

LEGACY OF DICTATORSHIP:

Works on the Chilean Diaspora

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- EXILIO: TEXTOS DE DENUNCIA Y ESPERANZA.* By Jorge Arrate. (Santiago: Documentas, 1987. Pp. 115.)
- VOLVER A EMPEZAR.* By María Angélica Celedón and Luz María Opazo. (Santiago: Pehuén, 1987. Pp. 169.)
- CLANDESTINE IN CHILE: THE ADVENTURES OF MIGUEL LITTIN.* By Gabriel García Márquez. Translated by Asa Zatz. (New York: Henry Holt, 1987. Pp. 116. \$7.95 paper.)
- CHILEANS IN EXILE: PRIVATE STRUGGLES, PUBLIC LIVES.* By Diana Kay. (Wolfeboro, N.H.: Longwood Academic, 1987. Pp. 223. \$24.95 cloth.)
- EXILIO, DERECHOS HUMANOS Y DEMOCRACIA: EL EXILIO CHILENO EN EUROPA.* Edited by Fernando Montupil I. (Brussels and Santiago: Casa de América Latina and Servicios Gráficos Caupolicán, 1993. Pp. 190.)
- EL MOVIMIENTO DE DERECHOS HUMANOS EN CHILE, 1973–1990.* By Patricio Orellana and Elizabeth Quay Hutchison. (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Políticos Latinoamericanos Simón Bolívar [CEPLA], 1991. Pp. 225.)
- YA NUNCA ME VERAS COMO ME VIERAS: DOCE TESTIMONIOS VIVOS DEL EXILIO.* By Mili Rodríguez Villouta. (Santiago: Ornitorrinco, 1990. Pp. 278.)
- LA MALDICION DE ULISES: REPERCUSIONES PSICOLOGICAS DEL EXILIO.* By Ana Vásquez and Ana María Araujo. (Santiago: Sudamericana, 1990. Pp. 251.)
- MIGUEL CLARO 1359: RECUERDOS DE UN DIPLOMATICO ITALIANO EN CHILE (1973–1975).* By Tomaso de Vergottini. (Santiago: Atena, 1991. Pp. 374.)
- O EL ASILO CONTRA LA OPRESION: 23 HISTORIAS PARA RECORDAR.* By Faride Zerán Chelech. (Santiago: Paradox, 1991. Pp. 291.)

Exile was a central aspect of the armed forces' approach to gaining and retaining control of Chile after the coup of 11 September 1973 that toppled the elected government of President Salvador Allende. An estimated two hundred thousand Chileans, most of them members of the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition that formed the Allende government or the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), were forced to leave for political reasons. An estimated eight hundred thousand more left the

country to find work, primarily in Argentina, due to the impact of the dictatorship's economic policies. Once outside Chile, most political exiles were not allowed to return until a policy change in 1984 opened the door for all but a few thousand. But even then, fear, uncertain economic prospects at home, and ties developed with their host countries kept most exiles from returning. Although the elected governments of Patricio Aylwin (1990–1994) and Eduardo Frei (1994–) and several nongovernmental organizations actively promoted repatriation, less than a quarter of the political exiles had returned by mid-1994.

The Chilean case forms part of the broader Latin American phenomenon of mass exile, which began in 1959 as a response to social and political upheaval. While political exile is not new to Latin America, the Cuban Revolution, the military dictatorships in Brazil and the Southern Cone countries, and the Central American civil wars of the 1980s all gave rise to massive international migrations and prolonged periods of exile. Since 1959, millions of Latin Americans have been forced out of their countries by political conditions or specific policies, and the majority have not returned. The case of Chilean exiles has proved to be distinct in several ways: the high visibility of Chilean exiles in many host countries; the much longer average length of exile (except in comparison with Cuban exiles); and the number of countries that took in Chileans—some 119, according to authoritative sources, on all continents. Thus the Chilean exodus became a true diaspora.

The Chilean dictatorship and transition back to an elected government cannot be understood without taking exile and return into account. While the military's systematic use of imprisonment, torture, assassination, and disappearance was certainly more dramatic than exile, the policy of forcing actual or potential opponents to leave removed most of the active Left from Chile, allowing Augusto Pinochet to consolidate his regime. Once abroad, however, the exiles worked tirelessly to undermine the regime by creating thousands of opposition groups—political parties, unions, human rights organizations, and cultural associations at local, regional, national, and international levels—in order to publicize the dictatorship's abuses, shape world opinion, and funnel money and support to the resistance within Chile. These activities were crucial in preventing the military government from attaining legitimacy in the international sphere and fueled repeated condemnations of Pinochet and his policies by the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the World Court, and other international bodies. Exiles' activities also helped to keep a modicum of internal resistance alive and thus provided some foundation for the emergence of the organized opposition movement that appeared in the early 1980s.

These internal and external pressures were important forces that pushed the Pinochet regime to make concessions, including the 1984 decision permitting most exiles to return. Following this policy shift, a

large cadre of repatriated exiles risked the consequences of illegally organizing party units, raising political consciousness in urban slums, and otherwise repoliticizing the population in anticipation of the plebiscite scheduled for 1988 on extending military rule for another eight years. Meanwhile, some illegally returned exiles conducted the same kinds of activities while others engaged in armed resistance to the dictatorship. The victory of the “no” vote in 1988 and the subsequent return to civilian rule are thus closely linked to the work of the returned exiles.

A modest body of work on exile and return has appeared in book form since 1987. For the most part, it consists of memoirs and essays by exiles and interviews with them. Novels of exile have also been written.¹ Only a few analytical studies have appeared, but given the large number of sources scattered among the archives and libraries of the nongovernmental agencies that dealt with exile and return, more work of this type will undoubtedly be undertaken. Despite some limitations, the body of literature reviewed here provides a good introduction to the topics of exile and return through a variety of approaches.

For many of the regime’s enemies, asylum served as a prelude to exile. Political asylum has long been recognized in Latin American international law as a humane and practical means for members and supporters of regimes overthrown by coups to find refuge, locate a willing host country, and obtain safe conduct, thus creating for themselves a way into exile. From the date of the coup through the end of 1974, the facilities of embassy residences in Santiago were overwhelmed by some thirty-five hundred Chileans and eleven hundred foreigners. Fearing for their lives, they jumped the walls or were smuggled into the compounds, where most spent long months waiting for the diplomatic machinery to arrange their exile. Two books have appeared to tell the story of asylum.

Tomaso de Vergottini’s memoir, *Miguel Claro 1359: Recuerdos de un diplomático italiano en Chile (1973–1975)*, takes as its title the address of the Italian ambassador’s residence. This work approaches asylum from the management viewpoint. Having arrived in December 1973, after the Italian government had withdrawn its ambassador, de Vergottini was an unaccredited chargé d’affaires overseeing several hundred “guests” who passed through the former Edwards family mansion in the ensuing fifteen months. After a shaky beginning, his position worsened as more Chileans jumped the walls, the junta withheld permissions for safe conduct, and both sides used the impasse for diplomatic leverage. After MIR leader Eduardo Sotomayor and his entourage entered the compound, de Vergottini and the embassy came under public attack by the government, the press, and the pro-military Italian colony. De Vergottini finally finished his mission of mercy when his last wards left Chile in March 1975.

1. Juan Rivano’s novel *Epoca de descubrimientos* was reviewed in *LARR* 28, no. 1 (1993):266–68.

While de Vergottini's observations focus on the concerns of a career diplomat, they also shed light on the experience of asylum. His descriptions of life inside the residence depict anxiety and boredom, conflict and solidarity, and political and personal problems magnified by lengthy confinement and restricted space. On one hand, life inside the embassy compound followed the patterns of normal life: people fell in love, babies were born, couples split up, and (faithfully replicating the Allende government and the Unidad Popular coalition) the Socialists and the Communists quarreled over almost anything. On the other hand, there was plenty to remind the inmates of their perilous situation, including periodic gunfire directed at the compound and threats from the junta. At one point, the body of MIRista Lumi Videla was thrown over the wall into the residence in a clumsy attempt by the regime's secret police, the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA), to pin her death on MIRistas within the compound. One of de Vergottini's favorite anecdotes is highly revealing: a soul-moving Christmas mass in 1974 conducted by Father Cristián Precht culminated in the singing of the Socialist International. Overall, de Vergottini's memoir provides a valuable account of diplomacy and politics during the fluid period of regime consolidation, with asylum as its focal point.

Faride Zerán Chelech's *O el asilo contra la opresión: 23 historias para recordar* draws its ironic title from a stanza of the national anthem that proclaims Chile an "asylum against oppression." Zerán Chelech conveys the experience of asylum as told by the protagonists. Most of her book condenses interviews with eighteen individuals who sought asylum in various embassies, most of them well-known public figures such as filmmaker Miguel Littín, former UP official José Antonio Viera-Gallo, and folksinger Isabel Parra. While their accounts confirm that life in the Italian embassy was representative of the general experience, individual reactions to asylum varied. For Socialist leader Luis Maira, life in the Mexican Embassy residence was "like limbo. Being in asylum is not heroic. It was life in suspension. The basic sensation was marked boredom" (pp. 213–14). Professor Marta Rivas, in contrast, characterizes her brief stay in the Venezuelan embassy as "the forty-five happiest days of my life," although her descriptions of daily life inside the compound do not reveal the source of her pleasure (p. 190). Living in the Swedish Embassy was a harrowing experience for economist Isabel Ropert: "We lived in an atrocious situation. We stood guard, we were surrounded. . . . They fired in the night to terrorize us. It was terrible" (p. 147).

O el asilo contra la opresión brings out an important dimension of the drama of asylum by including interviews with five persons who dedicated themselves to helping others find safety within the embassies. Interviews with Nadine Loubet, Roberto Bolton, Fernando Ariztía, Paulina Elissetche, and Roberto Kozak reveal the activities of an ad hoc under-

ground network that in remarkably organized fashion matched individuals seeking asylum with embassies willing to take them. In addition to cajoling reluctant ambassadors, some of these individuals risked their lives repeatedly by smuggling the persecuted into compounds or boosting them over the walls. As the representative in Chile of the European Committee on Migration, Roberto Kozak was the one who secured safe conducts, found host countries, and personally escorted those going into exile from embassy to the airport—usually directly into the aircraft in order to prevent security forces from grabbing them. These five and others engaged in the same effort saved hundreds of lives in the months following the coup.

Five of the books under review focus on the exile experience itself. *Exilio, derechos humanos y democracia: el exilio chileno en Europa*, edited by Fernando Montupil, is an eclectic collection of original and previously published contributions by eighteen authors, primarily social scientists and literati. Starting with a historical overview of exile from the coup into the early 1990s, the volume also presents sections on psychological and sociological aspects and the literature of exile, along with eight personal stories. Perhaps of greatest value is the historical section, which provides considerable detail on the proliferation of political parties and groups among the exiles. It also focuses on Chileans' relations with European solidarity committees, conveying the sense of political mission that kept most exiles going, at least until the early 1980s. The diversity of the contributors' interests and interpretations deprives the book of an organizing theme or focus, but its breadth is precisely the virtue that makes the volume a useful introduction to the topic of Chilean exile. Although limited to Europe (where less than half of the exiles ended up), *Exilio, derechos humanos y democracia* covers material germane to the exile experience in Venezuela, Australia, and Mozambique as well as in Belgium and Sweden.

The twelve exiles speaking in Mili Rodríguez Villouta's *Ya no me verás como me vieras: Doce testimonios vivos del exilio* are mostly prominent political and artistic figures who recall episodes and offer their impressions of exile from the background UP years through their return. The principals were well selected to reflect a range of experiences. Two spent time on Dawson Island in the Straits of Magellan, where much of the UP leadership was held for a year or more. Efraín Jaña, army commander of the Talca region, ran afoul of the infamous "general of death," Arellano Stark, and was cashiered, jailed, and exiled for being too soft on leftists. Other exiles add to the array of perspectives: a member of Allende's Grupo de Amigos Personales (GAP) who sniped at troops attacking the Moneda Palace during the coup and fought during exile with the Sandinistas against Anastasio Somoza Debayle; Claudio Huepe, a Christian Democratic former deputy who suffered jail and exile for refusing to stand when DINA director Manuel Contreras ordered patrons in a San-

tiago restaurant to sing the national anthem; the wife of Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton, who was wounded along with her husband in an assassination attempt in Rome; and a son of Orlando Letelier, Allende's ambassador to the United States who was murdered in Washington, D.C., by the DINA in 1976.

Although these high-profile figures did not experience exile in the same way that the majority of ordinary party militants or minor UP bureaucrats did, they nonetheless offer valid and illuminating insights into the plight of some two hundred thousand political exiles. Oswaldo Puccio, for example, voices a common theme: "Exile destroyed a great myth: that of the *chileno pateperro* [dog's paw, or vagabond by nature]. We discovered that the Chilean makes a terrible foreigner" (p. 34). For Carlos Jorquera, "the fear was of dying outside Chile" (p. 258). The worst aspects of exile, he added, were the "olympiads of suffering. I don't believe in competitions over who suffered more than another" (p. 261). Disagreement surfaces over the common allegation that some emigrés enjoyed an "*exilio dorado*" while those who stayed in Chile suffered. Carmen Lazo asserts, "There was a golden exile, there were people who lived well, who drank the bitter whiskey of exile" (p. 89). But Efraín Jaña dissents, "I believe there is no greater punishment than exile. The business about a golden exile, that is a figment of the imagination" (p. 55). Affirming the diaspora that Chileans experienced, Juan Pablo Letelier comments, "[T]here is not a major city in the world where you don't find a Chilean, nor a city that doesn't have empanadas" (p. 157). Reflecting the misery and frustration common among exiles, Haydee Jara recalls that in the Ukraine, despite hosts' efforts to make life agreeable, "We didn't integrate. We wanted to go back to Chile. I never adapted" (p. 239).

Jorge Arrate's *Exilio: Textos de denuncia y esperanza* is a collection of thoughtful speeches and essays written between 1982 and 1987. A prominent Socialist, Arrate offers a political analysis of exile that focuses on the evolution of political life and institutions abroad, relations between the internal and external resistance, and the influence of exile on the transformation of Chilean politics. He explains that the massive and sustained European solidarity movement resulted from widespread sympathy for the UP project and the indefatigable dedication of Chilean exiles to political work. The intensity and effectiveness of exile activity declined after 1980, however, as new causes captured the world's attention and Chilean exile parties, discouraged by Pinochet's staying power, fragmented and their discipline eroded. This decline in political activity among exiles, Arrate argues, along with gradual consolidation of an internal resistance, led to a reversal in the relative importance of domestic and exile opposition movements by the early 1980s, even prior to the 1984 softening of restrictions on return.

The subtext of Arrate's work is an autobiographical account of

how many in the Chilean Left became “renovated” in exile. Exposure to politics in superdeveloped social democracies, the decline of statism within the Western European Left, and (for some) living in socialist countries all had profound effects on the exiles. Arrate describes the inadequacies of sectarian Chilean politics in the exile setting, the numerous party divisions, and the influence of think tanks and multiparty conferences in shaping a common approach to politics after Pinochet. In doing so, he provides important background material on the broad Left-Center alliance that won the 1988 plebiscite and subsequently elected Presidents Aylwin and Frei. Arrate, himself a Socialist and founder of the Instituto para el Nuevo Chile in Rotterdam, was appointed labor minister in Eduardo Frei’s Concertación government, thus exemplifying the process and results of “renovation.”

Arrate makes other interesting observations. He claims that exile offered some advantages for Chile as a whole. Exile broke Chile’s traditional isolation—imposed by desert, sea, the Antarctic, and the Andes—and broadened cultural and political horizons. In the arena of higher education, exile turned out to be “an immense scholarship program” to some of the world’s best universities (p. 106). Chileans’ encounter abroad with exiles from the Southern Cone and Central America led them to discover their Latin Americanness. Arrate also recounts his role in the attempt made by six political leaders in September 1984 to return to Chile without the authorization required of exiles by the Pinochet regime. Detained and put back on the plane three times at the Santiago airport, Arrate and his five traveling companions nevertheless served as catalysts in the fundamental change in regime policy. Beginning that same month, the regime allowed all but the few thousand named in the notorious “*listas*” to return to Chile, where the work of many former exiles bore fruit a few years later in the 1988 plebiscite victory.

Alluding to the curse on Ulysses (Odysseus) of peripatetic exile after the Trojan War, *La maldición de Ulises: Repercusiones psicológicas del exilio* analyzes Southern Cone expatriates in France by focusing on the psychological dimension of exile. Chilean Ana Vásquez and Uruguayan Ana María Araujo lived as exiles, completed doctorates in psychology in Paris, and studied their fellow exiles for more than a dozen years before writing this book. Using an ethnopsychological approach, the authors examined their subjects within a specific culture in which political identification, commitment, and action were preeminent. The pervasiveness of politics, in their view, is what set Chileans apart from other exiles in France.

Although grounded in academic rigor, *La maldición de Ulises* is not a dispassionate analysis. The authors confess to being driven by an urgent need “to understand where we are, who we are, to discover where we lost our illusions” (p. 20). Vásquez and Araujo do not paint their

subjects as innocent victims. They argue instead that in accepting the heroic guerrilla fighter image awarded them by French sympathizers and in being politically unrealistic, the Chilean exiles set themselves up for exaggerated psychological problems when that image wore off and their hosts began to lose interest. Vásquez and Araujo trace the exile experience through three distinct phases. Stage one, “trauma and grieving,” involves recovery from persecution (that often included imprisonment and torture), disorientation, alienation, the “living with the suitcases packed” syndrome, and self-blame: “I am alive because another died in my place,” or “If only we had been firmer with the ultra Right” (p. 37). The second stage, “transculturation,” includes adaptation to living in a reduced social space, speaking a foreign language, and changing styles of life, combined with an exaggerated reverence for the symbols and rituals of the patria (among Chilean exiles, the empanada became the symbol of nationality). The second stage is thus a process of syncretism. The third stage, “the collapse of myths,” involves the final but imperfect adjustment to living in limbo with no fixed terminal date on exile. Additional chapters on children, women, intellectuals, and political life shed valuable insights into particular dimensions of the exile experience.

One salient aspect of exile was the reordering of gender roles and relationships, which heightened the incidence of divorce and separation among couples. Diana Kay’s study of nineteen exiled couples in western Scotland employs a modified “separate spheres” analysis to bring out gender differences in the exile experience. Dividing lives into public and private spheres, *Chileans in Exile: Private Struggles, Public Lives* traces changes in its subjects from the election of Allende in 1970 to the time of Kay’s fieldwork in 1979 and 1980. Within this short chronological span, Kay finds that the UP government and the military coup both brought significant change in the public and private domains, a transformation that was then deepened by exile: “Exile, by laying bare aspects of gender relations which had been obscured in Chile, pierced some taken-for-granted notions of men’s and women’s place and provided the impetus for new models to arise” (p. 25).

According to Kay, women’s (private) spheres were defined by relations with extended family, men’s (public) space by politics, and the minority of women who combined political and domestic (public-private) roles found themselves functioning in both spheres. Men and to a lesser extent public-private women could rebuild some of the lost public sphere in exile through party and solidarity activities, but women’s private spheres shrank in the absence of extended family networks while many were forced into a “double shift” of menial jobs and domestic responsibilities: “Whilst the politicised actors were on the receiving end of much public sympathy, the private women’s loss often went publicly unregistered, expressed only through the women’s weeping in the home”

(p. 195). With both public and private spheres disarticulated by exile, men and women engaged in a struggle “to renegotiate the terms of the gender order,” that is, the relative priorities of politics and family (p. 195). Despite a marked change in gender consciousness, a true women’s movement did not develop among Chilean exiles, largely because the women accepted exile and the resulting disruption of gender relations as temporary. Thus Kay concludes, “there was no revolution in the revolution” (p. 193).

Two books focus on the experience of returning from exile. In María Angélica Celedón and Luz María Opazo’s *Volver a empezar*, eight women recount their personal experiences of persecution, exile, and particularly of return. Based on interviews conducted in 1985, this collection is moving because its protagonists are all ordinary people, deliberately selected among the twenty women studied to weed out those with visible public lives. While some belonged to leftist parties and participated in political activities, all tell their stories as women first, and consequently, family and the struggles of daily life in Chile and abroad overshadow the role of politics in their lives. Given the reluctance of Chileans—even family and friends—to listen to returnees’ tales of exile, these interviews were the first opportunity for several of the women to tell their story. Perhaps for this reason, these accounts appear to be straight from the heart and unvarnished, with little of the emotion removed.

The women’s stories include the standard ingredients of persecution, jail, and torture after the coup as well as the insecurity, rejection, depression, and marital stress commonly experienced in exile. The most revealing information concerns the experience of return, which was especially difficult for those who went back to Chile in 1983 or 1984 to face a hostile authoritarian regime, a suspicious populace, and an economy that offered few prospects for employment. Cecilia ran into the ostracism that most returned exiles experienced, even in the 1990s: “The subject of exile is prohibited in my family. . . . They don’t want to hear those stories . . .” (p. 18). Alejandra noted that the men back home assumed that “if you are among the returned, you must be a liberated woman, a feminist. They think that after any invitation, you must go to bed with them” (p. 109). Fabiola observed sadly, “solidarity has disappeared, . . . even within the family” (p. 167). María confessed, “Sometimes I shut myself in my room to cry. I still feel strange in Chile. I am isolated. ‘You come from abroad’—they tell me—‘where you have lived well, and you arrive here to run things’ . . .” (pp. 57–58). For Teresa, fear was ever-present: “I felt insecure, I was afraid . . . that they would come to arrest me” (p. 83). Most of the eight women could not find work and had to live with family members, situations that only exacerbated the problems of adjusting to a country that had been radically transformed in their absence. These and other recollections confirm Celedón and Opazo’s initial assertion: “For some, return has become a new exile, even harder to endure than the first” (p. 7).

Some six months after Pinochet opened the country to all but those named on the “lists,” acclaimed Chilean filmmaker Miguel Littín (*El chacal de Nahueltoro, La tierra prometida*) returned illegally from exile in 1985. He linked up with three European film crews on assignment in the country and, assisted by six crews from the resistance, traveled extensively shooting more than a hundred thousand feet of film for an underground documentary. *Clandestino en Chile* was soon distributed internationally in television and movie formats. Littín entered Chile with false papers, disguised as an Uruguayan businessman (à la Che Guevara on entering Bolivia nineteen years earlier). Guided by units from the resistance, Littín eluded detection during the six weeks of his stay. A conversation with Littín convinced Gabriel García Márquez that the filmmaker’s experience was as interesting as the footage he produced. García Márquez returned to his journalistic calling by conducting eighteen hours of interviews and writing up this small “piece of reporting” under the title *Clandestine in Chile: The Adventures of Miguel Littín* (p. x).

Littín’s purpose was to depict what he considered “the increasingly desperate situation” in Chile after twelve years of military rule (p. 2). His arrival was disillusioning, however, “a bad start for someone like me who, convinced of the evil of the dictatorship, needed to see clear evidence of its failures in the streets, in daily life, and in people’s behavior; all of which could be filmed and shown to the world” (p. 15). Littín found instead that “contrary to what we had heard in exile, Santiago was a radiant city” (p. 16). But he soon discovered the introversion that Chileans had adopted to deal with the dictatorship and their thinly disguised hardships. He filmed streets teeming with vendors, where former professionals mingled with orphans and those who were swelling the *poblaciones* (the shantytowns of Santiago).

Most revealing about the state of the country was Littín’s own experience with clandestine return. His film and García Márquez’s account succeed in exposing the weaknesses of the military state by highlighting Littín’s ability to enter Chile and shoot film undetected for six weeks and also by poking fun at bumbling intelligence agents and clumsy security measures. Littín even shot footage inside the Moneda Palace, where he had an unexpected brush with Pinochet. Despite extreme precautions—disguises, passwords, indirect routes in multiple vehicles, and more—Littín had several heart-stopping encounters with government agents that earned the regime his grudging respect. Yet at the end of his sojourn, with the noose tightening around him, Littín recalled thinking, “I began to realize that it was quite possible to live secretly in Chile, as many hundreds of returned exiles do . . .” (p. 89). His measuring of the country’s mood in 1985, assessment of the regime’s strengths and weaknesses, and glimpses of the underground resistance combine to make *Clandestine in Chile* a useful contribution on the theme of exiles’ return.

Finally, a recent study of the human rights movement provides context for Chileans' experience of exile and return. *El movimiento de derechos humanos en Chile, 1973–1990* consists of three chapters by Chilean human rights activist Patricio Orellana and one by U.S. academic Elizabeth Hutchison. The work chronicles the human rights movement that developed in response to the dictatorship and offers a history and analysis of the institutions that form it. The fact that these organizations were founded at all is testimony to the resilience, commitment, and practical bent of those Chileans who recognized that the military government could not be overthrown but deemed it worthwhile to attempt, within their narrow space for maneuvering, to ameliorate the regime's worst abuses. Their guiding principle was that saving one life, preventing a single torture session, or securing permission for one exiled family to return home was a worthy goal in itself as well as a means of challenging and eroding the near omnipotence of military rule.

The central role played by the Catholic Church in the struggle for human rights is well known. Less well known is the work of Protestant churches, family members and friends of victims, and dedicated individuals. The first informal groups were set up within weeks of the coup, followed over time by the establishment of more visible and durable institutions such as the Archbishopric's Vicaría de la Solidaridad, the Fundación de Ayuda Social de la Iglesias Cristianas (FASIC), and the Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos. By the end of the dictatorship, the human rights movement encompassed fifty-two organizations with more than three thousand members and powerful institutional support. Materializing along with the major organizations were numerous groups with narrower purviews, such as the Comité Nacional contra la Tortura, Protección a la Infancia Dañada por los Estados de Emergencia (PIDEE), and the Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos. Employing the framework of new social movement theory, Hutchison argues in her essay in *El movimiento de derechos humanos en Chile* that the human rights movement qualifies as a true social movement, one that filled part of the void created by the dictatorship's destruction of open and legal political life in Chile.

While the human rights movement is much broader than the topic of this review essay, understanding it is essential for fathoming the subjects of exile and return. One of the first two groups established, Comité 2, linear ancestor of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, promoted asylum as a step toward exile in the early months after the coup in being the alternative to a worse fate. By the time the Comité Pro-Retorno de Exiliados was founded in 1978, the amnesty law had been decreed and the political prisons closed, signaling the end of the worst period of repression. That juncture provided a natural segue to the issue of exile, and the policy of preventing exiles' return began to be challenged under the slogan "Por el

derecho a vivir en la patria" (taken from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights). The increased push for easing the restrictions on return eventually bore fruit in the lists of excluded persons issued by the regime, which were gradually reduced from 1984 to the formal end of exile in 1988. *El movimiento de derechos humanos en Chile* illuminates the processes and the institutions that helped Chileans leave the country at a time when exile was saving lives and then return once it became feasible to do so.

In August 1994, the law authorizing and funding the Oficina Nacional de Retorno expired. The demise of the public agency dedicated to promoting the repatriation of exiles and facilitating their reintegration into national life left the job of dealing with return to the nongovernmental organizations that had begun the task during the dictatorship. This symbolic closure of the era of the Chilean diaspora belies the realities of exile and return. Most of the political exiles remain abroad, families continue to live asunder, and the majority of *los retornados* have been unable to adjust to a country that has not really welcomed them back. As with the other legacies of the Pinochet dictatorship, exile will continue to cast a long and dark shadow over Chile for decades to come.