minutes. The fact that they recorded minutes is a departure from exile groups. Janet explained that since many CDC members were in trade unions, they followed that model. Members would meet monthly and discuss agenda items, which often meant long meetings to “hash it all out” (Janet, Interview). Like some exile groups, CDC planned activities in advance and responded to calls for action.

While the information I have on the CSC is limited, the solidarity movement documents I reviewed show they worked closely with the MIR. For example, several event announcements list the CSC, the MIR Support Group and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Chile (CDHRC) as the sponsors. Pilar, a member of the MIR group explained building solidarity meant we had a lot of contact with Canadians. That was one of the good things the MIR did, that it did not transform itself into an island, rather a lot of work was done to go out and look for the support of Canadian individuals and organizations. For example, we formed the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Chile.

Many exiles who were not aligned with either the MIR or the Communists also said they worked closely with non-Chileans. According to Diego, “ninety per cent of the activities that were carried out were done in coordination with the Canadian groups.”

La Cooperativa Chilena – The Chilean Housing Coop

La Cooperativa, as it is known in the Chilean community, was built in the early 1980s and became a major hub of solidarity activity, so much so that for Antonio who still lives there,

193 Shayne’s (2009) research confirms this.
the “coop was perhaps the headquarters of a great deal of solidarity, the primary site.” Though the 37 unit housing coop was home mainly to communist exiles, many of the other exiles I interviewed agreed. From Ignacio’s perspective, the coop “was possibly one of the most important solidarity groups” and Pedro said “the coop did more work…a lot more activities because of the fact that they were together.”

The solidarity activities held at the coop ranged from peñas, dances and speakers to making and selling empanadas. The Communist group was also involved with coordinating concert tours, selling arpilleras and the cultural journal Araucaria, participating in rallies, and picketing ships, supermarkets and liquor stores. The coop was well known for its empanadas. Samuel recalled that “every Saturday we sold a large amount of empanadas” and Antonio said of all the fundraising activities they carried out, “making empanadas was the one that made the most money.” They also sold thousands of empanadas at the annual Peace March in Vancouver, which in the early-mid 1980s was an annual event that drew tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of people. So many empanadas were made at the coop that Samuel said they became “empanadologists.”

The coop has a small community centre which served as the venue for countless solidarity activities and for making the empanadas they sold. Francisco, one of the architects involved in building the coop, recalled that to build the second floor of the community centre, he and his business partner “twisted the contractor’s arm a bit… and it was useful [for] so many people.” The second floor is indeed indispensable because it is an open space where people can gather. The food preparation area is on the first floor with a sizeable kitchen and workspace. It is a “beautiful community centre…for organizing [and] to use to raise money” (Matias, Interview).

---

194 For example, the widow of a teacher and union leader who was one of three men found with their throats slashed on the side of a road on the outskirts of Santiago in 1985 spoke at the coop.
195 We will examine solidarity movement actions in detail later in the chapter.
196 See Chapter Three for more on the journal Araucaria.
In addition to solidarity events, the community centre was used to run a heritage school, which we will learn more about in the next chapter.

While the exiles who live/d at the coop were largely communists, other exiles were part of its development. In addition to Francisco’s participation as an architect, Marcela helped out after Francisco’s business partner requested her assistance. She recalled how political stripes affected the process: “we organized the whole thing until the coop was done and then he tossed me aside. I wasn’t communist…I was the only socialist.” Another coop was later built, which Matias referred to as “the other coop…which identified more with the Socialist Party. This one was communist…the others were socialists.” Nevertheless, when most exiles refer to “la cooperativa,” they mean the predominantly communist Chilean Housing Coop.

For the community who live/d there the coop was/is important on so many levels – socially, emotionally, culturally, politically and economically (affordable housing, fundraising). Perhaps one of the most important ways living in the coop benefited people was that it was exactly the environment they needed to be in after the horrific experiences they had lived in Chile. Many exiles who lived at the coop had been tortured and the coop was “a lifeline” for them after the trauma they endured (Antonio, Interview). Living in the coop created a sense of community and made them feel safe because they looked out for each other. In the absence of their extended families, the other families fulfilled the same roles and needs. When someone was ill they cared for that person and there was a tacit agreement to care for each others’ children, who were also immersed in Chilean culture and in (Chilean) Spanish. In addition, the coop provided affordable housing, taught its residents how to run and manage an organization and as we know, its community centre provided facilities for educational and fundraising activities.

While many of these reasons for living at the coop were important for all exiles, the majority of exiles never lived at either of the two coops. Among the exiles I interviewed who

197 Though some families still live at the coop, I will use the past tense in this paragraph for readability.
never have, a number of them expressed, in general terms, that they decided relatively early on that they were going to be in Canada for longer than initially expected and that it was important for them to become more a part of Canadian society. This does not mean many exiles who lived at either coop did not feel the same way, since they may have simultaneously felt the coop environment and becoming a part of Canadian society was desirable. Nevertheless, as some exiles expressed, they did not want to live in what they saw as a ghetto, not because either coop environment is impoverished, but because they are seen as closed environments in the sense that the surroundings are essentially Chilean only and/or affiliated with one particular political party (communist or socialist respectively). The idea of living in a ghetto was also expressed as only having Chilean friends and having a life focused solely on solidarity, even if that did not entail living at one of the coops. Regardless of how exiles feel about the coop environment, the significance of the Chilean Housing Coop as a key centre of solidarity activity was almost universally expressed by all exiles I interviewed, which is a testament to their commitment to solidarity with exiles and Chileans in Chile.

**Division of Labour**

As with group dynamics, tasks required for carrying out activities were distributed quite equally among group members and sympathizers in all exile groups as a matter of principle. All but one of the groups formed committees to carry out activities. For example, if they were planning a *peña,* they would have a committee responsible for the food, another for renting the space, publicizing and selling tickets, organizing performances, and so on. The one group that operated more on an ad hoc basis was one of the Socialist groups in which actions were organized by determining what needed to be done and people volunteering. In all groups, people offered to take on certain tasks or they simply knew they could count on each other to

---

198 We will examine peñas in more detail later in this chapter.
collaborate, in which case they agreed to take responsibility for a particular job. As Francisco put it, “you could count on them, it wasn’t that you offered, we were always there, that is, you had already offered.” Solidarity movement participants offered or agreed to tasks based on their knowledge, skills and contacts. We will return to this in the next chapter.

In Calgary, the Chilean Association had permanent committees which focused on a particular area, including a solidarity committee, wellbeing committee, culture committee and translation committee. Similarly, CDC in Vancouver had a secretary for correspondence and for general information, someone responsible for press-related duties, fundraisers, organizing meetings, etc. Janet explained that since they took minutes they could then review the minutes and see who had completed the tasks they were responsible for, who had not and discuss how the job was going to get done. This worked well because it ensured people were formally committed to certain duties and therefore, usually completed tasks.

Several exiles discussed that as in all collective work not everyone contributed exactly the same time or energy. For Antonio the reason was that “everyone worked according to what was possible for each person. We didn’t ask everyone to do the same because it’s impossible.” Another reason people may not have been available to participate in some actions was the time of day. For example, if a rally was organized on a week day during business hours at the Chilean Consulate, some people may have had to work. Finally, while a few people said there were people who were just lazy, this was not generally an issue, since “the majority of people were very responsible, they took on tasks and they did them well” (Pilar, Interview).

**Gender Roles and Relations of Power**

Questions of how women and men participated in the solidarity movement were often brought up by women and men exiles during interviews and when they did not I asked. Gender
roles\textsuperscript{199} were manifested in the availability of women and men to participate in certain activities, meeting dynamics, the dimensions of the movement for which women and men were responsible and the kinds of tasks they performed. Several exiles pointed out that “at that time Chilean society was basically very \textit{machista}” (Alberto, Interview). Since exiles were coming from a sexist and masculanist culture,\textsuperscript{200} in some cases these relations were also present in the solidarity movement.

Neither women nor men offered similar perspectives with respect to gender roles and positions in the solidarity movement.\textsuperscript{201} While women and men said they were both present at meetings, women did not have as much time to attend meetings. Blanca explains:

In general…women participated less than men because generally women, and we have to admit…the role of mother and raising children was always attributed to women, so men were free to go to all the meetings there were. So, the majority of those who went to these meetings, there was a great deal of masculine participation and the few women who participated in the meeting…there were men \textit{compañeros} who, yes, they didn’t like women to speak. It’s because of the \textit{machista} upbringing.

In addition to the fact that they did not always participate as much in terms of contributing to discussions, many women also said they were not as active when it came to making decisions. As Blanca pointed out, the machista culture played a strong role in their interactions when they first arrived. It was so much a part of exiles that they were not often conscious of it. Gabriela recalls that it was a non-Chilean woman at one of their group’s meetings who said “I noticed that to make decisions at meetings, the men were all there for the decisions and the women were all in the kitchen. How is that possible?” Gabriela explained it seemed normal to them: “we hadn’t realized it. It was our natural way of behaving.” Yet, while Gabriela felt that women and men

\textsuperscript{199} For a detailed account and analysis of gender and the solidarity movement see Shayne (2009).

\textsuperscript{200} The term \textit{machismo} (machista being the adjective) is complex. It is generally understood in Latin America as both hypermasculinity and sexism. Since it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to thoroughly discuss the term, please see the analysis in Lancaster, N. (1992). \textit{Life is hard: Machismo, danger and the intimacy of power in Nicaragua}. Berkeley: University of California Press, in which \textit{machismo} is explained as a system of productive relations. This lens is particularly useful in the context of the Chilean left, especially in terms of the political culture with which exiles left Chile.

\textsuperscript{201} Shayne (2009) found the same.
participated equally, the fact that exiles met at each others’ homes meant that when the public
and private spheres intermingled, it was not always the case. In her own words,

    Within the group we were in, I felt we worked on par [with men], basically how
we worked in Chile…both participated…but here what happened, because it was
more at people’s homes, it was that combination of the political with the
domestic, you see, so they become fused. It was kind of equal, but kind of not
sometimes.

As Gabriela noted, in Chilean society women were already participating actively in the
public sphere, both politically and in the paid workforce. However, at home women were
responsible for the household and raising the children. Even in middle and upper class
families who hired people to do domestic chores, women were the ones who managed the
home. That women had made great strides in the public sphere in Chile did not mean
sexism did not affect their political work. While most women concurred that they could
contribute their thoughts at meetings and that their voices were heard, machismo did
influence the dynamics within groups. With respect to leadership, Matias reported that
while MIR leaders were both women and men, that changed over time such that later
more leaders were men, but he could not identify the reasons as to why that was the case.

    When it came to the kinds of tasks women performed in the solidarity movement, the
responses of women and men alike were mixed. Several women reported that it was only women
who were involved with food. For example, it was women who made empanadas for peñas.
Adela made so many that she said “now nobody is going to get me to make empanadas.”
However, the majority of exiles (women and men) across groups said both women and men
made empanadas. Pilar recalled that “empanadas were not only made by women, no…everyone
made empanadas…I can think of two or three men who directed the whole process in their
homes.” Some exiles also said that other tasks like cleaning were also performed by men and
women so, for example, everyone would clean-up after an event. At the same time, women and
men sometimes made comments which illuminate how ingrained gender roles were at the time and for some, still are. Almost in the same breath, Samuel argued women participated equally, but also had certain capacities which made them more appropriate for particular tasks, something Blanca did not appear to agree with:

Samuel: generally women participated a lot, the same as men. If, for example…[we had to make] empanadas, just as an example

Carolina: Uh huh

Samuel: Right? And women have more abilities for those things

Blanca: laughs

Samuel: But wh, no, but listen, listen, listen. Women have more abilities for that.
A man has more abilities for meeting with the unions, going to the activists who are all kind of rough. It’s not about abilities.

Therefore, Samuel simultaneously asserts women are more capable when it comes to cooking and that the issue is not about abilities at all. Rather, the issue is what is more appropriate for women and what is more appropriate for men, which apparently has nothing to do with a gendered division of labour.

This tension between equal participation and gender-specific tasks also came up among women. As we learned above, while Gabriela said women and men were on an equal footing, the blending of the political and the domestic meant things were not always so equal. When we were discussing division of labour in general, Gabriela and Francisco explained people were permanently willing to contribute. Yet, when Gabriela spontaneously pointed out that in their group everyone (women and men) made empanadas, she immediately went on to say that “one time I remember I was responsible for taking or getting coffee cake, so I called 20 women” and asked each bring a coffee cake to sell at an event. Even though she continued to explain they were more organizers in the solidarity movement than leaders, she never said anything about why she, as a woman, carried out that task or why she mobilized only women.
The Women Stand

When it came to organizing and mobilizing people and resources both women and men (though not all) think women played a very important role, largely because, as Teresa said “women have a greater fighting spirit.” From Antonio’s perspective “women are better at [political] work than men [and] they are better presidents or…organizers,” at least in part because women established and maintained affective bonds, which were integral to their solidarity work. This does not mean men do not forge emotional bonds, but as Pedro pointed out, “women converse and get together… they are more active…they make more connections than men.”

Much of what women and men exiles said is evident in the solidarity movement. Many women participated in women’s committees organizing diverse activities, including clothing and toy drives and collecting donations for milk for children in Chile. Exile women also worked with Chilean women in Chile cooperating and coordinating international solidarity actions. The Women’s Committee of the Chilean Community of B.C. (WCCCBC) was a member of Mujeres de Chile (MUDECHI) [Women of Chile], a “wide and unitarian” (WCCCBC pamphlet, 1984) organization established in Chile in 1982. In many cases, all exiles worked to rise above their disagreements to end the dictatorship. The WCCCBC specifically stated that “as women we make a call to overcome political and philosophical differences in order to conquer democracy” (WCCCBC pamphlet, 1984). A pamphlet published in 1984 states that the WCCCBC’s objectives were

1. to organize the Chilean democratic women in exile
2. to give moral and economic support to popular Chilean organizations
3. to be able to enhance these Chilean organizations with our sister Canadian organizations

Popular is used here to mean “of the people,” not in the sense of widely liked.
In addition to the actions mentioned above, the WCCCBC organized school supply campaigns, dinner/dances and created craft workshops in Vancouver where women made toys and clothing which they sold. The money they raised was sent to diverse groups in Chile – for example, Ad-Mapu, a Mapuche organization,\(^{203}\) or OCARIN, an organization for poor children\(^{204}\) (Letter to CDC, Chilean Women’s Committee, 1984). Exiled women also coordinated petitions calling for the Junta to answer for the disappeared, release political prisoners, end war tribunals, stop torture, assassinations and raids, violations of human rights, internal exile and freedom of the press (Flyer, Chilean Exiled Women, n.d.), as well as international actions in solidarity with women in Chile in which women from around the world participated (CDC letter to Pinochet, September 20, 1984).

The actions of Chilean women exiles in support of women in Chile was certainly felt and appreciated. In a letter addressed to their “Sisters and Friends in the exterior,” MUDECHI sent greetings to “canadian [sic] sisters and participants in the solidarity actions with MUDECHI and the chilean [sic] people”\(^{205}\) to express the gratitude for the support they received. The letter is dated September 12th, 1984 and taken together with the CDC letter cited above, it is safe to assume the show of support from Canada was the fast in which women in Canada and other countries participated in on September 8\(^{th}\) in solidarity with the women in Chile. The date of the fast was likely chosen to coincide with the commemoration of the coup (September 11\(^{th}\)).

Antonio recounted what he considers an emblematic example of the work of the women exiles – a clothing drive. After collecting huge amounts of clothing, the women decided they would write to Canadian Pacific Airlines (which no longer exists) to request free shipment to Chile. What struck Antonio is how they framed their request. The letter they sent to the airline

\(^{203}\) Ad-Mapu was formed in 1980 to represent all the Mapuche of Chile. The name means “with the land” or “part of the land” (Reuque Paillalef, 2002).

\(^{204}\) OCARIN is the Organización de la Cultura y el Arte Infantil [Organization for Children’s Culture and Art].

\(^{205}\) It is likely that ‘Canadian’ and ‘Chilean’ are not capitalized in the (original) English text because adjectives for countries are not capitalized in Spanish.
stated they were a group of Latin American women who wanted to send the clothing to poor people in Chile and that as regular customers who fly to Latin American countries, they would greatly appreciate it if the airline would fly the clothing free of charge, which they did.

Another example of the kinds of actions Chilean women exiles enacted is the story Blanca related about getting the media to cover what was happening in Chile. Blanca and about twelve women decided to go the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) studio to persuade them to cover the unearthing of fifteen bodies in Lonquén, a small rural town within Metro Santiago,206 which was the first concrete proof of disappearances and assassinations in Chile. Initially, the women were told they would not listen to them. After managing to make their way further into the studio, a man threatened to call the police and have them removed, but the women were not swayed. In the end, the person in charge arranged an interview and as Blanca recounted, “we were on the leading news, the whole group and that’s how we gradually managed to get the word out on what was happening in Chile.” Despite having to insist on an interview and having to stand up to the person with the decision-making power, they succeeded in not only getting the CBC to cover the story, but also to get themselves on the news, which meant the solidarity movement got coverage as well. With all the actions women were engaged in, it is no surprise that Antonio concluded that “the feminine front did more than the entire thing [solidarity movement].”

**Motivations and Aims**

Almost every exile I interviewed became a part of the solidarity movement as soon as they arrived. Non-Chileans were already organized and exiles quickly established the VCA. During the life of the VCA and after its dissolution, exiles and non-Chileans organized an array

---

206 In October of 1973, eleven peasants and four young men were detained and disappeared. In 1978, after an individual informed the Catholic Church of the exact location of the men’s whereabouts, the bodies were uncovered by Church authorities and journalists who visited the site. The bones were found in the oven of an old mine in Lonquén. The bodies were identified through DNA tests in February 2010 and laid to rest in March of 2010.
of activities, sometimes working together. Their motivations were basically the same, but for exiles their experiences added a very important dimension to their motives. As Teresa explained, “we were all very angry.” Exiles were morally outraged (Shayne, 2009) for many reasons. To begin with, they and others had been arrested, tortured, disappeared and killed. As Samuel, who commuted his prison sentence for banishment, explained in Chapter Three there was

A willingness, right?, to fight against Pinochet. The majority of us who came from jail had been ferociously tortured...Many compañeros arrived with trauma, so that hatred against the dictatorship, that comes out on its own.

Exiles were also furious they and others had been expelled from Chile and that their dream of building a more socially just society had been shattered. In Marcela’s words, “they kicked us out and they killed countless people…before we left Chile, the humiliations we had to endure.”

Exiles felt a moral obligation to do what they could from the abroad. As Diego put it, “it’s the least we could do because the suffering of people in Chile who could not leave or who were imprisoned, who were suffering torture, everything else…there was no comparison.”

Blanca also explained that “in Chile they were living a fascist dictatorship, criminal that killed people every day, so that motivated you to have initiative” (Blanca, Interview). Antonio recalled that exiles were also “given instructions from the jails to make known the Chilean situation as much as possible...[they said] ‘tell them what you saw and if you can maintain contact with a country where you go and with us.’”

Non-Chileans were also outraged. As we already know, Allende supporters all over the world were following the UP experiment, so when the coup took place they were also deflated. As Janet of CDC explained:

We all read about Chile and quite a number of people went to Chile during the Allende years to see what was happening down there, so when it came crashing down like that with Pinochet and the Americans, it hurt, it was really horrible for us, I mean it was our vision too...it made us angry because the vision that, the thing that we saw happening in Chile under Allende was the vision that we wanted for Canada.
She also explained how they were shocked and sickened by the repression:

> We were so disappointed…we had seen in Chile…the election of the first socialist government in the world, elected government, elected, and it was just such a beacon for us and then all of a sudden the horror of September 11…the pictures that came out, the horror, the horror in the stadium.

While non-Chileans and exiles shared a political vision and the disillusionment that came after the coup, the direct experiences of exiles meant their outrage came from a different place and non-Chileans certainly understood and were affected by this. Janet recalled that the influx of Chilean exiles in the years immediately following the coup had a significant impact on CDC:

> All of a sudden we got a lot of Chilean families…that really changed the work of Canadians for Democracy in Chile because…we were working side by side with people who grew up in Chile and had that other perspective; they were fighting for their homeland, they were fighting for a principle…We were in solidarity, but they were, they had lived the Stadium, so it certainly changed the look of CDC at that point.

Before exiles arrived, non-Chileans mainly focused on denouncing the military regime and pressuring the Canadian government to allow Chilean exiles entry to Canada. Once exiles began organizing in Vancouver, they joined non-Chileans in denouncing the Junta. Of course the overarching goal of the solidarity movement was to end the dictatorship in Chile. In order to achieve that goal exiles and non-Chileans alike engaged in public education to raise critical awareness, raise funds and worked to isolate the Junta politically and economically. Exiles and non-Chileans in the movement supported the resistance financially and morally in a number of ways. While actions which did not involve monetary assistance were encouraging to Chileans in Chile and sending funds to support individuals and activities in Chile helped the resistance materially, financial and moral support were often intertwined. Sending money not only meant individuals and groups could continue their political work, the solidarity they felt from abroad through that gesture also energized them. The example of the greetings sent by MUDECHI to the Chilean women’s committee and Canadians in solidarity with the fast they carried out shows
how important moral support for the resistance in Chile was. Sending money to organizations who represented the detained-disappeared was also crucial because, as Antonio pointed out, they needed assistance with “the economic part because otherwise these organizations, with what?...There was no way [they could survive or carry out their work].” Likewise, Janet of CDC said, it was important for Chileans in Chile “to know that people cared, that they weren’t isolated.”

Chileans and CDC fundraised, but the money was sometimes used for different purposes and the ways they went about raising funds differed in some ways. In part the CDC used the money they raised to support the activities they carried out, such as publishing and disseminating a bulletin, sponsoring Chileans from Chile who travelled on speaking tours, organizing a solidarity conference in Vancouver, sending delegates to international inquiries on Chile and solidarity conferences in other cities, and organizing concerts by exiles musicians. CDC also sent funds to Chile Democrático and to families of the disappeared. The money raised by CDC came from bazaars, raffles, organizing social evenings and taking collections, making live recordings of concerts by exiles musicians and selling albums (LPs), and donations from unions and individuals. They even received a couple of inheritances, one for $10,000.

Since for exiles “one of the fundamental tasks at that time was raising funds for the resistance in Chile” (Alberto, Interview), they primarily sent the money they raised to groups and political parties in Chile working to end the dictatorship and organizations that worked with the poor, which under Pinochet was a huge sector of Chilean society. For example, exiles sent money to the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* [Vicariate of Solidarity], to the *Agrupación de Familiares de Presos Políticos* [Association of Relatives of Political Prisoners], the *Agrupación de Familiares de los Detenidos-Desaparecidos* [Association of Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared], and to the *Comité de Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo* [Committee for the
Defense of the Rights of the People]. Exiles also sent the funds they raised to their respective political parties. Samuel, a member of the Communist party, said they “sent money to the party because there was a large amount of leaders who worked underground and compañeros who, as we know, needed money to get around and for the clandestine work in Chile, which was dangerous work.” In the case of the MIR, they also used funds to support their “return policy,” under which individuals moved to nearby countries before entering Chile clandestinely. Matías explained that “structures were created…for that you needed money.”

Cultural events were particularly integral to exiles’ fundraising repertoire, with the most emblematic being the pena. Every single exile I interviewed identified peñas as one of the best ways to raise funds and one of the most important cultural events they organized in the solidarity movement. We will learn about peñas in the next section. Exiles also raised money by making and selling empanadas, organizing dinner/dances, and selling arpilleras. As important as fundraising was, for some exiles it was not necessarily the money they sent to Chile that was most significant. Many exiles felt morally supporting the resistance in Chile was more important. As Blanca put it, “the economic activities, yes, they generated quite a bit of money for us, but the solidarity work was the most important…when a compañero was detained in Chile…we implemented a campaign in solidarity with those compañeros who were prisoners so they would set them free.”

**The Multifaceted Nature of Solidarity Movement Activities**

The way some activities were done…cannot be described with an adjective. It could be enthusiasm, emotion...you don’t sleep thinking about the activity.

- Antonio

Solidarity movement participants engaged in an array of activities aimed at politically and economically isolating the Junta, as well as raising funds and critical awareness about the situation in Chile and about local, national and international solidarity actions. Most solidarity
movement activities involved denouncing and documenting the Junta’s human rights violations, including but not limited to making public the fate of the disappeared, attaining the release of political prisoners and obtaining asylum for Chileans claiming refugee status in Vancouver. Fundraising, isolating the Junta and raising awareness were often interconnected, as were the political, economic and cultural dimensions of their actions. For example, many fundraising activities educated the public and were at once political and cultural. In this section we will examine artistic expressions, investigations and presentations, grassroots media and several campaigns implemented by the solidarity movement.

**Artistic Expressions**

Cultural events were the number one form of fundraising exiles employed. Exiles organized cultural evenings, concerts by exiled musicians, dinner/dances and peñas. All of these activities accomplished many movement aims, created opportunities to build solidarity networks and enabled exiles to meet social, emotional and cultural needs. Cultural expression and production were incredibly significant to leftist politics in Chile in the 1960s and early 70s. Artists articulated the political values and vision of the Chilean Left through diverse media – poetry, music, murals – and culture, together with education, were central to the UP program, as we learned in Chapter Two. The vision of the UP was that a new culture would emerge through the critical expression of art and intellect of all Chileans. (We will return to the relationship between artistic expression and the political culture of the Chilean Left in subsequent chapters.) The political culture of the Chilean Left was transported to the countries in which exiles arrived after the coup and was integral to the actions they organized.

**Peñas and Exile Folk Groups**

While exiles organized a variety of cultural activities, “peñas were a major, major activity. Everyone did peñas” (Matias, Interview). Peñas are gatherings with folk and protest
music, empanadas and red wine. Peñas were usually held monthly by different groups for many years and they were always well attended and raised significant amounts of money. For example, a peña held in December 1976 which was attended by “over four hundred people [who] showed their solidarity with the Chilean Resistance Movement” raised $1,300 to send to Chileans in Chile (Venceremos, vol. 2, no. 6, January-February 1977). The poster below is an example of a peña announcement.

**Image 5 – Peña Poster**

![Peña Poster](image)

(Used with permission of Janet)

The *Peña de los Parra*, which as we learned in Chapter Two was central to the New Chilean Song movement, was an informal place where folk singers – Chilean and from all over Latin America – performed and exchanged ideas with each other and interacted with the public. It became a hub for the Chilean and Latin American Left. A distinctive ambience was created with reed chairs and small tables with candles mounted in glass bottles which served as lighting and perhaps a fishing net hung on the wall or wheel from an old cart leaning against the wall (Bravo Chiappe & González Farfán, 2009). The walls were decorated with tapestries made by
Violeta Parra and artisans displayed and sold their work (Jara, 2008). Through the smoke which filled the room, people would watch and listen to performers. It was an intimate space which brought performers and the public together, both because they were in close proximity and because performers would sit among the public when others sang. Joan Jara (2008), Víctor Jara’s widow, describes the “stage” in her biography of Víctor, which also contributed to the atmosphere:

The singers performed on a miniscule wooden platform…illuminated by a small spotlight. The effect was impressive and created a climate of respect and concentration (p. 90).

Organizing peñas in Chile and in exile was an act of resistance in and of itself, since they were shutdown by the Junta after the coup, as in the case of the Peña de los Parra, which was searched, sacked and closed (Bravo Chiappe & Gonzalez Farfán, 2009). Eventually, peñas resurfaced in Chile during the dictatorship under the guise of restaurants and other formats. However, while in Chile it was very dangerous to play and perform the music of the New Chilean Song movement and particularly songs with strong political content, abroad exiles could do so and they did.

While peñas were important as fundraisers, they were far more than that. Through peñas exiles conveyed a political message to the public and mobilized their support; expressed their political and ethnic culture and identities and taught them to their children; and created social support networks. Diego explained that an evening at a peña usually unfolded as follows:

There was always, not a speech, but someone who was going to give a political account…of what was happening in Chile at the time and of the solidarity situation…that would be in Spanish and then in English…then singing, some were going to sing with their guitars…then there was a poem, Pablo Neruda, something like that, or Violeta Parra…all that activity was probably going to last a couple of hours and after that…there was a dining hall or something like that and that’s where you would go to eat empanadas.

---

207 For a comprehensive study on peñas during the dictatorship see Bravo Chiappe & Gonzalez Farfán (2009).
The music was always protest music from the New Chilean Song Movement and included songs by Inti-Illimani, Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, Illapu, Quilapayún and other artists. According to Adela, one song was a must, “it had to be Venceremos.” Written for Allende’s 1970 electoral campaign, Venceremos [We Shall Overcome] was the anthem of the UP.

It was often exiles who performed at peñas. The first solidarity musical group which formed in Vancouver, Cormorán, was an all women group that performed at peñas and other events. Pilar explained that Cormorán was born in 1975 with “five women at first and then four remained and nobody had ever sung in public, we had all sung in the shower.” The women made costumes and gathered instruments for their performances. Pilar recalls that one of the women “made long denim skirts and we had some Mapuche ponchos that we managed to get from here and there and we would appear with our guitars and bombo and charango and had a great time.”208 Another group many exiles remembered was Resistencia [Resistance]. Pilar who was a member of Cormorán later joined Resistencia, a group formed by MIR members of which she was the only woman member for many years. Francisco recalled that Resistencia was such “an excellent group…[that] you really went to the peña because [they] were fantastic, they were very good quality.” Puelche, a group whose members were among the very few Mapuches in Vancouver (two brothers and their father), also played at many events and they too were praised for their “high quality performances which are highly enjoyed by audiences” (CDC letter of thanks to the group, July 6, 1983). The charango, bombo, zampoña and quena are traditional folk instruments used by many New Song artists throughout Latin America.209 These instruments were banned by the Junta, along with the music of the New Chilean Song movement. Just as

---

208 Recall from previous chapters that the Mapuche are the largest Indigenous group in Chile. The women played several instruments that are used to make Andean folk music: the bombo, which is a large drum made from wood and animal skin, and the charango, which looks like a small guitar, but is traditionally made from the body of an armadillo (but often now made of wood) and has ten strings grouped in five pairs.  
209 The zampoña is an Andean pan flute and the quena is an Andean flute, both made from bamboo shoots.
organizing peñas was an act of resistance, so too was playing the songs and the instruments of the New Chilean Song movement.

Peñas were also opportunities for exiles to teach their ethnoculture to their children. Everyone came together as a community and shared experiences, music, Chilean Spanish, food and drink. For exiles, gathering as a community felt like being among family. In the absence of their extended families, which are integral to the Chilean lifeway, peñas brought exiles together so they could socialize and fulfill their need for social support. Claudia and Emilio explained that

Emilio: Chileans like getting together to have a drink, eat an empanada…it’s a social thing

Claudia: of support. In fact for me, we started without family, we all arrived without family, with their own [immediate family], parents and children, nothing else, very few people arrived [with] three generations

Emilio: So to put in one word, I think the function it served was Social

Emilio: Social and of remembering the country of origin.

Peñas and other activities where exiles gathered not only provided social support because exiles no longer had their extended families, but also because they shared a particular sociopolitical history and experiences of repression. Most exiles noted that Chileans who arrived during the first wave after the coup were different from the majority of those who arrived later. From Blanca’s perspective, “a number of people arrived later who had nothing to do with us. People arrived who…were not political. They were other kind of people who dedicated themselves to doing other things.” Since the various cohorts’ experiences were so different, they rarely participated in the same events. As Claudia put it “the needs they [the cohorts] have at a given time makes them come together, what political content it [the time period] has.”

210 It is important to point out that a few exiles said some people who did not leave Chile for political reasons did join the solidarity movement and that people who arrived in later waves, particularly in the early and mid 1980s, did leave Chile for political reasons.
Eating and drinking together was as socially and culturally important as the social networks exiles formed and eating empanadas and drinking red wine (not the children of course) was integral to the peña atmosphere. Empanadas were accompanied by pebre, a condiment made of cilantro, tomatoes, garlic and onions, and they sometimes ate other typical Chilean dishes like porotos, a bean soup or stew, and chacareros, a beef sandwich topped with green beans and tomatoes. In addition to heritage schools, which we will learn about in the next chapter, the community setting of peñas were ideal for children to hear and speak Spanish, thus affirming their ethnolinguistic identity because, as Pilar noted, Spanish “was not only…[spoken] at home, rather it was the language of the community.” Participating in folk groups also reinforced children’s’ Chilean identity, since they often performed traditional Chilean dances, such as the cueca, wearing traditional clothes. After the coup, women whose family members had disappeared danced the cueca alone as form of protest. Dancing the cueca sola symbolized the absence of the husbands, sons and brothers for whom they searched who like in the dance were missing. The image below is of an arpillera which depicts a woman dancing the cueca sola.

---

211 The cueca is the national dance of Chile, with regional variations. The cueca is a courtship dance in which the huaso or Chilean cowboy woos the china, the woman he desires. The variation from the central region of Chile is the most common version.
The extent to which exiles considered peñas political, cultural and/or social events varied to some extent. As we saw above, for Claudia and Emilio, peñas were mainly social events. While several exiles also brought up the social dimension of peñas, for the majority peñas were political or politico-cultural events. Part of the reason for this discrepancy might be that unlike the other exiles I interviewed, Claudia and Emilio identified themselves as leftist sympathizers and solidarity movement supporters, not organizers. Just about everyone concurred that peñas had a political aim. Francisco emphasized that “it was political, it was political” and Gabriela said “fundamentally, it had to have a strong political content.”

However, much of the peña experience was cultural and therefore for some exiles, the cultural dimension was at least as important as the political dimension and for many often inseparable. For example, Blanca said “the peñas were one hundred per cent cultural and also solidarity” (solidary in that they raised funds to send to Chile) and Adela felt the cultural and the political were “all tangled up in a ball.” While for Alberto “the motive for organizing it [the peña] was fundamentally political,” he said that because so many of the people who attended
were non-Chilean, peñas were “utilized as an opportunity to expose them to Chilean artistic cultural expressions.” Another reason many exiles cited for considering peñas cultural was the opportunity to teach their political and ethnic culture to their children.

The peña was later embodied in La Quena Coffee House on Commercial Drive.\textsuperscript{212} It was founded in the early 1980s mainly by exiles associated with the MIR (Alberto, Interview; Matias, Interview) together with left-wing Canadians and became a hub of political and cultural activity. It was “an axis…around which the Canadian Left turned almost more than the Chilean Left” (Francisco, Interview). Alberto, who was the coordinator of La Quena for two years, described it as a cultural centre. Francisco described La Quena as “a singing café, a café with music.” From Francisco and Gabriela’s perspective, in many ways the peñas were different from the ones exiles had been organizing for years before La Quena opened. They explained that one of the major differences was the space, which was significantly smaller than the community halls where other peñas were held. They also noted that everything at La Quena took place in the same space, whereas the food was separate from other activities at the other peñas. These differences meant that the dynamics were unlike the peñas exiles organized in other venues. For about twenty years, La Quena provided a venue for fundraisers which supported not only the Chilean solidarity movement, but Central American solidarity and other causes as well.

**Concerts**

Concerts by exiled musical groups were another significant cultural event because the music fuelled the morale of everyone working in solidarity with Chile. Almost every single exile I interviewed talked about concerts as important solidarity movement events. Exiles and non-Chileans coordinated cross-Canada tours for New Chilean Song movement artists, including Ángel Parra, Isabel Parra, Inti-Illimani, Quilapayún, Illapu and other artists like the Chilean

\textsuperscript{212} Commercial Drive is a diverse, bohemian Vancouver neighbourhood bustling with music, art and filled with shops and restaurants featuring food, clothing and other products from all over the world.
Folkloric Ballet. These tours “were planned in the strictest sense and they were coordinated from Halifax to Vancouver” (Antonio, Interview). In addition to sponsoring concerts, CDC sold albums (LPs) of live recordings. Janet of CDC explained that “we put out a couple of albums, records that we sold all across Canada and that made money too…and raised the profile of Chile, of Chilean culture.”

Angel and Isabel Parra played in Vancouver in 1978 at the Queen Elizabeth Theatre. They sang songs which “[told] stories of the left wing’s struggle in Chile, the murder of friends and the loneliness of exile” (Vancouver Sun, September 18, 1978). One of the albums CDC sold included this joint concert on one side and Angel Parra’s solo performance in January of 1978 on the other (Chile News, November 1980). Matias recalled that “two or three members of Illapu were MIR members and we organized national tours…I was responsible for taking them to Seattle, to Victoria.” CDC sponsored a Quilapayún concert at the Orpheum Theatre in 1981 (see poster below). In addition to music composed by group members, they played songs by Victor Jara, Patricio Manns and Pablo Neruda/Sergio Ortega. The concert program calls attendees to action, stating that “what happens next in Chile depends on the people of Chile and on international solidarity.” The program is also filled with greetings of solidarity from civil society groups from across Canada, including a theatre group, many trade and student unions, groups in solidarity with South Africa and El Salvador, and the NDP. The encore included El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido [The People United will Never be Defeated], after “Spanish shouts that had been coming from various corners of the theatre erupted into a single chorus: ‘El pueblo unido jamás sera vencido!’ [and] the group returned taking up the chant and leading the audience into a final musical exclamation” (Long, The Ubyssy, October 30, 1981). The song,

---

213 Ángel Parra had also performed in Canada years earlier in Toronto in November of 1974.
214 Quilapayún also played in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal (Quilapayún Concert Program, 1981).
215 Sergio Ortega composed the music to the song Venceremos, the anthem of the UP.
which was performed by Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani, became the anthem of exile and of oppressed peoples all over the world.

**Image 7 – Quilapayún Concert Poster**

(Used with permission of Janet)

In 1984, Inti-Illimani and Holly Near played in Vancouver during their Peace in the Americas tour (CDC & Chilean Community September Commemoration events, 1984). On her website, Near explains that she was “fully aware that the tour would make no money,” but that was not its main purpose:

[It] was meant to gather the progressive forces in my country [U.S.] and feed the solidarity movement so it might continue the work of cutting off funds to Pinochet and other dictators in Latin America. The work was to make very public the violence and torture, to bring world attention to “the disappeared.”

The heartening effect of the tours is evident in the above account of the Quilapayún concert and in the beginning of *Sing to Me the Dream*, a live recording of one of the Inti-Illimani/Holly Near

---

216 See [http://www.hollynear.com/index.html](http://www.hollynear.com/index.html) and [http://www.hollynear.com/sing_to_me.html](http://www.hollynear.com/sing_to_me.html) for the specific page where Holly Near provides details about the tour.
concerts during the 1984 tour. The recording opens with the crowd chanting “El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido” over and over.

**Cultural Evenings and Dances**

While peñas were certainly the most emblematic of solidarity movement cultural activities, exiles also organized cultural evenings which included music, food and dancing. Some of these events included music from all over Latin America and others Chilean folk music. Exiles and non-Chileans also worked together to coordinate cultural evenings which featured Chilean and non-Chilean musical groups and speakers. In 1977, CDC organized *People United – El Pueblo Unido* at the Queen Elizabeth Playhouse Theatre. The program included a speech delivered by Alderman Harry Rankin and performances by the Rocky Mountain Ensemble, Raul Figueroa, a Chilean musician, and the Vancouver Chilean Singers, an exile musical group.

Often cultural evenings were organized to commemorate the anniversary of the coup. In 1979, exiles coordinated a series of events, including film screenings, a political meeting which consisted of a speech, slide show and handicraft exhibition, and a cultural evening at which a Chilean children’s song group and a Chilean folk group performed. In 1984, CDC and exiles organized an evening at La Quena and CDC sponsored and staged a play, two of many events organized that September to commemorate the military take over.

Only some exile groups organized dances. While dances were cultural events, they did not have the same political character as peñas. These fundraisers were more about socializing – eating, drinking and dancing. As Antonio put it, dances “had nothing to do with politics. People went, they had a good time.” Dances were cultural in that the food served was Chilean and the music people danced to was Latin American. Chile is not particularly well known in Latin America for its Latin dance music, but Chileans danced to the same music as other Latin Americans – merengue, boleros and especially cumbias. The MIR Support Group had its own
salsa band, which included Central Americans as well. This group not only organized dances like some of the other exile groups, they set up an after hours club which they ran for about a year and a half. Matias explained:

We rented a site in an industrial area and we turned it into a dance hall and it was risky, first of all because we sold alcohol without a license...we installed a clandestine space...since it was in an industrial area nobody complained about the noise...we knocked down walls...we had about 30 tables with chairs, we built a bar and the band would play...we opened around midnight, so all the bohemians would come, the political compañeros did not come.

The after hours club was a gold mine through which the group raised many thousands of dollars.

Investigations and Presentations

Enquiries and Speaking Tours

Within three years of the coup, a number of organizations in Vancouver organized an Enquiry into the Violation of Human Rights in Chile. Elspeth of CDC chaired the meetings and recalled that Chileans “who had been tortured there gave us their stories and we took it all down and wrote it up and put it into the proper format and sent it in to the United Nations” after which there was “another one like that in Toronto.” A Canadian Enquiry into Human Rights in Chile was organized in Toronto in 1977. Among the Chileans who testified were three women who represented the Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos-Desaparecidos [Association of Families of the Detained-Disappeared] (AFDD), one of whom visited Vancouver in 1983. A few months later the Fifth Session of the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile\(^\text{217}\) met in Algiers, Algeria in 1978. Elspeth, who travelled to Algeria, explained that as a result of her trip she was able to publicize the human rights violations through a number of avenues:

---

\(^{217}\) The First Session of the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile was held in Dipoli, Finland in 1974.
When I came back from Algiers…someone arranged for me to be on to the CBC…I had an interview, the group back east arranged for me to get an interview…there was a public meeting called and I spoke to a fair sized public meeting.

Public meetings were organized to enable the public to hear first hand accounts of the situation in Chile through delegates like Elspeth who had participated in enquiries and through speaking tours of Chileans who had recently left or were still living in Chile. After Hortensia Bussi (Allende’s widow) and Laura Allende (Allende’s sister) visited Vancouver several speaking tours were organized to maintain the situation in Chile on the public agenda. For example, in May of 1983 Ana Gonzalez, a leader of the AFDD who had testified at the Canadian Enquiry into Human Rights in Chile, gave a talk and slide show presentation. Her husband, two sons and daughter-in-law who was eight months pregnant at the time, were disappeared in 1976. The evening, organized by the Women’s Committee of the Chilean Community of B.C., the Congress of Canadian Women and CDC, also included a collection for the AFDD and music performed by Puelche (Event Program, May 31, 1983). Prior to her visit, CDC fundraised and sent Ms. Gonzalez $200 per month for one year to assist her family and to forward the work of the AFDD.

Another example is Patricio Lanfranco’s Canada-wide tour in January and February of 1981. Mr. Lanfranco was the president of the Agrupación Cultural Universitaria (ACU) [Cultural Association of the University], the first broad-based student organization to emerge after the coup. According to the tour booklet, the ACU’s goals were “to preserve and develop Chile’s cultural heritage and stimulate artistic creativity and new forms of expression.” During his visit to Vancouver Lanfranco spoke at four venues, including Simon Fraser University and The University of British Columbia (UBC). His visit was co-sponsored by the Simon Fraser

---

218 The security forces also took her two year old grandson, but later threw him out in the street near their home.
219 After Lanfranco returned to Chile he was taken by secret agents in Santiago during May Day protests throughout Chile. Lanfranco was later released.
University Latin American Studies Student Union and CDC. The alliances which existed across solidarity organizations are also illustrated by the several groups that co-sponsored his visit to Calgary, including the World University Service of Canada and the University of Calgary Campus NDP.

Conferences

Coinciding with the fourth anniversary of the coup, the Vancouver and District Labour Council and CDC sponsored A Conference on Chile in 1977 which brought political parties, trade unions and church organizations together to foster dialogue and “to set the tone for future solidarity action in the Province” (Chile News, September, 1977). Speakers included an NDP member of Parliament and a CUT and CDC representative. In 1984 the CUT organized a Solidarity Conference with the Workers of Chile in collaboration with the Vancouver and District Labour Council and the Canadian Labour Congress. The conference brought members of Canadian unions and the CUT together to strengthen their ties and formulate ways to support workers in Chile.

The following year, the CUT organized another conference together with the Chilean Community of Vancouver and CDC. The Conference of Solidarity for a Democratic Chile was an all-day event which sought “to offer the most recent information about Chile and to form a united voice in solidarity with a democratic Chile” (CDC press release, September 13, 1985). The conference included presentations, workshops and general discussion. Among the speakers were the president of the B.C. Federation of Labour, the CUT, a speaker on human rights, a representative of the Inter-Church Committee, a delegate from Casa Chile in the San Francisco Bay area and the Chilean Women’s Committee.

According to the tour booklet, the national tour was co-sponsored by the Canadian Committee Supporting Chilean Youth (CCSCY) and the Alberta Students’ Union. CCSCY, an Edmonton-based group, corresponded with Chilean youth organizations contacted through a 1979 fact finding tour, fundraised and organized solidarity activities.
Alternative Media

América Latina al Día on Coop Radio

After Coop Radio went on the air in 1975, América Latina al Día was among the earliest programs the station broadcast. According to several exiles, it was the MIR who created the program, but many others collaborated. At first, Pilar’s brother was in charge of the half hour program, which aired on Saturday and included news, analysis and music. The program informed listeners “of the solidarity activities Chileans planned…the latest news of what had happened in Chile and all of Latin America” (Diego, Interview), which was no small feat. Pilar explains:

You had to really search for the news and we had a short wave radio, we used to listen to Radio Moscow, Escucha Chile221…Radio Rebelde, Radio La Habana…Radio France, a radio [station] from Holland, all in Spanish…every week my father sent pages from the newspapers in Chile…to read between the lines…to contrast what was published in Chile with what was broadcasted internationally and [we would] draw conclusions that way…plus, we received reports through the party [MIR] and with all that we put the program together.

The program was later extended to an hour and a half and became bilingual (English and Spanish). América Latina al Día is still broadcast (as of June 2011) on Coop Radio and retains its roots as a “bilingual Spanish/English public affairs program focusing on current Latin American politics, culture and music from a social justice perspective.”222

Newsletters

Both exile and non-Chilean groups published and circulated newsletters in Vancouver. Venceremos,223 the VCA’s newsletter was launched in May of 1975 and published at least until

---

221 Recall from Chapter Three that Escucha Chile was extremely important to exiles and Chileans in the interior as one of the most important sources of information on repression in Chile and international solidarity.
222 See http://www.coopradio.org/content/america-latina-al-dia.
223 Recall venceremos means “we shall overcome.”
The newsletter consistently reported news of repression and resistance actions in Chile and solidarity activities from around the world, Canada and Vancouver. It also reported international news on Nicaragua, El Salvador, Peru and other countries and often included political cartoons and almost always announcements for solidarity events in Vancouver, such as peñas and cultural festivals. In the spring of 1976 the CDHRC took over the publication of Venceremos, likely in the midst of or the point at which the VCA dissolved. Starting in mid 1978, Venceremos’ sponsorship involved an array of groups from across Canada, including the CDHRC and several solidarity committees from all the prairie provinces, Toronto and Montreal. The image below shows the first issue.

Image 8 – First Issue of Venceremos

(Used with permission of Janet)

In November of 1973 CDC published their first bulletin, The Voice of Chile. Another issue, Chile News Bulletin, was published in February 1974. Both featured the same cover with the

---

224 The last issue in the personal archives to which I had access is volume 4, number 1, June-August 1978. It is not clear whether this is the last issue.
infamous photo of Pinochet with dark sunglasses, arms crossed and seated in front of another
Junta member. Each issue included news of events unfolding in Chile and of solidarity actions. I
also found a draft of a newsletter which appears to be from 1974, but which has no title. In June
of 1977 CDC began publishing *Chile News: A Canadian publication of solidarity with
Democratic Chile* (see image below). The title of the newsletter reflects CDC’s support of the
UP and their multiparty international organization in Rome, Chile Democrático. *Chile News* was
published four times per year until 1985 and a minimum of one more time 1986. By 1983, it
had a readership of about seven hundred individuals and organizations. Like their previous
bulletins, *Chile News* featured news from Chile and national and international solidarity, but now
included more extensive information about past and future solidarity actions in Vancouver and
B.C. and how the public could get involved. Despite CDC and the MIR’s divergence in political
thought, *Venceremos*, which by 1977 was published by the CDHRC, congratulates CDC on their
new publication and states “even though we are aware of the political differences between *Chile
News* and *Venceremos* we hope that in the future we can co-ordinate our work for the benefit of
the Resistance movement in Chile and solidarity work abroad” (Vol. 3, No.3, August 1977).

---

225 An appeal to readers in February 1986 states that CDC had not published an issue since June of 1985. Two
donation letters received in March show CDC received at least half the cost of publishing an issue of *Chile News*
and therefore, I assume they published at least one more issue.
Campaigns

A number of campaigns were implemented to free political prisoners, demand information on the fate of the disappeared, pressure the Canadian government to grant exiles entry to Canada and to use its power at the UN to deny the Junta the legitimacy it sought. Campaigns were also mounted to encourage the boycott of Chilean goods and discourage investment in Chile. Actions included writing letters, circulating petitions, demonstrations and hunger strikes.

Letter Writing and Petitions

Sending letters to local, national and international officials and the military regime in Chile was an important solidarity action. Blanca explained that “when a compañero was detained in Chile…we implemented a campaign in solidarity with those compañeros who were prisoners so they would set them free.” Exiles often sought the support of unions to mail letters demanding
the release of political prisoners. Samuel recalled that “it got to such a point that I remember that one of the unions gave me a card so that each time I wrote a letter I could go with my card and pay using the union card. Imagine what we could send.”

Letter writing campaigns were integral to CDC’s initial response to the coup. CDC wrote letters to municipal, provincial and federal politicians urging them to denounce the military regime in Chile and to “open Canada’s doors to all refugees from fascist terror in Chile” (CDC Resolution, September 8, 1974). After a couple years had passed, letters to Canadian politicians continued to appeal for the release political prisoners and for more Chileans to be allowed entry in to Canada, now adding that settlement policies needed improvement. In addition, CDC urged the Canadian government to call on the Junta to respect human rights, including closing concentration camps and ending torture by pressuring the Junta both independently and through the UN. Appeals also focused on stopping financial aid to the Junta and renegotiation of Chile’s foreign debt. Aside from Canadian government officials, such as the Minister of Manpower and Immigration and the Minister of External Affairs, CDC sent letters to the Chilean Consulate in Vancouver, the Chilean Embassy in Ottawa, and the UN. Pinochet himself was a recipient of CDC letters, together with other Chilean Ministers. CDC also asked people to sign letters and petitions. Janet explained these campaigns were an important part of their solidarity repertoire:

We went to every conference we could find a space for, we would ask for a table to be there and we’d either have letters addressed to the Prime Minister of Canada or whatever and ask people to sign them and mail them all off or we’d have petitions and we’d ask people to sign them, petitions after petitions and they went everywhere, from Pinochet to the UN to whatever Prime Minister we had at the time. Yeah, that was a big thing, was manning tables at everything from the B.C. Fed [Federation of Labour] convention to NDP convention.
**Hunger Strikes**

After the Junta enacted Decree Law 2.191 in April 1978 granting amnesty for criminal acts committed during the State of Siege between September 11, 1973 and March 10, 1978, families of the disappeared decided to take immediate action. True the amnesty law applied to political prisoners serving sentences after being tried in military tribunals, but it also pardoned state agents, along with those who had acted as accomplices or concealed crimes. As court cases were dismissed, families of the disappeared began a seventeen day hunger strike in May to demand the Junta release information about their loved ones and to denounce the amnesty law because state agents would not have to answer for the human rights violations they had committed. In an attempt to keep the atrocities committed since the coup alive in the collective memory of Chileans and the international community, they also sought to mobilize solidarity so that these severe human rights violations would not be forgotten or repeated (Stern, 2006). As in other parts of Chile, the world and across Canada, a hunger strike was launched in Vancouver in solidarity with the families of the disappeared on May 27th at the Canadian Memorial Church (Venceremos, vol.3, no.7, March-May 1978). Pilar, who participated in the hunger strike, recalled the media attention it garnered and the impact it had:

I was on hunger strike for twelve days…I think we were fifteen who started out, at the end there were four, two Chilean women and two Canadian men…it was a triumph because in Chile itself they saw certain changes…first what was happening became known, it was a first form of demonstration, but radical…one which the dictatorship couldn’t ignore and that was also supported all over the world. And here in Vancouver we were in the newspapers, television [reporters] came constantly.

The strike, which began on May 22nd and ended on June 7th when the Junta agreed to answer for the disappeared, was a turning point in Chile after which the Vicariate of Solidarity published ¿Dónde Están? [Where are they?], the first of seven volumes which document cases of the

---

226 Hunger strikes were held in thirty Chilean cities and 72 cities and 52 countries around the world, including ten Canadian cities (Venceremos, vol. 4, no.1, 1978). By June 3, the strike involved 6,700 people internationally (Venceremos, vol.3, no.7, March-May 1978).
disappeared. The following year another hunger strike was organized to insist on the release of information about the disappeared (because the Junta had not done much in this respect), to demand state agents responsible for human rights violations since the coup be brought to justice and to demand the release of the names of the individuals found in the mine shaft in Lonquén (Wheelwright, The Ubysssey, September 13, 1979).

**Demonstrations**

Demonstrations were among the first actions taken by non-Chileans in Vancouver after the coup and they continued after exiles arrived. Protests often took place in front of the U.S. Consulate and the Chilean Consulate where annual demonstrations were held on September 11th. Exiles consistently held rallies in support of demonstrations and national strikes in Chile in the early to mid 1980s. For example, in June of 1983 a rally was held at Vancouver City Hall in support of the demonstrations in Chile held monthly on the 11th (Knickerbocker, The Vancouver Sun, June 13, 1983). On October 30th, 1984 rallies took place across Canada in solidarity with the national strike held on the same day in Chile (Ogresko, Pacific Tribune, November 7, 1984) and in Vancouver exiles demonstrated in front of the Chilean Consulate. Since the Junta had recently published a list of exiles prohibited from entering Chile in September of 1984, exiles also urged the Canadian government to pressure the Junta and appealed to the UN to protect exiles who returned to Chile (Pacific Tribune, November 7, 1984). Marcela, who arrived in Vancouver in May 1974, recalled that when “the Esmeralda came, there were large demonstrations” because the Esmeralda, a part of the Chilean Navy fleet, was used as a detention and torture centre after the coup. Protesting the Esmeralda was part of a transnational effort. In 1974 the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union prevented the ship from entering the San Francisco harbour (Power, 2009).
Boycott and Divestment Campaigns

One of the strategies exiles and non-Chileans used to isolate the Junta economically was boycott and divestment campaigns. These campaigns sought to get the media’s attention and mobilize support. Human rights, a consistent feature of solidarity movement messages, were at the forefront of the rationale for boycotting Chilean products and discouraging investment in Chile.

Boycotts

Individuals in the solidarity movement refused to buy Chilean products and encouraged friends and colleagues to do the same. To urge the public not to buy Chilean products, such as fruit and wine, exiles also placed small flyers amongst Chilean fruit in supermarkets and in liquor stores between bottles of Chilean wine. Many groups coordinated picket lines at supermarkets and liquor stores where they stood outside with signs handing out leaflets to customers explaining why they should not buy Chilean products. In the province of Saskatchewan, Samuel (who lived there from 1975 to 1979) explained how they persuaded the Premier to stop the sale of Chilean wines:

We went with compañeros to pressure, speak with him about how it was possible that being the NDP, Chilean wines were being sold in Saskatoon, in the province of Saskatchewan and in front of us, he called the liquor store and ordered them to remove all the Chilean wines they had on the liquor store shelves and not a single bottle of Chilean wine was sold after that.

Exiles and non-Chileans produced posters designed to make a lasting impression on the public. Often groups would work with like-minded people who were eager to contribute to their cause. Pilar recalled that they worked with

---

227 Then NDP Premier Allan Blakeney was elected to three consecutive terms and was instrumental in establishing universal medical care in Canada.
a print shop, a group of women which was called Press Gang, two women and I worked with one of them…and Press Gang donated the materials, the work, everything. I don’t remember how many posters we made and those posters were everywhere and really drew people’s attention…it was very colourful…that poster made a great impact.

Similarly, CDC could count on union support to make copies of materials or individual supporters who agreed to donate materials and time. A CDC flyer explains that during the months when Chilean fruit is imported to Canada (usually January through April), Chileans and Canadians would picket supermarkets appealing to the public not to purchase these products. The flyer details the unfair treatment of workers and the hardships endured by workers and their families as a result of the neoliberal model implemented by the military regime. CDC also wrote letters to several supermarket chains, (e.g. Safeway and Overwaitea Foods), the Restaurant and Food Services Association, and magazines (e.g. Chatelaine) urging them not to stock, serve or encourage consumers to buy Chilean products.

Exiles also picketed ships loading and unloading Chilean products. Antonio recounted how he and fifteen other exiles went to picket a Chilean freighter, the Toltén, where they joined CDC. The story made front page news in the Pacific Tribune (January 28, 1983, vol. 45, no. 4), which reported that about 30 people picketed the ship and that the longshoremen “honored the protest picket, assuring the CDC president Elspeth Gardner that they would not work on the ship’s cargo so long as the picket line was up.” According to Elspeth, the idea was to “try to get some publicity out of that…[and] we did get the photographs done…so we had achieved good publicity.”


229 The Overwaitea Food Group runs Overwaitea Foods, Save-on-Foods, Urban Fare, PriceSmart, Cooper's Foods and Bulkley Valley Wholesale.
Divestment campaigns

Another strategy was pressuring the Canadian government to stop trading with Chile and Canadian organizations and businesses to withdraw their investments in Chilean companies. In 1981, the Canadian Association – Latin America and the Caribbean (CALA) organized a two-day meeting between Canadian and Chilean bankers and businessmen (all documents refer to men). A senior Chilean minister led the Chilean delegation and the B.C. Ministry of Industry and Small Business hosted a reception and dinner for the Chilean delegates. To protest the meeting, the Counter CALA Committee was created and a public meeting, which featured a Chilean economist, the president of the B.C. Federation of Labour and Alderman Harry Rankin as speakers, and a march was organized by the Committee and CDC. Approximately 120 people demonstrated at the Four Season’s Hotel in downtown Vancouver to protest the arrival of the delegation, “shouting ‘CALA no, Chile sí’ and ‘Chile si, junta no’ the pickets – mostly of Chilean descent – carried placards and distributed pamphlets urging Canadians to boycott Chilean products and to protest against Canadian trade with Chile” (The Vancouver Sun, October 19, 1981). The next day after the public meeting, around 200 demonstrators participated in the march which followed, including members of the UBC Latin American Solidarity Committee and the NDP Club (The Ubyssey, October 20, 1981). CDC also wrote to William Bennett, then Premier of B.C. and to the federal Minister of State for Trade, who wrote in his response:

It is the Canadian Government’s view that there has been some improvement in Chile’s domestic policies in response to changed internal circumstances and international pressure. I believe that further improvement is both possible and necessary and representations by the Canadian government will continue as they are justified. Nonetheless, I do not believe that encouraging growth in our trade relations with Chile compromises our efforts with respect to further improving the human rights situation in that country (Letter to CDC from Trade Minister Edward C. Lumley, October 21, 1981).
Minister Lumley clearly did not see any link between how trade with Chile and encouraging Canadian businesses to “expand their commercial activity with Chile” strengthened the military regime and thus allowed the Junta to stay in power and continue its gross violations of human rights. Instead, the Minister argued “economic prosperity resulting from trade can help eliminate many of the roots causes of political conflict and the abuses of human rights associated with that conflict.” It would seem then, that when human rights and business interests are at odds with each other, “corporate Canada becomes the undeclared practitioner of real foreign policy” (Pratt, 1990, p. 104).

The campaign against Noranda Mines’ investments in Chile was highly significant. Noranda Mines, a Toronto-based company that in 1975 initiated a plan to invest $350 million in a copper mining project in Chile, not only agreed with the federal government’s position but added a number of reasons as to why Noranda did not need to be concerned with the situation in Chile. At a shareholders’ meeting in Toronto on April 30th, 1976 attended by members of the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, including a LAWG representative and a Chilean woman who had recently been expelled from Chile after being detained and held in several torture centres, Noranda president Alfred Powis claimed that while “we deplore the suppression of basic freedoms…we have no way of knowing with certainty whether what is alleged to be happening in Chile is accurate or exaggerated.” It is mind boggling that after several investigations by the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile (beginning in 1974), the fact that the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility cited the 1976 UN Human Rights Commission Report, and the testimony given by the Chilean woman at the meeting, Noranda insisted there was no conclusive evidence as to the situation in Chile. Mr. Powis also stated that it was not clear “why Chile is

---
230 Recall from Chapter Three that LAWG is the Latin American Working Group, which worked to coordinate solidarity actions in Canada and internationally.
being singled out” given that “civil and human rights are in poor shape in much of the world…[and] Amnesty International has identified a hundred countries where human rights are currently being violated.” In other words, why should Noranda be concerned with Chile, and presumably any other country where human rights were violated, when “positions relating to trade and international investment are matters of foreign policy to be decided upon by the Canadian Government.”231 As shareholders, several churches continued to oppose Noranda’s plans to invest in Chile for several years.

Many other groups across Canada were involved in campaigning against Noranda’s mining project in Chile. The LAWG produced an extensive document on repression in Chile, and Noranda’s plans to undertake “the largest single foreign investment in Chile since the coup d’état [sic]” (LAWG, 1976).232 In their call to action, LAWG suggests raising the issue in as many venues as possible (work, church, community group, union), publicizing the issue in the media, protesting Noranda offices across Canada and writing to Noranda and the Canadian government. The Canada-wide network is evident in the (non-exhaustive) directory of organizations and committees the LAWG listed to encourage people to get involved in the campaign, which included groups from Winnipeg to Halifax and Montreal, among others, and the VCA. In the December-January 1976 issue of Venceremos (vol.1, no.6), the VCA printed an article on the history of Noranda and other Canadian companies’ investments in Chile and their keen interest in doing “business where taxation laws and the repression of the working class allow for the taking of maximum profits.”

In Vancouver the VCA was not the only group campaigning against Noranda’s mining project. In 1978, the CDHRC which had an important branch at UBC, organized actions on

231 All quotes in this paragraph are taken from the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility “Report of participation in the annual shareholder meeting of Noranda Mines Ltd., April 30th, 1976.
232 Though the document does not have a date, it does state the military regime had been in power for two and a half years and that Noranda had decided to invest in Chile the year before.
campus to urge the Board of Governors to oppose Noranda’s investment in Chile as part of Chile Week. Pilar, who was a graduate student at UBC at the time and a member explained that the UBC branch of the CDHRC was formed by students with diverse ancestries and from different disciplines. She recalled how they publicized Chile Week on campus by “ma[king] Chilean flags…on sheets of cardboard and those flags, on the first day of Chile Week, I did the entrance there along Chancellor [Boulevard]…they were all lining that avenue and it was the Chilean flag and across it said Chile Week.” In addition to their anti-Noranda investment campaign, the CDHRC organized several cultural events during Chile Week, including film screenings and a Chilean night with slides, music and wine.

The Board of Governors had ignored repeated appeals by students, the student newspaper The Ubyssey, and George Hermanson, the UBC Anglican and United Church chaplain and former member of the Board of Governors.233 UBC had 8,000 shares in Noranda worth $260,000 (Rankin, The Ubyssey, March 2, 1978), so when the CDHRC organized Chile Week, one of the main events was a forum which representatives from Noranda, the Board of Governors and the churches were supposed to attend. However, since “representatives of Noranda Mines and the university chose to remain absent from [the] forum” (Rankin, The Ubyssey, March 2, 1978), the only speakers were George Hermanson, and John Foster representing the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility. Foster, who had attended the Noranda shareholder’s meeting in April of 1976, stated that Noranda’s purported apolitical stance was “just nonsense” and went on to point out that “the present regime was created in part by manipulation of copper prices and copper boycott” (ibid), an allusion to the U.S. involvement in economically destabilizing the UP administration.

233 Hermanson was a member of the Board of Governors from 1975-1977, after which he was not selected for another term.
In addition to the forum, the CDHRC circulated a petition, signed by 800 people, which they planned to present to the Board of Governors at their April meeting. Pilar recalled that we had to organize this well in advance because we had to get it put on the agenda for discussion with the university Board of Governors…We got the item put on the agenda and we, the whole Committee, attended and we had a person who spoke, who presented the case. The objective was for the university to withdraw from Noranda and it did.

UBC sold its 8,000 shares in Noranda in the spring of 1979. According to Hermanson, he “was told by senior people within the university that as a direct result of the public pressure, the university eventually sold its shares in Noranda” (Cox, The Ubyssey, September 13, 1983). However, one member of the Board of Governors claims UBC sold the shares “because we felt that the stock had reached its optimum level” (Tieleman, The Ubyssey, September 13, 1979).

Five years later, UBC “quietly reinvested” in Noranda (Cox, The Ubyssey, September 13, 1983). Nevertheless, in 1980 Noranda announced the project would be suspended for “business reasons” (Pratt, 1990, p. 112). Noranda claimed they might have discontinued the project in 1977 rather than 1980,

if it had not been for the complaints mounted against us by the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility. We found their presumption in telling us not to invest in Chile very annoying, and were particularly upset with the protest they organized at our annual meetings and at the occupation of our Montreal office (Powis quoted in Pratt, 1990, p.113).

Even though it may have taken several years because of Noranda’s reaction, in the end solidarity movement efforts across Canada to persuade Noranda to halt the project in Chile were successful.

**Surveillance**

Both the Chilean and Canadian authorities were interested in exiles’ activities. It appears that their main objective was to collect information, but the information was used for different purposes. The Chilean authorities monitored exiles in order to amass evidence against them as
activists engaged in what they saw as actions that dishonoured or defamed Chile from abroad. The information was then used to justify measures taken against exiles as described below. The Chilean authorities also wanted to intimidate exiles, as evidenced by the suspected DINA presence in Canada. The Canadian authorities seem to have been interested in exile groups and their activities because they may have been concerned about what leftist groups were up to in the broader context of the Cold War. Taken together with the kinds of questions exiles were asked during their security screenings in Chile prior to being granted entry to Canada, this seems to be at least one of the reasons the Canadian authorities monitored exiles involved in the solidarity movement. Perhaps they also sought to make exiles cognisant that they were keeping an eye on them.

**Chilean Authorities**

It is certain the Chilean Consulate in Vancouver was keeping tabs on exiles involved in the solidarity movement (as well as consulates and embassies elsewhere) because some exiles’ passports were not renewed, as in the case of Ana María Quiroz who was not even in Chile during the years prior to the coup, and because others appeared on lists of those prohibited entry although they had not been expelled or commuted their prison sentence to banishment. Alberto explains:

> It was highly suspected that the consular representative informed the Chilean government about activities. In fact that became clear after the return of democracy that it was indeed the case. And, a Chilean who originally was prohibited entry to Chile, the prohibition came because of his work here and one of the sources of information on Chilean activities here was the then Consul.

The Consul also “sent people from the Consulate to take pictures of Chileans who were demonstrating” (Emilio, Interview) in front of the Consulate’s office building or at other demonstrations – for example, in front of Noranda Mine’s offices. In the early 1980s the Consul

---

234 Recall from the previous chapter that Ana Maria had left Chile in the 1960s and had been in Vancouver since 1968.
publicly accused the Chilean community and especially exiles who lived at the Chilean Housing Coop of being agents acting on orders from Moscow in an effort to raise suspicion about their activities. The accusation was met with a request for a public apology because such an allegation required proof, which the Consul never produced (Antonio, Interview).

In addition, there is evidence that the DINA was active in Canada. Recall from Chapter Two that the DINA was the Junta’s covert organization which tortured and disappeared people in Chile and which was involved in several assassinations (and attempted assassinations) of major Chilean political figures living in exile in the U.S., Argentina and Italy. According to a spokesperson for the Toronto Chilean Association several exiles living in various parts of Canada were targeted because of their solidarity activities. Exiles were threatened over the phone and in letters, the cars of community leaders in Calgary and Edmonton were attacked, the Montreal Chilean Association offices were raided twice and in Winnipeg exiles were forced in to a car and interrogated (Canadian Tribune, August 29, 1977 in CDC Chile News, September, 1977).

**Canadian Authorities**

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) was also very interested in what Chilean exiles were doing. Alberto reported that “RCMP representatives constantly interviewed me…It was very common for the main activists of the different Chilean political groups to be interviewed by the police.” Antonio also related how the police went looking for exiles who had participated in the demonstration/picket line of the Chilean ship Toltén. Interestingly, a member of CDC did not mention the police when she recounted her participation in the same event.

---

235 See Chapter Three for more on the assassinations of Orlando Letelier and his assistant in Washington, D.C., Carlos Prats and his wife in Buenos Aires and the attempted assassination of Bernardo Leighton and his wife in Rome.

236 The Royal Canadian Mounted Police is the national police force in Canada. Some provinces and municipalities also have a police force.
Activity Level over Time

Nearly all exiles were involved in solidarity activities almost from the moment they arrived and many remained active until the late 1980s. In addition to the many activities they had been organizing for over a decade, they responded to calls for action during the heightened waves of protest and repression in Chile in the early to mid 1980s and different parties supported the political alliances which led to formation of the democratic fronts which prepared for the plebiscite in 1988. Several exiles noted solidarity activity levels began to decline in 1988-1989 as the plebiscite approached and some exiles went back to live in Chile.

Not all exiles, however, were active in the solidarity movement until the restoration of a civilian government in 1990. Among exiles whose participation in the solidarity movement declined as time went on, several noted that they eventually stopped participating in part because establishing themselves in Canada became more important and in part because they were turned off by the political disagreements. Claudia and Emilio said their enthusiasm was short-lived because, as Claudia put it, “the fact that they were all here still in their political parties from there, it was like they were frozen [in time].” Gabriela and Francisco grew tired of the political divisions after about four or five years and added that their participation also waned because their need for the cultural and emotional support the exile community provided also dissipated. Francisco explained that when they first arrived

getting together at the peñas and having a group of one hundred Chileans and to be able to chat…simply speak, speak in Castellano237 was important [whereas later] you continue to need your group of friends, but that larger group of that second level of friends who were, at the beginning they were very important, that is, to feel you are part of a community starts to become less important.

---

237 The Spanish language is actually Castellano, not Español, since what is spoken is the language of Castilla, as opposed to what is spoken in other regions of Spain, such as Catalán (spoken in Cataluña) or Galician (spoken in Galicia). While it is common for Spanish speakers to refer to the language they speak as Español, in several countries, including Chile, people do refer to the language they speak as Castellano and students study Castellano in school, not Español.
CDC continued its work until the first post-dictatorship elections were held. Elspeth said that at that point they felt it was up to the Chilean people to decide what happened after a civilian government was restored. Janet explained CDC never really dissolved because there was always a little bit more to do, a little more. In the end it was really just Elspeth and I doing stuff and our Chilean friends of course, but you know, we never actually ended, we drifted away, there was no end date…People were involved with Nicaragua and El Salvador and other things, they just moved on. Everybody moved on.

The horror of the coup and its aftermath motivated Chilean exiles and Allende sympathizers all over the world to restore a civilian government in Chile. To morally and financially support the resistance in Chile and to denounce and isolate the Junta politically and economically, solidarity movement groups raised funds and critical awareness and created alliances with an array of social actors, including Church, student and women’s groups, as well as unions and political parties in Canada and in Chile. Actions included everything from hunger strikes and demonstrations to conferences, enquiries, speaking tours and establishing alternative media. Of all the actions in their repertoire, the ones which engaged the public and enabled them to express their political culture through artistic expression were arguably the most significant.

In the next chapter we examine solidarity movement groups and their actions through a learning lens. First the chapter discusses exiles, learning and transformation. It looks at how exiles re/constructed their identities as exiles and forged the collective identity of the solidarity movement, both of which are intimately connected with each other and with their values. The second part of the chapter explores learning among the public as a result of solidarity movement activities.
CHAPTER EIGHT: Learning, Knowledge Production and the Solidarity Movement

You analyze, analyze, that is, here when you arrive, you arrive in Canadian society, North American [society], it’s another world, it’s another world and slowly you start to not erase the past, rather to see another photograph.

- Pedro

So that you understand the urgency of our work, I mean it was so important to reach people, to reach the public here, to reach the media, to reach Canadians that if we would have had to stand on our heads or walk a tightrope to do it, we would have learned to do it.

- Pilar

As we can see in the first quote, for exiles the end of the UP era and arriving in another society meant a break with their past and confronting a new reality. Exiles had to reconstitute their identities, which was a personal and a collective process. As the second quote illustrates, exiles were also concerned with raising critical awareness among the public and as Pilar points out, they would have learned to do whatever it took to teach the public about Chile, the coup and the repression which ensued. Re/constructing their identities and mobilizing support were closely intertwined as the identity of exiles as part of the Chilean Left was central to their identities as exiles and to their collective solidarity movement identity.

This chapter begins by exploring exile identities. It examines how Chileans reconstituted their identities as exiles, including their political and ethnocultural identities, and how their collective identity as a movement was formed, all of which are inseparable, and which involved individual and collective transformations as they re-evaluated their values. Next, the chapter considers how solidarity movement participants raised critical awareness among the public. This section of the chapter discusses movement messages and how they communicated and articulated their messages through music, through actions which bore witness to their experiences and to what was happening in Chile, through the placards and pamphlets they used and distributed at demonstrations and picket lines, and through alternative media.
Exiles, Learning and Transformation: Re/constructing Exile and Solidarity Movement Identities

I had to be reborn here in this country in order to live.

- Blanca

The learning discussed in this section is largely the result of the experience of exile in and of itself. While much of this learning took place within or in relation to the solidarity movement (events, group meetings), the learning and knowledge production processes in which exiles were engaged were not exclusive to the solidarity movement. Not only are experiences of exile and of solidarity movement activism difficult to separate, they do not need to be and are indeed better understood together in many respects. There are, however, many learning and knowledge production processes which may have unfolded independent of exiles’ activism in the solidarity movement. Though few, if any, exiles (particularly those who left during the first wave of departure in the years immediately following the coup) were completely disconnected from the solidarity movement, some who were supporters but not organizers or leaders experienced much of their learning in other contexts – for example, social gatherings with friends.\(^{238}\)

Some of the most significant learning processes for exiles were related to identity. Their identities as exiles were/are intertwined with their political and ethnocultural identities, as well as with their identities as women and men. Exiles’ reflections on their experiences and their values were closely related to the identities they re/constructed and these experiences and identities are by no means universal. Individual histories, experiences and the countries in which exiles arrived certainly played an important role in how identities were re/constructed. For example, Matias who arrived at age eighteen explained that at first the fact that he was older than

\(^{238}\) Even in this example for exiles involved in organizing solidarity movement actions, the line between solidarity movement-related activity and “pure” exile experiences is blurry, as we saw in the previous chapter (seven) with the groups who discussed solidarity movement activities during social gatherings, which were not group meetings.
the children of exiles and younger than exiles was difficult for him in terms of understanding how he fit in:

This was my major problem when I arrived here, the generational issue. I did not belong to the generation which arrived in Canada at a young age, the ones who arrived, I don’t know, between two years old and ten or twelve, understand?...and I did not belong to the generation who arrived when they were twenty-something, understand? You are right smack in the middle and I could not locate myself...I did not speak English without an accent, because all the younger ones spoke English with no accent, but I did speak better than those who arrived later [at an older age].

Since Matias’ experience in this sense is rather unique as few exiles were in the same position, it illustrates that individual experiences varied not only in this respect, but in many ways. The dimensions of identity addressed here are neither exhaustive nor universal, rather they are the most salient dimensions which came up in interviews. Particular attention is given to political identity as it is the dimension which most relates to exiles and the solidarity movement.

Not one person I interviewed said they had contemplated living anywhere else but Chile when the coup occurred. Leaving because of the military takeover, almost all because they and/or their families, friends and colleagues had been terrorized and for many not being able to return profoundly affected exiles’ identities. The radical rupture exiles experienced and their arrival in a new environment shook them to their very core and generated a serious appraisal of themselves and their lives, as illustrated by the quote above in which Blanca describes her experience as a rebirth.

There is a dialectical relationship between the experience of exile and identity. That is, “exile impacts and therefore determines certain traits of the identity of an individual as much as an individual’s identity affects the manner in which s/he will feel and later on narrate the exile experience” (Cornejo, 2008, p. 337). The interrupted lives of exiles who were suddenly uprooted under the circumstances described above meant exiles identified as people who were compelled to leave and who could not return, which led to a potentially interminable state of limbo. At first,
there is no present or “here and now,” there is a “there” and “before and after” (Cornejo, 2008). As Vazquez and Araujo (1990) saw in their work with South American exiles, \(^{239}\) after the initial phase of trauma and grieving (which is strongest at first, but which never really goes away), exiles idealize their country of origin while learning to live in a new culture which they simultaneously largely reject. It is in the third stage that exiles renegotiate their identities and complex identities emerge as exiles, as survivors of torture, as women and men, and in this case as activists in the solidarity movement, and as Chilean-Canadians or maybe Canadian-Chileans, or neither.

**Political Identity**

The political identity exiles forged before leaving Chile was integral to their political identity once abroad. Exiles shared a vision for Chile and Latin America, they had experienced the road to socialism in Chile, lived the UP years, and suffered the coup and its aftermath, the reason for their departure. Exiles shared this history and moved forward in the solidarity movement largely based on this collective experience. The knowledge they brought with them and the knowledge they generated through their reflections and actions was central to the processes of political identity re/construction in which they were engaged.

Moral outrage and a sense of moral responsibility to do everything possible to support Chileans in Chile were what motivated exiles to become active in the solidarity movement. The collective identity they forged as a movement and the knowledge they generated was tied to their previous identity as members of the Chilean Left before their departure from Chile as socialists and as revolutionaries. As social agents of change who had worked to make their dream a reality (with all its limitations and possibilities) exiles knew they could make a difference once abroad. Through their groups (structures, dynamics) and actions (peñas, folk groups, demonstrations, the

---

\(^{239}\) The phases described by Vasquez and Aruajo (1990) are not self-contained, rather they overlap and may persist to different degrees forever.
radio program they created, newsletters and demonstrations) solidarity movement activists developed an identity which connected them locally, nationally, and transnationally with exiles, non-Chileans and with Chileans in Chile. These activities fostered fellowship among exiles and non-Chileans alike and facilitated cultivating a collective identity as exiles because through these actions exiles supported each other emotionally and expressed and taught their identities to their children. Though solidarity movement actions were not the only ways their identities were re/constructed, for exiles who were more involved in the movement, groups and actions played an important role in these processes.

**Trauma and Resilience**

Exiles lived the destruction of their socialist dream and their efforts to make it a reality, separation from their families and communities, the loss of work lives and the radical uprooting which changed their lives forever. In addition to enduring all of this, many were imprisoned and viciously tortured, as were their family and friends, many of whom were killed. There is no doubt these experiences had and continue to have a profound effect on exiles and their identities. In healing from this trauma and rebuilding their lives in a new country exiles may have felt like victims, but surviving and even thriving over time means they are survivors. This is not to say the traumatic experiences they lived do not continue to be painful, but it is a testament to their resilience. Exiles learned how strong they are because of the experiences they lived as the Chilean Left in Chile and abroad and as newcomers to Canada. Participating in the solidarity movement was a significant way through which exiles processed the trauma they lived (Shayne, 2009). Exiles also learned that exile could also be positive because it created opportunities for different experiences through which they learned about themselves. As Teresa said, “you grow internally.”
Compañera, Compañero

We have seen in many interview quotes that exiles constantly addressed each other as *compañera* and *compañero*. As explained in Chapter Three this term, as used among the Chilean Left, is difficult to translate. It does not correspond with companion, friend or comrade because as Dorfman (1998) points out, these words are not embedded in *pan*, the word for bread and therefore do not express that *compañera* or *compañero* are people you break bread with, people with whom you feel a sense of sisterhood and brotherhood. While comrade does grasp the sense of a shared vision and action towards realizing that vision that this form of address conveys, a word for comrade exists in Spanish - *camarada*. Calling each other *compañera* or *compañero* cultivated the collective identity of the Chilean Left before and during the Allende years. In fact Allende was known as *compañero Presidente*. The terms *compañera* and *compañero* continued to foster a sense of solidarity and equality among the Chilean Left in exile (Eastmond, 1993) and as we will see later in the chapter, exiles also used this term to refer to non-Chilean solidarity movement supporters.

Culture of Organization

There was a whole tradition that came from Chile and we were following the same thing. Those of us who worked in the JAP in Chile or who worked in the Popular Unity committees…political work, so there was a whole culture we brought, you see, a culture of organization that was there.

- Gabriela

The many years exiles dedicated to working towards bringing about a socialist society in Chile was fundamental to the solidarity work they realized abroad. As Gabriela points out above, exiles brought a culture of organization with them, which they had learned through their experiences in Chile as members of the Chilean Left. Alberto explained that in Chile during the Popular Unity period and even before there were methodologies of political development, of popular education, for example. Chileans, many Chilean
groups, had knowledge and those techniques which they learned at the time in Chile were useful for organizing the resistance and support work here.

This knowledge was essential to organizing in Canada and other countries “because if you don’t have that knowledge, it is difficult to get organized in another country, especially in an environment that is not like Chile” (Antonio, Interview). The knowledge exiles had was not only rooted in their experiences, but the very values of the political culture of the Chilean Left. It was “that power which that political and social education had that one brought because of the society in which we lived” (Antonio, Interview) that enabled exiles to organize effectively when they arrived. The political culture of the Left was also reflected in their group dynamics. The reason they were participatory and consensus-based (albeit with gender-related issues) is that the model of democracy they forwarded was participatory and therefore they did not vote, they discussed and reached agreement.

Likewise, Elspeth and Janet of CDC said what they had learned doing other political work was useful in their solidarity work. Janet explained that the knowledge needed to organize people and actions are similar and it is important to make the most of the skills people in the group have:

- the skills you use to run an election or…to run a campaign against Viet Nam or to run a campaign against the Pinochet government…It’s all the same skills. Take the politics away from it, they’re really all the same skills. Or running a union. Learning how to pull people together, to gain consensus and to use the skills that you have in your group to do the best job you can.

Elspeth echoed the latter part of Janet’s statement when she explained that people “accepted [their] skills and they expected them to be used, as well as they could be for the work of the committee.” Exiles’ identities as activists in Chile and non-Chileans identities as activists in other social movements meant they had developed knowledge which they used in the solidarity movement and which contributed to forging their collective solidarity movement identity.
Culture as a Medium

Another aspect of the knowledge exiles transported with them is the power of culture as a medium for communicating their message and mobilizing support. Exiles drew on their previous experiences and the political culture of the Left in Chile because they knew they were effective. Like many exiles Alberto recalled peñas in Chile and explained that the peña “was a proven instrument with which the majority of exiles were familiar because it was something that was used a lot in Chile.”

As we know, music was an integral part of peñas and exiles were well aware that music was a compelling channel through which they could raise critical awareness among the public. As Pilar explained,

I think the first thing we learned was that music was the most direct medium and obviously we had already learned that through the New Song movement in Chile, it didn’t come out of nowhere. That was what began in the ‘60s in Chile and became palpable during Allende’s period, so we came with that. We applied that here very successfully.

The political culture and their identities as part of the Left in Chile was, therefore, a vital knowledge base from which exiles drew in developing strategies and actions.

Becoming Performers

Many exiles discussed having to learn to do things they had never done before in order to get through to the public. Since they knew culture was a powerful way of communicating their message and building support, many exiles learned to sing, play instruments, act and dance. Blanca, who danced in a cultural group in Calgary, recalled that

we put a lot of effort into learning how to dance…for example, I had no idea how to dance El Condor Pasa, I learned it and I danced it well…in Chile I had not danced, but I had to do it, it was necessity.

240 This point will be taken up in more detail in the second part of the chapter.
Blanca and others learned from others in the group who contributed that knowledge. She explained, “these compañeros, since they had the knowledge, started to teach us how to dance and the compañeros who knew theatre began teaching theatre to those who were interested in theatre.”

In Pilar’s case she and the other women in the folk group Cormorán taught themselves how to sing and play different instruments. Pilar explained that

Nobody had ever sung in public, we had all sung in the shower more or less…we decided that having a group was important and we rose to the challenge. It was so ridiculous…we managed to get a charango, I can’t remember where the charango came from, but we had no idea how to tune the charango, we had no idea how the charango worked, so we tuned it like a guitar…and we played it.

While they may not have tuned or played the charango accurately or sung like professionals, they learned to do these things as best they could because it was so important to reach the public. Later, when Pilar was a member of Resistencia, the musician who led the group taught other members how to play.

Developing an identity as performers also had profound impact on exiles’ sense of self-worth and feeling a sense of purpose. Blanca explains:

In Chile I had never danced, but I had to do it, it was a necessity and well, I like it, it’s as though that gives me life, being able to offer something through a dance that people go to see and to be able to impart something. For me, that was quite, it’s as though you are contributing something. So I couldn’t contribute in other ways, for example, professionally, but I said to myself I don’t need anything to dance, I need desire and to want to do it and therefore, it was not difficult to learn to dance…so I felt good in that respect.

As Blanca points out, it was not only because it was so important to reach the public that exiles learned to dance, act, sing and/or play instruments, it was also because becoming performers nurtured their sense of well-being; they had something valuable to offer and they enjoyed it. This

241 Recall from Chapter Seven that the bombo is a large drum made from wood and animal skin, and the charango, which looks like a small guitar, is traditionally made from the body of an armadillo (but often now made of wood) and has ten strings grouped in five pairs. The zamponía is an Andean pan flute and the quena is an Andean flute, both made from bamboo shoots.
sentiment was expressed by others who became dancers, actors, singers and musicians or taught others through their involvement with the solidarity movement.

Other Aspects of Individual Identities and the Solidarity Movement Knowledge Base

In addition to the knowledge solidarity movement participants had because of their previous political activism, individuals contributed knowledge and skills from their personal, educational and professional experiences and their natural talents. Gabriela recalled that particularly important when they first arrived was that Ana María Quiroz, one of the Chileans in Vancouver before the coup, was proficient in English and had local knowledge “of how things were, so she contributed a lot…she brought her experiences.” English proficiency was obviously valuable and exiles who could already speak, read and write English had an advantage in terms of work and study opportunities, but also in establishing contacts and building solidarity networks. English was also useful in solidarity movement actions, both for logistics and for translations. For example, Marcela recalled doing translations for Amèrica Latina al Día, the program on Coop Radio. Exiles also complemented each other’s capacities. Samuel explained that when he first arrived and did not know any English, he and another exile who was proficient in English worked together so that he could address a large audience:

I remember I had been in Canada for three days and they took me to speak at an NDP convention in Saskatchewan…since I was going to speak, how am I going to stand up at the convention and speak, I don’t know how to speak English and I remember that a Chilean doctor wrote a letter in English, but he did it for me in Spanish – My name, so my: m-a-ee, name: n-e-y-m and I practiced it…we did things like that, you had the courage…you feared embarrassment, but did those things.

While Samuel’s writing skills were strong, his English skills were not and so, the other exile translated and wrote the speech out phonetically and the audience was able to understand Samuel’s address despite the fact that he did not speak English.
Elspeth, who was a lawyer, also used her writing skills in her work with CDC. She wrote letters to Canadian government officials, members of the Junta, the UN and letters to the editors of several newspapers. She also went to the Fifth Session of the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile held in Algiers in 1978 and was often the person who addressed public meetings organized by CDC. Her professional background as a lawyer made her the ideal person for these roles. Similarly, Pilar’s brother had worked as a radio commentator in Chile and therefore, as Pilar explained, it was natural that he become the voice of América Latina al Día, the radio program on Coop Radio, because “he had that ease of sitting in front of the microphone and sounding good, he had a good voice.”

Learning a New Political System and Different Ways of Doing Political Work

Since Chile has a Presidential political system with a Congress comprised of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, it is quite different from the Canadian Parliamentary system. Exiles had to learn about the different levels of government – federal, provincial, municipal – and their powers. Developing this knowledge was necessary not only because they needed to understand the Canadian political apparatus, but also because they wanted to influence the system. This was vital knowledge to movement goals and exiles learned it through their solidarity work. Gabriela explained that

it was a collective learning [process], that is, all the Chilean community collectively, we learned how to function within the Canadian context…learning how the Canadian system functions because we had to carry out a mission first, we had a mission and to fulfill that mission we had to learn certain things, we had to learn how the political system works here…we learned how Canadian society functions through this collective work.

One of the ways to influence the political system is through lobbying politicians, something exiles learned to do through their political practice in Canada and as Gabriela pointed out,

it is a very effective way of learning if you will, because doing is different from learning from a book, I mean you can read twenty books…on how to lobby, the lobby system and
everything else, but until you have to go and lobby, you don’t really understand how it works.

Letter writing campaigns were also new to Chilean exiles. In Chile, people did not write to politicians to draw their attention to a particular situation or protest government actions. Therefore, writing letters to municipal, provincial and federal government officials was another way of exerting influence which exiles learned.

Another example is when Pilar wanted to organize a presentation with the B.C. Teachers’ Federation and she tried to get the item put on the agenda for their convention. Since the agenda was set several months in advance, it was too late and it had to wait until the following year. Pilar recalled what they learned from that and from how difficult it was to get the item on the agenda:

It was a very powerful introduction to Canadian union bureaucracy…[because in Chile] things were much more dynamic and here union bureaucracy is so strong…we had to learn that here everything had to be organized way in advance. You can't improvise and you can’t leave things for a week before, two weeks before. Everything has to be organized well in advance because if not, it won’t happen.

Exiles also incorporated different forms of political expression into their repertoire. Just as exiles were not used to writing letters to politicians, they were not familiar with the methods of street protest used in Canada (which are not exclusive to Canada). When exiles demonstrated outside the Chilean or the U.S. Consulates, they would walk up and down the sidewalk carrying placards, which communicated what they were protesting. In Chile people did not do this, so for exiles it was a new mode of protest. Comedy was another form of political expression exiles were not accustomed to employing. At the time, it was common to refer to the Junta as a group of gorillas. Alberto recalled that at demonstrations “there were some Canadian friends who would dress up as gorillas…it was a phenomenon of political expression we were not used to in Chile, but it is very useful.” As these examples illustrate exiles learned different ways of doing
political work and they learned through practical experience. This knowledge, which enabled them to act together, contributed to forging their collective solidarity movement identity.

**Reflections on the Popular Unity Process and the Left**

As we know, the sectarianism within the UP was a central concern for exiles and therefore was a significant aspect of their analysis and their learning. Since the divisions among the Chilean Left contributed to (though they were not the only reason for) their inability to create a broad support base, exiles and the Left inside Chile engaged in a process of self-critique. This sparked a renovation among the Left, which took on a different character and extended to different degrees in the various parties and factions. The renovation was mainly about rethinking, recapturing and revitalizing socialism and grew out of the Socialist party and MAPU factions during the 1970s who, like all of the Chilean Left, were trying to understand what had happened. With many exiles in Europe, particularly high profile UP leaders, the ideas of Gramsci greatly influenced their reflections and the concept of hegemony was incorporated into their analyses (Arrate, 2010). This concept helped shed light on why the UP had not been capable of creating a new genuine consent both politically and culturally and what they needed to do to restore a civilian government.

**Divisions**

Given the great impact on exiles of the experiences they lived in Chile before and after the coup, it is not surprising that analyzing the UP process, the coup and its aftermath became, and for some still is, the main topic of discussion. Exiles concurred that the coup happened because of U.S. intervention and the Chilean oligarchy’s support of and active participation in sabotaging the UP process. Pedro’s comments illustrate how pivotal the UP period and the coup were and why their dream had been suddenly and violently destroyed:
What is important is not forgetting everything Chile was and is now, that is, analyzing it, I consider that the main thing because the Popular Unity era to which everything refers, to the exodus of all of us to here because of the circumstances there, was because a very powerful group and the armed forces opposed the changes.

For Pedro and for most if not all exiles, the UP years are the main referent of their history and of Chile’s history. As he puts it, it is the “era to which everything refers” – the referent is time which corresponds with before the UP and after the UP. The election of Allende was the culmination of years of dreaming and working towards a peaceful road to socialism and the 1000 days of Allende’s administration were the opportunity to put ideas into practice. The coup put an end to all that and led to the dispersal of Chileans all over the globe. As Antonio expressed it, “history was interrupted” and nobody will ever know what would have been possible had the coup not violently halted the process which was underway.

Pedro also points out that from his perspective the coup happened because the privileged did not want the social order which benefited them to change. While Diego agreed with Pedro, he articulated it differently. For him Chilean society was not ready for the changes the Left was trying to implement. His observations also show exiles engaged in a reflexive process which involved examining issues among the Left and specifically within the UP:

We fought to end a great number of injustices and that is the dream of building a better society, so we fell short of that and many analyses have been carried out…because why did we fall short and that’s where the recriminations come in, that is, we could have done this in this way…you assumed too much, you did things this way, you didn’t do this or blah blah blah or whatever, so, when maybe they weren’t prepared yet for what the protests were about…we made a lot of mistakes, but that, despite all the errors and despite all the criticisms which can be made, it doesn’t take away from the fundamental objective that the idea we had in Chile was to change, to have something better for the vast majority of Chileans.

In this passage Diego talks about the blaming which took place among the Left which reflected the different positions of the various political parties. Alberto also brought up political divisions, but from his perspective, there is also a lesson to be learned from the sectarianism, which engulfed the Chilean Left. He explains:
One of the reasons the Popular Unity process failed, I think fundamentally it was because of the North American [U.S.] reaction and intervention which financed the opposition to Salvador Allende, but that process also failed because of the sectarianism within the Chilean political parties. And something which was learned here which occurs a lot and continues to occur a lot more here than in countries like Chile, is how to mobilize a broader solidarity in sectors of the population.

In previous chapters we learned the MIR was not part of the UP coalition and that there were divisions within the UP. The major difference between the UP and the MIR was that the UP forwarded a peaceful road to socialism and the MIR did not think it was possible; rather that armed struggle was the only way. Once in power, the two camps which developed within the UP reflected the same disagreement with the more moderate camp insisting on moving ahead slowly and peacefully by consolidating gains and the more radical camp agreeing with the MIR’s position, arguing the elite would not give up their privileges easily. These divisions continued in Chile and in exile, both with respect to how to end the dictatorship and what kind of democracy Chileans wanted in post-dictatorship Chile. While all exiles wanted to see a more socially just Chile, some no longer envisioned a socialist revolution in post-dictatorship Chile. As Alberto points out, in part these divisions are what prevented the UP from widening their support base and from his perspective it was precisely a broad coalition that was needed to end the dictatorship:

I think that [learning to broaden solidarity] is something exiles lived in Europe too…that in fact ultimately led to the great alliance [against] Pinochet through the plebiscite, which is the one which continues to govern Chile for twenty years…The Concertación is definitely one of the most permanent political alliances in the history of Chile, in Latin history, with the exception of the Mexican PRI.242

The question of whether the Chilean Left learned the value of building broad support is a complex one. As we will see later in the chapter, exiles learned they needed to integrate everything (the cultural with the political, emotional and sensory) in order “to expand

---

242 At the time of the interview the Concertación was still in power. In 2010 Chile elected the first post-dictatorship right-wing president, Sebastián Piñera. Recall the Concertación is a coalition of centre and left parties, but does not include the Communist Party, or the MIR. The Mexican PRI is the Partido Revolucionario Institucional or Institutional Revolutionary Party.
solidarity…[and engage] all sectors of society” (Pilar, interview), which demonstrates they recognized the value of broad support and therefore, that they did learn from their past experiences. The broad alliances exiles created within the Chilean Left (eventually) and with diverse civil society groups, political and economic society (political parties and unions) in the countries in which they lived is also evidence that exiles learned the importance of a broader solidarity. As Alberto stated what exiles learned is

how you mobilize a broader solidarity in sectors of the population because I remember the phenomenon of support for the struggle in Chile involved all the churches, Canadian parliamentary representatives from all the parties…something I think we Chileans learned here is…to live in a more respectful civil society, broader, with alliances, which was not the experience Chileans had.

The fact that the Socialist party in exile ultimately united in 1989 and large sectors of the Left came together, with the exception of the Communist party, in the Concertación shows the Chilean Left did learn the lesson of divisions because the Concertación represents an alliance between the Socialists and Christian Democrats which had never occurred in the past.

On the other hand the divisions which plagued the Left during the UP years and in exile were reflected in the two major democratic fronts which formed in Chile in the early 1980s, the Democratic Alliance and Popular Democratic Movement. In addition, the withdrawal of some parties from the Concertación after the reinstatement of a civilian government and the current configuration of the Left in Chile all show differences among the Left still exist. The very name of the Juntos Podemos Más [Together We Can Do More] coalition shows unity is at the forefront for some sectors of the Chilean Left. This coalition is comprised of the Communist Party, the Christian Left, the Humanist Party and some Socialist factions who feel the original vision of the renovation has been extended by the Concertación to what might be called a post-renovation or ultra-renovation (Arrate, 2010) position which adheres to the neoliberal model.243 From Teresa’s

243 Juntos Podemos Más is also comprised of a vast array of organizations, including environmental, Mapuche, ex-political prisoner, returned exiles, sexual diversity associations and labour unions.
perspective, exiles never really learned from the divisions they experienced during the UP era and later in exile:

They did not learn to unite, they did not learn before [in Chile] nor after and even now there is in-fighting and I have never understood that because when I was in Chile I was a Socialist Party member [and] half of the meeting was about how we could fight against the Communist Party, while people were attacking us [the political and economic domestic and foreign opposition]…And here we arrived and we didn’t learn the lesson and every time we spoke it was the same [thing], it was the hatred of one party against another and we were on the same side and it continues [in Chile], so that’s the major error in all of this. As long as there’s no solution to that I don’t think we’ll get anywhere.

The concern with internal divisions among the Left was also expressed by Janet whose experience in Canada was not the same as that of exiles, but who nevertheless has seen similar issues. Speaking generally about the Left, Janet said “we’re our worst enemy when it comes to our closest friend really. The one who should be our ally becomes our worst enemy because of slight differences.” As we know, Janet had been involved with COPE and the Canadian Congress of Women and she was very active in the solidarity movement in which not only exiles were divided, but also non-Chileans as we saw with the differences between CDC and CSC.

Today Janet continues to be active in local politics. Referring to the COPE/Vision Vancouver divide,²⁴⁴ she explained

I don’t want to be involved in this split thing. I just want to work, I want to work towards change and I don’t want to do all that in-fighting, I’m too old for that in-fighting. When the election comes, I will do my work, but I haven’t been involved in the split with COPE and Vision Vancouver because I just can’t see fighting one another when there are so many other things in the world.²⁴⁵

Like several exiles who grew tired of the divisions among the Chilean Left, Janet does not have the energy or inclination to deal with philosophical differences which prevent moving ahead with the social change she still supports.

²⁴⁴ Vision Vancouver was formed in 2005 after a group of more centre-leaning COPE members broke off and established their own party.
²⁴⁵ The election Janet is referring to took place close to one year after our interview. COPE, Vision Vancouver and the civic Green Party reached an agreement whereby they all backed a Vision Vancouver mayoral candidate and did not run competing candidates for City Council, the School Board or the Park Board. Nearly all the COPE-Vision Vancouver-Green Party coalition candidates were elected, including their candidate for mayor, Gregor Robertson.
Political values

Another dimension of reflecting on the UP process and the history of the Left up until the present day is that some exiles began to re-evaluate their political values. While this reflexive process did not necessarily change some exiles’ point of view, for others engaging in this critical analysis led to a significant transformation of their political values. In part this was sparked by asking themselves what it was they were trying to accomplish in Chile. Gabriela explained what this reflexive process involved:

If the Allende government had continued, how far would we have gone towards where we thought we were going to go and how far would we have gone…through these discussions, you see, and these dynamics and these discussions and differences between different parties…what things do I and don’t I want to fight for.

Revolution and reform

The discussions and exiles’ contact with people and groups who supported the solidarity movement made some exiles question their revolutionary ideals. When they first arrived, exiles were interested in grand scale changes which sought to overhaul society completely, while the progressive sectors they interacted with were focused on local change. For some exiles these experiences taught them having an impact on a smaller scale is valuable. Francisco explained that today

we don’t want to change society and power to the workers, etcetera...the result of grand revolutions is much more debatable and instead what you can do, the necessity of small changes, it seems much more durable and much more possible, that is, it has a long-term effect…it’s what matters. I’m not going to change the world, that’s clear. The world is much more, is too complex to be able to change it with one idea, but it can change.

The “one idea” Francisco is referring to is Marxism. Like some other exiles, Francisco began to question Marxism and the “grand revolutions” associated with it. This process of problematizing the guiding theory of the revolution exiles had worked for in Chile was triggered both by the discussions Gabriela referred to and the end of the Soviet Union.
The outcomes of these reflections were as varied as what happened among different sectors of the Left all over the world. Much of the Chilean Left underwent a “renovation,” but to different degrees. Some exiles came to the conclusion that Marxism is simply not viable. In Emilio’s words “socialism seems to have been a good theoretical model, but it doesn’t work, it didn’t work anywhere.” Others had a similar, though perhaps less stark conclusion: while Marxism may have had its place in the past, it simply does not correspond with today’s reality. Still others decided that Marxism is indeed relevant and so it needs to be revamped not abandoned and so a number of Chileans who remained in Chile and exiles turned to Gramsci, in part because they decided Marxism is too deterministic and as Francisco pointed out, does not therefore take into account the complexity of the world.

Some exiles and Chileans who live in Chile have retained the revolutionary vision they worked for before the coup. Samuel, who spends about half of the year in Chile, continues to work with the Communist Party there and their program is still about creating a socialist society because “a new phase of capitalist development” continues to create inequality and injustice on a global scale. They consider “the essential content of Marx, Engel and Lenin’s thought maintains complete relevance” (Partido Comunista de Chile, 2001, p. 34). While they recognize socialist experiments in several countries did not work, they would certainly disagree with Emilio because for them it is not that socialism does not work, rather that the leadership in those countries did not take responsibility for the contradictions their models generated and therefore, it “is not the defeat of an ideal of a solidary and humanist system” (ibid, p. 2). Likewise, the Christian Left website states they are “a revolutionary party, which proposes building socialism…[and] to end capitalist society.”

These and other leftist parties, like those which are part of the Juntos Podemos Más coalition, which remain committed to the socialist vision they have had for decades do so because, as they see it, the same issues persist in today’s society –

extremely skewed distribution of power, income and social goods, exclusion, exploitation and alienation. This does not mean they did not learn anything, rather that their reflections led them to the conclusion that a socialist society is still feasible and perhaps even more desirable now.

**Collectivism and individualism**

Another aspect of political values exiles reflected on was their understanding of collective and individual rights and responsibilities. Prior to coming to Canada there was a strong sense of a responsibility to the collective, one that predominated over individual rights. For some exiles, their reflections on their political values led them to a different understanding of individual and collective rights and responsibilities. Whereas in pre-coup Chile the starting and end point was the collective good, in Canada the individual is the starting point and the collective grows out of the combined rights and responsibilities of the individual. It is not that exiles who re-evaluated their understanding of individual rights lost their sense of social responsibility, rather that their experiences in a new society and in the solidarity movement brought about a different way of appreciating the tension between the individual and the collective. Other exiles, particularly those who remain committed to their socialist ideals continue to emphasize the collective good. This does not mean, however, that they do not recognize and value individual rights. Many among the Chilean Left have always valued individual rights and many among the Chilean Left today are much more open-minded with respect to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual, Transgendered, Queer (LGBTTTQ) community for example, as evidenced by the groups who are allies of the Juntos Podemos Más coalition (see footnote 248 in this chapter).

Is it All Worth it?

Exiles dedicated a lot of time and energy to realizing their socialist dream and to ending the dictatorship once in exile. Many exiles also spent much time and energy on community
endeavours to facilitate settlement and integration (not assimilation) for themselves and their fellow Latin Americans. Like millions of people all over the world and throughout history dedicated to social justice might ask themselves, some exiles questioned whether their efforts are worth it and came to different conclusions. Adela felt strongly that she had to do it all over again, she would not. She explains:

After having lived all the years I have lived, if I were young again, I probably would not get involved in anything because I have come to the conclusion that politics are crap. Each person marches to the beat of their own drum and gets the most, the best out of it that they can and that has been proven…who wins, who loses, who, so who suffers the most? Not the person on top who became a politician and is leading a group and is giving a speech and giving it using grandiose words, but the poor person, the one on the bottom. I’m not saying the poor person in the sense of poverty, rather the one on the bottom who is listening to this with passion and following this and wanting to make it possible and then the reality is so different, it is so different. So, these are the first ones who lead and talk and they take ownership and this one, this dot over here is the one who suffers, in any part of the world. It has been proven from here all the way further south, be it hunger, be it torture…divorce, famine, slavery, I don’t know, selling oneself for or dying for one’s way of thinking…so I say, for me, I would live my life peacefully, peacefully with morals. If I can help you I will, I would do whatever possible in order to do it and live peacefully, live peacefully, that’s my, I have come to that conclusion…I would not get involved in politics, no.

Adela made it clear that she would not have gotten politically involved neither in Chile nor in Canada because as she sees it nothing really changes when everything is said and done; the poor are still poor, the rich and powerful remain rich and powerful and even leaders who seemed genuine are only out for themselves. For Adela it simply is not worth the end result and certainly not worth what she and her family endured.

Gabriela also brought up her desire for peace and explained this desire in relation to the meaning of the word struggle:

We spoke of struggle, right? We were struggling, we were struggling to end this thing and initiate this other thing. At some point in time that word ‘struggle’ becomes intolerable, you see, and from ‘struggle’ I began to think no, I don’t want a struggle, I want peace and I don’t know when and I don’t know how, I don’t know why, right? But somehow that idea, right? Of struggling for change as we understood it at the time no longer sounds like something I want to do…I don’t want to struggle for this life, I want to do something to make it easier…I want change, but it is not a struggle.
Though Gabriela did not conclude the time and energy expended on working towards social change was not worth the personal or collective cost like Adela, both Adela and Gabriela seem to feel their efforts were very draining. This may in part be due to the many demands on their time and energy as women. While most exiles in the solidarity movement did solidarity work in addition to other responsibilities (studies, paid work), which is a lot in and of itself, more often than not it was the women who were also caring for children and their homes. Understandably, studying, working in and out of the home and doing solidarity work must have been exhausting and not surprisingly, some exiles would not be willing to make the same sacrifices. As we know, some exiles dedicated so much to the solidarity movement that their family life suffered and while it was not the only contributing factor, it played a significant role in the high incidence of divorce.

Adela’s husband, Diego, had a completely different opinion. He agrees that there is still injustice, not only in Chile, but all over the world. However, that the dictatorship ended means people are better off than they were under Pinochet. Making it known when there is injustice is essential as far as Diego is concerned and even though not all the changes one seeks may come about, it is worth it. He explains:

One always has to raise one’s voice to speak and say this is not just and look for change…despite everything, okay, there are still people who are suffering in all parts of the world. So, regardless of whether people say that your efforts don’t make a difference, in some measure they do, to some degree they do because the, if you go to Chile now, at this moment there are many, a great deal of guarantees that Chileans have that they would not have if the dictator were still there.

Both Adela and Diego agree post-dictatorship Chile is not the Chile they would like to see, but whereas Adela thinks that shows all their time and energy was not worth it, Diego thinks any change means it was worth it.

247 Shayne (2009) found the same in her study.
Elspeth agrees with Diego that the time and energy dedicated to social justice is worth it, but that it requires sacrificing a lot. Like Diego, she feels the people in Chile gave up much more than people outside Chile, however they had slightly different takes on this. Elspeth pointed out that exiles had also paid a high price for their socialist dream and Diego focused on the fact that Chileans in Chile continued to suffer while exiles were no longer in extreme danger. Elspeth also connected sacrifice to the insights she has gained from a lifetime of activism – that social change is slow and arduous and requires sacrifice. In her words:

Politics is a hard, hard struggle. I think you learn that there have to be, there had to be people who are willing to sacrifice a lot. We were sacrificing nothing here in those terms, but the people of Chile, the people of Chile who continued their struggle were sacrificing a lot and people had to come, had to leave, sacrificed a lot and not all of them, but many of them stayed in the, in the struggle for the overthrow of Pinochet…that political struggle for the long term…the fight will go on.

While Elspeth is well aware that some sacrifices have to be made, if one is in a position to decide how much one is willing to sacrifice, she feels it is important to find balance in one’s life. She decided early in her life that she was going to spend a lot of time with her family, work as much as she needed to in order to have a comfortable, but not luxurious standard of living, and limit her activism. As far as Elspeth is concerned, trying to do too much means every aspect of one’s life suffers, so it is better to do less and do it well.

Elspeth is now in her eighties and as we just saw she is a wise woman who has learned from her lifetime as a mother, wife, sister, lawyer and activist. Though as she said, change is “a long, long continuing thing, which has no ending it seems,” humans can always hope for a better world. As Elspeth reminds us, “change is always there, so it’s hard to tell where action is, how action is going to develop and in what form in different countries of the world.” While it is not always possible to predict the outcome of social movement efforts, they can have lasting effects. Elspeth explains:
Things can somehow develop in unexpected ways and in relation to Chile that unexpected way was that there should be a judge in Spain who said “when I have a chance something’s going to happen because this man should not be there taking advantage of a Constitution he wrote for himself” and that actually changed the tide afterward of Pinochet.

As she points out, Pinochet’s arrest in London in 1998 brought hope that the dictator would finally answer for the atrocities committed during his reign of terror, something exiles and other concerned people around the world thought would never happen. Even if he was never tried in Spain or in Chile before he died, his arrest in London spotlighted him on the world stage as a brutal dictator who was responsible for the torture, death and disappearance of thousands and for the dispersion of exiles across the globe. It also took a significant toll on Pinochet who seemed to have aged considerably during his arrest in London, albeit in a mansion.

Activism Today

So given solidarity movement participants’ experiences and what they learned, what kind of groups and activities are they involved in today? During the dictatorship and after 1990, many exiles got involved with community organizations and today many are still actively involved with Chile-related issues and/or the Latin American and immigrant communities. For example, Blanca is part of a Latin American group that works for social justice in Latin America, solidarity among Latin Americans and a unified Latin America. The group is integrated by people from an array of Latin American countries, as well as non-Latin Americans. Samuel focuses his efforts mainly on issues within Chile, such as Indigenous rights, and those issues which affect survivors of torture and people who were dismissed from their jobs after the coup for political reasons. Francisco is involved with an organization which supports immigrants and at the time of our interview, Adela was planning on doing volunteer work with the elderly. The two members of CDC are also involved in their communities. Janet still works with COPE and
does neighbourhood organizing (public gardening, traffic redirection) and when we met Elspeth
had recently been involved with a committee which supports Cuba.

**Ethnocultural Identity**

Cultures and identities are dynamic and so as with other dimensions of identity, ethnocultural identity re/construction is an ever changing process. While many cultural practices are still important for exiles, expressing their Chilean culture through their customs, language, music, food and dance was paramount in the early years. The need to evoke memories of Chile – the relationships, places, sounds, sights, aromas and flavours – they had left behind was strong. Over time, the experiences they were living in Canada began to form a part of who they are. However, the degree to which exiles began to feel like Chilean-Canadians or Canadian-Chileans depending on which culture they feel identifies them more is quite individual. Many exiles feel they are “not from here or from there” (Antonio, Interview). Though the meaning of this is different for each exile, for many it expresses that they have never come to feel they have a meaningful place in Canadian society and/or that they do not identify with Canada, yet they no longer feel completely Chilean in that they do not identify with the Chile of today.

That language and culture are intimately connected was evident in the importance exiles gave/give to speaking Spanish and especially Chilean Spanish. Though every single exile I interviewed is fluent in English, given the choice, they all opted for interviews in Spanish. Some exiles related how resisting learning English for several years was part of the rejection they felt towards the new culture in which they lived and while speaking Spanish continues to be important for all exiles, some pointed out the need to do so diminished as they created a life for themselves in Canada. Speaking Spanish is so much a part of their ethnocultural identity that it is still “natural” to speak in Spanish at home and with Spanish-speaking people and conversely for some exiles learning English may have seemed threatening to their ethnocultural identities, as
though they were somehow less Chilean. These experiences speak to the strong connection between language, culture and identity, as do their efforts to teach Chilean culture and Spanish to their children, as well as the values of the Chilean Left.

**Valuing and Maintaining Culture: The Next Generation**

For exiles it was vital that their children feel a strong sense of identity as Chileans and as part of the Chilean Left. This involved immersing their children in Chilean customs, values, language, music, dance and food. While some of this immersion occurred naturally in their homes, a number of other contexts immersed children in Chilean culture, including solidarity movement activities, folk groups and heritage schools.

**Ethnolinguistic aspects**

As we saw in the previous chapter, peñas were particularly powerful cultural contexts in which children were socialized into Chilean culture. Children learned that extended family is important in terms of familial connection and social support and that socializing – chatting, eating and drinking together – is a central aspect of Chilean culture. Their very presence at peñas and other events also communicated to them that children were an integral part of social and community life and that intergenerational interaction was valued. Pilar recalled how they took their children to rehearsals and to peñas:

The children ran around like crazy and it was about ten at night, the music blaring, but nevertheless they would fall asleep under the table, we would make a bed [with] all the coats and one next to the other [under] those long tables, they would fall asleep.

At peñas children also ate typical Chilean food and performed folk dances, and other children saw their peers performing these dances. The children who participated in folk groups learned typical dances, such as the *cueca*, dressed in typical clothes to perform dances and were in a Spanish-speaking environment both during rehearsals and performances. In addition, Spanish was spoken and sung at peñas, reinforcing it as the language of the community.
That children learned and/or maintained Spanish (depending on the age at which they arrived) was fundamental for exiles. Another way children learned Spanish and Chilean culture was in the heritage schools several exile groups formed. One of these schools was named after Gabriela Mistral, the Chilean poet, and ran on Saturday afternoons at a public school and later at the Chilean Housing Coop. Spanish was taught at all levels by exiles who were primary school teachers and books were brought from Chile. After the school was established traditional and folk dance groups were formed and music classes were taught by an exile who was a professional music teacher. Children in the dance groups were later taught by children of exiles, some of whom had themselves been part of the dance groups as children. Another heritage school ran on Saturday mornings out of a community centre. Pilar specifically said it was a Spanish and Chilean culture school where “the children were taught Spanish, they were taught Chilean history, Chilean culture, so there was a very strong intentionality to transmit the language, the culture and political values to the children.”

**Political culture**

As Pilar signalled in the above quote, exiles were not only trying to teach their children more widely held Chilean values, such as the importance of family, but specifically the values of the Chilean Left. Pilar explained these values were:

the socialist values of sharing, of collaborating, of working together, of not being mine, mine, mine, to be fighters, how to be people, to want to contribute to a better society, that money is useful, but it is not the goal of life.

Likewise, children became familiar with Chilean music and dances like the *cueca*, but it was the music of the New Chilean Song that expressed the political culture of the Left and contributed to teaching this political culture to exiles’ children. As we know, this movement combined folk music with socially committed lyrics, which articulated the vision and the values of the Left. Children heard this music at home, at peñas where their parents performed these songs, and at
concerts where the musicians came to life and where they also heard and saw their parents singing along and chanting *El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido* in unison with other exiles and perhaps joined them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, peñas were shut down and New Chilean Song music was prohibited in Chile and therefore organizing peñas and listening to and performing that music were acts of resistance, which also reinforced the values of the Chilean Left. Through the music and the political accounts children heard at peñas and other events, they learned about an important period of Chilean history, one that was especially significant to their parents.

Matias, who was eighteen when he arrived and thus did not share the exact collective history of exile parents nor their children, was deeply impacted by what he learned from his fellow MIR and MIR Support Group members about the history of the Chilean people, of the Left and the MIR. He explained what he learned through these interactions, which mainly took the form of chatting during activities:

> I think I learned the way we are…about the way we Chileans are and about our history, that’s what I most learned – why we ended up divided, why we ended up united, why we ended up…with such bad people, understand? doing such ugly things, the dictatorship, I learned why…I consider myself terribly fortunate in that sense.

Therefore, though from a different generational position than exiles’ children, Matias also learned a great deal about Chilean history through his experience as an activist in the solidarity movement.

**Breaking Down Boundaries**

Participating in the solidarity movement also created opportunities for exiles to interact with each other and with others in ways they had not experienced before. These experiences were important in terms of how exiles re/constructed their identities and the related processes of re-examining their values. The discussion which follows looks at how these experiences influenced how exiles saw class, gender and sexual diversity.
Class: Crossing the Border between the Middle and Lower Classes

As in most societies class in Chile may be determined by a number of factors and may be tied to other differences, such as race, gender and sexual identity, among others. There are basically three classes in Chile – the lower, middle and upper classes. In Chile class is rooted in its colonial past and many family names are still recognized as aristocratic, such as Castilian, Basque and English surnames. While many of the aristocratic families are wealthy, there are many wealthy individuals and families who are not considered by the aristocracy to be one of them. Therefore, lineage trumps wealth when it comes to membership in the Chilean aristocracy.

Education is another important factor with respect to class and educated people with a good standard of living make up most of the middle class. An educated person can climb the social ladder, particularly those with a highly regarded profession (doctor, lawyer), but it is also crucial to be “cultured.” In Chile a “cultured” person is well-read, worldly and well-mannered.

An educated and cultured person who is not as wealthy as an entrepreneur who may or may not have a formal education, who is not a lady or a gentleman and has a limited view and/or experience of the world enjoys higher social status than the rich entrepreneur. Needless to say, Chileans who do not have an aristocratic family name, nor an education or culture and/or who are blue collar workers are considered the lowest class.248

Given these class differences were present before exiles left Chile and are still present in Chile today, one might expect this social stratification to be present in exile, though few exiles come from aristocratic families. As we learned in previous chapters, a significant proportion of exiles were university educated professionals who came from middle class backgrounds. There were however a considerable number of exiles who had trade and technical backgrounds.

248 The most salient correlate of class in Chile is race. Just as an aristocratic lineage is tied to the colonial history of Chile, so too is a lower class background, with the middle classes being largely mestizo (of mixed Indigenous and European blood), though many may not know or recognize it, and the Indigenous peoples or people with physical features associated with Indigenous peoples often being a part of the lower class.
According to some exiles these class differences were diminished in exile and this was at least in part due to people’s participation in the solidarity movement. Teresa and Pedro explain:

Pedro: I think we became more democratic because there was more contact with people, with our compatriots who were workers [trades, unskilled labourers], who had mid level positions…

Teresa: That’s quite important because Chile, the social classes, you know they don’t mix…and here we realized, that is we learned that, well, we realized that we came together in such a way that nobody paid attention to social class, yeah, we had another common objective…being here, coming together, supporting each other, bring down the Junta…it was beautiful because everyone would get together with everyone, which in Chile [does not happen].

Pedro: And you could see that at a peña, for example.

It seems their identity as exiles who shared a past and a cause created opportunities for people to interact with each other in ways that may not have happened in Chile. It is worth noting, however, that the nature of the socialist project in which exiles were engaged before they left Chile meant that many of them (along with others among the Left in Chile) did cross class boundaries both as allies of the working class and through their professional and political work (which often intermingled). Still, class differences are so ingrained that even among the middle class left, many people did not interact with other social classes before they left Chile. We will return to class in the discussion on intellectuals and praxis in the next chapter.

**Gender: Women and the Private and Public Spheres**

In the previous chapter we discussed the *machista* culture exiles were raised in and the role *machismo* played in group dynamics and the division of labour. While neither women nor men agreed as to the roles and position of women in the solidarity movement, some interesting points about women and the public and private spheres emerged. For example, while Gabriela felt that women and men participated equally, the fact that exiles met at each others’ homes
meant that when the public and private spheres intermingled, it was not always the case. In her own words,

Within the group we were in, I felt we worked on par [with men], basically how we worked in Chile…both participated…but here what happened, because it was more at people’s homes, it was that combination of the political with the domestic, you see, so they become fused. It was kind of equal, but kind of not sometimes.

As Gabriela noted, in Chilean society women were already participating actively in the public sphere, both politically and in the paid workforce. In fact Gabriela explained she was quite taken aback by what she encountered in terms of the position of women in Canada when she arrived:

Within the feminist issue in Canada, you see for me that has been one of the things that surprised me, that is, when you speak of feminism in the public sphere and equal participation at work, so I think well, in Chile we were very advanced, but at the domestic level it’s another story…so, the great liberation on the part of Chilean women here has really been at the domestic level, more than at the public level…the way you live with your husband, you see, on different terms than what we did in Chile.

At the same time, as Gabriela points out, in the private sphere sexism prevailed before exiles left Chile. At home women were responsible for the household and raising the children and in middle and upper class families who hired people to do domestic chores, women were the ones who managed the home. As we can see, that women had made great strides in the public sphere in Chile did not mean sexism did not affect their work in the solidarity movement, particularly because the private and public spheres became blurred as meetings were held in exiles’ homes. I would like to point out that for many women exiles, their participation in the solidarity movement was one experience through which they questioned gender roles and relations of power; the broader context of Canadian society and their interactions with each other and non-Chilean women played a significant and perhaps an even more important role.

Another interesting point is that some women exiles feel women should not let their participation in the public sphere affect what they see as their responsibilities in the private sphere, especially when it comes to motherhood. In Chile Adela worked outside of the home
until she was about to have her first child and while she did not work outside the home in Canada, she was active in the solidarity movement. As we can see in the following passage Adela was particularly struck by what women who were very politically active did:

Adela: How many political women, political, neglected their children because they were involved here and there...Why? For what? I think many of those women think, was it really worth it to have done that?

Carolina: And what about the husbands?

Adela: Men always think differently, you see, because women have their, women think differently, act differently, we are different, reinterpret differently and to arrive in Canada and think and that women are different when one leaves Chile.

On one hand it seems that from Adela’s perspective women are responsible for their children’s well-being. While it may be true that women are usually the ones who are the main caregivers in their families (not only to their children, but often partners, parents and other family members), Adela seems to think it is particularly disgraceful for women to dedicate so much time to political work. Neglecting one’s family is not in the children or the family’s best interest whether it is women or men who neglect their families. On the other hand, while Adela’s comments seem to indicate that she thinks men cannot be expected to be concerned with household and family responsibilities because they think differently, she may have also been concerned that if men did not do it, then women had to because somebody had to care about the children and the family’s well-being.

Adela also seems to think that Chilean women somehow changed when they left Chile. Given Gabriela’s comments it is evident that many Chilean women did challenge gender roles in the private sphere. Some couples were capable of negotiating this, while others ended up divorced. As we know, many Chilean women (middle class women in particular) were already active in the public sphere before they left Chile. Depending on the woman, Chilean women may or may not have been as involved politically in Chile as in Canada, however, most of the women
I interviewed worked outside the home in Chile and many participated in a variety of political and social organizations, which presumably means being a mother and a spouse were not their only roles. Whether or not the transformations many women exiles underwent in terms of their private and public lives are positive seems to depend on each woman’s point of view.

The fusion of public and private spheres in the solidarity movement affected not only group dynamics, but also division of labour. As we saw in the previous chapter, there was no clear consensus among exiles about whether the division of labour was gendered. While most exiles – women and men alike – asserted that the division of labour was not for the most part based on gender, several women stated in their groups it was only women who made empanadas, for example. We also saw that even women who stated both women and men performed all kinds of tasks also called on women when they were responsible for what is traditionally considered women’s work. This was strongly related to the capacities associated with gender roles. For example, Gabriela stated that “women were going to make cakes, not men, because the women knew how to do it” (emphasis mine). Recall also that Samuel claimed that it was more appropriate for women to take on certain tasks and men others because, for example in the case of making empanadas, “women have more abilities for that” (emphasis mine). Matias also explained that the division of labour took place according to each person’s capacities and since “women spoke better than men…there was in and of itself a natural ability for certain tasks that men did not carry out” (emphasis mine). While Matias’ statement could be construed as a positive observation, it is based on a characteristic that he feels is inherently a characteristic of women. In all three cases, exiles refer to the knowledge and skills women could contribute based solely on the fact that they are women.

An important learning process related to gender in the case of groups in which both women and men cooked is that men learned to do things traditionally associated with women.
For example, men learned to make empanadas and other Chilean food which was often sold at peñas or directly to the public. This is significant because “the cooking thing fundamentally belonged to women…[but] an important change took place here, everyone learned to make empanadas, including those who had never cooked in their entire lives” (Alberto, Interview). While Alberto is referring to men, it was not only men, but some women who had to learn to make empanadas and other Chilean food they had never made before. As one of the characters in Carmen Rodríguez’s books states, “Imagine that I even learned to make empanadas! You know that I never made them while I lived in Chile, but here I had to learn and not only that, I had to learn to make five hundred at a time!” (1997, p. 159). For exiles of all backgrounds, it may have been grandmothers, mothers, and aunts who made empanadas or maybe they bought them. For many coming from a middle class background the maid had always cooked and in this sense learning to cook also involved crossing a class boundary because many middle class women were not used to carrying out tasks associated with lower classes.

**Sexuality and Sexual Identity: Encountering Sexual Diversity**

Also tied to the re-examination of values are exiles’ experiences with what was then referred to as the lesbian and gay community. While today in Canadian society sexual diversity is understood more broadly than in the mid 1970s, when exiles arrived coming into contact with people who they perceived as gay was way outside their comfort zone and exiles who are gay were not openly so at the time. The hypermasculinity and sexism of the *machista* culture in which they were raised meant that few exiles were accepting of or had any intentional contact with what today we would call the LGBTTQ community. Exiles had allies among the non-Chilean Left and some people who were part of the LGBTTQ community supported the solidarity movement, often attending events. Francisco and Gabriela recalled one of their first (conscious) encounters at a peña:
Francisco: At the first peñas one of the groups which supported us were the gays…we were with the marginalized groups…there was dancing and there was a gay [man] who asked a Chilean man, asked him to dance. It was one of a kind because he was not gay at all, and he, well, great, for solidarity he danced with him and in fact I remember that in some of the meetings afterwards…organizing a peña and some of the compañeros would say, “well, but let’s not get involved with the [gay community]”

Carolina: How interesting.

Gabriela: We were revolutionaries, but not to that extent.

Francisco: Yes, exactly.

Despite their initial discomfort, the Chilean man was willing to dance with the gay man in the interest of solidarity, but as Gabriela explains they were open minded, but not enough to get too close to the LGBTTQ community. Gabriela went on to explain that these experiences did prompt some exiles to reflect on their values: “the gay compañero who asked us to dance [we asked ourselves] and what is this? There is also a different value system.” That she used the word compañero also shows how much they appreciated the LGBTTQ community’s support.

**Raising Critical Awareness among the Public**

As we saw with one of the opening quotes, Chilean exiles felt an incredible urgency to reach the public, not only to mobilize support, but to teach them about Chile and about themselves. Solidarity movement messages were multifaceted and they were articulated and communicated through a variety of media. In this second part of the chapter we examine movement messages and the how they were articulated through music, through actions which simultaneously documented what had happened in Chile before and after the coup and taught the public about these events, through the signs and leaflets employed and distributed at demonstrations and picket lines, and through the program on Coop radio and the newsletters they published.
The Message

The overarching message activists in the solidarity movement consistently conveyed to the public in Vancouver and elsewhere was about the coup and its aftermath and unwavering commitment of the transnational solidarity movement. Initially the message non-Chileans sought to communicate to the public included three main themes: 1) that the Junta had come to power through a violent coup which resulted in the death of Allende, a democratically elected president, and that thousands had been killed, imprisoned and tortured; 2) that the Government of Canada ought to rescind its recognition of the Junta; and 3) that Chilean refugees be allowed into Canada. Drawing attention to the growing international solidarity movement was also central from the outset. In addition, once Chileans began arriving in Canada in early 1974, it became important to publicize the treatment of Chilean refugees because they were not being given the same assistance as refugees who had arrived since the 1950s.

As Chilean exiles continued to arrive and become active in the solidarity movement the initial themes of the message became more nuanced. For exiles denouncing the Junta was also paramount, not only because its actions were deplorable, but because they and/or their family and friends had lived the Junta’s atrocities. It was also important to exiles to explain that they experienced life during the UP government and that their dream had been crushed in the most violent possible way. Exiles explained this in the editorial of the first issue of Venceremos:

A brutal and bloody fascist coup occurred [sic] in our country, interrupting and drowning the process of advance towards socialism initiated under the constitutional government of President Allende. It has unleashed a repression more inhumane than any since the time of Hitler...of 40,000 murdered, of jails and concentration camps, of the uncountable thousands of prisoners of the Junta, subjects of the most inhuman and sophisticated tortures...[we] were witness to or participated in the great social and economic renovation project initiated by President Allende [and] as such we knew and lived the different achievements of the Popular Unity...the fascist coup drowned all this in blood and fire, the fruit of a long and bitter struggle delivered into the open arms of foreign and national capital (vol. 1, no.1, May, 1975).
Like the early message broadcast by non-Chileans immediately after the coup, exiles stressed that “the international solidarity with our country is impressive; each day it grows, solidifies and hits the dictatorship a bit harder.” These initial messages were not solely directed to the Canadian public, they also communicated to the Junta and to Chileans in Chile that even though their socialist dream had been shattered the Chilean Left and the socialist vision was alive, and that since the exiled Chilean Left was taking action together with non-Chileans all over the world, the resistance in Chile was not alone. Exiles were also sending this message to themselves because it affirmed that their political and ethnoculture was valuable and reinforced that they were doing everything in their power to support the resistance in Chile from abroad.

Several exiles discussed how important it was for them to teach the public about Chile’s tradition of democracy, an integral part of the Chilean political culture not only of the Left, but of broad sectors of Chilean society. Antonio explained that

Our primary interest was that the Canadian public know about what there was in Chile…At first people didn’t understand much what was happening because many didn’t know of Chile, so for us, the work was mainly educational…there was a democracy and that democracy ended and people were taken prisoner because they thought differently.

Emilio emphasized Chile’s tradition of democracy much like Canada’s, which he still does today, because he feels that Canadians think all Latin American countries have the same history:

Here in Canada you speak with people and they look at you and think “another dictatorship in Latin America, what else is new”…I sometimes say to Canadians, I say “and would that [a dictatorship] be strange to you?” “Well, sure.” Well, for us it was the same. Chile was the only country in Latin America that, the only one of the twenty-one countries there were, in which there had never been a dictatorship, there had never been a military coup.249

Emilio was also concerned with the Canadian public’s general impression of the Latin American countries, and therefore how they saw Chile:

249 Since interviews were conducted in Spanish, italicized words indicate exiles said them in English. It is not entirely accurate that Chile was the only country which had never had a dictatorship. Uruguay had not had a dictatorship, however, there was a coup there in 1973 after the one in Chile.
I remember that for me it was very important that the Canadians we spoke with didn’t think that Chile was another *banana republic* like the ones they were familiar with and tell them that it was different, the people were cultured, the country was civilized, that the police were not corrupt and that it was a decent country, basically decent.\(^{250}\)

CDC also communicated to the public that Chile had a long democratic tradition, often emphasizing that the Junta had killed the “democratically elected president,” urging the Canadian public to act to “restore democracy in Chile” and fuelling hope by stating that “the fall of democracy” would not last long.

The first messages quickly expanded to include the importance of isolating the Junta politically and economically, which along with on-going human rights violations committed by the Junta, the resistance in Chile and continuous responses of the solidarity movement, were persistent themes as time passed and the Junta remained in power. For example, in an article titled the “Viable Democracies – The Resistance is Growing” in the March-May 1978 issue of *Venceremos* (vol. 3, no. 7) the authors centred on two dimensions of the political situation in Chile – the dictatorship and the bourgeoisie, and the resistance and the Left – in order to “define the most important and urgent tasks that we must carry out” abroad. The article reminds readers of the coup and continued state of siege and that “there has been an extraordinary strengthening of the spirit of unity in the resistance.” The same issue also carried several articles on the campaign against Noranda’s investments in Chile. The link between human rights violations and the consequences of economically supporting the Junta was also integral to the message. Not only did it keep the Junta in power, which meant the repression would continue, Chilean goods were produced under unfair labour codes and national revenues did not reach the poorest sectors of Chilean society.

\(^{250}\) This statement could be read as a nationalistic assertion that looks down on some Latin American countries, particularly Central American ones. However, above all I think what Emilio was trying to do was dispel the myths he felt Canadians believed (and many still do believe) about Latin America.
The human rights discourse through which messages were framed did not only inform the public of grave violations of basic human rights such as death, disappearance and torture, it also informed the public of violations of political, cultural, social and economic rights. As exiles pointed out

the action of the dictatorship signifies the absolute abolition of all workers [sic] organizations and of their right to try to better their living conditions, income and work conditions; it has prohibited all political parties and any expression of Constitutional State Powers…all expressions of our culture have been silenced (Venceremos, vol.1, no.1).

The silencing of “our culture” is a specific reference to the ban on any cultural expression associated with the Left because the Junta promoted cultural forms which served their purposes in reconfiguring Chileans’ collective identity after the coup. For example, folk music tied to the New Chilean Song was banned, but folk music which evoked the rural elite was elevated. The Junta drew on the image of the upper class huaso, the Chilean cowboy, who embodies the traditional, rural values that were the foundation upon which the Chilean republic was built, to establish the connection between what the Junta forwarded as patriotic values and the new order.251 Abroad exiles invoked symbols of the Chilean Left and its project, including but not limited to Salvador Allende and Victor Jara. They also invoked fascist symbols like the swastika, which they linked to the Junta, as we saw in the image in the last chapter of the first issue of Venceremos.

Another message exiles communicated to the public was their right to enter and live in Chile, often carrying placards at demonstrations which read “Chileans demand to live in Chile.” As we know many exiles were prohibited entry to Chile and their passports were not renewed. The violation of this human right sometimes made it into the news, as illustrated by an article in The Globe and Mail in March 1983 titled “Chile’s promise to exiles rings hollow” published

251 The huaso has a double image as an upper class cowboy who is a landowner and a gentleman, directly descended from the Spanish conquistadores, and as a poor cowboy who works the land, lacks sophistication and is likely of mixed blood.
after the Junta made public its third list of 300 exiles who could enter Chile, while the Chilean Human Rights Commission estimated 200,000 Chileans could not return. The image below shows a sticker, which expresses the demand for the right to live in Chile. At the top it reads THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN ONE’S OWN COUNTRY and at the bottom it reads CHILE WILL OVERCOME.

Image 10 – The Right to Live in Chile

(Used with permission of Janet)

Communicating and Articulating the Message

A range of media and actions were used to raise critical awareness among the public. As the quotes from above illustrate, public awareness was not only important for building support, but had intrinsic value in teaching the public about Chile. Solidarity movement activists expressed and got their messages across through actions like demonstrations and hunger strikes, which were aimed at getting the mass media’s attention, and speaking tours, which brought the public and groups which supported the solidarity movement together to learn about and discuss the situation in Chile and solidarity actions. The program on Coop Radio and newsletters were also used as avenues through which messages were constantly articulated and communicated to the public.

252 The 200,000 figure of Chileans who could not return includes those who were prohibited entry and those who did not feel safe entering Chile.
Culture was perhaps the most important medium through which solidarity movement messages were articulated because exiles recognized that “through culture many doors open” (Blanca, Interview). Exiles emphasized the value of organizing cultural events to convey their message and reach more people. As Matias said, “culture was the medium, it was the medium we used to carry our message…if you called someone to listen to you talk about Chile, some would come out, but if you organized a cultural event, many more were going to show up.” In this section we will begin by examining how culture, expressed through various artistic forms, facilitated raising critical awareness among the public then turn to other channels activists in the solidarity movement employed.

**The Power of Music**

Music played a fundamental role in our solidarity work…because it became an instrument for communication which could not have been replaced by anything else.

> - Pilar

Music was one of the most powerful tools exiles mobilized to communicate their message. The music of the New Chilean Song movement articulated a political message to mobilize solidarity and expressed the political culture of the Chilean Left. As Matias explained “the content of the music was not cultural, it was purely political, it was a political message, it was protest music, it was music from the New Chilean Trova…we did not play salsa or any of those things” because music like salsa was for dances and did not convey a political message. It was not only the political content, but the strong emotions the music expressed and evoked that was so powerful in communicating the message. Pilar, who was a member of the two exile folk groups Cormorán and Resistencia recalled that “we sang songs by Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Illapu, Violeta [Parra], Víctor Jara, Patricio Manns…it communicated not only the words and the

253 The New Chilean Song was part of a larger New Song movement in Latin America which is sometimes referred to as the Nueva Trova. In Cuba it was known as the Nueva Trova Cubana.
intellectual content or the analysis, but the emotional part.” To understand why this music was/is so powerful for exiles and for the solidarity movement, we will briefly examine the significance of the New Chilean Song movement to the political and cultural atmosphere of the 1960s and the UP years in Chile, and to exile.

The New Chilean Song movement was part of a larger New Song Movement in Latin America, particularly associated with Chile, Argentina, and Cuba. In Argentina, it is known as the Nuevo Cancionero movement and among its most well-known artists is Mercedes Sosa. In Cuba the movement is known as the Nueva Trova Cubana and includes artists like Silvio Rodríguez. At a time when a revolutionary spirit permeated Latin America, the New Song movement brought folk music and socially committed lyrics together through the cultural expression of song. Movement artists articulated the socialist and pre-colonial vision of Chile and Latin America and many of the Indigenous instruments they played harked back to the Indigenous roots of Chile and Latin America, as did the names of many groups. Inti-Illimani means sun of Illinani, a mountain in Bolivia, and Ilapu means lighting bolt, both in Quechua, the language of the Quechua Indigenous peoples of the Andean region, which today borders Chile, Peru and Bolivia. Quilapayún means three bearded men in the Mapudungun language of the Mapuche Indigenous peoples of southern Chile.

In Chile, the New Chilean Song movement was born within a cultural movement stimulated by Pablo Neruda. In the early 1950s, Violeta Parra travelled throughout the country compiling and thus recovering Chilean folk music and laying the foundation for what became the New Chilean Song. Two of her children, Ángel and Isabel Parra, were later instrumental in the development of the movement, not least because they established and performed at the Peña de los Parra which was frequented by many of the most influential movement artists, including Victor Jara who was a regular and a friend of Ángel Parra, Patricio Manns and many others.
Many peñas were established throughout Chile after the *Peña de los Parra*, notably in universities where they were run by student federations. Among other well-known peñas which emerged later were *Chile Ríe y Canta* [Chile Laughs and Sings] and the peña at the Universidad Técnica del Estado [State Technical University] where Inti-Illimani was born. Víctor Jara met Quilapayún at a peña in Valparaiso, a large port city close to Santiago, and later became their artistic director between 1966 and 1969 (Jara, 2008). These and other movement artists went from peña to peña playing and sharing their music with audiences and with each other.

The New Chilean Song movement officially got its name in 1969 with the First Festival of the New Chilean Song. Víctor Jara explains what the music means to him:

Committed music, revolutionary music, protest song or new Chilean song, why so many names? We only know one: popular song. Popular because it is born fundamentally from the existence of the people, from the working class, of which it expresses the individual and collective histories that official History has ignored and continues to ignore. It is a committed song in the sense that the work and action of the creator can be identified in popular sentiments. It is revolutionary because it struggles against the cultural penetration of imperialism and seeks to return the authentic cultural values which determine a national identity. It is new, finally, because on ce immersed in these values, it is destined to create new society in which music will no longer be commercial, rather it can exalt, be it its content or in its form, the most noble sentiments of the human family.

With the example of Violeta, many young composers and interpreters adopt that language because the people themselves fuel it: they go out on the streets and begin to struggle to obtain a popular triumph. Violeta showed the way and her song was definitive for the youth.

Víctor Jara’s work reflects his understanding of the revolutionary song of the movement, which we can see in these verses of his song *El Lazo* [The Lasso]:

Sus manos siendo tan viejas
eran fuertes para trenzar,
eran rudas y eran tiernas
con el cuero del animal

His hands despite their age
were strong for braiding,
they were coarse and they were tender
with the animal leather

---

254 Víctor Jara had studied theatre and was a professor of the School of Theatre and director of the Institute of Theatre at the University of Chile. Theatre was his first passion, but he became a (self-taught) singer-songwriter because music enabled him to articulate his concern for a more socially just world through a form of expression he loved. Like Violeta Parra, he also travelled Chile and particularly the southern region learning, compiling and giving voice to folk music organic to rural communities.

255 Aside from works cited, information on the New Chilean Song Movement and Víctor Jara quotes come from the Fundación Víctor Jara [Víctor Jara Foundation] website and can be found at http://www.fundacionvictorjara.cl/sitio/inicio.html in the Vida y obra de Víctor - biography section.
El lazo como serpiente
se enroscaba en el nogal
y en cada lazo la huella
de su vida y de su pan

The lasso like a serpent
would coil around the walnut tree
and in each lasso a fingerprint
of his life and his bread

Cuánto tiempo hay en sus manos
y en su apagado mirar
y nadie ha dicho está bueno,
ya no debes trabajar

How much time there is in his hands
and in the dim look of his eyes
and nobody has said it is enough
you should work no longer

This song was inspired by an elderly man Víctor and his family visited during their weekend trips to the mountains and the central valley of Chile and like so many of his songs became “songs which were human portraits of peasants in these areas, with their work, their problems, their hopes” (Jara, 2008).

New Chilean Song movement artists were so integral to the project of the Left that the song *Venceremos* was written first by Sergio Ortega and Víctor Jara for Allende’s 1970 presidential campaign (Jara, 2008) and the lyrics were later adapted by Claudio Iturra.256 Inti-Illimani put together *Canto al Programa*, an album dedicated to the UP government program released shortly after the UP electoral victory. Movement artists performed these and numerous other songs at rallies, universities, union events and among peasants before and during the UP government. Their music became widely available through the record label DICAP, Discoteca de Cantar Popular [Popular Song Records], created by the Communist Youth in 1968, which enabled movement artists to record and distribute music which large commercial record labels would not touch (Jara, 2008).

The music of the New Chilean Song articulated and fuelled the vision of the Left in Chile and just as the beauty of the music and the lyrics had inspired the political imagination of millions in Chile, so too its power was harnessed by exiles to teach and mobilize the public and

---

256 Sergio Ortega was an important figure of the New Chilean Song movement who composed some of the key pieces of the movement. He was exiled in France where he died in 2003. Claudio Iturra wrote the lyrics to *Venceremos*. I have not been able to find any other information on him.
to energize the solidarity movement. Many exiles concurred that political speeches were not the best way to reach the public. As Pilar pointed out “if we wanted support, if we wanted to expand solidarity, if we wanted to hook Canadians and other Latin Americans, whoever…we couldn’t make speeches,” instead they needed to “integrate the political with the cultural with the sensory with the emotional.” Alberto recounted how with time they became experts in organizing peñas and they were therefore “more sophisticated.” At some peñas they showed slides with photos of Chile, other parts of Latin America, Viet Nam, whatever “politically motivated Canadians at the time was projected on the wall” (Alberto, Interview). Pilar explained how they created a multisensory experience at peñas:

The messages, the information was between songs, in all of the introduction of the peña, report the latest news of what was happening, but brief and then in introducing, presenting each song…we related it to the current moment, what was happening in that field. And that’s how between each song there was a new message, but it was reinforced with the music, it was reinforced with the slides, it was reinforced with the bite of the empanada and the sip of wine, which was not Chilean, but then there was the explanation as to why the wine was not Chilean.

This approach of integrating the political and the cultural created an experience which engaged all the senses and thus enabled them to drive home the message in ways the public could connect with intellectually, emotionally and physically. Also important to communicating the message was that the non-Spanish speaking public understand the lyrics of the songs, words of the poems they heard and the news reports given during the introduction of the peña, so reports were given in Spanish and in English and poems and song lyrics were translated and circulated among the audience. For example, a program for a cultural event at which Cormorán performed, titled “For Chile with Poems & Songs” (n.d.),\(^{257}\) includes the English words for a poem by Pablo Neruda and the lyrics for songs by Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara.

\(^{257}\) While no date appears on the program, the event had to have taken place in the mid 1970s because the exile musical group Cormorán performed at the event, which according to Pilar, dissolved around 1976.
It was not only musical groups that performed at peñas. Folk dance groups were also integral to peñas and other events. Dance troupes would travel, performing at different events to broadcast their message. Blanca explained that when her group performed at a union meeting attended by leaders from various provinces “our message was for people to learn about our culture, who we Chileans were who were fleeing a dictatorship in Chile…asking them directly for their solidarity, the union because in Chile we union leaders were being persecuted.”

Likewise, Pilar recalled several trips Cormorán and Resistencia made in B.C., Alberta and to Seattle. Similar to peñas, the message was articulated through the music and “between one song and another, recounting what had happened and the people understanding, understanding and supporting [it] and at the end they were all on their feet applauding like crazy.”

Concerts were another important cultural event that mobilized music as the medium through which solidarity movement messages were conveyed to the public. Recall that Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani were touring in Europe when the coup occurred. In exile these groups, along with other artists like Illapu and Ángel and Isabel Parra, continued the New Chilean Song tradition, performing for audiences across the world, thus fuelling morale. The photograph below was taken when Quilapayún performed in Vancouver in 1981.
As we know, much of the repertoire performed by exile folk music groups at peñas and other cultural events featured their songs and many of the same instruments, all of which were acts of resistance in and of themselves. Above we learned that among the two most significant songs exiles and New Chilean Song Movement artists sang were *Venceremos*, the anthem of the UP and *El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido*, the slogan turned song of the UP and the anthem of exile. It is worth exploring the lyrics of these songs in order to understand the political message they sent.

Recall *Venceremos* was written for Allende’s presidential campaign. As Víctor Jara explains, by this time the New Chilean Song had evolved to the point that “during the Popular Unity campaign in 1970, this [New Chilean] song manifested its full maturity. Its banner was the one that defended the people: anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical, against injustice and exploitation.” We will look at the first verse and the chorus of this song (there are several verses before the chorus).
Desde el hondo crisol de la patria
Se levanta el clamor popular,
Ya se anuncia la nueva alborada
Todo Chile comienza a cantar

Venceremos, venceremos
Mil cadenas habrá que romper
Venceremos, venceremos
La miseria (al fascismo) sabremos vencer

Venceremos surely spoke to much of the public, since it shared its title with We Shall Overcome, the well-known protest song popularized by folk singers like Pete Seeger and Joan Baez in the early 1960s.\textsuperscript{258}

El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido is perhaps even more powerful than Venceremos, since it became so widely sung and chanted across Latin America and the world. The slogan, chanted amid the sectarianism of the Left, was a call for unity. The song was written and performed in 1973 months before the coup in Chile and after the coup by exiled groups and later appeared on Quilapayún’s 1975 album of the same title. Again we will look at the first verse and chorus of this song.

\begin{align*}
El pueblo unido jamás será vencido & \quad \text{The people united will never be defeated} \\
El pueblo unido jamás será vencido & \quad \text{The people united will never be defeated} \\
De pie, cantar & \quad \text{Stand up, sing} \\
que vamos a triunfar & \quad \text{because we will triumph} \\
Avanzan ya & \quad \text{The banners of unity} \\
banderas de unidad & \quad \text{are already advancing} \\
Y tú vendrás & \quad \text{And you will come} \\
marchando junto a mí & \quad \text{marching next to me} \\
Y así verás & \quad \text{And that’s how you will see}
\end{align*}

\footnote{258}{This last line of the chorus had two versions. The first version of the song was written by Víctor Jara and Sergio Ortega (Jara, 1983, 2008) and the lyrics referred to the upcoming 1970 election. The lyrics were later modified by Claudio Iturra. This is the second version, the one which was the anthem of the UP.}

\footnote{259}{Of interest to adult educators is that Pete Seeger learned We Shall Overcome in 1946 from Zilphia Horton, who was the music director at the Highlander Folk School (and Myles Horton’s wife). She had learned the gospel hymn from striking tobacco workers from South Carolina (Seeger & Reiser, 1989).}
tu canto y tu bandera florecer
La luz
de un rojo amanecer
Anuncia ya
la vida que vendrá

Y ahora el pueblo
que se alza en la lucha
Con voz de gigante
Gritando ¡adelante!

El pueblo unido jamás será vencido
El pueblo unido jamás será vencido

Like Venceremos, El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido puts culture at the centre of the project of the Chilean Left. It is through the collective “voice of a giant” that the people sing and who together see their song and vision blossom.

Exiles had sung these songs at rallies, they had lived the birth and evolution of the New Chilean Song movement and of socialism in Chile, and they had lived the UP’s electoral victory and its three years of joys and challenges. Exiles had also lived the bloody coup and brutal repression that ensued, and witnessed the destruction of their dream and their achievements. The music not only evoked the vision exiles had worked so hard to make a reality, it evoked strong emotions of the times they had lived in Chile. Like the artists of the movement who toured the globe, exiles brought the music that was so much a part of their political culture with them and mobilized it to teach the public and build support. The music of the New Chilean Song movement communicated their message and evoked emotions among the public who attended cultural events, particularly the Canadian Left, which was already so politicized when exiles arrived.

**Bearing Witness**

As with music, several other forms of artistic expression articulated and communicated solidarity movement messages. Theatre, film and arpilleras engaged the public critically by
teaching them about the pre and post-coup history of Chile. Likewise, hunger strikes garnered media attention about human right violations and speaking tours brought Chileans from Chile to give current accounts of these violations. This section is organized around bearing witness because theatre, film, arpilleras, hunger strikes and speaking tours were in large part about testimony and documentation.

**Theatre and film**

Theatre was an important cultural avenue for raising critical awareness and often included music as an important dimension of the production. In December of 1976, Pilar was involved with a play called *The Chile Show*. The play came about as an initiative of two UBC professors who contacted the CDHRC and created the piece based on interviews conducted with Pilar and others. The exile group *Resistencia*, and therefore Pilar, also performed during the play. According to a review in *The Ubyssey* (Morton, December 3, 1976), the play was a series of vignettes about “the Salvadore [sic] Allende tragedy, the perverse actions of the ruling Junta, and the situation in Chile today.” The play, therefore, communicated the message exiles sought to convey and garnered support for the solidarity movement. In fact, the article states that the director said “the reason *The Chile Show* was put together is to support the Chilean Resistance.” Pilar recalled that the play “debuted in the Fredrick Wood Theatre…and a few months later [the director] managed to get the Vancouver East Cultural Centre and the play was done there for a week with excellent reviews from the media, with a full house every night…it had an enormous impact.” This is certainly reflected in the review in *The Ubyssey* in which Morton raves that “*The Chile Show* is the most captivating production I have ever seen on this campus.” Likewise, the Chilean Calgary Association theatre group put on a play called *The Night of the Soldier*, which toured a number of Canadian cities and which, according to Blanca, was well received by the Canadian public.
Another example is *Stories and Songs of Chile*, a play sponsored by CDC in 1979 as part of September events that year. The production was written and performed by Media Vita Theatre Group, a loose association of Vancouver actors and writers who did political theatre and wrote the play for the event. This production also featured music performed by members of a troupe called Bargain at Half the Price and other singers and musicians, including Raul Figueroa, a Chilean exile (Stories and Songs of Chile Program, 1979) who on many previous occasions had performed “in hopes of bringing the message of his people to Canadians through his music” (CDC event announcement letter, 1979). The solidarity movement message came through loud and clear in this production which “concerns itself with events in Chile from 1970 through to the present, seen through the eyes of four major characters who were active in them…[and] deeply concerns itself with the tasks that confront the international solidarity movement today” (CDC event announcement letter, 1979). In addition, the lyrics of several songs printed in the program evoke strikingly similar themes (unity) and even words (lights and banners blossoming) as the songs of the New Chilean Song movement we examined above.

The CDHRC was particularly active in screening films on Chile. During Chile Week at UBC in 1978 CDHRC showed several films (The Ubyssey ‘Tween Classes listings, February 28, 1978), including *When the People Awake* and *To the People of the World*. Filmed between September 1972 and March 1973, the former follows the revolutionary process through interviews with workers, peasants and shantytown dwellers, as well as the Chilean elite. Released in 1975, the latter reports on human rights violations and political prisoners and features an interview with Laura Allende. These films were also shown as part of the September activities organized by Vancouver Popular Unity and the CDHRC in 1979. Numerous other films, many of which were made by Chilean exiles, were also shown in Vancouver and around the globe. Perhaps one of the most well-known of these is Patricio Guzman’s *The Battle of Chile*,

347
a three-part documentary which records the UP years and the coup through footage filmed as events unfolded.

**Arpilleras**

As we know, *arpilleras* are tapestries made by women political prisoners, families of the disappeared and shantytown dwellers. While today many associate *arpilleras* with their work, they were made in a different style before the period of dictatorship. Violeta Parra, who was not only a singer-songwriter, but a poet, painter and sculptor made *arpilleras* by embroidering large (more than 1 metre by 1 metre) pieces of cloth.\(^{260}\) Her work inspired both a group of women known as *las bordadoras de Macul* (an area of Santiago) [the embroiderers of Macul] who in 1970 began making *arpilleras* depicting their experiences and later inspired the *arpilleras* made by women political prisoners, families of the disappeared and shantytown dwellers after 1973. These *arpilleras* had a new style and purpose. Violeta Morales, who was searching for her brother who disappeared in 1974, recalls how the idea of creating *arpilleras* with their own hallmark came about:

> At first, we didn’t even have enough money for the minivan that brought us to the offices of Pro-Paz. From the despair emerged the idea of making *arpilleras*. We began by remembering the embroiderers of Macul and the works of Violeta Parra, but we wanted to do something different. We didn’t want to make something that would function as a decoration. We wanted to design a handmade product that would denounce what we and our country were living. We wanted to tell people about our personal experiences through our own clothing. We wanted to embroider our story, the harsh and sad story of our ruined country. At first, we had problems getting the materials, especially the cloth and the wool. So, we got the idea of cutting up our own clothes and unraveling our sweaters to make the first *arpilleras*. We opened our workshop in 1974, but we didn’t go public until 1975 (quoted in Agosín, 2008, p. 88).

Violeta Parra’s *arpilleras* also depicted injustice. In an interview in 1965, she responded to a question about one of her arpilleras titled Peasant Revolt with “My grandfather was a peasant and his *patrón* paid him very little, like all the peasants of Chile to this day. This reality

\(^{260}\) In 1964 Violeta Parra showed her work at an exhibition at the Louvre in Paris.
moved me to do this work because it infuriates me and I can’t sit back and do nothing.” What was new about the *arpilleras* made after 1973 was not that they depicted injustice, but that they denounced large scale grave human rights abuses and the extreme poverty in which people lived during the dictatorship and that they were made as a matter of physical and emotional survival.

The artistic techniques used by *arpilleristas* also differed from previous ones. For example, often small dolls were made and sewn on, enhancing the three-dimensional effect and the scraps used to make the appliqués sometimes came from the clothing of missing relatives.

After the offices of the Committee for Cooperation for Peace were closed and the Vicariate of Solidarity was established, Violeta Morales recounts that her group’s *arpillera* workshop moved there and “through the Vicariate [they] also channelled shipments of *arpilleras* abroad, especially to Canada, France and the United States” (quoted in Agosin, 2008, p. 89).

Many exiles recalled selling *arpilleras* and some brought suitcases full back with them when they visited Chile. Matias related that on one of his trips he went to the prison in Valparaiso, a coastal city close to Santiago, where they gave him 150 arpilleras to take back to Vancouver. Matias’ group sold these and other *arpillera* shipments at the Vancouver Folk Music Festival.

He explained that since each *arpillera* told a story he had to learn the stories too:

> We had to have someone who would tell the story, where they came from, that they were from political prisoners, that it was to raise funds for them and the story of each arpillera had to be told…it was very beautiful work, very, the art itself of the arpillera was very refined in telling the story and teaching work was done, for example, with all the people who went…they would send 500 arpilleras, something like that and we sold them all during that weekend. We sold them at twenty or thirty dollars each…We did that for several years and it was interesting to tell the story, that part was interesting, very beautiful.

As Matias points out, what they were doing was teaching the public about the women who made the *arpilleras* and through the story told by each *arpillera*, they were educating the public about

---

the situation in Chile. *Arpilleras* depicted scenes of everyday life under the dictatorship – a woman dancing the *cueca* alone, a woman being tortured, shantytowns with wires connecting shacks to the main electrical lines in order to have electricity, communal soup kitchens, protests and repression, an airplane with the word exile on it. These images were powerful ways for *arpilleristas* to communicate their sorrow and their strength and to generate an income. It was also a powerful way for solidarity movement activists abroad to teach the public by conveying that message. The images below show an *arpillera* that depicts the desire of exiles to return to Chile and the economic hardship of living under the Pinochet regime. In the second *arpillera* shown below, the banner held by workers in front of a union building states “Right to Work” and on the factory building on the right it states “There are no Vacancies.”

**Image 12 – Retorno**

(Used with permission of Antonio)
Hunger strikes

As with arpilleras, hunger strikes were another transnational effort solidarity movement activists organized to teach the public about what was happening in Chile. Of course hunger strikes garnered media attention, but they also drew attention to the plight of the disappeared and in doing so served to document the gross human rights violations taking place in Chile. Pilar recalled the last day of the strike:

The four of us who were left went, the media went with us to the Chilean Consulate with television cameras and everything and all we wanted was to speak with the Consul and they slammed the door in our face, literally. They didn’t know we were coming, right? So we rang the doorbell, they opened the door and when they realized the cameras were there and that we were there “Bang!” And all that was on the news.

The reaction the strikers and the media got at the Consulate, which represents the Chilean government and at the time represented the Junta, would also have shown the public watching the news that the regime was not happy with how solidarity movement actions affected their international image, thus legitimating the claims made in solidarity movement messages.
Consequently through the hunger strike, the public learned about the Junta’s human rights violations and about the commitment and resolve of the transnational solidarity movement.

**Speaking tours**

When high profile exiles like Hortensia Bussi (Allende’s widow) and Laura Allende (Allende’s sister) spoke to large crowds they sought to teach the public about the democratic tradition of Chile, the coup and the atrocities committed by the Junta. Hortensia Bussi who visited Canada in late 1973 was concerned with denouncing the Junta, but she also wanted to make the situation of exiles known so that the Canadian government would open its doors to exiles seeking refuge (The Ubyssey, November 30, 1973). According to CDC, she also had a strong message for solidarity movement activists as she spoke at length about the importance of unity (CDC statement, n.d.), something she hoped the Chilean Left had learned and perhaps the non-Chilean Left too. While we know from exiles that Laura Allende’s visit had quite the opposite effect, she too hoped to teach the public about the gross human rights violations of the Junta, which she experienced herself during her detention.

While these high profile speakers surely made a substantial impression on the public, many speakers sponsored by solidarity movement groups and allies who continued to live in Chile also significantly impacted the public with their stories. As a leader of the AFDD, Ana María Gonzalez taught the public about the “struggles of the thousands of families who have to cope with the emotional and economic battles of living under a ruthless dictatorship, never knowing what has become of their loved ones” (Event Program, May 31, 1983). Sharing her personal story with “her audiences about that day in 1976 when half her family disappeared” (Farrow, The Vancouver Sun, June 1, 1983) would have been a powerful way of communicating to the public the very real pain and hardship endured by families under the regime.
During his tour Patricio Lanfranco, president of the ACU taught the public about cultural life under the regime and about determination. He spotlighted the cultural blackout imposed on the Chilean people explaining that a guitar was deemed as threatening as a pamphlet. This did not stop students from organizing cultural activities, which began with a small but significant event that eventually led to the formation of the ACU. It took three attempts for a person to sing and play in the cafeteria of the university:

We had three meetings to figure out how to get the guitar in there. Finally we decided one person would bring the guitar in a car, another would carry the guitar from the car to the singer, a third would sing…The first time, the guy with the car was too afraid, and took off. The second time, the person with the guitar arrived in the cafeteria, but the singer had fled! The third time, it finally worked out! (Lanfranco Tour Booklet, 1981).

When he related the courage it took for students to organize, it no doubt resonated with audiences who could probably not imagine having to smuggle musical instruments onto campus or having to defend student leaders who were charged with and faculty who were fired for “subversive” activities. Lanfranco also taught the public about the privatization of education in Chile, which he explained aimed to churn out technocrats, and about the student struggle against the neoliberal model implemented by the military regime predicated on competition and individualism (Long, The Ubyssey, January 29, 1981).

**Placards and Pamphlets**

Solidarity movement messages were also circulated via pamphlets distributed to the public and on placards during demonstrations, rallies and ship and store pickets. These media were used to teach the public about the on-going repression in Chile. At demonstrations and pickets placards often read:\footnote{262}{Slogans taken from photos of demonstrations and ship pickets from various newspaper clippings, which show protesters carrying placards.}

RESTORE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN CHILE

WHERE ARE THE 2,500 MISSING PEOPLE
WE DEMAND RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

CHILEANS DEMAND TO LIVE IN CHILE

BOYCOTT CHILEAN TRADE

SUPPORT THE CHILEAN NATIONAL STRIKE

As these slogans show, movement messages taught the public about violations of basic human rights – the right to life, to freedom from harm and to live in, leave and return to your country – and linked these violations to reasons for not supporting the Junta. Messages in boycott campaigns foregrounded this link between human rights, particularly economic rights, and the ramifications of helping to keep the Junta in power. For example, pamphlets handed out at supermarkets declared Chilean products were “the fruits of unfair labour” and explains how workers and the poor have been particularly devastated by the political and economic situation in Chile, including workers losing their right to strike and negotiate a contract, unemployment rates between 18 and 25 percent and inflation ranging from 200 to 460 percent. One of the posters CDC produced depicted a box of apples, only instead of fruit there were screaming faces in the box, as seen below. The slogan, “Nothing from the junta, nothing to the junta” was used extensively in boycott materials distributed to the public. Exiles also spoke with the public to urge them not to buy Chilean products and illuminate the connection between economically supporting the Junta and human rights. Samuel explains:

We did large scale boycott campaigns of Chilean products and the Liquor Stores, we would stand next to the Chilean wines and when a Canadian person was going to buy a bottle of Chilean wine, we would ask them to please not do so and that wine, right? was the blood of the Chilean people, that in Chile they were torturing and killing people. People understood and did not buy Chilean wine.
Alternative Media

The media created by solidarity movement groups forwarded many of the same messages we have learned about throughout this chapter. What newsletters and the program América Latina al Día on Coop Radio could offer was more in-depth and sustained analysis because of their formats and continuous presence over years. While other actions like demonstrations were a mainstay of the solidarity movement’s repertoire, they were more sporadic because they were often organized in response to calls to action from Chile (for example, in support of national strikes) and even when they were regular (annual rallies in front of the Chilean Consulate on September 11th) they did not have the same presence as the monthly/bi-monthly newsletters and the weekly radio program.

Many exiles consider América Latina al Día to be among the most important activities of the solidarity movement. With weekly news of repression and resistance in Chile and Latin America and of local, national and transnational solidarity movement actions the program taught
the public about what was happening in Chile and all over the world and connected exiles, other Latin Americans and non-Chilean listeners. Matias explains:

That was a very large educational undertaking, many people in Vancouver who tuned in… the program was bilingual. It was very rare at the time for there to be a bilingual program, in Spanish when the Spanish-speaking population at the time here was so small, but many Canadians tuned in to the program, a great many, many and I think that in terms of educational work, that was perhaps the most significant.

Newsletters were also important for teaching the public. *Venceremos*, the newsletter published by the VCA and later the CDHRC\(^{263}\) provided extensive coverage of repression and resistance in Chile, economic issues, local, national and transnational solidarity and news on Latin American countries. For example, many articles on Chile describe torture methods and centres, massive lay-offs in Chile, clandestine print operations and pamphlets and posters appearing on walls and poles in Chile stating “The Resistance is Growing,” “Venceremos” and “Allende Lives.” There are also articles on UN condemnations of human rights violations, suppliers to the Chilean military, demonstrations against Noranda mines and declarations by political parties of the Chilean Left.

The first bulletins published by CDC before exiles began to arrive focused on the coup and immediate acts of solidarity. For example, they reported on the first international solidarity conference held in Helsinki at the end of September 1973 along with Allende’s last speech. *Chile News* published later by CDC covered many of the same themes as *Venceremos*, however, it was not as extensive. Not only were issues shorter, they focused more exclusively on solidarity actions in Vancouver and reprinted articles that appeared in Canadian newspapers.

In addition to informing readers about events in Chile, one of the main messages of these newsletters was that solidarity actions mattered because they had an impact on what happened in Chile. The content found in *Venceremos* shows this newsletter was particularly effective at

---

\(^{263}\) *Venceremos* was launched in 1975 by the VCA. By 1976 CDHRC published the newsletter and by about a year later it was sponsored by a range of cross-Canada solidarity groups.
communicating this message to the public because of connections exiles had with the resistance in Chile. With so little coverage of Chile in the mass media, América Latina al Día and the newsletters published by solidarity movement groups were steady news sources for their listeners and readers, many of whom may never have otherwise learned about Chilean history, the coup, repression and resistance.

The coup, repression and sudden uprooting which exiles lived affected them so profoundly that they had to reconstitute their identities once abroad. Exiles found solace in the exile community and the solidarity movement and together they reflected on their experiences before and during the UP. With time they put themselves and their lives back together and as they questioned their values, they learned about themselves as individuals and collectively. They re/constructed their political and ethnocultural identities and together with other movement groups forged a solidarity movement identity. Through their actions they taught the public about pre and post-coup Chile and the political culture of the Chilean Left. These movement messages were articulated and communicated through music, theatre, film, arpilleras, speaking tours, placards and pamphlets and the grassroots media they established and served not only to raise critical awareness, but to express and teach their political and ethnoculture to their children.

In Chapter Nine we explore the centrality of the solidarity learning community to the movement. First the chapter explores exile identity and knowledge production, then it takes up praxis and conscientization as learning and knowledge production processes within the movement. Next the chapter examines the relationships among hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere in relation to learning and knowledge production among the public as a result of solidarity movement actions. The chapter concludes by discussing the multiple dimensions of the solidarity movement and considering its significance.
CHAPTER NINE: Discussion and Conclusions

The heart of the solidarity movement was the learning community that was created and developed throughout the life of the movement. Without this learning community none of the solidarity movement actions would have been possible and without these actions the movement would not have forwarded movement goals. However, this learning community was far more than that. It was largely within the context of this learning community that exiles reflected on their experiences and questioned their values. Learning and knowledge re/production within and beyond the solidarity movement also fostered collective identity and enabled exiles to express and teach their political and ethnoculture to their children and to the public.

This chapter opens by framing the learning and knowledge production inside the movement discussed in the previous chapter within the solidarity movement learning community. Then the chapter turns to praxis as a key learning processes through which knowledge was produced within the movement and the wider public as a result of movement activities. First it examines how exiles worked through dialectical tensions in re/constructing their identities, the centrality of conscientization in learning and knowledge production and the role of intellectuals in the solidarity movement. Next the chapter considers the relationships among hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere in relation to learning and knowledge production among the public. Finally, a discussion on the multidimensionality of the movement and of its significance brings the chapter to a close.

The Solidarity Movement as a Learning Community

Forming the learning community that was so central to the solidarity movement initially involved pooling the knowledge and skills participants had in order to mobilize this knowledge to build and strengthen the movement and to raise awareness and funds to support the resistance
in Chile. The learning community that was created among solidarity movement participants was dynamic, as was its knowledge base. While initially they pooled their collective and individual knowledge and skills to establish a knowledge base, they quickly began learning from and teaching each other. Therefore, people did not only contribute existing knowledge and skills, they also learned from each other and through new experiences. These learning processes involved sharing and generating knowledge learned in social action (Foley, 1999). Local knowledge is created out of lived experience and is not learned formally, or as Antonio put it, the solidarity work exiles did “was [generated] more out of experience than of education.” This experiential learning so integral to social movements involves what scholars often refer to as informal and incidental learning (Choudry & Kapoor, 2010; Foley, 1999; Schugurensky, 2000b). Several examples from previous chapters and throughout this chapter illustrate the informal and incidental learning processes through which local knowledge was re/produced in the solidarity movement.

**Establishing and Developing the Solidarity Movement Knowledge Base**

Exiles and non-Chileans had previous experience in political organizing and they used this experiential knowledge once abroad. As we saw in the previous chapter, exiles brought a culture of organization with them from Chile, which was indispensable to them in organizing in exile. Likewise, non-Chileans used their knowledge of political organizing from previous political activism in their work in the solidarity movement. Exiles also drew on the knowledge, which was part of the political culture of the Left in Chile to mobilize artistic expression as a medium through which to raise critical awareness among the public and build support. In addition, solidarity movement participants contributed knowledge and skills from their professional and educational backgrounds and their natural talents to the knowledge base of the learning community. Fluency in English, writing, public speaking and other skills were
important for the everyday labour required to organize and carry out solidarity movement actions. Similarly, exiles drew on their musical, theatre and dance backgrounds to form folk music and dance groups and theatre troupes and taught their compañeras and compañeros which enabled them to perform at peñas and travel in order to teach the public through artistic expressions. It also made it possible to express and teach their ethno and political culture to their children in a community setting.

Another aspect of knowledge re/production was learning about the Canadian political system. Through their collective work, exiles learned about Canada’s political structure as well as its structures of influence. Moreover, exiles and non-Chileans shared knowledge with each other, as illustrated by the different forms of political action (letter writing campaigns, demonstrating with placards) and political expression (humour) exiles learned from non-Chileans. In Chapter Seven we learned that in contrast to exile groups CDC followed Robert’s Rules of Order during group meetings. Most exiles felt the differences in group dynamics in this respect were cultural in that Chileans (and Latin Americans in general) are more flexible. From the perspective of exiles, what non-Chileans learned from them is the value of improvisation because while planning is important, finding creative solutions when something unexpected happens is vital to collective work. Non-Chileans also learned from other Chilean cultural practices. For example, a friend of Pilar who attended peñas told her it was through her contact with Chileans that she learned that children go everywhere with their parents and that up until that point she thought she always had to get a babysitter. That others learned from them also made exiles realize they had learned something too. As Pilar said “we learned that others were learning from us.”

Exiles also shared knowledge with Central Americans. After refugees from Central America began arriving in the 1980s, particularly from El Salvador, exiles got involved with
solidarity work with Central American refugees. Chilean and Central American refugees supported each other by organizing and participating in fund and awareness raising events such as peñas. Through these activities, which educated the general public, Chilean exiles and Central Americans also mutually taught each other about the situation in their respective countries. An important dimension of knowledge sharing in this context is the culture of organization exiles brought with them. Several exiles explained that Central Americans did not have the same wealth of organizational experience they had nor the knowledge they had developed over the years they had already spent in Canada. In Matias’ words:

They were the new ones, *the new kids on the block* and they needed all the logistical support and everything else…people arriving from Central America did not have all that experience, they did not have the *exposure* we had and we started to advise them so they could carry out the same activities.\(^{264}\)

The knowledge exiles shared included how to organize politically, information about Canadian political structures, where and how to access public funds for cultural activities, as well as which facilities to rent for events and how to fill out forms to apply for funds or rent a facility. Exiles also shared knowledge about social services and how to organize housing cooperatives, which were also beneficial for solidarity work, as we saw with the Chilean Housing Coop.

In addition, the division of labour within groups was based largely on the knowledge and skills people had as people offered to take on particular tasks based on existing knowledge and skills and later what they had learned from and taught each other and their allies. When I asked about how tasks were divided among group members, Matias explained that everyone in his group did a variety of tasks and that “*you learn as you go…there was not much where someone could teach you, you observed how others did it.*” Janet said while people did assume certain responsibilities because of the knowledge they had, she also observed that they learned from each other:

\(^{264}\) Words in italics correspond with words exiles said in English.
I think we all learned a great deal, too. You do learn. One person knows how to write a press release and then 3 or 4 people are working with them and look at it and sooner or later you going to learn how to write a press release. We learned a lot of skills, too, just keeping the committee going.

When I asked Pilar the same question and she explained how her group distributed tasks, she noted the intentionality involved in teaching group members:

We were highly conscious of the fact that others had to learn along the way, so we would form committees or groups, or subgroups, directed by someone who had more experience or more capacity in that area with another person...who had to learn.

Another example of intentional teaching and learning is how exiles drew on their backgrounds in music, dance and theatre to support cultural activities. When exiles in Calgary decided to form folk and theatre groups, Blanca recalled that “we began asking our compañeros who knew theatre, who knew music, and we began to see that among the very Chileans [in the group] there were compañeros who were theatre teachers, we found compañeros who were music teachers.”

The same happened in the folk music group Resistencia. A young man led the group because “he was a very good musician. He knew how to play the zampoña, the quena, the charango...he sang” (Pilar, Interview). However, as we saw in the previous chapter, the women who were part of group Cormorán taught themselves how to play, a form of self-directed learning (Schugurensky, 2000b). As these and other examples above illustrate, exiles and non-Chileans certainly learned in incidental ways, but often their teaching and learning was deliberate.

Solidarity movement participants drew on, generated and shared local knowledge in order organize themselves and activities and to express and teach the public and their children their political and ethnoculture. In the next section we will discuss other dimensions of learning as well as the relationship between praxis and knowledge production. We will take up this relationship both as it relates to exile and solidarity movement identities and to conscientization within the movement and among the public.
Social Movement Praxis and Knowledge Production

Praxis was central to how exiles re/constructed their identities and to the critical learning which emerged from examining themselves and the world. It was also integral to challenging the hegemonic discourses circulated by the Junta in the public sphere. We will begin by considering the learning and knowledge production processes involved in working through the dialectical tensions exiles experienced in re/constituting their identities, then turn to learning and knowledge production arising from exiles questioning their values and worldviews. Finally, we will discuss the relationships among hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere.

Exile, Identity and Knowledge Production

There is a dialectical relationship between identity and exile. The experience of exile influenced how exiles re/constructed their identities and their identities affected how they constructed their experiences of exile (Cornejo, 2008). Identity re/construction involves processes of knowledge production about the self and the world, that is, who one is as an individual and who we collectively are as members of various societal groups (which may be geographically, socially and/or philosophically connected) and as humans. We learn about ourselves and others, construct meaning and come to see ourselves in certain ways. As we have seen, exiles re/constructed their identities as solidarity movement participants, as part of the Chilean Left, as women and men, as Chileans, and as Canadians to varying degrees.

Dialectical tensions were at the heart of how exiles constructed meaning out of their experiences and thus in the knowledge production processes involved in re/constructing their identities. Exiles struggled with tensions between there (Chile) and here (Canada) and between the past and the present. When they first arrived, exiles were physically in Canada, but emotionally in Chile. There was no here, no now, rather a before and after (Cornejo, 2008). Their lives were marked by traumatic events, including the sudden uprooting which led to their
exile and though the before and after could be construed as before and after leaving Chile, perhaps what most delineated the before and after for the majority of exiles is the coup, which marked the end of the UP administration and along with it their socialist dream. As Pedro indicated, his main point of reference is “the Popular Unity era to which everything refers, to the exodus of all of us to here because of the circumstances there” and though not in the same ways as when they first left Chile, for many exiles these tensions persist today. What connected the before and after was identifying with the Chilean Left. Chilean exiles were dispersed in over one hundred countries and therefore the collective identity of the exile community was forged on a transnational scale, but it was the worldview shared by the Chilean Left that connected the past with present and which connected the Chilean Left here (in Canada), there (in Chile) and everywhere (transnationally).

Together with the violent destruction if their socialist project came feelings of defeat and having abandoned their compañeras and compañeros in Chile, even though for most their departure was a matter of survival and their survival meant they had not been wiped out by the Chilean right and that they could support the Chilean resistance through their solidarity movement actions abroad. But that was just it – they had survived while so many had lost their lives and continued to suffer. These feelings are also reflected in the emphasis so many exiles put on what was being done by the Chilean resistance in Chile in comparison with what they did in Canada and elsewhere – while they were campaigning in exile, their counterparts were risking their lives and facing economic hardship. From the perspective of some in Chile, exiles and especially those who capitalized on the situation when they did not face any danger or difficulties and then returned owe a lot those who remained in Chile, as illustrated by the comments made by Pedro Aceituno, a member of the group Curacas of the New Chilean Song movement:
I can understand that many people went into exile because of complicated circumstances, but many left because the boy scouts or the civil defense were after them. They took advantage and many of them came back with doctorates and master’s degrees, buying two-story houses in [a middle class area of Santiago]. And those who stayed here had to endure it all, so there is a debt (Bravo Chiappe & González Farfán, 2009, pp. 206-207, translation mine).

Thus for some people in Chile it was indeed the case that what might be called illegitimate exiles were living the good life of the golden exile portrayed by the Junta. However, legitimate exiles did understand the adversity Chileans in Chile faced. Blanca expressed this when she said “the saddest part for us is that we lost so many compañeros, they gave their life and they risked everything to change the system, that is, to get rid of the dictatorship.”

Nevertheless, not only did exiles survive the coup and its aftermath, they defied the Junta’s attempts to destroy them emotionally and culturally by transforming their pain and despair into hope through their solidarity with Chileans in Chile and exiles across the globe and significantly, through artistic expressions. Despite the destruction of their socialist dream and accomplishments during the UP years, exiles rescued and created music, literature, paintings, photography, theatre and film. Time and personal and collective healing turned victims into survivors. Yes, exiles suffered, but they also survived and eventually thrived. They survived the horror they lived in Chile, created a life for themselves and their families in a new society and together with non-Chileans built and sustained the solidarity movement. Instead of defeated victims they became triumphant survivors, a dimension of their identities which was also evident in how exiles coped with other tensions.

Also foregrounded when exiles first arrived were the tensions between stability and uncertainty and the familiar and the unfamiliar. They left a stable and familiar life and culture and faced complete uncertainty not knowing what lay ahead in an unfamiliar cultural and physical environment. As we know, exiles expected to return to Chile within a few years when they first arrived and so these feelings prevented most from settling in Canada. That exiles
forged a new life in Canada means they are survivors. While exile meant pain and loss, it could also mean opportunity and possibility and through their exile experiences many exiles learned how resilient and strong they are and now consider there is at least a positive dimension to exile. Teresa explains:

> The whole experience from when we left there to here…you grow…it was a good experience and I never regret being here. I think now I prefer this to having stayed in Chile, without having had the opportunity to come here, no, we are doing well.

In part considering exile a positive experience has to do with creating a new community with other exiles and non-Chileans with elements that connected exiles with the past and with the present and future. This involved recreating their ethnocultural identities as Chileans, Latin Americans and as Canadians. For exiles who were active in the solidarity movement, the groups, meetings and activities in which they participated played a significant role in these processes. The tensions between their Chilean identities, which for exiles were strongly related to their identities as part of the Chilean Left, their identities as Latin Americans, which were tied to their vision of a united and socially just Latin America free from imperialism and which existed prior to leaving Chile, and their emerging identities as Canadians produced diverse ethnocultural identities which are as unique as each individual and which share elements that connect exiles as a community. These tensions in their political and ethnocultural identities were particularly evident in the discussions which emerged regarding whether exiles ought to focus solely on Chile and their solidarity work and/or whether they should carve out a space for themselves in and become part of Canadian society.

Finally, there was and still is a tension between exiles’ identities as revolutionaries and reformists. The reflections and discussions on the UP process – the vision, program and how it was implemented, the ways the Left approached the democratization from below that surged during that era, the sectarianism and the violent end to their project – led to different positions as
to how the opposition ought to have acted during the Pinochet years, what kind of democracy they wanted to see and therefore what the project of the Left ought to be in the post-dictatorship period. While most exiles concur the agreement between the Pinochet regime and the opposition that made the transition to a civilian government possible was better than dictatorship, a spectrum of positions emerged and are reflected today among the exile community and in Chile. Some people came to support reforms to the liberal democracy and/or the neoliberal policies of the military regime and others feel these reforms have not fundamentally changed Chilean society from what it was during the dictatorship and therefore continue to advocate profound structural transformations towards a more socially just Chile.

The learning and knowledge produced out of the dialectical tensions which were central to exile identity re/constructions were about constructing meaning by maintaining and forging connections with the past, while coming to terms with the present and looking to the future. Continuity and rupture and continuity and change are familiar themes in the literature on exile (see for example Said, 2000; Cornejo, 2008; Eastmond, 1993). Feeling a sense of continuity is essential to the identities of exiles. Though there is a sense of nationalism in reconstructing exile identities, this sense of what it means to be a Chilean was/is not the same for exiles or their compañeras and compañeros in Chile as it was/is for the Chilean right. Whereas for the right, nationalism was/is predicated on traditional values which maintain/ed the status quo of elites, exiles’ understanding of their identity as Chileans was/is largely based on their feelings of collective responsibility to create a socially just Chile which breaks, precisely, with the Chilean establishment. Therefore, while nationalism is important to understanding exile, exile, unlike nationalism, is a fundamentally discontinuous state of being. Exiles are cut off from their roots, their land, their past…Exiles feel, therefore, an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives, usually by choosing to see themselves as part of a triumphant ideology or a restored people. The crucial thing is that a state of exile free from this triumphant ideology – designed to reassemble an exile’s broken history into a new whole – is virtually unbearable” (Said, 2000, p. 177).
Their identity as part of the Chilean Left was vital to exiles’ personal and collective identities and thus to the identity of the solidarity movement and asserting this identity was an act of resistance in and of itself. This identity was also central to so much of what exiles did in the solidarity movement – the structures and dynamics of movement groups, their action repertoire and the content and form of movement activities. Solidarity maintained continuity with the broken community of compañeras/os in Chile and around the world who share/d a worldview. In cultivating their political and ethnoculture among their children, exiles tried to create historical and cultural continuity with the next generation so that the history and political and ethnoculture so integral to their own identities would form a part of their children’s identities.

For exiles who could travel to Chile, doing so enabled them and their children to connect with their past – with the people and the place with which they identify. Spending time with family and friends, speaking and hearing Chilean Spanish, experiencing the aromas of the trees, flowers, food, streets, hearing the bustle of traffic or a babbling brook, enjoying a seafood stew or seasonal fruit, seeing the landscape, feeling the wind coming off of the ocean, the dry heat of the northern desert or torrential rains of the southern region were/are powerful ways of connecting with what made exiles who they are. In addition to travelling to Chile, exiles corresponded with family and spoke with them over the phone, which maintained family bonds so vital to exile adults who were suddenly separated from family and to their children who grew up without them.

Whether exiles returned to Chile or not after exile officially ended, it was clear in the interviews that the events prior to and that led to their exile marked their lives so profoundly that these experiences will always be significant to their lives, their histories, their identities. As Cornejo (2008) and Shayne (2009) found in their research with Chilean exiles, for many exile is forever, it is permanent, they will always feel like exiles and thus the identity of exile will be
with them forever. Yet after decades of living in Canada (and elsewhere) most exiles did not return to live in Chile. Only one of the exiles I interviewed returned to live in Chile in the mid 1980s and he was back in Canada three years later. Exiles have forged emotional bonds, studied, worked and raised their families, and their children who were born in Canada or arrived at a young age feel their life is in Canada.  

Another reason most exiles still live in Canada is that the Chile they knew is no longer the Chile of today. Matias explains how exiles who returned to Chile and then back to Canada feel, which reveals similar sentiments as exiles who never returned to live, but who have visited:

They found they had idealized [Chile] too much…that the Chile they wanted is not the Chile which exists…at least, they said, here we have a life and they came back. Apart from that, there was a social network they belonged to in one way or another.

The legacy of the dictatorship – the collective amnesia induced by the military regime, the individualism, the culture of consumerism, the largely unchanged neoliberal policies – and the many years during which family and friends have lived different experiences means many exiles feel they do not have much in common with them anymore or with Chilean society. Thus, although exiles went to great lengths to maintain continuity, many no longer identify with or feel they belong in Chile and some feel they do not fully belong in Canada either. This ambiguity may be with them forever because exile cannot be separated from their identities, nor can their experiences in Canada.

Exiles are always looking for a place which they do not find here or there. Maybe that place does not exist, maybe it was destroyed forever. Or maybe it is the fact of having been displaced that condemned them forever not to have a place, to be in constant search (Cornejo, 2008, p. 342).

This feeling was expressed by Antonio when he said “you are originally from there, but you’re not [anymore].” However, continuity is not solely about preserving the past or keeping identities intact. As Eastmond (1993) points out, “continuity, then, does not mean absence of change, but

---

265 Some second generation exiles have returned to Chile permanently with their parents or on their own.
to be able to integrate change in culturally meaningful ways” (p. 36). Exiles certainly created meaningful ways to connect the past with the present and the future in their personal lives and through their participation in and the actions they carried out as part of the solidarity movement. While exile is a tragic experience that represents a rupture with the past, it can be also be full of hope if exiles learn to live with the tensions the exile experience creates and learn from the knowledge generated out of these tensions (Freire & Faundez, 1989).

**Conscientization**

For many exiles, the solidarity movement learning community was the context within which their political reflections took place. Exiles reflected on the UP process and the Left, including the sectarianism which existed within the UP and among the Chilean Left and learned to create alliances across civil, political and economic society in order to build broad support. They also contemplated the direction the solidarity movement ought to take to end the dictatorship and the nature of the democracy they envisioned for Chile, which involved debates about their political values. Some exiles questioned the validity of Marxism and its revolutionary ideals which sought grand scale changes and which some exiles viewed as overly deterministic and through these reflections they learned to appreciate local and small transformations and the complexities of the world and of human experience. Tensions between the individual and the collective also came to the fore as some exiles re-evaluated the primacy of collective over individual rights and responsibilities.

The question of whether all their efforts were worth it is another point solidarity movement participants pondered. Some felt it was not worth it because the sacrifices were much too great and that leaders do not always turn out to be who they say they are. Others acknowledged the sacrifices, but felt it was worth it because even if they did not achieve everything they had envisioned, some gains are better than none. Reflections also highlighted
that it is difficult to know how history will unfold and therefore to know what the effects of the actions one is taking in the present will be in the future. Whether their assessment was that it was worth it or not, without political imagination solidarity movement participants would not have enacted all the actions they did, which speaks to the power and necessity of dreaming and of hope.

The solidarity movement learning community was also the context within which exiles re-evaluated their values in relation to class, gender and sexuality. As a result of their participation in movement groups and activities, exiles from different class backgrounds came into more contact with each other as their common cause to end the dictatorship brought them together across class boundaries. Their involvement in the solidarity movement also brought them into contact with the LGBTTQ community with which most exiles would likely have never consciously interacted and these experiences transformed the way many exiles thought about sexuality and sexual identity. Women and men also began to re-examine their roles, rights and responsibilities. This occurred in relation to solidarity group dynamics, the division of labour and the private and public spheres.

Exiles learned a great deal through their reflections and took action based on that knowledge in their solidarity work and evaluated and often transformed their values as a result of the knowledge they produced from their experiences as part of the Chilean Left and their experiences in Canada. In large part these learning processes involved taken-for-granted assumptions becoming explicit, which were sometimes sparked by others questioning their practices and sometimes through their own reflections. As Gabriela stated, it was not until someone questioned the gendered patterns of the group in which she participated that she and other women became conscious of them: “we hadn’t realized it. It was our natural way of behaving.” Once they became conscious of their common sense notions, they could interrogate
them and often transformed them. In other words, their common sense moved closer to good sense as they engaged in a process of conscientization.

Objectifying the world is key to conscientization and the distance of exile made it possible to objectify what had happened in Chile. As Bitar (1995) points out

It is very difficult to coolly observe a political experience of the intensity of the Chilean one when such vivid memories, images and feelings assault the mind. The ardour with which we lived those three [UP] years of deep transformations and the unbearable pain the repression sprouted, the torture, death, they overcome the spirit, but they also make the mind more lucid (p.9).

With the geographic distance of living in Canada (and elsewhere) exiles began to analyze and see their experiences in Chile before and after the coup in a different light. As Pedro said in one of the quotes that opened the previous chapter, “you analyze, analyze, that is, here when you arrive in Canadian society, North American, it’s another world, it’s another world and slowly you start to not erase the past, rather to see another photograph.” Since they were no longer immersed in the highly charged atmosphere of the UP years or the coup and ensuing repression they were capable of seeing their experiences more objectively; they had “the perspective of distance in order to reason without passion (Bitar, 1995, p. 7). The temporal distance of when interviews were conducted (thirty-five years after the coup, more than thirty years after exiles left Chile and almost twenty years after solidarity movement activities diminished) also made it possible for exiles to reflect on their experiences in Chile and in the solidarity movement from a more objective point of view. It was not only in terms their reflections on the UP process that the distance of exile facilitated objectification, but also in terms of re/constructing their identities. The distance combined with being confronted with a new and different reality sparked reflections on exiles’ experiences and values, including the values of the Left and more widely held cultural values. Franscisco’s explains:

When you live in a society…you accept your conception is that the world is a certain way. When you move to another society that is quite different from the original one, you
have to learn that the world is not necessarily that way and it is a process that is often difficult, that is, that can often be painful, that requires flexibility.

Conscientization unfolded among exiles, non-Chilean solidarity movement members, movement allies and the public. The local, experiential knowledge exiles already had and re/produced in the solidarity movement learning community was central to conscientization precisely because the knowledge re/produced was born from their experiences in Chile and in Canada. Praxis, then, is intimately connected with conscientization. In fact, there can be no conscientization without praxis, since “critical consciousness is brought about…through praxis – through the authentic union of action and reflection” (Freire, 1985, p. 87). As exiles engaged in solidarity movement actions and reflected on these and past experiences and their experiences of exile they questioned their assumptions and often transformed them. Being conscious first involves generating knowledge directly out of experience; it is a form of knowing that has not yet been questioned and is thus common sense (Freire, 2005). The second form of knowing is the knowledge created when people can think through experiences more objectively by distancing themselves from these experiences, through physical and/or temporal distance, which enables them to interrogate their experiences and their common sense notions. Gabriela comments illustrate this:

Here there is a whole process of re-examination, if you will, of your values, what your sense is of what is important, what is not important, a change happens. At times you find that what you had is completely upside down, at times it produces shock, at times it produces rejection, and at times you revisit it, you see, there is a whole process of accepting and rejecting and eventually you achieve a balance, some levelling off, you see, of reconciliation of these two things. So, for me that is important and that begins with this collective work, it begins, but doesn’t end there, so it really manifests itself in other [areas]…but in that collective work you start to realize.

As Gabriela also points out, their collective work in the solidarity movement was a significant catalyst for conscientization and the knowledge generated had an impact within and beyond the solidarity movement. Another example is when non-Chileans commented on the Chilean

266 We will explore conscientization among the public in the next section.
practice of parents taking children everywhere with them, which they saw at peñas, concerts and other events. Their remarks made exiles conscious of ethnocultural values or their practices and likely transformed the way some non-Chileans thought and acted. Pilar explains:

We learned that things we took for granted and we had never paid attention to, like taking the kids with you here and there, had an impact on other people...in that they looked at us like “oh” there are other ways of doing things...it made us conscious of certain cultural practices we had grown up with and we were not conscious of, [they] became conscious and deliberate.

This example shows that critical knowledge does not always result in change. Conscientization is about questioning taken-for-granted assumptions. In making these common sense assumptions conscious and thinking them through, often in dialogue with other people, people frequently transform the way they think and act. However, people can also conclude that the way they see themselves, others and the world is legitimate and thus this knowledge can reaffirm their values and thus they do not change their way of thinking or their actions. This is evident in the above example and in the fact that the reflections on the UP process and the renovation of the Left did not lead all exiles to either abandon or rethink the Marxist framework they supported and defended, though many expanded and/or reinterpreted it.

**Dialogue and the Social Construction of Knowledge**

Learning and knowledge re/production processes often occurred in the social context of the exile and solidarity movement learning communities. Though learning surely occurred as a result of personal introspection, given that reflections and discussions largely took place in the context of solidarity movement groups and activities, it is evident that knowledge was primarily re/produced socially – both in the sense that social interaction and dialogue was central to re/creating knowledge and in the sense that the knowledge was meaningful because it was re/produced in relation to how other exiles understood their experiences in Chile and in exile. The process of moving ever closer to good sense involved dialogue as it was through discussions
of their experiences in Chile before and during the UP years that exiles tried to understand what had happened, why and how they ought to proceed in exile to support the resistance in Chile. It was also through discussions that exiles questioned their values in relation to, for example, revolution and reform and the gendered patterns in the movement, at home and in their public lives.

In addition, dialogue was central to how groups organized themselves and the activities they carried out. Groups met either regularly or would discuss and plan activities when they met socially. They also reflected on their work in an effort to learn from their experiences and apply that knowledge to future endeavours. Diego explained that “after activities we always, always evaluated. You always had to weigh everything in every sense, weighing if the goal we had was met in the political sense, economic and social.” Exiles also evaluated the practical aspects of actions, asking themselves “how did this one go, why did this turn out well, what didn’t work here, the next one will have to be better, always checking for the next time so that it is better, always with many questions” (Blanca, interview). Praxis, so key to conscientization, was also central to activities, both in terms of exiles analysis of whether they were achieving movement goals and in terms of learning how they could improve the logistics involved in activities. In addition, often this learning was not conscious. Matias said that in his group they discussed activities, but did not undertake a formal evaluation and that while they learned from these discussions, “all that type of learning that occurs subconsciously is not so intentional. You’re not there to learn about that kind of thing, but it happens, circumstantial.”

Finally, dialogue was an important way in which knowledge was shared as it was through conversations often during meetings and during the course of an event that exiles taught and learned from each other, Central Americans and other non-Chileans. Matias, who was
eighteen when he arrived in Vancouver and was a member of the MIR Support Group, explained how he learned from his colleagues:

You gradually learned about the history of the MIR and of Chile at the same time. At a very rapid pace you absorbed everything that had happened and everything else, as you spoke with people, spent time together, mostly during activities.

Matias’ words illustrate not only the significance of dialogue, but also that knowledge in social movements is socially constructed and re/produced through social interaction.

The Role of Intellectuals

Intellectuals played a vital role in the solidarity movement. Most of the high profile UP leaders who survived ended up in Europe and in Mexico. These figures certainly played a central role in the renovation of the Left (and all its incarnations), the direction solidarity efforts ought to take from abroad and in Chile after many returned during the mid 1980s. While they were probably the most influential in articulating the positions of the UP and the parties which constituted it and the vision of the Left, many of the rank and file members of these parties and the solidarity movement, which was largely organized around these parties, played leading roles in their respective countries and cities in exile.

As we know, though exiles came from all walks of life, the majority were university educated professionals, which is reflected in the exiles who participated in this study. So many intellectuals left Chile after the coup that their departure has been characterized as a brain drain (Araucaria, 1978). While, as Gramsci asserts, all humans carry on intellectual activity, not all people have the function of intellectuals in society. Before leaving Chile many exiles (and some whom I interviewed) did have the function of intellectuals in Chilean society, some because they were university professors, artists, writers, others because they were political or union leaders and others because they were both. Some exiles would be what Gramsci calls traditional intellectuals, in the sense that they had the function of intellectuals in society, not because they
lent historical continuity by appearing apolitical, since as we learned in previous chapters they were deeply involved in transforming Chilean society before, during and/or after the UP period. Exiles who were traditional intellectuals in the sense described above were both traditional and organic or new intellectuals. They were not, however, the non-directive type of new intellectuals discussed in Chapter Four. These exiles clearly embody the “new type of intellectual” Gramsci refers to who are both specialized and directive; they embraced their political role in Chile and in exile. Middle class intellectuals, who are often also traditional intellectuals, are organic to their class. Likewise, working class intellectuals are also organic to their class. Many Chilean exiles who were part of the working class were leaders in unions and political parties and while few people among the working class were traditional intellectuals, they too embody new directive intellectuals who embraced their political role in Chile and in exile. To understand the role of middle class and working class intellectuals, it is worth briefly exploring the role of both in Chile.

As we know, Chilean society was very politicized by the time Allende was elected and the working class and sectors of the middle class were highly mobilized during the UP years. New directive intellectuals were active participants in the construction of a new genuine consent and creating this consent involved conscientization. Intellectuals such as writers, poets, musicians of the New Chilean Song movement, social and natural scientists and other specialists played a fundamental role in Chile before and during the UP period and in exile. As Antonio related during the Allende administration

the education itself of each one of the members of society was not only a problem of educating party sympathizers, rather everyone so they would understand what was happening because for Chile, a society which had never worked with this social method…many said it can’t be done.

The learning processes involved understanding the new ethic upon which Chilean society would be built, an ethic of collectivism and collaboration, which called the populace to take collective
responsibility for the future of a socially just Chile. It also involved reinterpreting Chilean history in order to see it from the perspective of the disadvantaged. Clearly the cultural work of fostering critical consciousness was successful, so much so that this democracy from below fostered by the UP became one of its challenges – unauthorized rural estate and factory takeovers by peasants and workers who wanted the UP process to move ahead more quickly like those in the UP camp which advocated the UP should “advance without compromise” because the revolutionary process could not and should be halted. As Chilean society became ever more politicized the political consciousness of the working class was heightened, many leaders emerged among the Chilean working class. The following passage of what a worker said in Part III of the film The Battle of Chile illustrates this:

To not be subject to the will of the momios [the Chilean right] whose words solely and exclusively drown us, suffocate us, taking advantage of the fact that the North Americans [the U.S.] want to walk all over our dignity as Chileans. They too get on board and we cannot accept as Chileans, as workers, as people who are mature in our project, to conform to what they want. No, not now or ever, rather to the contrary. We will always be ready and willing to struggle for a new economically and politically free Chile.267

Therefore, it was not only middle class traditional intellectuals who played a vital role during the UP years, but also working class intellectuals, both of whom are organic to their class and directive.268

The extent to which a new genuine consent was created was later the subject of much debate among the Chilean Left. It was not its authenticity but its scope that was in dispute because some sectors of the middle class and particularly the gremios or professional associations, which as we learned in Chapter Two had supported the truck owners’ strike in

---

267 Patricio Guzman’s The Battle of Chile is a three part documentary which captures the Allende years and the coup as events unfolded at the time. The term ‘momio’ is used by the Chilean left to refer to the right. It comes from ‘momia’ or ‘mummy’ in English and conveys the idea that right-wing people seek to maintain the status quo, to preserve traditional, conservative values and power structures and are therefore like mummies.

268 Luis Figueroa, Allende’s Minister of Labour between November 1972 and July 1973 is a good example of this. He was a newspaper typographer and member of the Communist Party, who became President of the CUT and later was elected Deputy for one of the Santiago electoral districts in 1969 (Reseñas Parlamentarias, Biblioteca Congreso Nacional, 1811-2018, http://biografias.bcn.cl/wiki/Luis_Humberto_Figueroa_Mazuela).
October of 1972, were not convinced. Together with the fruitless dialogue with the Christian Democrats and the sectarianism within the UP, the lack of support from some sectors of the professional middle class meant the Chilean Left had not built sufficiently broad alliances across Chilean society for the UP project. While this does not in any way justify the military coup, it does represent a lesson for the Left in terms of the importance of broad consensus built on points of convergence across civil, political and economic society. Later in exile, new directive intellectuals were key to organizing genuine consent within and beyond the solidarity movement. Though the political parties and sectarianism of the Left was replicated in exile (and sectarianism existed among the non-Chilean Left within the movement as well), the Chilean Left did overcome disagreements to work to end the dictatorship, a point they could all agree on. Their efforts would likely have been even more effective had their unity been stronger, but even with their differences they were able to mount a compelling campaign abroad, which contributed to the reinstatement of a civilian government in Chile.

Hegemony, Conscientization and the Public Sphere

Social movements seek to influence will formation and public opinion by putting issues on the public agenda. The solidarity movement engaged in a variety of actions aimed at raising critical awareness among the general public at the local, national and international level. These actions took the form of what Habermas (1996) calls episodic publics, such as demonstrations and picket lines; occasional publics like peñas, concerts and conferences; and abstract publics, as in the case of when news stories about Chile were heard on América Latina al Día on Coop Radio or seen on television broadcasts.

While the mass media is far more visible than social movements in the public sphere, the abstract publics the solidarity movement created by reaching the media put the issues the movement sought to address on the public agenda. This was accomplished through actions which
garnered media attention (for example, hunger strikes and demonstrations), approaching the media directly and convincing them to cover Chilean and solidarity movement events (for example, the women in Calgary who went to the CBC and writing letters to the editor of newspapers (as CDC often did). The issues solidarity movement activists were concerned with – human rights violations, which included basic rights to life and liberty, as well as cultural, political and economic rights – together with the many kinds of publics solidarity movement actions created all generated public dialogue and forwarded movement goals, not least of which was challenging the hegemonic discourse and coercive practices of the military regime.

Public spheres, hegemony and conscientization are strongly related. As Gramsci (1971) tells us, direct domination is maintained coercively and hegemony is maintained by organizing consent. We already know the Junta established and maintained its domination through its repressive edicts and practices. They were also concerned with securing hegemony and for that they need to create consent through the public sphere where legitimacy is generated. The Junta tried to legitimate itself and its actions by claiming the coup and subsequent repression were justified because they needed to save Chile from Marxism, fight communism and restore law and order. They claimed it was not the Junta which intended to install a totalitarian government, rather it was the UP that tried to “sink Chilean democracy into a Marxist dictatorship” and it was “the spirit of sacrifice, the nobility and the courage of the soldiers of the Armed Forces and Carabineros” which had saved Chile (El Mercurio, September 14th, 1973). It comes as no surprise then that the Junta tried to legitimate the neoliberal model they implemented by arguing Marxism is undemocratic, much like the arguments proponents of this model (in Chile and elsewhere) use today to legitimate global capitalism as the only true democratic model by defining democracy as the right of businesses to compete and pursue unlimited profits and the right of consumers to infinite choices. As we know, the Junta proceeded to implement the
economic model forwarded by Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago and Chile became a test case for neoliberalism. Ironically, however, their new order had to be backed by coercion; it required severe repression and a dictatorship, the antithesis of democracy.

The Junta also tried to organize consent by creating a culture of silence, which sought first to reconfigure Chilean history. Sergio Bitar\textsuperscript{269} explains:

\begin{quote}
Upon returning to Chile in 1984, after eleven years, I was struck by the tremendous emotional charge against the government of President Allende and the sharp distortion of the reality of those years. I understood that was part of a deliberate campaign on the part of the dictatorship in order to justify itself (Bitar, 1995, p. 7).
\end{quote}

In addition, the Junta sought to erase the grave violations of human rights it committed in its attempt to wipe out the Chilean Left through assassination and exile and along with them their political culture. To do this in Chile and abroad the Junta demonized all leftists, denied torture, disappearances and death and later pointed to their economic “miracle,” all in an attempt to demonstrate they had restored law and order and to legitimate the new order. To exterminate the political culture of the Left, they began by burning literature, closing university faculties, killing Víctor Jara, arresting, torturing and/or exiling New Chilean Song musicians and prohibiting music and instruments associated with the movement. Recall that according to Patricio Lanfranco, who was the president of the ACU when he toured Canada in 1981, for the authorities having a guitar was as threatening as having pamphlets. Other forms of cultural production – for example, theatre, film, painting and literature – were also forbidden if it was deemed subversive. These efforts were not only aimed at eradicating the cultural production of the Left, the Junta also implemented a cultural project which attempted to stamp out the values of the Chilean Left by elevating conservative values of “restoring \textit{la chilenidad} [Chileanism]…knowing that it is the only way to stay true to national traditions, the legacy of

\textsuperscript{269} Recall from Chapter Three that Sergio Bitar was an advisor to Allende, Minister of Mining in 1973 and a major figure of the Christian Left. After the coup he was imprisoned on Dawson Island and later spent eleven years in exile. Once he returned to Chile in 1984, he was among the founders of the Party for Democracy before the plebiscite and a Minister during Lagos and Bachelet’\textquotesingle s presidencies.
the Fathers of the Land and the History of Chile” (Decree Law 1, National Library of Congress of Chile, translation mine) and by implementing the neoliberal model, which champions individualism and a culture of consumption.

By circulating these discourses the Junta tried to make it common sense that the coup and repression was justified, that Chile ought to maintain its “traditional values” and that it is more valuable to have than to be, thus generating consent for the new order. Since the coup radically altered Chile’s history by breaking with its constitutional legacy, despite the level of critical consciousness reached by large sectors of the populace, semi-intransitive consciousness characteristic of a culture of silence was reactivated. The extent to which semi-intransitive consciousness is reactivated is directly related to the degree of violence of the coup and ensuing repression (Freire, 1985), which were extremely high. The long and hard work of the Chilean Left to challenge the common sense notions of Chilean power elites was destroyed, though not among all Chileans. It was in and through the public sphere that the Junta constructed this common sense and tried to keep the populace from critically engaging the new reality. It was also by reclaiming the public sphere and moving their grievances from the periphery to the centre that Chileans in Chile and exiles abroad challenged this common sense.

Establishing and maintaining hegemony involves constructing common sense. Common sense, however, is predicated on taken-for-granted assumptions, which go unquestioned. While hegemony can be secured passively or actively, the project of the Chilean Left was to “build a new society, a new way of living together, a new ethic” (Salvador Allende, Victory Speech, September 5, 1970) and this new culture was based on “a critical vision of reality” (Unidad Popular, 1969). Thus, the UP did not seek to develop passive hegemony; rather they sought active consent, which means consent is granted critically and is therefore genuine. Similarly, solidarity movement participants were trying to organize a genuine consensus to which people
sincerely subscribed. This required countering the hegemonic discourses of the military regime and critically articulating authentic consent. To do this activists in the solidarity movement denounced the Junta and announced the future. While as we know not all Chileans in Chile or in exile agreed as to the post-dictatorship Chile they were announcing, despite all their disagreements they agreed they wanted a return to a civilian government. This involved engaging in a process of conscientization in order to transform common sense into good sense and praxis was central to how they went about it, since denunciation entails a commitment to transformation and transformation requires action.

Public Conscientization: Raising Critical Awareness in and through the Public Sphere

Questioning the common sense notions circulated by the Junta entailed teaching the non-Chilean public about Chile. As we learned in the previous chapter, exiles and non-Chileans reached the public through several media (for example, music and arpilleras) and actions (for example, demonstrations, newsletters and public meetings). Solidarity movement messages taught the public about Chile’s democratic tradition, the vision of the Chilean Left and achievements of the UP, the bloody coup and its immediate aftermath and its on-going grave human rights violations. This formed the basis for denouncing the Junta and calling the public to action in order to build solidarity to morally and materially support the resistance in Chile and isolate the Junta politically and economically.

Solidarity movement actions sought to engage the public in a process of conscientization. To move the public’s consciousness from semi-intransitive consciousness to naïve transitive consciousness and eventually to critical consciousness required engaging in cultural action for freedom. Part of the task involved politicizing the Canadian public. While some sectors of Canadian society were highly politicized when exiles arrived because of the heightened mobilization of the 1960s with the Viet Nam war, women’s movement and civil rights in the
U.S., Canadian society was not as generally politicized as the Chile exiles left. As Emilio explained,

When we lived in Chile during Allende, those three years of Allende, we would comment that you had to read the newspaper three times a day to be somewhat informed, three times a day. There were about twenty of those tabloid kinds of newspapers and there were I don’t know how many of those larger ones and there were I don’t know how many magazines and there were thirty AM radio stations and there were twenty-five FM radio stations. And there was something very, very, very vibrant and alive.

Aside from Allende sympathizers in Vancouver and around the world who had been following events in Chile before the coup, “Chile was just a dot on the map” (Janet, Interview) and so “at first people didn’t understand much what was happening because many didn’t know of Chile” (Antonio, Interview). Therefore, it was important that the general public learn about Chile’s pre and post-coup history and later the continuous repression and effects of the neoliberal model implemented by the regime before they would feel compelled to support the solidarity movement. This knowledge facilitated breaking down common sense to begin to overcome the culture of silence imposed by the military regime.

The naïve transitive stage of consciousness among the public, a transitional phase characterized by quasi-immersion in reality and mixture of common and good sense, indicates the emerging protagonism of the solidarity movement on the world stage in supporting the resistance in Chile. Over time, solidarity movement activists established an internal and a public knowledge base which led to an ever more critical understanding of the situation in Chile and of solidarity actions abroad among allies and the public. We saw this when Pilar explained that when Cormorán performed “between one song and another, recounting what had happened and the people understanding, understanding and supporting [it].” In Claudia’s words, “the public became increasingly conscientized and they supported what we were doing.” This is also illustrated by a letter to The Ubyssey written by a student after Chile Week at UBC who wrote “I can say without reservation that UBC’s committee for the defence of human rights in Chile has
heightened my understanding of the political situation in that country” (Larry Hill, The Ubyssey, March 10, 1978). The student had clearly heard the solidarity movement message since he stated Chile Week was organized “in the hopes that increasing international opposition to the Chile regime may help restore a life of decency and dignity to the people of that country.”

The word domination implies imposition be it consciously or unconsciously on the part of oppressors who may or may not be aware of how they serve domination, or the oppressed who may or may not be aware of how they are dominated. Active consent, however, is granted based on a genuine conviction that something is just and so a critical understanding is essential for that conviction to be authentic. Solidarity movement activists were not trying to impose a particular way of thinking on the public; rather they were trying to engage the public in a process of conscientization; whether people supported the solidarity movement or not, solidarity movement actions engaged people so that they could arrive at their own conclusions. If they supported the aims of the movement, their consent was genuine and if they did not, that disapproval was also genuine. As we know, conscientization is a never ending process; there is always room “to question, to compare, to doubt, and to weigh, [because] the more efficaciously curious we become and the more attuned becomes our good sense” (Freire, 1998, p. 61) the closer we move towards critical consciousness.

The Multidimensionality of Social Movements

Movements have been seen in the social movement literature as instrumental or expressive (Gusfield, 1963; Searles & Williams, 1962) and as strategy-oriented or identity-oriented (Cohen, 1985; Touraine, 1981). However, many contemporary social movement scholars argue these distinctions between the external, instrumental aspects (often oriented towards the state) and the internal, expressive dimensions (related to identity and expression of morality and emotions) of social movements are not useful because movements and their tactics
are often at once instrumental and expressive or externally and internally oriented (Bernstein, 1997; Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Solidarity movement actions were simultaneously instrumental and expressive and thus this research supports the notion that social movements blend these dimensions in their actions.

Perhaps the action that most illustrates how both dimensions were combined in the solidarity movement is the peña. The music of the New Chilean Song movement articulated the values and the vision of the Chilean Left. In performing this music exiles were expressing their collective identity as part of the Chilean Left, as exiles and as members of the solidarity movement. By learning to play instruments and sing, as well as practising and playing together they also affirmed these identities. At the same time, exiles used this cultural form (and others – for example poetry) to communicate their values and their message to the public, mobilize their support and to raise funds. Recent accounts of the situation in Chile were also woven in between performances and people ate empanadas and other Chilean food at peñas, which both showcased Chilean food and was another form of cultural expression for exiles. People also enjoyed a glass of red wine with their empanada and exiles explained why the wine was not Chilean and urged the public to boycott all Chilean goods.

While peñas are a powerful example of how social movements blend the expressive and instrumental, other solidarity movement actions also show these dimensions are often intertwined. Many forms of artistic expression exemplify this, including theatre troupes that performed plays, arpilleras sold by exiles, concerts given by exiled New Chilean Song movement musicians, and film screenings. Moreover, a number of other actions illustrate that actions were externally and internally oriented. Demonstrations were organized to protest the arrival of ships carrying Chilean products, to draw attention to Noranda Mines’ investments in Chile and to commemorate September the 11th. For solidarity movement participants these
actions also reinforced their collective identity as they acted together in solidarity. Enquiries publicly denounced the grave human rights violations, which had and continued to take place in Chile, documented these horrific facts, so important to collective memory and expressed the anger and sadness exiles felt. The program América Latina la Día on Coop Radio broadcasted and offered critical analysis of the news coming out of Chile and Latin America, which engaged the exile and Latin American community as well as the broader public in thinking critically about what was happening there. Participating in producing the program affirmed the identity of the movement and the music they played expressed the collective identity of the solidarity movement and of Latin Americans.

As we have seen, solidarity movement actions often combined the expressive and instrumental dimensions of the movement. They also blended the intellectual with the emotional and the sensory. Again, peñas are probably the most emblematic example of this – people listened to accounts of the situation in Chile, they took in performances, heard music (lyrics and melody) and poetry, they ate empanadas, drank red wine and socialized – but other actions also illustrate how thought, affect and physical experiences were brought together. When exiles sold arpilleras they often told the story of the embroidered appliqués. They tried to convey what the arpillerista who made it expressed through their art work and people listened and probably interpreted the story as well. As they did this, both exiles and the public had a tactile and visual experience as they looked at and touched the arpiller, which likely evoked strong emotions, and they intellectually processed the story and message the arpiller communicated. As we know, exiles were well aware of the power of artistic expression and they deliberately used this knowledge not only to engage the public intellectually, emotionally and physically in order to get their movement messages across and mobilize support, but also because experiences which
simultaneously engage heart, mind and body are powerful forms of expressing and affirming identities.

Just as solidarity movement actions are multidimensional, so too is the significance of the movement. In the final section of this chapter, we will examine the political and cultural dimensions of the solidarity movement in relation to its political effects and in terms of the significance the movement had for movement participants. Again, instrumental and expressive aspects of the movements, as well as external and internally oriented dimensions are often intertwined.

The Significance of the Solidarity Movement

So what is the significance of the solidarity movement? One way to think about this question is in terms of outcomes or consequences. Political outcomes comprise much of the research done on social movements and while other consequences such as the personal and biographical are receiving more attention, there is relatively little research on cultural outcomes and therefore no consensus on how to classify the consequences of social movements (Earl, 2004). The consequences of social movements are about more than whether movements achieved their aims; they are about the effects movements have on their members, other social movements, the public and political sphere. While it is useful to think about the repercussions of social movements this way in that it represents a step beyond only considering whether movements reach their goals, I prefer to think of the solidarity movement in terms of its significance because this conveys thinking about not only the outward effects social movements have, but the meaning of movements for the movements themselves. That said, it is still important to consider the aims of the solidarity movement. This discussion approaches considering the significance of the solidarity movement holistically. It examines the extent to which solidarity movement goals were achieved, the political outcomes of the movement, and
then focuses on the cultural and social dimensions of the movements and their significance. While we will not focus solely on outcomes, the literature on social movement consequences is useful for thinking through the significance of the solidarity movement, particularly as this literature relates to cultural dimensions of the movement.

The overarching goal of the solidarity movement was to end the dictatorship in Chile by morally and financially supporting the resistance in Chile. Abroad this meant denouncing the Junta and isolating it politically and economically and raising funds and critical awareness about the situation in Chile and solidarity movement actions across the globe. Though there are others, the political consequences of social movements most relevant to the solidarity movement mainly have to do with the policy changes movements achieve, establishing on-going links with the state and recognition of challengers as legitimate (Amenta & Caren, 2004). Before the influx of Chilean exiles to Canada, non-Chileans and a few Chileans (for example, Ana María Quiroz) also called on the Canadian government to allow Chilean exiles in to Canada. Janet of CDC explains:

We were trying to push policy that way and we were trying to raise awareness of Chile amongst Canadian people so that the shift would happen as well, you know, both those whose conscience was already raised about what happened in Chile would sign the letters, but then we were hoping that we would also influence other Canadians to put the pressure on our government to open the doors. I don’t know if I can say that, I mean that was one of our goals, though, I can’t tell you if it worked or not, but I think Canada did okay in terms of opening the doors for Chileans, I think they did okay. I was pleased you know. There were other countries that didn’t do nearly as much as Canada did, so…
As we know as a result of solidarity movement efforts the Canadian government created the Special Chilean Immigration Program and by 1978 more than ten thousand refugees and “regular” immigrants had entered Canada. Solidarity movement groups also established strong relationships with the New Democratic Party (NDP), including Members of Parliament, the Premier of British Columbia and Members of the Legislative Assembly, all of whom kept Chile on the government agenda. That the government changed its policy and that members of the NDP often participated in movement activities and advocated for the solidarity movement and politicians of all political parties responded to letters show they accepted the solidarity movement and its allies as legitimate challengers. At the international level, this is reflected in the United Nations repeated condemnation of the military regime.

**Building Broad Alliances: The Public Sphere and the Formation of an Historical Bloc**

Solidarity movement efforts supported the resistance in Chile. Exiles and non-Chileans were obviously in a much safer position than Chileans in Chile to use their voices in the public sphere. In spite of this, it did not take long for Chileans in Chile to emerge from the culture of silence. In Chapter Three we learned that relatives of the disappeared, particularly women, were among the first to publicly protest against the military regime. The Comité de la Cooperación para la Paz en Chile [The Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile] established in October of 1973, which later became the Vicaría de la Solidaridad [Vicariate of Solidarity] in 1976, along with other church organizations played a highly significant role in denouncing violations of and defending human rights. Other civil society actors soon joined in, notably women and youth in shantytowns and students. By the early to mid 1980s, Chileans had made great strides in reclaiming the public sphere and mounted a strong “NO” campaign for the 1988 plebiscite. The triumph of the opposition to Pinochet required building broad alliances across civil society.
sectors, as well as engaging political and economic society. Similarly, in Canada broad alliances were needed to garner support for solidarity movement aims, which ultimately were oriented towards transformation in Chile.

The concepts of political and economic society proposed by Cohen and Arato (1992) as mediating levels for understanding the influence of civil society on state and economic subsystems are valuable for analyzing: 1) the relationships between solidarity movement groups and Canadian political parties and unions 2) the relationships among exile groups constituted along and across Chilean political party lines and their connections with political parties in Chile 3) the influence the solidarity movement had on Canadian political and economic subsystems, and 4) the influence of the solidarity movement on Chilean subsystems. In Cohen and Arato’s conception, political parties correspond with political society and unions with economic society.

Freire theorizes that as common sense is transformed into good sense, progressive groups increasingly ally themselves with the masses. In terms of the solidarity movement, as critical consciousness emerged among the public, a range of progressive groups increasingly became solidarity movement allies. These included church and women’s groups, musicians, artists, human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, unions and political parties, some of which had already mobilized and engaged in public education activities before exiles arrived. Solidarity movement alliances were not limited to civil society actors. In Chapters Six and Seven we learned that solidarity movement groups worked with several unions and labour councils and federations. Some of these unions had already established links with the CUT before the coup and the CUT had a committee in Vancouver. In addition, many CDC members were also union members and leaders. We also learned that solidarity movement allies included political parties, particularly COPE and the NDP, and that some CDC members were also members of these parties.
The concepts of political and economic society help us understand this interface of civil society and the state and economic subsystems. To a certain extent solidarity movement actions in the public sphere remained on the periphery, as Habermas would put it or created weak publics in Fraser’s terms, because they were oriented toward opinion formation, not decision-making and were not therefore influencing political steering mechanisms directly. By engaging Canadian political parties, solidarity movement participants were able to create strong publics by compelling issues onto the public agenda and exerting more direct influence on those with decision-making power. The multiple group membership of many solidarity movement activists facilitated the creation of networks and alliances to build a broad support base and engage structures of influence. Solidarity movement actions such as speaking at party conventions, performing at union conventions and organizing conferences which brought these and other groups together also established and developed relationships with groups closer to the subsystems. In addition, raising critical awareness among and engaging the public in actions like signing petitions, writing letters to politicians, public protest that garnered media attention and organizing enquiries influenced the Canadian government, which opened Canada’s doors to Chileans seeking refuge and condemned the Junta at the UN. Since the communication structures of the political public sphere are more open, possibilities for influencing political society and the government are greater; however, influencing the economic subsystem is more challenging because conditions for publicity are more limited than in the political public sphere (Cohen & Arato, 1992). Nevertheless, boycott and divestment campaigns, which were especially but not solely supported by unions, influenced economic decisions, as illustrated by UBC’s decision to sell its shares in Noranda (even though they reinvested five years later) and Noranda discontinuing their mining project in Chile, the decision of the Premier of Saskatchewan to stop selling Chilean wines in that province and consumers deciding not to purchase Chilean goods.
As we know, exiles organized groups across and along Chilean political party lines in Canada and around the world and worked closely with political parties in Chile. While the political parties of the Left (the UP coalition and the MIR) were proclaimed illegal by the Junta, they continued to operate clandestinely in Chile and together with UP party leaders, mainly in Europe, and rank and file members across the globe continued to debate the issues which divided the Chilean Left before the coup and later how to end the dictatorship in Chile. Eventually broad alliances were formed as the Left joined forces to oust Pinochet. Though only a small percentage of exiles returned to Chile permanently, a significant proportion of those who did return went back in the 1980s, among whom were many high profile UP figures. The renovation of the Left, which took place during the dictatorship influenced these alliances and the political majority needed for the “NO” victory in the 1988 plebiscite was achieved. Political society and its strong presence in public spheres at the local, national and international level was essential to the reinstatement of a civilian government.

Clearly ending the dictatorship is a powerful example of the influence civil society can have on the state, but it was not civil society alone, rather civil society together with political society that ultimately ended the dictatorship in Chile. The capacity of civil society to influence the form democracy has taken in post-dictatorship Chile has been limited, as evidenced by the fact that the 1980 Constitution and the neoliberal economic model implemented by the Junta largely remain the same. In part this is due to the form the renovation took among some sectors of the Left and in part because of the hegemony of global capitalism. Nevertheless, the collective efforts of Chileans in Chile with exiles and non-Chileans all over the world to forge broad alliances paid off. From abroad, these partnerships were effective in denouncing and isolating the Junta politically and economically and supporting the resistance in Chile. Even though the Chilean Left did not overcome all of its differences, as exiles returned in the 1980s and joined
forces with the opposition that remained in Chile they formed an historical bloc, a critical mass of people which was able to end Pinochet’s rule.

**The Cultural Significance of the Solidarity Movement**

In a review of the literature on cultural outcomes, Earl (2004) looks at three areas based on three dimensions of culture discussed by Hart (1996) - social-psychological, cultural production and practices, and worldviews and communities. Changes in values, beliefs and opinions represent one type of cultural outcome, changes in literature, music and other forms of cultural production and in practices constitute another type of cultural outcome, and macro changes in worldviews correspond with the third type of cultural outcome, which is also linked to collective identity. While we will consider these dimensions of culture as we think through the cultural significance of the solidarity movement, we will do so in terms of the meaning of the movement for the movement and in relation to not only outward changes among the public and other movements, but also within the solidarity movement. It is worth pointing out that often meaning and change are closely tied, that is, something is meaningful because it is transformative and that something could be meaningful without change – for example it reaffirmed values, beliefs and identities.

Within the solidarity movement, exiles’ transformed their values, beliefs and opinions as they engaged in a process of conscientization. Examples include their reflections on Marxism, collectivism and individualism, whether activism is worth it, gender relations, rights and responsibilities and their place in Canadian society. In some cases, the way they saw themselves, their beliefs about themselves, was also influenced by their participation in the solidarity movement. We saw this with Blanca who felt a sense of self-worth in learning how to dance and being able to offer something valuable through this form of artistic expression. Exiles’ efforts to teach their children their political and ethnocultural values to their children is also culturally
significant. While it is not possible to determine whether the public’s values, beliefs and opinions changed as a result of solidarity movement actions, exiles certainly feel the public changed the way they saw Chile – from another Latin American dictatorship to a country with a long democratic tradition – and the way they thought about what happened in Chile. Claudia and Emilio are still amazed by what the solidarity movement was able to do in terms of teaching the public:

    Emilio: We have always been surprised at how successful the Chilean movement was in raising the rest of the world’s consciousness because of what happened in Chile.

    Claudia: Raising and maintaining.

    Emilio: Years and years.

It is also likely that as a result of this movement allies and other civil society actors changed the way these groups thought about Chile and about exiles.

    As we have seen time and again, cultural production was central to the solidarity movement. Peñas, folk, dance and theatre groups, films, concerts, arpilleras and food were perhaps the most powerful ways through which exiles mobilized support, raised critical awareness and funds to support the resistance in Chile. However, as Antonio pointed out when he was telling me about coordinating tours of exiled musical groups, “sometimes not much money was made with these [tours]; it was more than anything because of the cultural significance.” At least equally important is the intrinsic cultural and social significance these forms of cultural production and the rituals embedded in them have for exiles and their children. Rituals like peñas, dance and musical performances, going to concerts and making empanadas and other Chilean food reaffirmed their collective identity, taught political and cultural values and practices to children and created and reinforced social bonds among family, extended family, which many exiles became for each other, and among movement allies and with the public.
The dimensions of culture and their corresponding outcomes are connected. As some of the above examples illustrate, the re/construction of their collective identity as exiles, Chilean Left, solidarity movement (which themselves are intertwined) is tied to changes in values, beliefs and opinions and to cultural production and practices. Another example is that music, a form of cultural production, was a medium through which exiles taught the public about the values and vision of the Chilean Left and made public the violent repression in Chile. It also reaffirmed the collective identity of the solidarity movement and the exile community and helped sustain the movement because it fuelled morale. Music itself changed in that music reflected the exile experience. Among exiled New Chilean Song movement artists, lyrics expressed experiences of exile and styles often changed as musicians grew artistically and incorporated instruments and/or sounds into their musical form and sang in the languages of the countries in which they lived.

**The Significance of the Solidarity Movement for the Resistance in Chile**

Up to this point we have discussed the significance of the solidarity movement in terms of what it meant for Canada and the movement itself. Many of the people I interviewed felt the effect the solidarity movement had was meaningful, yet modest. Part of the reason for this sentiment is that exiles felt what they did in Chile was far more consequential than from abroad. Not only had their compañeras/os in Chile risked their lives, they faced serious economic hardship. As Pedro said, “if you calculate the time you were all warm [and safe] here and in Chile they were, they went through some hard times.” Elspeth of CDC also talked about the fact that people in Chile were the ones directly facing the military regime. She also explains that it was not what was done in Vancouver alone that was so effective, but the sum of actions across Canada and on a transnational scale that enabled the solidarity movement to be effective, particularly in standing with the people of Chile:
It’s not a great deal we can do, but when you add up everything that goes, say from Vancouver, everything that goes from Toronto, everything that goes from London and Paris and around the world, then it has an impact, it even has some impact down in Chile. If not in solving the problem, that is, if not in removing Pinochet, at least in giving heart to the Chilean people who are trying to struggle against Pinochet, that somebody else cares and there’s world wide opinion, so that is another purpose of these committees…not just to do the activity where we are, but to give heart to the people who are doing the battling at the centre of the struggle…to show solidarity. That solidarity was important to the people there because whenever a speaker would come here, which wasn’t that often, but they would express that, that the importance of their receiving support and knowing that somebody was taking some action…and protest what was going on.

Through speakers who came from Chile, solidarity movement participants also learned that their actions did mean something to people in the resistance in Chile. Moral and financial support was often connected, since so many UP party members and supporters had lost their jobs and families had lost the main breadwinners because they were killed, detained and some disappeared they needed economic assistance to survive and to dedicate a significant portion of their time to political work. Marcela is confident the money they sent to Chile was useful: “someone would receive our help…we knew they didn’t have anything, even it was so they could buy two kilos of bread to distribute at a meeting we knew they would eat, that day they would eat bread.”

The moral support and show of solidarity was felt and appreciated by people in Chile. As we learned in Chapter Seven, CDC sent Ana González, a leader of the AFDD, a monthly sum of two hundred dollars to support her family and the work of the AFDD. After CDC sent a letter communicating this, her daughter responded expressing their heartfelt gratitude:

It is with great happiness that I received your letter, especially to confirm the concern other peoples have for suffering so immense as that of the Chilean people. It is inspiring to know you are concerned for us in reclaiming our liberty, which to us seems as though we lost it centuries ago, having been taken away from us in such a cruel and bloody way. We struggle and we are confident that spring will arrive in our beloved country with the effort and the unity of all of us who love justice, liberty and are firmly striving for real peace…Thank you for your work! Thank you for your solidarity! The money you so generously will send will not only help me, I will share it with another person who is in the same situation as me….Again, on behalf of my mother, myself and my country, thank you!
Solidarity movement actions also affected the Junta’s decisions, as illustrated by Ana Gonzalez’s statement in an article in the Vancouver Sun in which she explains that although she was arrested several times, “the police are careful of the relatives of the disappeared. They don’t torture us because of the weight of international opinion” (quoted in Farrow, June 1, 1983).

    The overall feeling of most exiles is that the work of the solidarity movement did contribute to reinstating a civilian government in Chile. For example, Diego stated:

    The solidarity activities that were done in B.C. and in Canada, I think that ninety percent is the same as what was done all over the world and that it contributed in great measure in terms of [ending] the dictatorship.

    Likewise, Teresa considers solidarity movement efforts played an important role: “we did a lot and the Junta left eventually; that’s what counts,” but Pedro was quick to point out that the transition back to a civilian government, was not an ideal situation; it was “within what was possible.” With Pinochet’s 1980 Constitution in place, many exiles and Chileans in Chile feel the political system in Chile is not completely democratic. Antonio explains:

    So there was going to be a democracy and have the Constitution that they created, the Constitution that to date, but based on all the anti-democratic measures they could [enact]. So what is incredible to us, to date, is that still no government has the courage to mention the idea of changing [the Constitution].

    Many modifications have been made in the post-dictatorship period, but none as substantial as the 2005 constitutional reforms approved unanimously by the Chamber of Deputies and opposed by only three Senators (designated by the National Security Council and from military ranks). Among the most important changes are the elimination of the function of the Armed Forces as the “guarantors of institutionality,” the end of the immobility of the commanders in chief of the Armed Forces, Senate approval for the declaration of a state of siege by the President, and the elimination of designated and lifetime senators (under which Pinochet became a lifetime senator). Still, it took fifteen years for these reforms to be enacted and the fact that they modify

---

270 The word eventually appears in italics not in order to emphasize it, but because Teresa said it in English.
the 1980 Constitution is terribly problematic because this Constitution is unconstitutional by virtue of its illegitimate constituting power. It is not surprising, then, that many exiles and Chileans in Chile think the reforms, while important, do not go far enough.

Therefore, while the goal of ending the dictatorship was achieved by the resistance in Chile and abroad, for most exiles Chile is a semi-democracy. This appraisal is not only based on the political structures in place. While many acknowledge the progress that has been made in the post-dictatorship period, in some ways Chile has not fundamentally changed. In Diego’s words:

Now in Chile there is a democratic government and, but “democratic” because there are tons of things that cannot be done and there are lots of things that are changing in education, social services and health and many things, but economic power is still in the hands, for the most part in hands of those who have always had it.

As Diego’s words show, the changes the Chilean Left sought and some continue to seek today of a socialist or at least a more socially just society have not been realized. If anything Chile is further away from the socialist vision of the Left than it was in the decades before the dictatorship. Still, it was because of the hope, determination, resilience and as the movement’s name tells us, because of the solidarity of exiles and non-Chileans around the world that Chileans in Chile were not alone in ending the brutal dictatorship which forever changed the lives of millions of Chileans.

---

271 Though in part, but not solely because of the particular circumstances of the Chilean case, this could be said of almost any country most people consider a democracy, like many European countries, Canada, Australia and the U.S.A. as it all depends on what democracy means. Is it proportional representation? Is it participative democracy? Is it majority rule? Is it fair and just distribution of social and economic goods? Is it capitalism? Is it socialism?

272 Diego said “democratic in quotations.” For readability I put the word ‘democratic’ in quotations.
CHAPTER TEN: Summary and Implications

This chapter begins with a review of the study, focusing on the research findings and conclusions. It then discusses the scholarly significance and scope of the study and suggests directions for future research. Finally, it considers the implications of this enquiry for social movements.

Review of the Study

This study sought to investigate the learning practices and processes Chilean exiles were engaged in and how movement knowledge was produced and reproduced within the context of the solidarity movement and among the wider public. The purpose of undertaking this research was to document and understand these learning and knowledge production processes and the experiences of solidarity movement participants in Vancouver, paying particular attention to that of exiles and of rank and file members of the movement. This was accomplished by conducting interviews mainly with women and men exiles from a cross-section of solidarity movement groups and with two women members of the non-Chilean solidarity movement group, Canadians for Democracy in Chile. Other important sources of data were the informal archives provided by study participants and the Canadians for Democracy in Chile Fonds at The University of British Columbia. Together the interviews and archives provided rich sources of data for investigating the research questions. The conceptual tools employed to understand the learning and knowledge production processes and the solidarity movement itself drew on Habermas’s formulation of the public sphere, Gramsci’s understanding of hegemony, the Freirean notion of conscientization and the centrality of praxis in Gramsci and Freire’s thought. The relationships among these concepts became clearer as I moved back and forth between the literature and the data throughout the whole research process.
Summary of the Research Findings and Conclusions

The value of the solidarity movement learning community cannot be underestimated. Without it exiles and non-Chileans would not have been able to carry out all the actions they did, achieve movement goals, re/construct identities or learn about themselves both individually and collectively. It was because of their knowledge of how to organize politically that exiles were capable of carrying out solidarity work as soon as they arrived in Canada and elsewhere and together with non-Chileans, maintain Chile on the public agenda locally, nationally and internationally for nearly two decades. It was because of their knowledge of the value of the public sphere and of artistic expression as a medium through which to teach the public that they communicated solidarity movement messages so effectively and engaged the public to reach a critical understanding of what had happened and continued to happen in Chile. It was because of this knowledge and the knowledge exiles and non-Chileans had from their educational and professional backgrounds and their natural talents and what they learned from each other that they were able to create a diverse and effective repertoire of action. It was because of the knowledge they produced through their reflections on their political experiences and values that they re/constructed their political identities. It was the knowledge they re/produced in re/constructing their political and ethnocultural identities that enabled exiles to learn from their political, community and personal experiences and apply this knowledge to their personal lives and solidarity movement actions, including the value of building broad alliances in order to construct an historical bloc. In short, it was this learning community which enabled exiles and non-Chileans to build and sustain the solidarity movement, mobilize support, forge a collective solidarity movement identity, re/construct their political and ethnocultural identities and transform their values.
Learning and knowledge production in the solidarity movement was dynamic. Exiles and non-Chileans established a knowledge base with the knowledge they already had from previous political participation and this knowledge base developed through praxis as individuals and groups shared and generated knowledge within and across solidarity movement groups and across social movements – for example with the Central American solidarity movement and the labour movement. Praxis was central to learning and knowledge production as exiles reconstituted their identities and is intimately tied to their own conscientization. They were continuously engaged in learning from their reflections and applying this knowledge, from questioning and transforming their values and vision to improving their strategies and activities. Praxis was also integral to breaking the culture of silence the Junta attempted to impose by challenging the hegemonic discourse of the Junta in the public sphere and to building broad alliances. As knowledge was re/produced in and through the public sphere, the public and exiles were engaged in learning processes that transformed common sense notions circulated by the Junta, and other assumptions held by exiles and non-Chileans. Finally, praxis was fundamental to the cultural work of intellectuals in articulating the various positions and visions of the Left and framing movement messages. While not all intellectuals were leaders, they were all involved in creating critical consciousness and many as political organizers who mobilized non-Chileans all over the world.

The local, experiential knowledge produced in the solidarity movement learning community deeply supported the actions and aims of the movement in the public sphere, including engaging political and economic society and building broad alliances, and enabled exiles to express themselves artistically, intellectually and emotionally. This learning community was also a solidary space in which exiles could work through the trauma they experienced, feel a sense of purpose in supporting their compañeras/os in Chile and in each other in exile, and a
sense of belonging to a community which shared values and a worldview, which the Junta was unable to eradicate. In addition, participating in the solidarity movement enabled many exiles to feel a sense of self-worth, create social support networks and to express and teach their political and ethnoculture to their children.

Finally, solidarity movement actions often blended the political with cultural and the intellectual with the emotional and the sensory. Peñas and other cultural events, arpilleras and other forms of artistic expression are all powerful examples of this. As we saw in previous chapters, this is not only significant in terms of understanding social movement action repertoires, but also the significance of movements in terms of outcomes in relation to movement aims and the effects and meaning of movements for their members, allies and the public.

**Significance of the Study, Scope and Future Research**

This research focused on praxis and conscientization as key learning and knowledge production processes in the solidarity movement and as such supports the growing body of literature on social movement learning which emphasizes the centrality of praxis and conscientization or critical consciousness to the informal ways in which local, experiential knowledge is produced in social movements and its value as legitimate and often transformative knowledge (Chovanec, 2009; Choudry & Kapoor, 2010; Clover, 2003; Conway, 2006; Foley, 1999; Walter, 2009). Some of these forms of learning are often tacit, as is the knowledge produced. While people may not be conscious of learning at the time, they often become cognizant of their learning through retrospective recognition, which can be externally elicited or internally triggered (Schugurensky, 2000b). This was evident during interviews with exiles and with the two people from CDC in that many of them struggled with reflecting on their exile and solidarity movement experiences as learning experiences because they had never thought about them as such and/or because they had not realized they learned something. In many cases it was
precisely through reflecting on their experiences during interviews that they recognized they had learned through these experiences and at times learned something at that very moment because they had a realization. Thus undertaking research with people who participate in social movements can help make learning and knowledge more explicit.

The study also suggests that praxis and conscientization are central to the learning that occurs among the public because of social movement activities. Social movements challenge hegemonic discourses circulated by powerful groups, which seek to organize consent through the public sphere by trying to raise the public’s critical consciousness. Social movement learning scholars often point to the important public educational role of social movements (Hall & Clover, 2005), yet the learning and knowledge production processes through which this occurs and the broader forces at play have not been thoroughly theorized. The relationships between hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere became clearer as I thought through the parallels in Freire, Gramsci and Habermas’s thought as I moved between the data and the literature. Building on the work of scholars who have compared and contrasted Freire and Gramsci’s ideas (Allman, 1994, 1999; Allman & Mayo, 1997; Mayo, 1988, 1991, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996, 1999) and Freire and Habermas’s thought (Misgeld, 1975, 1985; O’Neill, 1985; Morrow & Torres, 2002; Plumb, 1989), I argue in Chapter Four that despite some differences, their ideas share several parallels and can therefore be understood in relation to each other and in many ways complement each other, particularly in terms of theorizing the relationships between hegemony, conscientization and the public sphere. This discussion serves as a starting point for understanding these parallels in more depth. Freire, Gramsci and Habermas all share a concern with critical learning and emancipation and their significance for democracy. More specifically, all three theorize domination as creating and maintaining incomplete consciousness through cultural action for domination which maintains semi-intransitive consciousness (Freire), by
preserving common sense hegemonically (Gramsci) and through the colonization of the
lifeworld, which generates fragmented consciousness (Habermas). Domination is maintained
hegemonically by dominant groups that organize consent through the public sphere, but
challengers can also counter hegemony in the public sphere and this involves defragmenting
consciousness through conscientization. In moving ever closer to critical consciousness,
common sense is reconfigured into good sense.

Thus, this research makes a contribution to theorizing the parallels in Freire, Gramsci and
Habermas’s thought and though it was not my intention to synthesize their ideas, it begins to
illuminate the relationships among them and the ways in which they complement each other and
can therefore be useful to scholars interested in the relationships among these three theorists. It
also makes a contribution to theorizing the learning that takes place among the public as a result
of social movement activities by shedding light on the relationships between hegemony,
conscientization and the public sphere. Future research on other social movements, which
examines if and how these concepts illuminate the learning and knowledge production processes
among the public can deepen how scholars theorize these processes. Research that investigates
what members of the public learn would also help to more fully understand learning and
knowledge production among the public as a result of social movement activities.

In addition, the important role of intellectuals in the solidarity movement supports social
movement scholarship which highlights their significance as knowledge producers in articulating
the values, vision and messages of the movement (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991), in the nexus
between material relations and abstraction (Mathew, 2010), as well as conscientization within
the movement (Mayo, 1999). The role of intellectuals as organizers in building support by
forging broad alliances was also important in the work of the solidarity movement. While high-
profile leaders of the movement were instrumental in formulating and transforming the values of
the Chilean Left and the direction of the movement and the vision of the various factions among
the Left, rank and file intellectuals were key to local discussions around these issues and
therefore, played a significant role as knowledge producers and as movers and organizers in their
respective cities and countries. More research on the role of rank and file intellectuals would
further understanding their role in other social movements.

The section in Chapter Four on Gramsci’s formulations of intellectuals examined
Gramsci’s writings on the inherently intellectual nature of all humans, the function of some
people as intellectuals in society because of their social position, and the notions of traditional
and organic intellectuals. In particular, this discussion helped understand more fully what
Gramsci means by traditional and organic intellectuals and that organic intellectuals are organic
to their class, be it the elite, middle or lower classes. This means that social movement
intellectuals can be at once traditional and organic their class, so it is not solely working class
leaders who emerge from within a social movement which are organic intellectuals. Moreover,
the key to understanding Gramsci’s new type of intellectuals is that some are directive – they are
leaders and organizers – because they recognize and embrace their political role, and some are
not. This interpretation of Gramsci’s formulations of intellectuals could be useful in research
projects that seek to understand movement intellectuals and to theorizing the role of movement
intellectuals.

Exploring exile and solidarity movement identities as learning and knowledge production
processes also makes a contribution to the social movement learning scholarship. As several
scholars have pointed out, identity learning is an important dimension of learning in social
movements (Finger, 1989; Kilgore, 1999; Sandlin & Walther, 2009). Identity learning would
certainly be central to understanding gender, race and sexual identity in the solidarity movement
and in other social movements. An area that would be interesting to explore in the solidarity
movement is exiled Mapuche peoples and their experiences of the solidarity movement. Though some attention was paid to gender in this research, other studies focusing on women in the solidarity movement (Shayne, 2009) and on Chilean women in exile (Escobar, 2000; Gómez, 1993; Kay, 1987, 1988; Rebolledo, 2001) offer a more in-depth analysis of gender and the Chilean exile community. Nevertheless, this research contributes to the limited scholarship on women and the solidarity movement and makes a unique contribution in looking at women in the movement through a learning lens.

In the social movement literature, scholars are increasingly arguing that the political/cultural, instrumental/expressive and external/internal dichotomies characteristic of social movement scholarship is not useful because social movements are simultaneously all of these things (Bernstein, 1997; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). The multidimensionality of the solidarity movement’s action repertoire and the significance of the movement for its members, allies, the public and its effects on these actors and in political arenas support understanding social movements as multifaceted, rather than as either political or cultural, instrumental or expressive, or as externally or internally oriented. In addition, this study shows that social movements engage members, allies and the public intellectually, emotionally and through the senses.

The knowledge re/produced in and beyond the solidarity movement was generated from a place and for a purpose that is meaningful for the people involved in re/creating it. This does not mean the knowledge produced by a particular collective is not relevant or useful to other groups or social movements, it means the knowledge that was re/produced is significant for the people who re/produced it because it is meaningful precisely because it comes from their histories, makes sense of their present and enables them to project themselves into the future. That it is historically situated and contextual does not imply the knowledge re/produced by solidarity
movement participants in Vancouver is necessarily specific to the expression of the movement in Vancouver. Given that exiles and non-Chileans in over one hundred countries in the world shared a collective history, engaged in similar actions and report similar experiences of exile, the knowledge re/produced in Vancouver likely shares many parallels with the knowledge and the ways in which knowledge was re/produced in other solidarity movement nodes (see Wright & Oñate, 1998 for a range of accounts of exile experiences in different parts of the world). In addition, the knowledge produced in the solidarity movement is not necessarily exclusive to this particular movement. Other social movements may have produced similar knowledge, but specific to their histories – to their cultures at a given time and place. Therefore, while social movement knowledge may share similarities, it is historically situated. This study contributes to documenting and therefore validating the knowledge produced in and beyond the solidarity movement, which as scholars point out, is important for paying attention to the intellectual contributions of social movements (Choudry & Kapoor, 2010).

Future research on other nodes of the solidarity movement which seek to understand the movement itself and/or the learning and knowledge production processes of the movement and among the public can draw on this study to compare and contrast similarities and differences across cities and countries. The same could be done with social movements of other exile communities and a meta-analysis across different social movements would also provide data on the affinities and diversity of social movements and the learning and knowledge production processes of the movements and beyond. While it was not the aim of this study to produce findings which can be generalized to other social movements, the background chapters (two and three) and the rich description of findings and data analysis contextualize the findings for researchers and anyone involved in social movements to assess the applicability of this research to other contexts.
Implications for Social Movements

In conducting this research, it was my hope that the data generated would not only contribute to academic scholarship, but that it would inform social movement practice. First, seeing a social movement as a learning community would bring learning and knowledge production to the forefront. Recognizing social movement knowledge is legitimate knowledge which ought to be valued is vital to activists validating and appreciating the knowledge they produce and crucial if social movement knowledge is not going to continue to be overlooked or seen as less worthy than official knowledge (Choudry & Kapoor, 2010). Being conscious of how knowledge is produced through praxis and conscientization and other forms of intentional and unintentional learning is also key to forwarding movement goals, to the on-going process of constructing individual and collective movement identities and to meaning-making in the movement and among the public.

Solidarity movement experiences also highlight the power of artistic expression for forging identities, building and strengthening the movement from within, creating alliances, articulating movement messages, and engaging allies and the public in critically understanding the issues the movement forwards in order to mobilize support. Related to this is the power of integrating the intellectual with the emotional and the sensory in social movement actions, which not only effectively engages the public, but also strengthens identities. By drawing on a diverse repertoire of action, social movements can engage themselves and the public in interesting and sometimes novel ways.

The experiences of the Chilean Left in Chile prior to the coup and in the solidarity movement stress the importance of building broad alliances across civil society actors and political and economic society. There is a ripple effect of movement messages as allies communicate movement messages to their allies, to the public and to key political actors with
whom they have established relationships. Exiles learned that while differences are a healthy part of social movements as they think critically about their values and vision, these differences are not constructive in achieving movement aims, a point which cannot be overemphasized. Social movements need to find a way to respect differences while speaking through a sufficiently unified voice to be heard.

Finally, the experience of Chilean exiles in the solidarity movement during the 1970s and 80s is useful for immigrants and refugees who participate in social movements oriented towards issues affecting their country of origin and community organizing in Canada. Through their participation in the solidarity movement, Chilean exiles in Vancouver learned about the Canadian political system, forms of political manifestation that are culturally different from their culture of origin, and forged identities as Chilean exiles. This knowledge is useful for exile, immigrant and refugee communities. Exiles also connected with unions, churches, human rights organizations and political parties across B.C. and Canada, which points to the value of exile, immigrant and refugee communities understanding and making the most of the receptivity of the context in which they are working (Landolt & Goldring, 2009).

**Closing Remarks**

The UP years and their departure from Chile have left a permanent mark on Chilean exiles. As Teresa noted, “even now Chileans get together and up to the present day the topic of conversation is Chile, the Junta.” While memories of the UP years are overwhelmingly positive, the end of that era and the violent repression of the military takeover and uprooting exiles experienced comprise some of the saddest, most painful memories exiles have. Decades in exile has also had a significant impact on their lives and while exile could have been nothing but a terrible experience engulfed in despair, for most exiles it has also been full of hope. The solidarity movement was for many exiles fundamental to their healing. Exiles felt a sense of
continuity in their shared histories as part of the Chilean Left and as Chileans, they felt a sense of purpose in continuing to strive for a more socially just Chile and in supporting their compañeras and compañeros in Chile. The learning community at the heart of the solidarity movement was central to reconstituting their identities, to their reflections and transformations, and to the actions they carried out toward restoring a civilian government in Chile. While this knowledge was also re/produced in other contexts, the solidarity movement learning community and the broader exile learning community were important learning sites for all exiles and their children.

In spite of the Junta’s effort to eradicate the Chilean Left, neither they nor their culture died. It lives on in Chile and all over the world in the hearts, bodies, minds and souls of Chileans and the peoples of the world. The music of the New Chilean Song movement continues to inspire exiles who remain abroad, the Left in Chile and social movements across the globe. Inti-Illimani, Quilapayún, Illapu, Isabel and Ángel Parra still perform in Chile and abroad. The last time I went to an Inti-Illimani concert in Vancouver was in 2007 when they played for an enthusiastic audience of Chilean exiles and non-Chileans still moved by their music. These musicians remain committed to ensuring the history and significance of the New Chilean Song, the values and the vision of the Chilean Left, and the Junta’s human rights violations are not forgotten. They are also committed to envisioning and working towards a more socially just Chile. For instance, while she continues to perform Isabel Parra spends much of her time heading the Violeta Parra Foundation and in January of 2011 Ángel Parra participated in Music and Nation – Two Generations of Musicians: Songs and Conversations about the Chile We Want. As recently as March of 2011, Illapu participated in Americano a festival held in Argentina, which this year was dedicated to memory and justice and in April of 2011 Inti-Illimani, Illapu and other artists put on a benefit concert for the Association of the Families of the Detained Disappeared. In June of 2011 Quilapayún performed in France at the Festival of
Human Rights and Cultures of the World. The concert was dedicated to the memory of Salvador Allende.273

It was thirty-seven years ago that my family left Chile, almost a year after that fateful day – September 11th, 1973 – which changed my family’s life and the lives of Chileans forever. I am intimately aware of the significance of the years before and during the UP era for exiles and of their experiences of exile, which are also part of my history and which have also profoundly shaped the person I am today. This study represents to a large extent my desire to document exile and solidarity movement experiences so that they form a part of the collective memory of Chilean exiles and their children in Vancouver and around the world and of the collective memory of all Chileans. It also represents my desire for a better, more socially world and as an adult educator I know that learning and the knowledge produced in and beyond social movements is critical to such a project. Hours before he died, Salvador Allende reminded the Chilean people that “History is ours and the people make history” and to make history we need
to dream and to hope, a point Paulo Freire never wanted us to forget:

Dreaming is not only a necessary political act, it is an integral part of the historico-social manner of being a person. It is part of human nature, which within history is in permanent process of becoming.
In our making and remaking of ourselves in the process of making history – as subjects and objects, persons, becoming beings of insertion in the world and not of pure adaptation to the world – we should end by having the dream, too, a mover of history. There is no change without dream, as there is no dream without hope (1992, pp. 90-91).

Bibliography

Secondary Sources


Agnic Krstulovic, O. (2007). *Allende, el hombre y el político: Memorias de un secretario privado* [Allende, the man and the politician: Memories of a private secretary]. Santiago, Chile: RIL Editores.


Allende, S. (2003b). Discurso de Salvador Allende desde los balcones de la Federación de Estudiantes de Chile (FECH) en la madrugada del 5 de septiembre de 1970, ante miles de trabajadores que festejaban el triunfo electoral. [Speech given by Salvador Allende from the balconies of the Student Federation of Chile (FECH) in the early morning hours of September 5, 1970 before thousands of workers who were celebrating his electoral victory.] *Abrirán las grandes Alamedas: Discursos [The grand avenues will open: Speeches]*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.


Angell, A. (1993). *Chile de Alessandri a Pinochet: En busca de la utopía* [Chile from Alessandri to Pinochet: In search of utopia]. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello.


Garcés, M., & Nicholls, N. (2005). *Para una historia de los derechos humanos en Chile: Historia institucional de la Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas FASIC*


Rodriguez, M. (1990). Ya nunca me veras como me vieras: Doce testimonios vivos del exilio [You will never see me how you would see me: Twelve live testimonies of exile]. Santiago: Ornitorrinco.


Primary Sources

Solidarity Movement Materials

British Columbia Inter-Church Committee for World Development Education. (1976, May 20).
Letter to solidarity groups and allies regarding Noranda campaign. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)
Canadian Committee. (1974, April 1). Telegram to Canadians for Democracy in Chile regarding two thousand dollars sent to Chile Democrático in Rome. Toronto, Canada. (Participant Archive).
Canadian Committee in Support of Chilean Youth. (1981). The fight for freedom of expression in Chile. Patricio Lanfranco speaking tour booklet. Edmonton, Canada. (Participant Archive)
Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1973, October 1). Letter to David Barrett, Premier of British Columbia. Vancouver, Canada. (Canadians for Democracy in Chile Fonds, The University of British Columbia)
Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1974, September 8). Resolution on refugees from Chile. (Canadians for Democracy in Chile Fonds, The University of British Columbia)
Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1975, May 17). Open letter to the Government of Chile, distributed to the public at a demonstration in front of the Chilean Consulate. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)
Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1977, September 11). Declaration of support to the people of Chile. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1979). Letter announcing Stories and Songs of Chile and other September Commemoration activities. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1981, October 5). Letter to allies regarding public meeting and demonstration of CALA meeting at the Four Seasons Hotel. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (1985, September 13). Conference of Solidarity for a Democratic Chile. Press release. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)

Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (n.d.). Don’t buy Chilean food in Greater Vancouver supermarkets. Flyer. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)

Canadians for Democracy in Chile. (n.d.) Boycott Chilean products: Nothing from the Junta, nothing to the Junta. Poster. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Chile-Canada Solidarity. (1973, November 27). Cable from UN Refugee Camps in Santiago received by the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Toronto, Canada. (Participant Archive)


El derecho a vivir en la propia patria [The right to live in one’s own country]. (n.d.). Sticker. (Participant Archive)

For Chile with Poems and Songs. (circa 1975). Cultural event program. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)

Inter-Church Committee on Chile. (1976, November). One gigantic prison: The report of the fact-finding mission to Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Toronto, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Mujeres de Chile (MUDECHI). (1984, September 12). Greeting to Canadian sisters and participants in solidarity actions with MUDECHI. Santiago, Chile. (Participant Archive)

North Shore Young New Democrats. (1973, October 5). Letter to Canadians for Democracy in Chile about immediate responses after the coup. North Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Vancouver Chilean Association. (1975). Venceremos, October, Volume 1, Number 5. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Victoria Peace Council. (1973, October 9). Letter to Canadians for Democracy in Chile about immediate responses after the coup. Victoria, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Women’s Committee – Chilean Community. (n.d.). Milk for the children of Chile. Poster. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)

Women’s Committee of the Chilean Community. (1984). Letter to Canadians for Democracy in Chile regarding shipments and money to Admapu and OCARIN. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)

Working Committee. (1977, December 8). Letter to solidarity groups regarding the Canadian Enquiry into Human Rights in Chile. Toronto, Canada. (Participant Archives)

Chilean Government Documents


Informe de la Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura [National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture]. Santiago, Chile: La Nación. (Participant Archive)


Ministry of National Defence. (September 22, 1973). Decree Law 5. Declara que Estado de Sitio Decretado por Convocación Interna debe Entenderse “Estado o Tiempo de Guerra.” Otras Disposiciones [Declares that the State of Siege Decreed because of Internal Commotion should be Understood as “State or Time of War.” Other Provisions.] Diario Oficial de la República de Chile.


Ministry of the Interior. (October 17, 1973). Decree Law 78. Declara en Receso todos los Partidos Políticos y Entidades, Agrupaciones, etc., no Comprendidos en el Decreto Ley No. 77, de 1973 [Declares all Political Parties and Entities, Association, etc. not Included in Decree Law 77 of 1973]. Diario Oficial de la República de Chile.

Ministry of Public Education. (October 29, 1973). Decree Law 111. Otorga al Rector Delegado de la Junta de Gobierno en la Universidad de Chile las Atribuciones que Señala [Gives the President Delegated by the Government Junta in the University of Chile the Indicated Rights]. Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile.


Senado de Chile. (April 1, 1997). Diario Legislatura 334, Extraordinario, Sesión 35.

Canadian Government Documents


United States Government Documents

Central Intelligence Agency. (October 16, 1970). Cable sent from CIA Headquarters to CIA Station in Santiago, Chile. Retrieved from the National Security Archives web site: http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch05-01.htm


Also available from Internet Archive website http://www.archive.org/details/allegedassassina00unit


Also available from Department of State: http://foia.state.gov/reports/churchreport.asp

Newspaper Articles

Unless otherwise indicated, all articles from El Mercurio retrieved from the Universidad Diego Portales School of Journalism web site Museo de Prensa: www.museodeprensa.cl

All articles from The Ubyssey retrieved from their on-line archives: http://ubcpubs.library.ubc.ca/?db=ubyssey

Allende, L. (1977, April 21). Chile’s prisoners: A few are freed, thousands remain. The Vancouver Sun. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


AMS cuts grant for widow’s visit. (1973, November 30). The Ubyssey, p. 20. Vancouver, Canada.

Announcement, Teach-in and Film. (1973, November 2). The Ubyssey. Vancouver, Canada.


Chile, Prisoner of Junta. (1973, November 3). The Vancouver Province, p. 5. Vancouver, Canada. (Reprinted in CDC’s first bulletin, November, 1973)

Chile’s Angel sings of fight for freedom in his country. (1978, September 18). The Vancouver Sun, p. A15. Vancouver, Canada. (Participant Archive)


Contabilizado el 71,73% de las mesas: No: 53,31%, Si: 44,34% [71.73% of polls counted: No: 53.31%, Yes: 44.34%. (1988, October 6). El Mercurio, p. 1. Santiago, Chile. (Museo de Prensa on-line)


Gumucio Rivas, R. L. (2007, January 2). Como si fuera hoy: Nicolás Palacios, testigo de cargo en la matanza de Santa María de Iquique [As if it were today: Nicolás Palacios, witness for the prosecution for the Santa María de Iquique massacre. Piensa Chile. Retrieved from http://www.piensachile.com/content/view/1869/15/]


Films


Appendix

Interview Guide – English

Demographics

1) When did you and your family arrive in Canada?
2) Did you arrive directly from Chile or via another country?
3) Did you have any relatives in Canada before your arrival?
4) Do you have any relatives in Canada now?
5) Did you arrive directly to Vancouver or did you live elsewhere in Canada before living in Vancouver?
6) What formal education do you have? What did you study? Where did you study?
7) What was your occupation in Chile?
8) What occupation(s) have you had in Canada?
9) Do you have any children?
10) Were they born in Chile? Canada? Elsewhere?
11) When you first arrived, did you think you would return to Chile promptly? That you would be staying in Canada for a significant period of time? Permanently?
12) Did this perception change over time?

Political Activities

1) Did you participate in political activities in Chile before you left?
2) In what kinds of political activities were you engaged?
3) At what point after arriving in Canada did you start participating in political activities?
4) How did you get involved in political activities?
5) What motivated you to participate in political activities?
6) In what kinds of political activities were you involved?
7) Did you participate in any groups? More than one group?
8) What kinds of strategies did you and the people you worked with use?
9) Specifically, what was the nature of the activities in which you were involved?
10) What connections were made with other groups?
11) How were networks maintained?
12) How were decision about activities and strategies made?
13) Who was involved in decision-making?
14) How did delegation of responsibilities take place?
Learning Processes

1) Did you draw on previous knowledge and experiences in your political work?
2) What kinds of knowledge and skills did you and others bring to your political work?
3) Did you share these knowledge and skills with each other? How?
4) What did you and others learn through your experiences with these political activities?
5) How would you characterize your learning experiences in the context of your political work?
6) What challenges did you face in the context of your political activities?
7) How did you manage these challenges?
8) Did you meet to discuss the outcome of strategies and activities and to plan future ones?
9) How often did you meet? Where?
10) What topics were recurrent themes in these discussions?
11) What were the dynamics of these discussions?
12) Did you and others attempt to apply what you were learning from your discussions and experiences to future strategies and activities?

Current Political Activities

1) Do you continue to participate in political activities today?
2) What is the nature of this work?
3) Do you belong to any groups?
4) How have you applied what you learned to your current political work?
5) How have you applied what you learned to other areas of your life?
Interview Guide – Spanish

Demographics

13) ¿Cuándo llegó usted y su familia a Canadá?
14) ¿Llegaron directamente de Chile o via otro país?
15) ¿Tenían parientes que ya vivían en Canadá?
16) ¿Tienen actualmente parientes que viven en Canadá?
17) ¿Llegaron directamente a Vancouver o vivieron en otra parte de Canadá antes de vivir en Vancouver?
18) ¿Qué educación formal tiene? ¿Qué estudió? ¿Dónde estudió?
19) ¿En qué trabajaba en Chile?
20) ¿En qué ha trabajado en Canadá?
21) ¿Tiene hijas/hijos?
22) ¿Nacieron en Chile? ¿Canadá? ¿En otra parte?
23) ¿Cuando recién llegó, pensó que pronto iba a regresar a Chile? ¿Que se iba a quedar en Canadá por mucho tiempo? ¿Permanentemente?
24) ¿Cambió esta percepción a lo largo del tiempo?

Political Activities

15) ¿Participaba en actividades políticas en Chile antes de salir al exilio?
16) ¿En qué tipos de actividades políticas participaba?
17) ¿Después que llegó a Canadá, cuándo empezó a participar en actividades políticas?
18) ¿Cómo se involucró en actividades políticas?
19) ¿Qué la/lo motivó a participar en actividades políticas?
20) ¿En qué tipos de actividades políticas estuvo involucrada/o?
21) ¿Participó en algún grupo? ¿Más de un grupo?
22) ¿Qué tipos de estrategias usaron?
23) ¿Especificamente, cuál era la naturaleza de las actividades políticas en las cuales estuvo involucrada/o?
24) ¿Qué tipos de conexiones establecieron con otros grupos?
25) ¿Cómo mantuvieron estas redes?
26) ¿Cómo se tomaban las decisiones respecto a actividades y estrategias?
27) ¿Quiénes participaban en la toma de decisiones?
28) ¿Cómo se delegaban las responsabilidades?

Learning Processes

13) ¿Utilizó usted y sus compañeras/os su conocimiento y experiencias previas en su trabajo político?
14) ¿Qué tipo de conocimiento y capacidades aportaron usted y sus compañeras/os a su trabajo político?
15) ¿Compartieron este conocimiento y estas capacidades entre ustedes? ¿Cómo?
16) ¿Qué aprendieron a través de sus experiencias con estas actividades políticas?
17) ¿Cómo caracterizaría sus experiencias de aprendizaje en el contexto de su trabajo político?
18) ¿Qué desafíos enfrentaron en el contexto de sus actividades políticas?
19) ¿Cómo manejaron estos desafíos?
20) ¿Se reunían a discutir el resultado de las estrategias elegidas y actividades desarrolladas y para planificar futuras acciones?
21) ¿Con qué frecuencia se reunían? ¿Dónde?
22) ¿Cuáles eran los temas recurrentes en estas discusiones?
23) ¿Cuáles eran las dinámicas de estas discusiones?
24) ¿Trataban de aplicar lo que estaban aprendiendo en sus discusiones y experiencias a estrategias y actividades futuras?

Current Political Activities

6) ¿Actualmente, continúa participando en actividades políticas?
7) ¿Cuál es la naturaleza de este trabajo?
8) ¿Pertenece a algún grupo?
9) ¿Cómo ha aplicado lo que aprendió a su trabajo político actual?
10) ¿Cómo ha aplicado lo que aprendió a otras áreas de su vida?