

Movement of Conflicting Memories:
The Hungarian Diaspora in Chile

by

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Abstract

This thesis aims at exploring the interrelations of migration memory and diasporic activities. The numerous specialties of migration studies and the borderlines between social scientists and historians often hinder the understanding of basic terminological issues of migration studies. Therefore, through a thorough theoretical overview of the underlying questions on the topic of migration and memory, two opposing arguments are presented in this thesis, the first approach considers that the analysis of the reasons and motives of migration is not crucial for understanding diasporic behavior in the recipient society. The opposing approach puts considerable emphasis on the motives of migration in analyzing diasporic activities, not taking the host society into consideration. This thesis situates itself in between the two approaches arguing that the analysis of the motives and background of migration is essential in order to understand diasporic activities, since these elements of the migration have a substantial impact on the collective memory of diasporans. However, the diasporic memory has to be scrutinized in the context of the recipient society in order to provide a careful and in-depth analysis, since the host society can trigger and activate those memories that affect the activities of diasporans.

The empirical research of this thesis is based on oral history interviews conducted in the Hungarian diaspora in Santiago de Chile. The study of these interviews aims at exploring how former conflicting experience of Communism affects diasporans' perception of the crisis situations of 1970s in Chile. As the major findings reveal, examining the motives of migration and their influence on the diasporic memory within the context of the recipient society are necessary to recognize and comprehend diasporic behavior.

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Introduction

“Memories do not hold still – on the contrary, they seem to be constituted first of all through movement,”¹ argues Astrid Erll elaborating on travelling memory and the transformation of memory through movement. Even though migration of the carriers of memory is in focus of his argument, we cannot escape to link his thought with human migration and with the concept of migrant memory. Historical works on the subject of migration are often challenged by their own isolation from disciplines of social sciences, hence, lacking the understanding of the typologies and terminological frameworks that are predominantly developed by sociologists and anthropologists in the field of migration studies. Therefore, it can be often observed that historical emigration is discussed by historians only through descriptive works, losing the opportunity to explore the established typologies from a historical perspective.

This thesis focuses on the Chilean Hungarian diaspora in the 20th century. The history of the Chilean Hungarians has not been the subject of historical research yet, which fact raises the question why do we research certain topics while completely ignoring others? Looking into either comprehensive works on the history or Hungarian emigration or works focusing exclusively on Hungarian diasporas in Latin America, Chilean Hungarians appears only as a footnote or as part of a list of Latin American countries where Hungarian diasporas can be found. The most well-known publication on the history of Hungarian emigration was written by Gyula Borbándi², who only noted Chile once in his work, when he mentions it as one of the Latin American target countries of Hungarian émigrés.³ In 1999, a volume was published by a research group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the topic of Hungarian emigration to Latin America, in which Chile is mentioned, again, as another target country of the Hungarian

¹ Astrid Erll, “Travelling Memory” *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 11.

² Borbándi Gyula (1919-2014) was a historian and author of several publications on the history of Hungarian emigration. He emigrated from Hungary in 1949 due to political reasons, and settled down in Munich. He, as a member of the political migration, published the first comprehensive work on the Hungarian emigration.

³ Borbándi Gyula, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985 I-II.* (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1989), 331.

emigration, without further elaboration on the history of Chilean Hungarians. Moreover, the volume contains a bibliography of the history of Hungarian emigration to Latin America, in which no publication is listed on Chile.⁴

Turning back to the question of why certain topics are ignored from historical researches, exploring the literatures on the history of Hungarian emigration, we can realize that most of these publications refer to Borbándi's work when discussing the different waves of emigration. Borbándi described three waves of the Hungarian emigration following the Second World War: the military emigration or 1945-emigration, the political emigration or 1947-emigration and the emigration of the 1956 revolution.⁵ These waves of emigration are in the focus of recent researches,⁶ however, in spite of the common reference to Borbándi, earlier publications also distinguished diasporas according to the wave of emigration through which they left their home country.⁷ This fact leads us to some methodological problems.

Firstly, focusing on the wave of emigration limits the understanding of diasporic activities, since they are analyzed from the perspective of the motives of migration without taking the recipient society into consideration. Secondly, a more practical limitation is that establishing "waves" of emigration and distinguishing diasporas by these waves narrow our attention only to those diasporas that can be linked to one of the waves or dates. In other words, historians handle the subject as if there were "important" topics within the history of Hungarian emigration, such as the military emigration and the history of the Hungarian Warriors

⁴ Kaczúr Ágnes, "Bibliográfia a latin-amerikai magyar emigráció történetéről" in *Kutatási közlemények I: Tanulmányok a latin-amerikai magyar emigráció történetéről*, ed. Anderle Ádám (Szeged: Hispánia, 1999), 89-91.

⁵ Borbándi Gyula, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985 I* (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1989), 6.

⁶ Including but not limited to: Kesserű Némethy Judit, "Exiled Hungarians in Argentina 1948-1968: The Formation of a Community," *AHEA: E-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association* 5, (2012): 1-20., Baráth Magdolna, "Támogatni vagy bomlasztani?" *Betekintő* 5, no.3 (2011). Last Accessed 6 June 2018. < <http://www.betekinto.hu/en/node/181>>., H. Kakucska Mária, "Magyarok és Argentína," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 63-71., Gazsó Dániel, "A magyar diszpóra fejlődéstörténete," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 9-35. These are the most recent publications which explicitly refer to Borbándi's work.

⁷ An early example for that: John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16, no. 4 (December 1957): 501-514.

Comradeship Association (Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Közössége, MHBK)⁸ or the political emigration in the United States,⁹ however, there are certain topics that have completely escaped our attention, such as the Chilean Hungarian diaspora. Due to these limitations, we hardly can and dare to take a critical perspective on the already established typologies. This thesis aims at exploring the history of the Hungarian emigration to Chile in the 20th century and revealing its various primary sources, and also breaking those limits that so far made us turn a blind eye to the topic of Chilean Hungarians.

The main research question of the thesis is how former experience of Communism affected diasporans' perception of the political crises of the 1970s in Chile. As Astrid Erll argues, memory transform through movement,¹⁰ therefore the memories held by diasporans are of utmost importance in this research, furthermore, the hierarchy of the different levels of memory within a diasporic context is also discussed in the thesis.

In order to provide a solid theoretical basis for the research, the following chapter gives an introduction to the basic terminology through which two opposing arguments are presented, the first approach considers that the analysis of the reasons and motives of migration is not crucial for understanding diasporic behavior in the recipient society. The opposing approach puts considerable emphasis on the motives of migration in analyzing diasporic activities, not taking the host society into consideration. This thesis situates itself in between the two approaches arguing that the analysis of the motives and background of migration is essential in order to understand diasporic activities, since these elements of the migration have a substantial impact

⁸ See: Zsitnyányi Ildikó, "Egy "titkos háború" természete. A Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Közössége tagjaival szemben lefolytatott internálási és büntetőeljárásai gyakorlat, 1948-1950," *Hadtörténeti közlemények* 115, no. 4 (2002): 1086-1102., Radnóczy Antal, "A magyar katonai emigráció története, 1945-1990," *Hadtörténeti közlemények* 111, no. 3 (1998): 133-148.

⁹ See: Deák István, "Hungarian Political Emigration and the Origins of the Cold War," *Polish Review* 47, no. 3 (2002): 325-331. or Várady Béla, "Az 1956-os magyar forradalom és az amerikai magyar emigráció," *Valóság* 50, no. 5 (2007): 85-101.

¹⁰ Astrid Erll, "Travelling Memory" *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 11.

on the collective memory of diasporans. However, the diasporic memory has to be scrutinized in the context of the recipient society in order to provide a careful and in-depth analysis, since the host society can trigger and activate those memories that affect the activities of diasporans.

On these theoretical basis, an empirical research was conducted in Santiago de Chile, during which oral history interviews were made with the members of the Hungarian diaspora, recording their life stories and memories. Apart from the oral history research, extensive archival research was carried out in the archives of Santiago and of Budapest, where valuable primary sources of the Chilean Hungarian community were analyzed. The thesis, hence, gives an overview of the history of the Hungarian diaspora in Chile, while introducing oral history sources to the discussion of the interrelations of migration memory and diasporic activities.

Theoretical Considerations

Dealing with the subject of migration, historians are challenged by two underlying issues pointed out by Jan and Leo Lucassen, namely the problem of the numerous sub-specialties of migration studies developed within different disciplines and the integration of migration studies into general history.¹¹ Discussing the first problem, the authors outline the borderlines between historians and social scientists that not just separate the one from the other but also create a splendid isolation in which historians, being unaware of the typologies of other disciplines, often overlook the analytical shortcomings of their own work on migration.¹² Furthermore, concerning terminological issues, Gabriel Sheffer argues that the wide-spread usages of the basic terms of migration studies resulted in several co-existing definitions which might cause confusion.¹³ These notions lead us to the need for clarification of some key terms.

¹¹ Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, eds. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Lang, 1999), 9-12.

¹² *Ibid.*, 10.

¹³ Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

The *Oxford Dictionaries* defines migration as “movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions.”¹⁴ Even though the given definition is wide enough to serve as a basis for developing more focused approaches, a refined interpretation of the term could help to shed light on the different dimensions of the word migration. Leslie Page Moch provides us with such a neat definition stating that the “analysis of human mobility defines migration as a change in residence beyond a communal boundary,”¹⁵ moreover the author also implies the spatial and temporal dimensions of the term by adding:

Geographically, then, migration includes moves from one village to another as well as those across national borders and oceans. Temporally, migrations may be short-term or permanent; seasonal harvest movements and permanent departures from home are both migration. The spatial and temporal breadth of this definition is designed to capture the full range of historical change. Perhaps more important, such an inclusive view of geographical mobility recognizes the interconnections among regional, national, international and transoceanic migrations and the necessity of considering them as a whole in order to understand human mobility.¹⁶

These spatial and temporal dimensions help us to reflect on the migration analyzed in this thesis, which focuses on permanent, transoceanic migration of Hungarians to Chile, with a much-required emphasis on the communal boundary.

Taking one step further, the difference between migrants and diasporans should be clarified. This distinction was carefully detailed by Sheffer who argues that migrants become diasporans when they “form new diasporic entities or join existing ones.”¹⁷ On the one hand, Sheffer’s distinction between migrants and diasporans puts emphasis on temporal issues, since permanent migrants tend to become diasporans. On the other hand, it also introduces the issue of identity

¹⁴ “Migration,” *Oxford Dictionaries*, accessed April 27, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/migration>.

¹⁵ Leslie Page Moch, “Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization,” in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, eds. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Lang, 1999), 43.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁷ Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 16.

and identification to our discussion. Sheffer points out that diasporans are “involved social actors” in the sense that they involve themselves in diasporic entities, however, they are also involved in these entities by the members of the community. Hence, they not just hold a certain ethnic-related identity but they also become identified as one.¹⁸ This line of thought lead us to the next term to be defined which is diaspora and its relation to ethnicity.

In his work, Sheffer reflects on the etymology of diaspora and its Greek origin explaining that *dia* means over, and *speiro* means to sow in Greek, hence pointing out that the term is often related to “the Jewish exile existence,”¹⁹ as it is believed that the term was first used in the Greek translation of the Old Testament describing the Jewish community. As Sheffer quotes it from Deuteronomy: “Thou shalt be a diaspora in all kingdoms of the earth.”²⁰ However, he goes on by adding that the word also appears in Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, in which the term is used for the dispersion of Aeginetans.²¹ Thus, the etymological detour reveals that the term originally describes ethno-national communities. Sheffer also gives his own definition of ethno-national diaspora, which is worth considering:

an ethno-national diaspora is a social-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries. Members of such entities maintain regular or occasional contacts with what they regard as their homelands and with individuals and groups of the same background residing in other host countries. Based on aggregate decisions to settle permanently in host countries, but to maintain a common identity, diasporans identify as such, showing solidarity with their group and their entire nation, and they organize and are active in the cultural, social, economic, and political spheres. Among their various activities, members of such diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships among the diasporas, their host countries, their homelands, and international actors.²²

¹⁸ Ibid., 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., 9.

²⁰ Ibid., 9.

²¹ Ibid., 9.

²² Ibid., 9-10.

His understanding of the term also says a lot not only about the state of a diaspora, but also about the activities carried out by the members of a diaspora, by the diasporans. These activities can be described as diasporic, which can reflect on the “structural, organizational and behavioral patterns” of the diaspora.²³ These activities also reveal the borderlines between the diaspora and other entities, since through diasporic activities can diasporans express those cultural, psychological and social boundaries that delineate the identity of the diaspora. Introducing identity to the discussion is important, since a shared identity is one of the most important characteristics of a diaspora.²⁴

Ruth Johnston argues that identification has three key components: the cognitive, the affective and the conative components. The cognitive aspect reflects on the approval of being identified as something. The affective aspect means the “the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction” through the identification process, while the conative component refers to the identifier who accepts the individual as being identified as something.²⁵ Concerning migrants, Johnston goes on saying that “the immigrant must first approve of the culture represented to him by the members of the host society, he must be willing to behave the way they do, and he must also experience satisfaction in doing so.”²⁶ In spite of the fact that Johnston discusses here the connections between immigrant and his host society, it is arguable that the same components affect the identification process within a diaspora.

Elaborating on the issue of identity, Sheffer outlines different approaches. Firstly, the primordialist approach which emphasizes the biological factors and cultural attributes like common history as a basis of a shared identity. The instrumentalist approach focuses on the practical goals that can be achieved by being member of a diaspora, and hence maintaining a

²³ Ibid., 11.

²⁴ Ibid., 9-13.

²⁵ Ruth Johnston, *The Assimilation Myth: A Study of Second Generation Polish Immigrants in Western Australia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 6-7.

²⁶ Ibid., 7.

collective identity. Sheffer also describes the psychological approach and the ethno-symbolic and mythical approach in order to explain that apart from primordial factors, the attachment to certain symbols and myths plays a crucial role in the formation of the collective identity. Finally, Sheffer discusses the constructionist approach by reflecting mostly on Benedict Anderson and his concept of imagined communities. This approach presupposes that nations are social constructions based on invented traditions.²⁷ Anderson argues that members of such imagined political communities cannot be familiar with all the other members of the same community, therefore, there must be a cohesive force that links the individuals, thus, they identify themselves as members of the same community.²⁸

Other definitions of the term diaspora also deal with the concept of identity. Laguerre argues that the definition of diaspora has two dimensions, namely displacement and reattachment.²⁹ Displacement in the sense that members of a diasporic community are not in their home countries, and reattachment in the sense that the diaspora tries to maintain connections with the homeland. Thus, though they live outside of the territory of the home state, but within the space of the nation, with which they identify themselves. Anderson's and Laguerre's defining lines appear in the definition of diaspora given by Dániel Gazsó, who argues that diasporas are geographically fragmented macro communities that are integrated into the host society but they are not completely assimilated. Furthermore, there are symbolic links that connects these communities with their real or imagined home country.³⁰ Interestingly, in this definition, the relationship between diasporans and the diaspora, and the connection between the diaspora and the host society are also presented.

²⁷ Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18-20.

²⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Elképzeltek közösségek. Gondolatok a nacionalizmus eredetéről és elterjedéséről* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2006), 20.

²⁹ Michel S. Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 8.

³⁰ Gazsó Dániel, "A magyar diszpóra fejlődéstörténete," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 9.

Perhaps one of the most comprehensive definition of diaspora was given by Paul Hockenos who contrasted his defining lines with the classic definition of the term. The so-called classic definition says: “a diaspora comprises those members of a common ethnic-national group living outside the borders of their native home territory. The two key criteria are ethnicity and foreign residency.”³¹ However, Hockenos argues that this definition does not reflect on the different types of migrants and the different intentions or motivations of migrants. Therefore, he gives his own definition: “diaspora includes immigrant families and their subsequent generations, gastarbeiter, exile communities, expatriates, and refugees. Ultimately a diaspora is made up of individuals who identify themselves, and are accepted, as its members.”³² His definition, however, raises the question to what extent do we have to deal with the motives of migration?

Sheffer argues that “identifying the reasons for migration from homelands is not crucial for understanding of the nature of diasporas, their organization, and their behavior in host countries.”³³ This understanding opposes the practice of historians who often distinguish diasporic communities by the different waves of emigration. These waves are usually defined by key events or crisis situations of the home country. In the case of the Hungarian emigration, these waves were first described by Gyula Borbándi in the late 1980s. His defining dates are 1945, 1947, and 1956. 1945 reflects on those migrants who left the country immediately after the war, these people were mainly former soldiers or politicians of the Szálasi government, who fled the country in fear of the Soviet occupiers. The second wave of emigration started in June 1947, when the internal political struggles forced refugees to leave the country. Between October 1956 and April 1957, approximately two hundred thousand Hungarians fled to the

³¹ Paul Hockenos, *Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism & the Balkan Wars* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 7.

³² *Ibid.*, 8.

³³ Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 76.

West, after the revolution of 1956 was defeated.³⁴ Thus, he distinguishes the military, the political and the 1956 emigration.

This periodization developed by Borbándi is frequently followed by Hungarian scholars when discussing the history of the Hungarian emigration, which can be exemplified by the works of Judit Kesserű Némethy³⁵ who worked on the formation of the Hungarian diaspora in Argentina, or by the works of Mária H. Kakucska³⁶ who recently published a paper on the diasporic organizations in Argentina. Moreover, even Hungarian anthropologists, such as Dániel Gazsó follows the abovementioned periodization.³⁷

However, this kind of periodization raises some concerns. Borbándi's division takes only the causes and motives of migration into consideration, however, he overlooks the influence of the recipient societies. The trichotomy developed by Borbándi limits researches in the sense that historians mostly focuses on the military, political or on the 1956 emigration. Thus, not focusing on communities or on geographical spaces where no significant military or political migrants were present. Secondly, the abovementioned periodization understands diasporic communities as static, however, diasporic communities are constantly changing, but these changes cannot be realized focusing only on the home country and on the motives of migration.

Furthermore, the different waves of emigration do not mean homogenous diasporic communities. Though individuals of an emigration wave most probably shared similar experience, however, their motivations varied, therefore, historians should establish methods to realize the borderlines of diasporic communities, hence, making it possible to analyze their activities. It is also worth considering that in many cases the different waves of migrants did

³⁴ Borbándi Gyula, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985 I* (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1989). 6.

³⁵ Kesserű Némethy Judit, "Exiled Hungarians in Argentina 1948-1968: The Formation of a Community," *AHEA: E-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association* 5, (2012): 1-20.

³⁶ H. Kakucska Mária, "Magyarok és Argentína," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 63-71.

³⁷ Gazsó Dániel, "A magyar diszpóra fejlődéstörténete," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 9-35.

not recognize each other,³⁸ not to mention the fact that the through the time, diasporic communities constantly change.

Though sociological works of diaspora and migration studies can help historians to define terms, however, definitions alter through time as well. Since, we define ourselves in relation to others by realizing contrasts, if these contrasts and differences are shifting, the self-identification is changing too. Therefore, considering researches on diasporic communities, the differentiation between waves of emigration loses its evidence and clarity. Hence, identifying the new borderlines between diasporic communities is of utmost importance in order to study the history of diasporic practices.

As we can see, there are two opposing opinions on whether the motives of migration have any importance in understanding and identifying diasporic communities. The importance of identifying the diasporic communities and of distinguishing them from each other lies in the fact that any analyses of diasporic activities should start with the identification of the community itself and its motivating factors. A historical analysis of diaspora is challenging in the sense that the present situation in the community is often utterly distinct from the past situations. Therefore, historians have to be able to recognize what diasporic communities were present in a given period of time, without being influenced by factors which were not relevant in the period. It is important to highlight that diasporic communities cannot be distinguished solely on ethnic basis, since sometimes within one ethnic group, we can identify several diasporic community, such is the case with the German diasporas in Canada, thoroughly researched by Alexander Freund.³⁹

³⁸ Paul Hockenos, *Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism & the Balkan Wars* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 9.

³⁹ Alexander Freund, "Troubling Memories in Nation-building: World War II Memories and Germans' Inter-ethnic Encounters in Canada after 1945," *Histoire Sociale* 39, no. 77 (2006): 129-155.

The author of this thesis argues that analyzing the motives and the background of the migration is important from the point of view of individual and collective memory, since memories carried by migrants can largely influence their perception of the recipient society and migrants' reaction to the crisis situations of the recipient country, hence, it affects the diasporic activities as well. However, it must be emphasized that these motives cannot be the sole basis of the analysis of the diasporic identity.

Jan Assmann argues that “memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level.”⁴⁰ In his essay, Assmann distinguishes three levels of memory: the inner, the social and the cultural level. While on the inner level, memory is understood as personal memory, on the social level, memory is “a matter of communication and social interaction.”⁴¹ The theoretical foundation of the social interactions of memory was developed by Maurice Halbwachs and it was summarized in the concept of collective memory. According to his theory, memory is an individual state of consciousness, which exists in itself, without social interactions. However, remembering is not merely an image, because it cannot be acted out without a language, but language requires a community, therefore, the act of remembering can only take place within a community or a society.⁴² The community creates the social framework of remembrance, develops the media of memory, determines the time of ritual practice, and the community selects the symbolic spaces of collective memory. As a result of all this, the process of remembrance has its spaces, objects and actors, it is not permanent but constantly changing, as it is created by the social context that is influenced by the memory.⁴³

⁴⁰ Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory” in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 109.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴² Gyáni Gábor, *Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélés* (Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2000), 129-130.

⁴³ Jakab Albert Zsolt, *Emlékállítás és emlékezési gyakorlat: a kulturális emlékezet reprezentációi Kolozsváron* (Kolozsvár: Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2012), 17.

Halbwachs' collective memory theory was influenced by the work of Émile Durkheim, who summarized the set of ideas and behaviours that are commonly realized within a society in the category of collective representations. He considered these collective representations as parts of language and customs and understood them as the essence of social activity.⁴⁴ Representations provide a scheme for the individual to reach the past, but these schemes of the individual remembrance gain their meaning in the community. Thus, individual and collective forms of knowledge appear here that Durkheim differentiates as the inner subjective identity and the objective, external collective identity that serves the interpretation of social interactions.⁴⁵

The social nature of individual memory was also studied by Frederic C. Bartlett, who argued that individual remembrance is influenced by how other members of the community remember a certain event.⁴⁶ Thus, memories gain their meaning in social interactions, which are, hence, the link between members of the community. As the members of the community change, so does collective memory, which is constantly being reinterpreted to fit the demands of the present.⁴⁷ According to Jan Assmann, collective memory affects the interpretation of the past, but also organizes the experience of the present.⁴⁸ Halbwachs explains a special form of memory formation which is forgetting. He claims that forgetting can be explained by the changes in the social framework of memory.⁴⁹ Thus, forgetting is also a mechanism of the social processes of memory. This process has been approached by Peter Burke with the notion of

⁴⁴ László János, "A szociális reprezentáció," in *Társadalmi kommunikáció*, eds. Béres István and Horányi Özséb (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 45-50.

⁴⁵ Blága Ágnes, "Szimbolikus helyek, cselekvések szerepe a székelgyöldi Felcsík kistérségben," *Metszetek* 4, no. 1 (2015): 56.

⁴⁶ Paolo Jedlowski, "Az emlékezet szociológiája," *Információs Társadalom* 8, no. 4 (2008): 101.

⁴⁷ Jean-Christophe Marcel and Laurent Mucchielli, "Maurice Halbwach's *Mémoire Collective*," in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 148.

⁴⁸ Jan Assmann, *A kulturális emlékezet. Írás, emlékezés és politikai identitás a korai magaskultúrákban* (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1999), 42-43.

⁴⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, "Az emlékezés társadalmi keretei," in *Francia szociológia*, ed. Ferge Zsuzsa (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó, 1971), 131.

social amnesia, according to his theory, the elimination and censorship of certain events is an important element in the development of memory and thus has the same community-forming function of social amnesia than of collective memory.⁵⁰

Regarding the types of distortion and forgetting of collective memory, Michael Schudson distinguishes four categories: removal, instrumentalisation, narrativization and conventionalization.⁵¹ Removal is activated by the passing of time, as the attachment to emotional related memories decreases. Instrumentalisation means the usage of the memories of the past in the interests of the present, for example the political instrumentalisation of history. Narrativization, as distortion of collective memory takes place when different narratives appear about certain past events. Conventionalization can also distort collective memory, since the interpretation of the past through cultural conventions is indispensably associated with the public consensus.

As we can see, individuals connect to the events of the past through the representations of collective memory that have an impact on the identity of individuals and of communities. However, due to the instability of memory, these processes are not closed and the community is forced to the reinterpretation of the past events from time to time. Meanwhile, distortions in memory also give rise to changes in society. As Jan Assmann puts it “memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory”⁵²

Discussing communicative memory, Assmann argues that it only exists in human interactions therefore it has a temporal limit of approximately eighty years, by which he introduces Jan

⁵⁰ Jakab Albert Zsolt, *Emlékkállítás és emlékezési gyakorlat: a kulturális emlékezet reprezentációi Kolozsváron* (Kolozsvár: Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2012), 42.

⁵¹ Ibid., 41-42.

⁵² Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory” in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 109.

Vansina's concept of "floating gap." According to this concept, there is a gap between the recent past (communicative memory) and the remote past (cultural memory). As Assmann concludes "all studies in oral history confirm that even in literate societies living memory goes no further back than eighty years after which, separated by the floating gap, come, instead of myth of origin, the dates from schoolbooks and monuments."⁵³

In order to analyze the communicative memory, Jeffrey Olick points out three principles that one should bear in mind. Firstly, he argues that a society can have numerous collective memory not only one. Secondly, collective memory is "a fluid negotiation between the desires of the present and the legacies of the past", furthermore, memory is not static but rather a process.⁵⁴ Olick's approach already reflects on Assmann's ideas, but also on the process and movement of memory. Astrid Erll elaborates on the movement on memory underlying that the movement of the carriers of memory, such as migrants, induces the "transformation through time and space, across social, linguistic and political borders."⁵⁵ These notions are important to be introduced to our discussion since the analysis of migrant memory and diasporic memory can only be understood within this theoretical framework.

Irial Glynn and Olaf Kleist analyzed the role of memory in migration studies. They point out the interdependence of individual and social memory, highlighting the fact that remembering ties individuals to communities. However, their work mostly focuses on the relation of migrants and the receiving society.⁵⁶ To get a broader picture of the interdependence of the different levels of memory, we should turn back for a moment to Sheffer and his explanation of the development of diasporas.

⁵³ Ibid., 111-113.

⁵⁴ Jeffrey K. Olick, "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products" in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 159.

⁵⁵ Astrid Erll, "Travelling Memory" *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 11.

⁵⁶ Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist, *History, Memory and Migration: Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 8-9.

Sheffer argues that only migrants who are capable to maintain their national identities in the recipient society can become diasporans. The formative period of diasporas, hence, depends on migrants' willingness to "openly nurture their communities."⁵⁷ Sheffer points out that diasporas have similar life phases than other social formations,⁵⁸ they develop and decline, and through these processes diasporas get into contact with the recipient society. In the development of diasporas, diasporans are demanded to have dual loyalties by living in accordance with the norms and laws of the host country, which duality might be conflicting for the individual.⁵⁹ This conflict can arise from the fact that individuals' identity is affected by the host society, and so it can trigger actions from the individuals which may be in conflict with the diasporic activities or norms.⁶⁰

In order to analyze such conflicting relations, a well-established methodology is a must. Jan Assmann's description of the three levels of memory can help us to find such a method. Assmann differentiates the inner, the social and the cultural level of memory.⁶¹ In a diasporic setting, the cultural level represents the ethnic-national identity and the historical-mythical realm. The social level is equivalent to the diasporic identity, whereas the inner level connects to the individual memory of diasporans. Since we are interested in the tripartite relations of individual diasporans, the diasporic community and the recipient society, therefore, our focus is on the interrelations of the individual memory and the communicative memory. Since this thesis focuses on how the former conflicting experience of migrants affect their perception of the recipient society, therefore, individual actions/reactions and diasporic activities are

⁵⁷ Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶¹ Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory" in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 109.

discussed. These stipulations lead us to oral history, through which individual and collective memory within diasporic communities can be analyzed.

Methodological Issues

Donald A. Ritchie argues that the practice of oral history goes as far back in time as the first recorded history. He quotes, the already discussed Thucydides and the *History of the Peloponnesian War* in which the author gives account on the sources of his work that was based “partly on what I saw myself, partly on what others saw for me.”⁶² Even though Ritchie reflects on its long history, oral history evolved its own methodology only in the second half of the 20th century. As the author points out, this practice became a source for historians who seek information that was overlooked before, in spite of the “subjective nature” of oral history. He contrasts memory with documents that are usually understood as “unchangeable” and therefore “objective.”⁶³ These introductory notes of Donald Ritchie shed light on the methodological challenges of oral history that he complements later by adding:

Oral history and memory studies differ but are compatible. Oral history relies on people's testimony to understand the past, while memory studies concentrate on the process of remembering and how that shapes people's understanding of the past. Memory studies are often more interested in how facts are remembered and in distortion of facts than in the facts themselves. But since oral historians deal so directly with long-term memory, they have incorporated memory studies into their own methodological discussions.⁶⁴

Therefore, while relying on testimonies of oral history interviewees, historians are challenged to analyze how memory influences people's perception of certain events, without questioning or requiring a verification of the authenticity of the stories told by interviewees. In other words, there is more influence on how past events are remembered than on to what extent the story itself is historically accurate. Historical accuracy, however, should not be mistaken as

⁶² Donald A. Ritchie, “Introduction: The Evolution of Oral History,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3.

⁶³ Ibid., 11-13.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 12.

objectivity, and so the subjective nature of oral history cannot be seen as inaccuracy, in fact it is something that should be looked at as a value added to the story that has been told.

Alistair Thomson argues that certain experience or events that are perceived as significant are more likely to be remembered, and to be expressed in a “memorializing form” such as a story.⁶⁵ In this respect, stories told by oral history interviewees contain those experience that were once perceived by the interviewees as significant. Therefore, as Thomson articulates it “the creation of memory is, necessarily, a partial and subjective process,” through which events in which interviewees had a certain degree of physical or emotional involvement are remembered.⁶⁶ He also adds that the story created is a performance which might be well-rehearsed since storytelling is a mode of self-identification, we construct a narrative that is our identity.⁶⁷

However, interviews, in general, are dialogues between interviewers and interviewees, in which the former affects the outcome of the interview through questions. Therefore, interviewers doing oral history should pay careful attention not to alter the narrative being told by the interviewee, considering the fact that such alteration would mean that the memory that has been told in a form of a story became altered as well. Keeping this methodological challenge in mind, the author of this thesis relied on the so-called life story interview method in order to minimize the influence of the researcher on the interviewee.

The life story interview method aims at collecting the essential events and beliefs of one person’s life and constructing a coherent narrative, in which there is a special emphasis on the order of the different events of the story.⁶⁸ The interview is conducted in two parts, the first part aims at recording a coherent life story without any interruptions from the interviewer’s side,

⁶⁵ Alistair Thomson, “Memory and Remembering in Oral History,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 84.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 88-91.

⁶⁸ Robert Atkinson, *The Life Story Interview* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2011), 19.

while in the second part, the interviewer asks focused questions. The whole process is built upon three crucial steps: the preinterview, the interview and the postinterview.⁶⁹ The preinterview part involves the planning process and the first meeting with the interviewee. The interview part aims at the recording of the life story, while the postinterview phase includes the interpretation and analysis of the life story.

Robert Atkinson lists four important factors that affect the interpretation of a life story. Firstly, the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee that can influence the establishment of the meaning of the life story. Secondly, the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, in terms of completeness and clarity. Thirdly, the theoretical perspective the interviewer takes to analyze the story. Finally, the interviewer's own subjective perspective.⁷⁰ One possible process to grasp the meaning of a life story is personal mythmaking, in which the interviewee's story, the "unique story" is contrasted to the "universal story" and by this we can understand "how change and continuity interact in a person's life, or how the self is defined in relation to the collective."⁷¹ To realize the self in the story, Atkinson suggests that the researcher should look for different figures of speech such as the metaphors or comparison, through which the interviewee attaches some degree of importance to the certain event.⁷²

To summarize, this thesis based on an oral history research conducted in the Hungarian diaspora in Santiago, Chile, aiming at collecting life stories of diasporans. The life story interviews are analyzed from the perspective of individual and collective memory in order to explore the effect of former conflicting experience on diasporans' perceptions of past events. Therefore,

⁶⁹ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 57-58.

⁷¹ Ibid., 62.

⁷² Ibid., 63.

individual stories are compared and contrasted to reveal the unique and the universal elements of memory.

Outline of Thesis

The thesis is based on three research chapters. Following the theoretical introduction, the first chapter aims at contextualizing the research by outlining a short history of the Hungarian diaspora in Chile. The chapter starts with an introductory part on the general history of Hungarian emigration pointing out the causes of migration from Hungary in the 20th century. The discussion of the Chilean diaspora starts with the second subchapter and continues through the third one, focusing not only on the history of the Chilean Hungarians but also on the different types of primary sources that are available on the topic. Since these sources are products of the diplomatic relations between Hungary and Chile, therefore, a short overview of these relations is also presented. The chapter ends in discussing the context of the political crisis of the 1970s in Chile, since the main research question deals with the memory of Allende era and the Pinochet regime.

The empirical research is based on oral history interviews conducted in Santiago, therefore, the second chapter introduces the interviews and gives an insight into the life stories of the interviewed diasporans. This chapter does not aim at the analysis of the interviews, but rather on presenting the life stories that serve as a reference point for the following chapter. Oral history interviews are one of the several types of primary sources used for the research, therefore, the interviewees and their function in the diaspora are essential to discuss before the analysis part. Furthermore, the second chapter outlines the four main themes of the interviews: the motives of migration and Hungarian migrants' former experience of the Second World War, Communism and the events of 1956, émigrés' ties to the Hungarian community in Chile, and last but not least diasporans perception of the recipient society. Through these themes the interviews are analyzed in the third research chapter.

The third chapter leads through the four central topics of the interviews by reaching back to the theoretical foundations of the thesis in order to argue that exploring the motives and the background of migration is essential to analyze diasporic activities, within the context of the recipient society. The four central themes are built upon each other giving a coherent argumentation and further elaboration on the theoretical issues concerning the influence of the recipient society on diasporic activities. The final conclusions are presented in the final chapter that are preceded by a short chapter on the limitations of the research in order to critically approach the concluding part.

Chapter 1: Setting the Context

Due to the under-researched topic of the Chilean Hungarian diaspora, it is necessary to give an overview of the history of the Hungarian diaspora, and to introduce the primary sources that enable us to analyze the diasporic activities of Hungarians in Chile. Therefore, in the following chapter, a brief introduction of the Hungarian diaspora is outlined within the broader context of the history of Hungarian emigration. Since the context includes the recipient society as well, therefore an overview of the core events of the 20th Chilean history is also presented. The main argument of this chapter is that exploring the background of migration is necessary to understand diasporic behavior in the host country. This chapter does not aim at the thorough analysis of the history of the Hungarian-Chilean relations, however, key elements are mentioned in order to offer a broader perspective of the topic.

1.1 Prelude to the History of Hungarian Emigration

The causes and motives of the Hungarian emigration in the 20th century is rooted in social-economic or political reasons. Before the 1920s, emigrants were predominantly from the lower social class, mostly landless people or dwarf holders.⁷³ Thus, we can see that the early 20th century emigration stemmed from social-economic reasons, which can be proved by looking at the upper class of the Hungarian society, from which only a few people emigrated due to family reasons or personal failures.⁷⁴ Economic migration rarely meant the migration of whole families, usually one member of the family was sent abroad. The main target countries were the United States and Canada, to which countries the earliest recorded emigration started in the

⁷³ John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16, no. 4 (December 1957): 506.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 506.

middle of the 19th century.⁷⁵ Further target countries were the Western European countries, such as France, Germany or Austria.⁷⁶

According to Kosa, between 1921 and 1930, only 42 591 people were given the permission to emigrate from Hungary. As the author argues, after the Great War, the policy of the state aimed at withholding emigration, since it was seen as loss of manpower and taxpayers, therefore, the state issued strict regulations that made it extremely difficult to obtain passports, which was necessary for leaving the country. However, the author estimates that ca. forty thousand illegal emigrants left the country during that decade.⁷⁷ Since if an individual wanted to leave the country, he or she had to pay for the visas and passports, and for the transfer as well, therefore, migration was so expensive that, by the poor, it could only be realized at the expense of great financial debts. In the 1930s, due to the Great Depression, and later to the anti-Jewish laws, people in great number wanted to emigrate, however, because of the regulations, only a small percent could leave.⁷⁸

After the Great War, the United States limited the number of admitted immigrants yearly, which resulted in a shift of possible target countries for Hungarians. The most important target country was Canada, which hosted twenty-eight thousand immigrants from Hungary between 1921 and 1930. At that time, Latin America also became a favorable target region, especially Argentina and Brazil.⁷⁹ Apart from the Western European countries, the Soviet Union also welcomed Hungarians, mainly former members of the Communist Party, who left the country before the white purge, and many of whom later became important figures of the political life after the

⁷⁵ N.F.Dreisziger, "Rose-Gardens on Ice-Floes: A Century of the Hungarian Diaspora in Canada," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 6, no. 2 (Fall, 2000): 240.

⁷⁶ John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16, no. 4 (December 1957): 507.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 508.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 508-509.

⁷⁹ Kádár Anikó, "Mexikói Szabad Magyarság folyóirat és a Szabad Magyar Mozgalom," in *Kutatási közlemények I: Tanulmányok a latin-amerikai magyar emigráció történetéről*, ed. Anderle Ádám (Szeged: Hispánia, 1999), 43-44.

Second World War.⁸⁰ Thus, we can see that after the Great War, beside the economic-social migrants, political migrants also left Hungary in greater numbers.

In the last years of the Second World War, former soldiers or Nazi collaborators tried to escape from Hungary, in fear of the Soviet occupation.⁸¹ In 1947, launching attacks on their political enemies, the Communists gradually seized the power causing the emigration of the political elite of the country, such as the former Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy.⁸² On October 1956, a revolution broke out against the Soviet rule in Hungary, the Soviet intervention and the breakdown of the revolution forced two-hundred thousand people to leave their home country.⁸³ Though most of these emigrants settled down in the abovementioned target countries, a few of them ended up in Chile.

1.2 The First Hungarians in Chile

Though secondary sources⁸⁴ put much emphasis on explaining the causes and motives of migration from Hungary in the 20th century, these literatures do not pay any attention to the Chilean diaspora, therefore, it is important to look at why and how Hungarians first migrated to Chile. Primary sources on the Hungarian diaspora in Chile dates predominantly from the 1940s, however, there are a few reports from the early 1930s which reflect on the settlement of Hungarians during and after the Great War.

According to these reports, immigration to Latin America started before the First World War, and then continued to a greater extent until 1929. During the Great Depression, the number of

⁸⁰ John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16, no. 4 (December 1957): 511.

⁸¹ Borbándi Gyula, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985 I* (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1989), 6.

⁸² Deák István, "Hungarian Political Emigration and the Origins of the Cold War," *Polish Review* 47, no. 3 (2002): 330.

⁸³ Borbándi Gyula, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985 I* (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1989), 242.

⁸⁴ For further publications see: Kesserű Némethy Judit, "Exiled Hungarians in Argentina 1948-1968: The Formation of a Community," *AHEA: E-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association* 5, (2012): 1-20., Baráth Magdolna, "Támogatni vagy bomlasztani?" *Betekintő* 5, no.3 (2011). Last Accessed 6 June 2018. <<http://www.betekinto.hu/en/node/181>>., H. Kakucska Mária, "Magyarok és Argentína," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 63-71., Gázsó Dániel, "A magyar diszpóra fejlődéstörténete," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 9-35.

immigrants declined, however, more and more Hungarians decided to return to their home country.⁸⁵ Migration to Chile from Hungary increased shortly before, and then during the Second World War. These migrants managed to integrate themselves through the different Hungarian associations which had already been established during the early 1930s.⁸⁶

The abovementioned introductory notes are from the reports sent by Arnold Falabella,⁸⁷ who was the first Consul of Hungary in Santiago from 1935 to 1938, and by Aurél Balázs who was at that time the head of the Office of Consulate of Hungary in Santiago.⁸⁸ The consul was obligated to send a colonial report by the end of each year to the embassy of Hungary in Buenos Aires, these reports were forwarded then to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest, and they included information on the situation of Hungarian diasporas and statistics on the immigration and return migration of Hungarians to Chile.⁸⁹ Thus, annual colonial reports from the 1930s are the valuable sources of the diasporic activities in Chile. However, since the Consulate was opened only in 1935 in Santiago, it also means that the earliest written sources about the Hungarian diaspora in Chile are from the 1930s, in spite of the fact that the emigration to the country started much earlier.

The very first colonial report was written on 30 December 1935, and it tried to describe the events of the previous decades as well.⁹⁰ The report says that the exact number of the Hungarians living in Chile was not known, but it could be estimated at five hundred people.

⁸⁵ “Jelentés a délamerikai magyar egyesületekről,” 1952, 34-41. HU ÁBTL O-8-023. “Amazonas” Dél-Amerikai “fasiszta” magyar emigráció. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ “Utasítások a Santiago-de-chilei Magyar Királyi Konzulátus működésének megkezdésének alkalmával,” 18 March 1935; and “Visszavonulási bejelentés,” 10 December 1937. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary. Arnold Falabella served as the first Consul of Hungary in Santiago between 1935 and 1938. Due to his health conditions, he submitted his resignation on 10 December 1937.

⁸⁸ “Autorización,” 17 April 1935. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

⁸⁹ “Utasítások a Santiago-de-chilei Magyar Királyi Konzulátus működésének megkezdésének alkalmával,” 18 March 1935. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

⁹⁰ “Évi kolóniális jelentés,” 30 December 1935. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

However, at that time there were Hungarians who had been living in Chile for 30 years, these people arrived in the country as citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁹¹ In spite of their Hungarian origins, many people claimed themselves as being other nationalities, mainly as German, Austrian or English, because Chileans often mistook Hungarians to gypsies, which was understood as a humiliation by the Hungarians. In the late 1920s, many Hungarians arrived in Santiago and they formed the very first Hungarian association which had 146 members in 1935 in Santiago and 42 members in Antofagasta.⁹² This fact reveals to us that Antofagasta accommodated the second largest Hungarian community in Chile. The Chilean Hungarian Circle and Aid Association was the first diasporic association in Chile, led by Sándor Selényi.⁹³

Even though the community was rather small, it already showed some fragmentations in the 1930s. According to the first colonial report, seventy percent of the Hungarians in Chile were Jewish, which makes it rather surprising that allegedly in 1935 a Hungarian Nazi Party was founded in Santiago.⁹⁴ Since later reports says nothing about this Party, therefore, it can be assumed that it was either a short-lived assembly or the information was not correct. In both cases, however, the mere existence of such a news-item or gossip reflects on the fragmentation of the community.

A supplement of the first colonial report reflects on the composition of the diaspora stating that apart from Santiago, there were bigger communities in Antofagasta and in the Pampas, however, there were approximately 10 Hungarians living in the South of Chile.⁹⁵ In Santiago, the Hungarian community was heterogeneous, there were three doctors, seven architects, two economists, six manufacturers, great number of merchants, some jewelers and hairdressers,

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ "Pótlás a koloniális jelentéshez," 17 February 1936. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

hotel owners, and several tailors.⁹⁶ These people actively participated in the Hungarian events in Santiago, for instance in the annual Saint Stephen's Day Ball, or celebrating the names day of the Regent of Hungary, Miklós Horthy and the Memorial Day of the soldiers who lost their lives during the Great War.⁹⁷ At that time there were no Hungarian newspapers in Chile, but there was a small library in the capital city maintained by the Chilean Hungarian Circle and Aid Association.⁹⁸

Colonial reports from the following years mainly repeats the content of the first report with only small additions, however, among the correspondences between the Consulate and Hungarians across Chile some interesting letters can be found. Aurél Balázs exchanged letters with Jenő Szigeti, who lived in Magallanes⁹⁹, in the Chilean Antarctica. In his letters, Szigeti claims that he left Hungary in 1902 and after working as a manufacturer in South Africa, he settled down in Chile in 1906.¹⁰⁰ Szigeti elaborates on the hardships of living in Chile, but in spite of all difficulties, he is proud to be Hungarian, in fact, he asks Aurél Balázs to send some Hungarian flags to him.¹⁰¹ Jenő Szigeti was most probably one of the first Hungarians who arrived in Chile in the 20th century.

Reports from 1937 reflect on the increasing number of Hungarians who applied for citizenship in Chile, due to business reasons, thus, it did not affect their ties to the Hungarian community.¹⁰²

This fact can be proved by looking at the documents on the naturalization processes in the

⁹⁶ "Évi kolóniális jelentés," 30 December 1935. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Today the city is called Punta Arenas.

¹⁰⁰ "Levél Balázs Aurélnak Szigeti Jenőtől," 22 April 1936. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. "Igazán Ön el nem képzelni sem fogja, hogy menyi harcz, sok gúnyos mosolygás és lenyesztelt nyájba került az itteni magyarnak való fenntartása az emberek tengerében. Tudom Önnek mondani, hogy én mindég és mindenütt Magyar Maradok és kifejezem mindenkinek a magyar műveltséget, lehet, hogy egynéhány más fajtu népeknek ez nem tetszik, de ezzel én nem törődöm."

¹⁰² "Évi kolóniális jelentés," 31 December 1938. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

Chilean National Archive. According to the volumes of ARNAD, between 1929 and 1938, twenty-three Hungarians¹⁰³ applied for the Chilean citizenship (Table 1). In the early 1930s, only one or two people applied yearly, but since 1936, four or five people applied for the citizenship in each year.¹⁰⁴

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Number of applications	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	4	4

Table 1: Number of Hungarians who applied for citizenship between 1929-1938¹⁰⁵

In 1938, the most important issue in the life of the diaspora was concerning the migration of Hungarian Jews to Chile. In a letter that was sent by Aurél Balázs to the Hungarian embassy in Buenos Aires, he reported that more and more Jewish Hungarians asked the help of the Consulate to provide assistance to them in requesting entry permit for their relatives from the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, the annual colonial report of 1938 reveals some more information about the fragmentation of the community. According to the report, there was a grave conflict between the Jewish and the non-Jewish Hungarians, which could be tied to the anti-Jewish laws issued in Hungary. The Jewish community decided to help the migration of Jewish people from Hungary to Chile by requesting the assistance of the Chilean state. The Chilean state had already established a Jewish committee by that time, which aimed at processing the entry requests of Jews. However, according to the report, the Hungarian Jewish community was not cooperating with them, therefore, the committee decided not to help

¹⁰³ As it was discussed earlier, many Hungarians claimed themselves as being other nationalities. Looking through the volumes of ARNAD, I only counted those people who were Hungarians “on paper.” Therefore, the actual number of those Hungarians who applied for the citizenship can be greater.

¹⁰⁴ The documents on the abovementioned naturalization processes can be found in the following volumes of ARNAD: 7190, 7626, 7677, 7683, 7686, 8066, 8244, 8281, 8509, 8756, 8842, 9074, 9093, 9122, 9317, 9698, 9709, 9715, 9735. CL ARNAD; Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno Interior, Ministerios y Servicios Públicos: Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Santiago de Chile.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ “Zsidó vallású magyarok kivándorlása Chilébe,” 31 December 1938. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

the Hungarians stating that they were not considered as Jews. Thus, the Chilean state denied issuing any permit to Hungarian citizens.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the report does not elaborate on why the Jewish community opposed the Chilean Jewish committee, and so far no further primary sources were found on this conflict, therefore, it is also not known why the Chilean state denied issuing entry permits to Jews who held Hungarian citizenship.

In 1940, in the annual colonial report Aurél Balázs estimated that the Hungarian population was around one thousand in Chile, eighty percent of them living in Santiago. He also reported that due to the conflict within the community, the Jewish Hungarians established their own association the Association of Hungarian Speaking Jews, by which they tried to protest against the Jewish laws of Hungary.¹⁰⁸ After that, the Jewish community stopped contributing to the Hungarian cause saying that the Hungarian state did not consider them Hungarians, but Jews, although they regarded themselves Hungarian, thus they would remain passive until they could regain their Hungarian citizenship.¹⁰⁹

The conflict in the Hungarian community can be traced back by reading the poems that were written by the members of the Hungarian diaspora. In 1936, Nándor Flesch wrote a poem for Saint Stephen's Day, in which he described how he felt about living in Chile as a Hungarian.

¹⁰⁷ "Évi koloniális jelentés," 31 December 1938. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary. "Az itteni kolónia tagjainak túlnyomó része zsidó vallású lévén, elkedvenítőleg hatottak a magyarországi zsidósággal kapcsolatos hírek és az év végén rendkívüli közgyűlésen az egyesület addigi céljainak meghagyásával oly alapszabálmódosítást határoztak el, mely szerint az egyesület céljai közé felvették a Magyarországból ide történő bevándorlás megkönnyítésének előmozdítását az itteni hatóságoknál elérni. Itt meg kell jegyezni, hogy a Chilébe történő bevándorlás szabályozását zsidó vallásúak részére úgy organizálta meg a chilei kormány, hogy egy zsidó komitét állítottak fel, amely egyedül hivatott arra, hogy zsidó vallásúak részére a kérvényt előterjessze. Minthogy pedig kolóniánk zsidó vallású tagjai – kapott felszólítás dacára – nem voltak hajlandók ezen bizottsággal együtt dolgozni, magyar állampolgárságú zsidók részére a külügyminisztérium megtagadta az engedély kiadását, a bizottság pedig – hivatkozva arra, hogy a közösséget megtagadták velük – ugyancsak minden engedély megadását ellenezte azzal, hogy a magyar állampolgárságúakat nem tekintik zsidónak."

¹⁰⁸ "Évi koloniális jelentés," 31 December 1940. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary. "A zsidókérdéssel kapcsolatos hazai helyzetben érdekelték részéről elzárkózást tapasztaltunk, amely odáig fejlődött, hogy néhány vallási fanatikus által egy "magyarul beszélő zsidók egyesülete" megalakulásához vezetett."

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. "Ők azért nem járulnak hozzá a gyűjtéshez, mert őket nem tekintik Magyarországon magyarnak, hanem zsidóknak, holott ők magyarnak érzik magukat és amíg ezt nem orvosolják, passzív viselkedést tanúsítanak."

The title of the poem is *Idegenben*, literally it means “away,” the poem mentions a small “Hungarian island” as a metaphor for the diaspora, which is seemingly in conflict with itself.¹¹⁰ Even though the poem was written in Hungarian, since it reflects a lot about the community, and it is one of the few sources that is not tied to the Hungarian-Chilean relations, the poem is included in the thesis as Appendix A.

The sources do not reveal much about the author, but it is certainly known that he frequently performed Hungarian folk songs on piano during the National Day.¹¹¹ However, Flesch’s poem evoked some reaction. An unknown person wrote a poem as a reaction to Flesch’s lines, which is a rather anti-Semite mockery¹¹² (Appendix B). The mockery tries to ridicule Flesch and also states that the Jewish community in Chile is dishonorable. Since there are only a few written sources about the Hungarian diaspora from the 1930s, therefore, these two poems are valuable records of the fragmentation of the diasporic community. As it is visible from the colonial reports as well, the years preceding the Second World War in the diaspora was fueled by the conflict between the Jewish community and some non-Jewish Hungarians. However, it would be a misinterpretation of the sources to say that the connection among Hungarians were not strong. In spite of the unresolved conflicts, if anyone as in need then “the Hungarian association here and, to a greater extent, the members of the colony, with the elimination of all separating differences, hurry to help the troubled compatriots.”¹¹³

¹¹⁰ “Költemény Flesch Nándortól,” 26 August 1936. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹¹ “Jelentés az augusztus 20-i nemzeti ünnepéről,” 21 August 1935. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹² “Fábián legutolsó verse,” Date not known. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹³ “Jelentés a chilei magyar kolóniáról,” 4 February 1941, 148-161. ÁBTL 0-8-023. “Amazonas” Dél-Amerikai “fasiszta” magyar emigráció. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

1.3 Immigration to Chile after the Second World War

The records of the Hungarian State Security and of the Consulate of Hungary in Santiago shed light on the fact that the available primary sources on the Hungarian diaspora in Chile are closely tied to the relations between the Hungarian and the Chilean state. As the diplomatic relations made it possible to open a consulate in Santiago, the Hungarian consul was obligated to send reports on the diaspora since 1935. The Hungarian-Chilean relations was also an important factor after the Second World War in recording the activities of the diasporic community. Therefore, a short overview of these relations is necessary to see how they affected the image we can get from the primary sources.

After the Second World War and the “liberation” of Hungary, some members of the Hungarian diaspora returned from Chile in hope for a better future in their home country. Among these people was Ágoston Simon, who returned in 1947. Simon was the editor of a bulletin in Santiago, when he moved back to Hungary, Imre Gordon took over the work and edited the bulletin informing the Hungarians in Chile about the happenings in Hungary. Simon continuously sent reports to Gordon that he could use for the bulletin. The abovementioned information is known from the documents of the Hungarian State Security, which aimed at infiltrating the diasporic communities and investigating the fascist elements of them.¹¹⁴ The Hungarian State Security started collecting information about the Chilean Hungarians in 1952 in order to explore “the South American Hungarian fascist emigration.”¹¹⁵ These records reveal that in 1952 there was a section of the Association of the Hungarian Warriors Comradeship¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ “Tamás (Trepper) Dezső gyanúsított feljegyzése,” 17 April 1950, 232-237. ÁBTL 0-8-023. “Amazonas” Dél-Amerikai “fasiszta” magyar emigráció. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹⁵ “Határozat,” 29 July 1952, 33. ÁBTL 0-8-023. “Amazonas” Dél-Amerikai “fasiszta” magyar emigráció. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹⁶ MHBK was established in 1946 in Mühlthal. The fundamental purpose of this organization was to unite the Hungarian soldiers fleeing to the West, and to create a foreign Hungarian army that would function as a prospective liberating army. For further information see: Nagy Kázmér, *Elveszett alkotmány. A Magyar politikai emigráció 1945-1957* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984), 74-75.

(Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Közössége, MHBK) operating in Santiago and a Hungarian Scout Association as well.¹¹⁷

On 12 September 1946, Hungary requested the permission of the Allied Control Commission (ACC) to establish diplomatic relations with Chile¹¹⁸, which was approved by Lieutenant General Vladimir Sviridov in January 1947.¹¹⁹ The approval of Sviridov sheds light on the Hungarian foreign policy after the second World War, which was rather isolated as Hungary being a Soviet satellite state. Following the Soviet approval, in May 1947 the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its intention to re-establish the diplomatic relations with Hungary.¹²⁰ The diplomatic relations between the two states were suspended during the Second World War. In 1941, Latin American countries held a conference in Rio de Janeiro, where they decided to break diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan. From that time on, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, László Bárdossy, who at that time held also the position of the Prime Minister, was kept under constant pressure by the German and Italian state, since they demanded the break-off of diplomatic relations with those countries who suspended their relations with Nazi Germany or Italy. Eventually, Hungary broke its diplomatic relation with Chile 18 May 1943.¹²¹

However, these negotiations were interrupted in late 1947, when the Chilean state broke its diplomatic relations with the USSR, therefore, as a Soviet satellite state, Hungary suspended

¹¹⁷ "Magyar hősi emlékünnepe Chilében," 23 May 1952, 251. ÁBTL 0-8-023. "Amazonas" Dél-Amerikai "fasiszta" magyar emigráció. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹⁸ "Chilével való diplomáciai kapcsolatok felvétele érdekében eddig tett lépések," 26 December 1957. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-j. Box 1, Item 4/be. "1945-1964 Chile." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹¹⁹ "Diplomáciai kapcsolatok felvétele Chilével," 9 January 1947. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-j. Box 1, Item 4/be. "1945-1964 Chile." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²⁰ "Chilével való diplomáciai kapcsolatok felvétele érdekében eddig tett lépések," 26 December 1957. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-j. Box 1, Item 4/be. "1945-1964 Chile." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²¹ "Diplomáciai kapcsolatok megszakítása Brazíliával és Chilével," 22 June 1956. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 5/bc. "1945-1964 Chile." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

the negotiations.¹²² According to a report of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union was suspended by the Chilean state after several strikes had taken place in Chilean copper mines. The strikes were allegedly organized by the Chilean Communist Party with the support of the embassy of the USSR in Chile.¹²³ The re-establishment of the foreign relations with Chile became again an interest of the Hungarian state in 1957-1958,¹²⁴ however, after lengthy negotiations it was only in 1969, when the Embassy of Hungary was opened in Santiago, Chile.¹²⁵ Documents on the re-establishment of the relations with Chile contain information of the Hungarian diaspora after 1945.

The Hungarian diaspora in Chile reacted hopefully to the news about the liberation of Hungary. In 1942, a new association the New Democratic Hungary (Új Demokratikus Magyarország) was established, the secretary of the association was the abovementioned Ágoston Simon, who returned to Hungary in 1947. However, before his return, he sent a report to the ambassador of Hungary in Washington.¹²⁶ In his letter, Simon reported that approximately fifty percent of the Hungarians living in Chile were “new migrants,” in other words these people arrived in Chile during the Second World War. According to Simon, at least eighty-five percent of the diaspora were Jewish middle-class people, who worked as merchants, manufacturers or intellectuals.¹²⁷

¹²² “Chilével való diplomáciai kapcsolatok felvétele érdekében eddig tett lépések,” 26 December 1957. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-j. Box 1, Item 4/be. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²³ “Diplomáciai kapcsolatok megszakítása Szovjetunióval és Csehszlovákiával,” 16 September 1952. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 5/bc. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²⁴ “Chilével való diplomáciai kapcsolatok felvétele érdekében eddig tett lépések,” 26 December 1957. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-j. Box 1, Item 4/be. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²⁵ “Irányelvek és feladatok a chilei nagy-követségünk tevékenységéhez,” 1969. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-j. Box 26, Item 25-1. “IV. Magyarország és a külállamok minden oldalú kapcsolatára, illetve a külállamok belső helyzetére és nemzetközi kapcsolataira vonatkozó iratok.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²⁶ “Chilei magyar kolónia,” 7 June 1946. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 20/b. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Until 1940, the only Hungarian association in Chile was the Chilean Hungarian Circle, which was reported by Simon as being the dependent of the “horthyst Hungarian Consulate.”¹²⁸ During the war, another association was established called Concordia (Egyetértés Kultúr és Sportkör), which served as a culture and sport club.¹²⁹

According to Simon’s report, the Association of the Hungarian Speaking Jews was the only Jewish organization in Chile at that time. He also pointed out that there was harmony within the diaspora and the different associations could operate parallelly without any disturbances.¹³⁰ Though Simon’s report did not contain any exact numbers on the population of the diaspora, a memorandum written by Oszkár Korf, a representative of the diaspora in 1950 outlines the composition of the Hungarian community, stating that circa 1500 Hungarians lived in Chile at that time.¹³¹ Korf’s memorandum contains interesting information about the Chilean Communist Party and its Hungarian fraction that had fifteen members in 1950. The Hungarian fraction was supervised by the Chilean Communist Party.¹³²

In 1951, the Chilean-Hungarian Cultural Circle was founded which organization aimed at propagating the Hungarian culture in Chile.¹³³ In 1955, Sándor Kritzler, who was one of the leading member of the association, and also the secretary of the Hungarian fraction of the Chilean Communist Party, visited Hungary. A report of this visit reveals that the Cultural Circle was provided with books and other materials by the Hungarian state.¹³⁴ Another report from 1958 details how Hungarian organization in Chile changed through the years.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ “A chilei magyar kolónia képviselőjének látogatása,” 19 May 1950. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 20/b. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ “Feljegyzés,” 29 July 1957. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 20/d. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹³⁴ “Kritzler Sándor magyarországi tartózkodása,” 10 June 1955. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 18/a. “1945-1964 Chile.” Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

The report outlines that the leader of the Cultural Circle was Béla Öhlbaum, who was also a member of the Hungarian fraction of the Communist Party, thus the Cultural Centre was a left-wing organization. Furthermore, the report mentions the Saint Stephen Club (Szent István Egylet), and the Concordia, both are mentioned as right-wing organization, the latter consisted mainly Jewish members.¹³⁵ Out of the three organizations, the Chilean-Hungarian Cultural Centre was the only one who maintained connections with the Hungarian state. As it is visible from the primary sources, the Hungarian state provided books, movies, materials for exhibitions and other cultural products for the Cultural Circle, however, in return the organization always reported on the Chilean political affairs throughout the 1950s and 1960s.¹³⁶

The Hungarian state maintained its active connection with the Cultural Circle until September 1973, when, following the coup d'état of 11 September 1973, the Hungarian People's Republic broke its diplomatic relations with the Chilean state on 26 September 1973.¹³⁷ After September 1973, the Hungarian state still maintained the building of the former embassy in Santiago, because in June 1974 the East German State Security asked the assistance of the Hungarian State Security in covert operations in Chile. The task of the Hungarian agents was to ensure the communication with the members of the illegal Chilean Communist Party.¹³⁸ The operations went on until 31 August 1976, when the Chilean state expelled the delegations of all the Socialist countries from Chile.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ "A Kulturkapcsolatok Intézetének feljegyzése Rédeiné elvtársnővel folytatott beszélgetésről," 13 February 1958. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 18/a. "1945-1964 Chile." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹³⁶ "Chilei Magyar Kulturkör," 1958. HU MNL OL XIX-J-1-k. Box 1, Item 18/a. "1945-1964 Chile." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹³⁷ "Hungarian Monitoring 26.9/73," 26 September 1973. HU OSA 300-40-8, Box 236, Folder 4, Monitoring, Hungarian Unit, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Vera and Donald Blinken Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.

¹³⁸ "Rajnai vörögy. et. jelentése a Miniszter elvtárshoz," 24 June 1974, 56-69. HU ÁBTL 3.2.6.8-75/I. "Santiago de Chile-i hírszerzőpont; Szervezési dosszié." Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

¹³⁹ "Chilei KÜM jegyzéke," 1 June 1975, 153. HU ÁBTL 3.2.6.8-75/III. "Santiago de Chile-i hírszerzőpont; Szervezési dosszié." Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

1.4 In Santiago, Chile

Following the discussion of the historical context of the Hungarian emigration to Chile, it is also necessary to elaborate on the historical context of the main research question, which focuses on the Chilean Hungarians' perception of the political crisis of the 1970s. Therefore, in this subchapter, key events that led to the crisis is presented. The aim of this part is to provide a historical background to the interviews introduced in the next chapter, hence, a concise outline of the period is given, instead of a thorough analysis of the causes and effects of events.

On 11 September 1973, a military coup unleashed incredible waves of violence in Chile. Though the bombing of La Moneda is the symbolic starting point of the military rule, the political violence which grew out of the constitutional democracy rooted in earlier events. Political scientists often emphasize how the malfunction of political institutions led to the breakdown of democracy in Chile, however, their interpretations do not go beyond the political sphere of the events.

In the early 1960s, under the presidency of Alessandri, the economic policy of the Chilean government served the interests of the economic elite, pushing millions to the periphery of the society. At that time, the Chilean lower class accounted for the seventy-five percent of the Chilean society, the middle class comprised fifteen percent, while the upper class consisted ten percent of the society.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, masses started to support left-wing parties which offered favorable social policies. In 1964, the Christian Democrat Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, PDC) won the election, and Eduardo Frei became the President of Chile.¹⁴¹

The reforms of PDC included structural changes in the Chilean economy, however, it could not withhold the growing influence of the United States, which provided more than a billion dollars'

¹⁴⁰ Paul Drake, "Chile, 1930-1958," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume VIII, Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 271.

¹⁴¹ Alan Angell, "Chile since 1958", in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume VIII, Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 329.

worth of aid between 1962 and 1969 to Chile, in return for favorable policies towards the copper industry in which the US companies were interested.¹⁴² The three most important policies of the PDC was the Chileanization of the copper industry, the agrarian reform and the organization of the popular sectors which aimed at stopping the marginalization of the poor people.¹⁴³ However, since the PDC spent more on these reforms than it could finance by tax revenue, the reforms caused further fiscal problems to the government. By the late 1960s PDC was not able to sustain its popularity.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, after losing the elections in 1964, the Socialist Party underwent a crisis, which later resulted in the formation of the Popular Unity coalition (Unidad Popular, UP), a coalition of six parties. In 1970, the UP won the election and Salvador Allende became the President of Chile. The government promised the nationalization of the economy, the redistribution of income and the structural reform of the latifundia.¹⁴⁵ The ambitious program of the UP government, however, cannot ease the political violence that was evoked by the radical left movement, the Revolutionary Left Movement (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR), and also by the right-wing propaganda.¹⁴⁶

According to Margarita Palacios, the increasing political violence was due to the concept of antagonism that was the most important element of the discourse of the right-wing parties which denied the possibility of cooperation and negotiations with the left. In this discourse, the left was depicted as a threat to the Chilean society to which the only possible solution is offered by the right.¹⁴⁷ Valenzuela argues that the core concept of the crisis is “political polarization.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Ibid., 331.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 331.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 332.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 340-341.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 341.

¹⁴⁷ Margarita Palacios, *Fantasy and Political Violence: The Meaning of Anti-Communism in Chile* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2009), 102-117.

¹⁴⁸ Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 81.

The polarization was enhanced by political conflicts, however, it affected the class system which resulted in a class polarization. In other words, in Valenzuela's interpretation the political instability created an economic instability that led to the crisis and to the breakout of violence in 1973. Valenzuela elaborates to a great extent on the fact that the coalition led by Allende was a Marxist one, which aimed at the political, social and economic transformation of Chile. However, the so-called revolutionary changes remained only fail experiments, and due to the fundamental quality of the proposed changes this failure influenced the society in its core. Therefore, mass mobilization was possible against the Allende-government, which makes it clear that the political tension became societal crisis by 1973.¹⁴⁹

On 11 September 1973, armed forces overthrew the UP government,¹⁵⁰ and unleashed intense violence which resulted in the murdering of thousands of Chileans, the total number of the victims, who were tortured, imprisoned or assassinated is estimated at thirty thousand.¹⁵¹ Even though there are extensive literature that discuss what could cause the unbelievable violence, at this point we should turn to other sources. The main research question of this thesis is how the former experience of diasporans affected their perception of the 1970's political crisis in Chile. Therefore, it is time to introduce the voices of the diasporans into the discussion.

Conclusions

To summarize, the Hungarian diaspora in Chile, in spite of its small population, had a diverse community. In the first half of the 20th century, the fragmentations within the diaspora was political-religious based, focusing on the Jewish and non-Jewish conflict. On the surface it was a religious based disagreement within the diaspora, however, the roots of the conflict were the anti-Jewish laws of Hungary, hence it was also political. After the Second World War, the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Alan Angell, "Chile since 1958", in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume VIII, Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 359.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 360.

fragmentations seemingly appeared in line with the establishment of different associations. The reports and memos reveal three main organization which no longer reflects the Jewish and non-Jewish conflict, but rather a political disagreement between right-wing and left-wing elements.

However, it is important to add again that the available sources about the diasporic activities are tied to the relationship of the Hungarian and the Chilean state, therefore, we do not have sources from the years of the Second World War, when the two states had no diplomatic relations. Moreover, due to the Communist takeover in Hungary, the reports deal mostly with one association and its members, the Chilean-Hungarian Cultural Centre, and only little information is available about other organizations. In other words, we only have partial understanding of the history of the diasporic activities yet.

To recapitulate, in the theoretical introduction, it was argued that looking into the motives and the background of the migration is important to understand diasporic activities. As it can be seen from this short overview of the history of the Hungarian diaspora in Chile, the organizations maintained within the diaspora was connected to the conflicting events happened in Hungary that led to the migration of hundreds of Hungarians to Chile. Such was the Association of Hungarian Speaking Jews which aimed at uniting the Jewish Hungarians who left their home country because of the anti-Jewish politics of the Hungarian state. However, as it was also argued in the theoretical framework, understanding the motives of migration is important, but it cannot be the sole basis of the analysis of diasporic activities. As it can be understood from the motives why the Association of the Hungarian Speaking Jews were established, and why they decided not to contribute to the Hungarian cause after the anti-Jewish laws were passed in Hungary, but the motives do not help to reveal why Hungarian Jews decided not to cooperate with the Jewish committee that was set up by the Chilean state. However, to understand that, it is necessary to deal with the recipient society as well.

Chapter 2: Reflections on Shared Memories

Since memory is interpreted here as a process of constant construction and deconstruction of past experience, therefore, it is of utmost importance to look into different types of primary sources that can reflect on the continuously changing quality of memory and its effects on the self-identification of individuals and of communities. The sources of this chapter are oral history interviews conducted in April 2018 in Santiago, and archival documents from the *Archivo Nacional de la Administración (ARNAD)* in Chile, which holds records on the Hungarians migrated to Chile in the 20th century.

2.1 The Interviews

The interviews conducted in Santiago are centered around five representative figures of the Hungarian community who arrived in Chile in different ways and in different years. The five abovementioned people are considered representative due to several factors. Firstly, they are representative in the sense that they hold certain functions in the diasporic community, such as being a former honorary consul or being the head of a cultural association of the community. Secondly, they are considered as representative figures since they represent the first generation of the community who arrived in Chile after the Second World War. Finally, the diversity of their life stories sheds light on the many stories that can be found in a diasporic community, and this way their stories represent the diasporic memory. As it will be seen, their accounts on their individual past experience give an interesting insight how the individual memory is often suppressed by the collective memory of the diasporic community. Considering the sometimes rather personal content of these interviews, many of the interviewees were given pseudonyms due to ethical reasons.

The ARNAD holds records on the naturalization processes of Hungarians who applied for citizenship in Chile. These records contain various type of documents, most importantly short

autobiographies of migrants. These texts are narratives developed by Hungarians on their background and how they arrived in Chile. Though the submitted autobiographies are not necessarily authentic accounts on the actual events, however, since the texts contain information which was believed to be acceptable by the Chilean state, therefore, these sources are of great value in analyzing Hungarians perception of the Chilean state.

The interviews presented in this chapter were focused around four main issues: the motives of migration and Hungarian migrants' former experience of the Second World War, Communism and the events of 1956, furthermore, émigrés' ties to the Hungarian community in Chile, and their perception of the recipient society, especially of the events of 1970's were also centre issues. This chapter primarily focuses on the interviews conducted with the five representative figures of the Hungarian community, therefore, the next chapter will include a more thorough analysis of the contradictions revealed by the interviews, while this chapter aims at introducing and setting the basic issues covered in the dialogues with the members of the Hungarian diaspora. Most of the interviews were conducted in Hungarian, with only a few exceptions, therefore, direct quotations are used here only in case of English language interviews, while in the cases of non-English interviews, paraphrasing is used, while giving the transcripts of the quotations in the original language as footnotes

2.2 Individual Accounts

Giving reasons for leaving one's home country was an essential element of all interviews, it does not only serve as a justification, however, it also sheds light on how the motives of migration affect one's self-identification and integration to the diasporic community. While there are interviewees who discussed the individual motives, there are others who tried to generalize in order to present themselves as "one of the many." This generalization can be

exemplified with the story of Andres, who arrived in Chile when he was 24 years old, in April 1951.¹⁵²

Andres argues in the interview that Hungarians have never been a “migrating” nation, and though there are two main motives of migration, namely economic or political reasons, if Hungarians decide to leave their home country that must be because of political reasons.¹⁵³ By this statement, he establishes himself as a political migrant, meanwhile also as a member of a wider community, which has not yet been defined at that point. The importance of this early statement lies also in the fact that Andres started his story and his own introduction by stating the motive of his migration.

Speaking about his family background, Andres opens the conversation with his experience of the Second World War. The starting point of his story is very strong, he explains how he was enlisted in 1944, after experiencing the devastating effects of the war on his hometown. He explicitly states in the interview that he did not served on the front, but he served his country in other ways.¹⁵⁴ His account on the war years is followed by the depiction of his failed hopes about the years of 1945-1947. As Andres expresses it, after the Soviet occupation Hungarians still hoped for a democratic turn, however, by 1947, it was evident that these hopes were shattered.¹⁵⁵

Even though Andres does not elaborate on his first twenty years in the interview, archival records reveal that he finished his secondary school studies in 1945, and then he studied at the University of Technology and Economics in Budapest for two years, then he continued his

¹⁵² “Certificado De Antecedentes,” 26 April 1951. Decretos 4447, 12 Septiembre 1952, Volume 14447, CL ARNAD; Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno Interior, Ministerios y Servicios Públicos: Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Santiago de Chile.

¹⁵³ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018. Transcription in the original language: “A magyarok nem voltak kivándorló emberek, két okod lehet, hogy elmenj otthonról bármilyen gazdasági ok, vagy politikai ok. De a magyar nem megy el gazdasági okokból, mindenki politikai okok miatt jött el.”

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., Transcription in the original language: “Minket még elvittek katonának. Én is szolgáltam, de nem voltam fronton. Valamit szolgáltam 1944 nyarán”

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

studies in Switzerland.¹⁵⁶ Since he got accepted to a Swiss university, he also managed to obtain a Swiss visa and to leave the country in October 1947.¹⁵⁷ Thus, it is already visible that after the war, Andres had no intention to leave the continent, but rather establishing a new life in Western Europe.

While telling the story how he ended up in Chile, Andres explained that since he was living in Switzerland, his mother, Magdalena, decided to visit him in 1948, which was quite an impossible challenge due to the fact that she could not get a visa. Therefore, his mother walked all the way to Vienna where she wanted to visit one of her old friends. At that time, her friend was living in an apartment above the Chilean embassy in Vienna, and as Magdalena figured out, the daughter of her friend was married to the Chilean ambassador. Magdalena then was offered a Chilean visa by her friend that she accepted and in October 1948, Magdalena and her husband travelled to Valparaíso on a cargo ship.¹⁵⁸

In 1951, Andres finished his studies in Switzerland, and having no job, he decided to leave Switzerland. In the interview, Andres explains that since the Korean War had broken out a year earlier, in 1951 they family was afraid of the next World War, hence encouraged Andres to move to Chile as well. Andres arrived in Chile in April 1951, where he started working as an architect.¹⁵⁹ Upon talking about his first years in Chile and his relations with the Hungarian diaspora, Andres gives an insight to his early perception of Chile and of the Chileans. Andres mentions how he struggled to get a good job at first, since “Chileans were Chauvinists”¹⁶⁰ and being a foreigner Andres could not work for state institutions. However, after working as an

¹⁵⁶ “Biografía,” 1 October 1957, Decretos 4912, 1 Octubre 1957, Volume 16502, CL ARNAD; Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno Interior, Ministerios y Servicios Públicos: Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Santiago de Chile.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

architect for 6 years, he was invited to give lectures at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, where he stayed for 35 years as a lecturer.¹⁶¹

His relationship with the Hungarian diaspora was not significant until 1956. Interestingly, he mentions three Hungarian institutions of that time, the Concordia, the Szent László Association and the Association of Hungarian Speaking Jews (MAZsE), however, the context in which he describes these associations is rather peculiar, since he uses these examples in order to prove that Hungarians did not stick together at that time. The members of Concordia were left-wing elements, and Jewish people were members of MAZsE.¹⁶²

In 1956, during the Hungarian revolution, Hungarians in Chile collected aids for the Caritas which, according to Andres, eventually led to the formation of a smaller Hungarian community.¹⁶³ Thus, we can observe how the events of 1956 brought Hungarians together, or at least, according to Andres' account, 1956 serves as a reference point in the Chilean Hungarian community. The Chilean right-wing, conservative newspaper *El Mercurio* published an article in November 1956 about an event organized by the *Federación de Estudiantes de Chile* (FECh), the Federation of Students of Chile, where Andres presented the news about Hungary and the Soviet intervention.¹⁶⁴ As Andres recalls this event, he states that the Hungarian community selected him as the speaker, thus, in 1956 he was already a representative figure of the Hungarian diaspora. He explains how uninformed the Hungarians in Chile were about the revolution, but the Chilean Communists were even more puzzled about the events, since they stated that what happened in Hungary was a “fascist revolution.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., Transcription in the original language: “Mikor én ideérkeztem, itt volt három klub. Az egyik a Concordia, ott voltak a bal oldali elemek. Volt egy Szent László közösség, és volt az izraelita klub a MAZsE, Magyar Ajkú Zsidók Egyesülete. Tehát ebből is láthatod, hogy nem tartottak össze”

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ “Grupos Universitarios Expresan su Adhesión Al Pueblo de Hungría.” *El Mercurio*, November 13, 1956.

¹⁶⁵ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018. Transcription in the original language: “Az egy nagy vitaest volt. A kommunisták se tudták mi történik. Próbálták beállítani úgy, hogy ez egy fasiszta forradalom.”

Another significant event recalled by Andres was the elections of 1970. Andres argued that after Salvador Allende had been elected as President of Chile, half of the Hungarian community left Chile in fear of Communism. During the interview, Andres details what kind of memories were evoked in Hungarians by the outcome of the elections of 1970. According to him, Hungarians left Chile in 1970 in great numbers, since nobody wanted to live in a Communist world, and they had no doubts about what would come next. Andres compared Allende to Mátyás Rákosi, comparing how the Communist “transformation” took place in both countries.¹⁶⁶ His explanation of the event clearly shows how former experience of Communism affected Hungarians reaction to the Allende government.

Andres also opens up about his own attempt to leave Chile. He details his plan how he wanted to get a job first in Ecuador, then in Brazil, however, before he could find any jobs in the neighboring countries, the coup d'état of 1973 ended the Communist threat. He argues that Pinochet and the military junta did a great favor for Chileans by stopping Allende and his Communist friends. Andres does not elaborate on the atrocities and human rights violations under Pinochet, he only briefly mentions them stating that if one did not deal with politics, nothing bad could happen to the person.¹⁶⁷

Andres's account should be accompanied by interviews with other members of the Hungarian community as well. Gabriel arrived in Chile in 1985, he was born in Argentina where his parents moved in 1945 from Hungary.¹⁶⁸ During the interview he revealed a great deal about his family background: “My parents left Hungary before the Russians came in. They knew that the Russians were coming because part of the family was in the government.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Transcription in the original language: “A magyarok fele elment másnap, mert senki nem akart egy kommunista világban élni. Nem is volt kétséges, hogy ez lesz belőle. Magyarországon is elfoglaltak minket a szovjet csapatok 1945-ben, és a Rákosi Matyi átalakította kommunistává a világot 1947 végén, 1948 elején. Ugyebár ez eltart 2-3 évig.”

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Gabriel B. A., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 27, 2018.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

Gabriel gives also an insight to the circumstances that surrounded refugees of Eastern Europe after the Second World War: “My parents first moved to Austria, and then to Switzerland, as Polish refugees not Hungarians, since they were afraid of being deported back to Hungary.”¹⁷⁰ Later he adds the unlikely events that led his parents to Chile, explaining that the Swiss government helped them to get working permits in Brazil and in Argentina. They were embarked on a cargo ship which first arrived in Argentina where the captain “kicked them off” the ship, and that is the only reason they decided to stay in Argentina.¹⁷¹

Interestingly, just like Andres, Gabriel also tells a lot about the general context of his parents’ emigration. He vividly details the state of Argentina in the 1940’s when compared to Europe which was in shambles at that time, Argentina was “the country of future.” He also refers to the Hungarians who left their home country in the early 20th century, and in the 1940’s they represented the “group of reference” to the Hungarians who left Hungary after the Second World War. However, this group of reference was not so big:

My parents tried to speak German at home, they thought they would never go back to Hungary. Hungarian community was small, German was bigger, so I went to the German school. My friends and I speak a mixture of German and Spanish. A big integration happened in the second generation.¹⁷²

As the abovementioned lines reveal, Gabriel has never learnt the Hungarian language as his parents thought they would never return to Hungary and the integration of the family would be much quicker if they leave the Hungarian language. As he puts it: “none of them thought that they would be going back to Hungary. Hungary was a closed chapter. We had death sentence until 1972. The whole family was sentenced to death.”¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

Gabriel moved to Chile in 1985 because of business reasons. After raising the question how he perceived the Pinochet era, he gave a very realistic understanding of that era:

You have to put it into perspective. We were having a lot of military coups at that time. (...) Two main reasons were for that. There were a lot of terrorists in Chile financed by Cuba and Russia. They tried to turn this country into a Communist one. Allende, though elected as a democratic president, he rapidly moved into a way of creating a Communist regime. It's still a discussion if he was really a Communist guy, or just too left. But there were two hundred Cuban advisors here, the whole movement was going to Communism. The second reason was that governments were so corrupt than in principle these guys would clean up the corruption.¹⁷⁴

Having no previous experience with Communism, in contrast with Andres, in the interview Gabriel does not try to compare the cases of Hungary and Chile, but by taking a rather objective perspective, he reveals some contradictions:

Chile was the only military regime that was not corrupt, and really cleaned up the whole thing and established neoliberalism and free market. There were the Chicago boys, a very good work they did in developing the basis of the world that you have today in Chile. Having said that, at that time, Pinochet was more of a blessing than a devil. Pinochet was the right place to go, I mean if you were leftist than you would disappear. But if you were more center or right, this was a paradise. He was a savior.¹⁷⁵

The abovementioned statements could be, of course, argued and contradicted, however, in the next chapter it will serve as a good basis of comparing the different perceptions of the 1970's and 1980's, since the image of Pinochet as a savior will return in the other interviews as well. Besides mentioning the benefits of the Pinochet regime, Gabriel acknowledges the human rights violations and the atrocities of that era without trying to justify it:

It is politically incorrect to say that Pinochet was an angel or there was a fantastic government, because it's like saying that Hitler was fantastic. There were a lot of human rights violations and that is true, there are really not acceptable. In the first two years there were a lot of reasons to eliminate all these guerrillas. Frankly

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

speaking, I think the only way was to eliminate them. They were really trying to get the country into a communist regime. And you don't get that in a democratic way.¹⁷⁶

By introducing the political correctness, Gabriel also sheds light on the controversies in the present-day Chilean society which are still divided upon the interpretation of the Pinochet era. Gabriel also tries to argue what other alternatives were available for the political establishment of the 1970's and 1980's:

Putting these guys to prison was not an alternative, one of the way of trying to break these terrorist movements was to torture them. Because that is the only way you can get some information. You could say that during the first two years you had to break the cells, clean up to whole thing. Pinochet was kept doing that for 15 years, maybe the first two years were right or you could understand it, but the later years didn't make any sense.¹⁷⁷

Speaking about the atrocities, he also adds:

Pinochet, he killed two thousand people, who were most active, but the rest, he just expelled them. That was maybe bad for the people who were expelled, but good for the country. Because in Argentina it was different, they were put into jail, and when they were freed, they still had the same old ideas of the 1960's. In the case of Chile, most of them was expelled, they went to United States, they studied PhDs in the States, they were still leftist, but they got new ideas, different ideas. They saw a different reality, from that perspective, they saw that Communism is not an ideal place. So, when they came back they were renewed in the brains. That's why you had a very good transition here, because they didn't come into power with the ideas of the 1960's.¹⁷⁸

Since Gabriel arrived in Chile in 1985, therefore, we have to bear in mind that he does not have similar experience to those Hungarians who left Hungary because of Communism, or to those who experienced the 1970's in Chile. However, the interview conducted with Gabriel still serves as a valuable counterpoint for the discussion on individual versus societal memory. Though Gabriel elaborated on the political crises in great detail, there were occasions when interviewees focused more on the present-day problems than on the past events.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

Julieta arrived in Chile as a young girl in 1958. While explaining the arrival of their family to Chile, she articulates those vivid memories that she still keeps in her mind about the motives of her family's migration. She recalls how they lost their home when in 1954 the state took away their family house, and that when they finally decided to leave the country, they were not allowed to take their valuables with themselves.¹⁷⁹ She tells very little about how they travelled to Chile, she only mentions that she left Hungary with six family members and moved to the Latin American country because her uncle lived there. A few days after their arrival, she was enrolled in a Catholic school in Santiago and later she studied in Argentina as well.¹⁸⁰

In the interview, Julieta frequently interrupts her life story and starts talking about the present-day situation in Chile, explaining the hardships of her life. Returning back to her story, she tells about how she tried to find some job as a personal trainer but later she ended up working in her fathers' factory.¹⁸¹ Interestingly, in her story she puts much emphasis on expressing the ordeals of today, and not on significant past events as other interviewees, probably due to the fact that she was only a child when she had to leave her home country.

Since Julieta mentions very little about the 1970s as part of her life story, therefore, a few questions were raised to explore the events of that decade as well. She immediately starts her answer stating that after Allende was elected half of the Hungarian population left Chile, mostly Jewish people who were afraid that the state would take away their properties. She continues saying that the state, indeed, took away homes of citizens just like their homes that had been taken away by the Hungarian state in 1954.¹⁸² As it turns out, she was a personal trainer in the early 1970s, she worked with prominent political figures as a trainer, for example with the wife

¹⁷⁹ Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

of Salvador Allende as well, which also meant that she had to visit the presidential palace, the Palacio de La Moneda several times.¹⁸³

Even though, she worked in very interesting circumstances, Julieta talks surprisingly little about these years, she only shares one thought she had in the early 1970s, namely that she was afraid of the political changes, and that the country would turn to Communism. However, at this point she uses Cuba as a reference point and not Hungary, as opposed to other interviewees who did use Hungary as a reference point describing their years under Allende.¹⁸⁴ Later the only memory she recalls about the military regime was that in several instances people were not allowed to leave their home due to curfews.¹⁸⁵ However, she says nothing about the atrocities or human right violations in the interview, she does not even mention Pinochet's name, which makes her interview stand in contrast to the interviews made with other Hungarians.

Julieta's brother, Paolo lives in Santiago as well, which provides an excellent opportunity to compare the life stories of family members. In his interview, Paolo gives a more detailed description of the circumstances of how their family left Hungary, in spite of the fact that he was younger at that time than his sister, Julieta. He tells the story how their uncle ended up in Chile after the Second World War, and that his uncle was the one who sent them visas from Chile to Hungary in 1957, which gave his family the chance to settle down in a foreign country.¹⁸⁶

Paolo's detailed description of their travel to Chile starts with a memory he shares with her sister, which is how their home was taken away by the Hungarian state. However, then he continues detailing that after his family left Budapest, first they arrived in Vienna, then they moved to Italy where they embarked for Chile. He remembers even the name of the ship, Marco

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., Transcription in the original language: "Megijedtünk, hogy kicserélődik a rendszer, mint Kubában,"

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

Polo, on which his family arrived in Valparaíso.¹⁸⁷ Archival sources also confirm that the reason why they settled in Chile was that his uncle had already been living there, which provided his family possible working opportunities in the country.¹⁸⁸

In Paolo's life story, Hungary as a reference point appears in a more emphasized way than in his sister's story. He recalls how he and his family tried to find similarities between the two countries. As he explains, the city of Santiago is divided by River Mapocho as Danube divides Budapest. As Gellért Hill overlooks the capital city of Hungary, so does San Cristóbal Hill in Santiago.¹⁸⁹ They tried to find their way in the new environment by exploring the connections between their home country and their new home. Paolo points out that the status of Hungary as a peripheral country of Europe is similar to the status of Chile which is in the periphery of the world. In such way, his settlement in Chile was much easier since he could somehow find resemblances of Hungary in Latin America.¹⁹⁰

In spite of his detailed account of his arrival in Chile, Paolo, just like his sister, talks only a few words about the 1970s in his life story and mostly he speaks about current issues of the diaspora. As he says, those who emigrate speak very little about what they left behind if it is traumatic for them.¹⁹¹ However, contrary to his sister, Paolo, like other interviewees, compares the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ "Solicita Permanencia Definitiva," 1959, Decretos 6111, 26 Noviembre 1959, Volume 17108, CL ARNAD; Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno Interior, Ministerios y Servicios Públicos: Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Santiago de Chile. The document states the motives of migration: "Fundamento mi petición en los siguientes motivos: Deseo trabajar en este país que me agzada y donde tengo el resto de mi familia."

¹⁸⁹ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018. Transcription in the original language: "Az első napokban próbáltunk orientálódni valahogy. Murisnak találtuk, hogy olyan Santiago, mint Budapest, bár nem a Duna, hanem a Mapocho, nem a Gellért hanem a San Cristóbal. Valahogy az ember elkezd az orientációt. Megtanultuk szeretni az országot. Chilében abban az időben körülbelül 7 millió lakos volt, mi voltunk 10 millióan. Magyarország sem Európa szíve, valahogy a periférián van, Chile is a világban a periférián van. Mind a két ország elég hasonlóan működik. Búsujában mulat mind a kettő, jó bor van mindkét országban. Nagyon jól érzik magukat a magyarok itt, ugyanúgy a chileiek ott."

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: "Aki emigrál, nem is akar beszélni arról, hogy mit hagyott hátra, ha nagyon keserű és traumatikus ahogy kijött."

situation of 1970s to Hungary in his story. He explains that many Hungarians left Chile after Allende had been elected since they were afraid of Communism.¹⁹²

The significant difference that can be found in his life story is that Paolo talks about his connections with the Hungarian state in the 1970s. As he explains, since the Hungarian state had good relations with the Chilean state, Paolo tried to make use of this short friendship by visiting Hungary, where he contacted the Hungarian television in order to request recorded television programs that could be brought to Chile for the Hungarian diaspora.¹⁹³ Unfortunately, the Hungarian partner was not so enthusiastic about the idea, and so it was never realized. However, it was not only Paolo who tried to contact his home country during those friendly years. Jorge arrived in Chile on November 1, 1948,¹⁹⁴ when he was only 19 years old. In his life story, he gives the most detailed description of how his family left Hungary, moreover, he also shared the documents of his family archive which give an even more impressive insight into how his family prepared for leaving their home country.

Jorge starts his life story with his childhood, telling stories about his schoollyears, how he learned to sail and then, how his family came to the conclusion that they should leave the country.¹⁹⁵ As the documents of his family archive reveal, his father was a member of the Smallholders Party until 1948.¹⁹⁶ It is also revealed by the documents that his father was a piano manufacturer,¹⁹⁷ which was an occupation that Jorge later took up in Chile as well.¹⁹⁸ The

¹⁹² Ibid. Transcription in the original language: “Mi már nagyon jól tudtuk, hogy mi lesz ebből az Allende dologból. Akik elmentek, nem akartak a palacsintasütőből a tűzbe esni. Egyszer már átérték ezt, még egyszer nem akarták. Pontosan odafelé mentek a dolgok, mint Magyarországon. Természetesen sokan féltek.”

¹⁹³ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: “Gondoltam az Allende időkben, ezek mégiscsak barátok, lehetne valamit csinálni. Egy kis muzsika, tánc, balett, amit nem kell lefordítani, azt ide lehetne hozni.”

¹⁹⁴ “Solicitan la gracia de la nacionalización,” 1953, Decretos 0065, 7 Enero 1954, Volume 15222, CL ARNAD; Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno Interior, Ministerios y Servicios Públicos: Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Santiago de Chile.

¹⁹⁵ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

¹⁹⁶ “Pártigazolvány,” 15 June 1945. (Private collection). and “Jegyzőkönyv,” 28 May 1948. (Private collection).

¹⁹⁷ “Bizonyítvány,” 20 February 1939. (Private collection).

¹⁹⁸ “Biografía,” 1952, Decretos 0065, 7 Enero 1953, Volume 15222, CL ARNAD; Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno Interior, Ministerios y Servicios Públicos: Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Santiago de Chile.

earliest document which recorded his family's intention to leave the country is from April 1948, which is an official certificate that states in case of their emigration to South America, they will not leave any relatives behind who would need their support.¹⁹⁹ The peculiarity of the certificate is that it sheds light on how much preparation was necessary before they could leave Hungary. However, other documents reveal even more details about the family. A permission signed by the then director of the Museum of Fine Arts describes 43 art pieces that were in possession of Jorge's family, the permission states that Jorge's father could take his possession to Chile with himself.²⁰⁰ So Jorge's family could leave Hungary with a relatively huge fortune, this is also appears in the files of the Hungarian State Security, in fact the only information they held about Jorge's family was that his father arrived in Chile with his great wealth.²⁰¹ In spite of their financial well-being, Jorge and his father started working immediately after their arrival to Santiago.²⁰² They became piano manufacturers which was such a successful business that it was reported even in newspapers.²⁰³

The two most important events recalled by Jorge in his life story were the revolution of 1956 in Hungary and the elections of 1970's in Chile. In 1956, the Chilean newspaper *El Siglo*, which was the official organ of the Communist Party, covered the events of the Hungarian revolution stating that it was a fascist counter-revolution, by which they evoked the attention of the Hungarians.²⁰⁴ Jorge recalls these events with great excitement, since he and his two friends broke into the press office of *El Siglo* in 1956, with the intention of destroying all their printing

¹⁹⁹ "Hatósági bizonyítvány," 3 April 1948. (Private collection). "Győr thi. város I. fokú közig. hatósága a lefolytatott nyomozás alapján bizonyítja, hogy (...) Délamerikába történő kivándorlásuk esetén ellátatlan hozzátartozót nem hagynak maguk után."

²⁰⁰ "Kiviteli engedély," 4 August 1948. (Private collection).

²⁰¹ "Jelentés a chilei magyar fasiszta emigrációról," 26 April 1954. HU ÁBTL O-8-023. "Amazonas" Dél-Amerikai "fasiszta" magyar emigráció. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary. The sole information the archive holds about Jorge's father: "G.P., nagy vagyonnal jött ki 47-48-ban."

²⁰² Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²⁰³ "Magyarok Chilében," 19 May 1961. HU OSA 300-40-1, Box 259, Folder 5, Subject Files, Hungarian Unit, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Vera and Donald Blinken Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.

²⁰⁴ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

machines. They threw bottles with red ink within them to the walls and they started breaking the typewriters, however, they made such a loud noise that the neighbors called the owners of the press office.²⁰⁵ At this point, Jorge tells a story of an interesting encounter, since allegedly as he and his friends were destroying the typewriters, Allende entered the building with a guard. When Jorge realized this, he took a fire extinguisher and threw it towards Allende, however, he could not hit him.²⁰⁶ After these events, he had to hide in his father-in-law's house who was, as Jorge says, a Nazi and therefore, he was happy to see that his son-in-law tried to destroy a Communist press office.²⁰⁷

In Jorge's life story, Communism is always approached from an economic perspective. According to Jorge, under Allende, the Chilean economy collapsed and the inflation was as high as in Hungary.²⁰⁸ During the early 1970s, Jorge and his wife planned to leave Chile and move to Australia, however, they could not afford a "return ticket," so they stayed.²⁰⁹ The "return ticket" means that they also wanted to return to Chile, but when it was visible that they could not afford it, Jorge planned to return to Hungary, he thought that Communism would collapse there eventually.²¹⁰ Therefore, he tried to establish business connections in the country through the Hungarian embassy.

His first business with the Hungarian state was that he helped to buy the building which is still today accommodates the Hungarian Embassy.²¹¹ As Jorge explains, he was given ten thousand

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: "Literes üvegbe piros tintát öntöttünk és nekidobtuk a falaknak, összetörtük az összes írógépjüket. A főnöknek eltörtük az óráát. Amikor mentünk ki, jött fel velem szemben a lépcsőn Allende, én meg mentem le, hát levettem a tűzoltó készüléket a falról és ledobtam, őt nem találtam el, de volt egy kard a kezében, de elmenekültünk onnan."

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: "Chilében a kommunizmus nagyon rohadt volt, mert ugyanolyan inflációt csináltak, mint mikor Magyarországon minden héten egy zérót írtak hozzá az árakhoz. Itt a kommunizmus egy *desastre* volt. Éhezett az ország, ugyanúgy, mint Venezuelában most."

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: "1970-ben amikor itt volt Allende, az az ötletem támadt, hogy ha itt jön a kommunizmus, akkor én inkább visszamegyek Magyarországra, mert akkor ott el fog múlni."

²¹¹ Ibid.

dollars that he sold on black market for Chilean pesos that he used for buying the building, and the remaining money was distributed between the workers of the embassy and him.²¹² Even though, he had profit from such businesses, for example he could get a Hungarian passport²¹³, he recalls how his father-in-law's estate was taken away by the Chilean state and he frequently calls Allende as "the Communist bastard"²¹⁴

His last business with the Hungarian state occurred in 1973, when the Hungarian delegation had to leave Santiago, so Jorge bought all the liquors which was hold at the embassy.²¹⁵ The reason of their leaving was, of course, the coup d'état of 1973. Interestingly, neither Jorge, nor the other interviewees recalls any memories about the coup itself, Jorge shares only a small remark about it, saying that he provided Pinochet with radio devices so the army could communicate during the coup. In his life story, Jorge often calls Pinochet an angel,²¹⁶ and visibly he enters very close personal encounters with prominent political figures in his memory, which should raise some concerns that will be resolved in the next chapter.

As we could see, the individual life stories of Hungarian diasporans share common reference points, but also reveals contradictions and doubts. Some diasporans have vivid memories about their arrival to Chile, while other concentrate more on their present-day problems. In some cases, life stories start with childhood, but to certain people the starting point is the beginning of a new life that is their migration to Latin America. Even though they seemingly share similar opinions about the 1970s, in the next chapter through a thorough analysis it will be seen that so far, we have only touched the surface of these life stories.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: "Ezekkel nagy barátságban voltunk, volt énnekem egy magyar kommunista útlevelem."

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid. Transcription in the original language: "Pinochet egy angyal volt, igazat adok nekik. Elég jól segített nekik, mert én adtam nekik rádiót a puccs előtt, hogy legyen összeköttetésük."

Chapter 3: What Can the Interviews Reveal to Us?

The following chapter aims at analyzing the oral history interviews in order to explore how diasporans' former memories of conflicting events affect their perception of the political crisis of 1970s in Chile. The interviews are analyzed focusing on four themes of the life stories: the motives of migration, the former conflicting experience, connection to the Hungarian community in Chile, and the perception of the recipient society. This analysis does not aim at questioning the historical accuracy of the stories told by the interviewees, however, it rather focuses on how individual memory and collective memory of diasporans are interrelated.

As it is argued in this chapter, individual conflicting memories are often understood as the motives of migration, therefore, these experiences gain special emphasis in diasporans' life. As these memories are triggered or activated by the events in the recipient country, diasporans react to these events in accordance with their former conflicting experience. In this way, individual memory affects the perception of the recipient society, thus, the diasporic activities as well. Therefore, analyzing individual and collective memory on the motives and background of migration is essential in understanding the diasporic processes.

3.1 Motives of Migration

As it was discussed in the historical introduction, migration from Hungary in the 20th century predominantly stemmed from social-economic or political reasons.²¹⁷ This notion is echoed in Andres' interview when he talks about what motives can drive Hungarians to leave their home country.²¹⁸ Even though he declares himself as political migrant, it is clear that his motive of leaving for Chile was economic, since he could not find a job in Switzerland. The generalization he applies when he talks about migration reflects on his personal mythmaking, borrowing the

²¹⁷ John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16, no. 4 (December 1957): 506.

²¹⁸ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018.

terms of Robert Atkinson,²¹⁹ in the sense that he tries to connect his personal, “unique story” to the “universal story” of Hungarian emigration. This attempt can be traced by looking at how he starts his story, his very first sentence deals with the Hungarian emigration and not with his personal story.²²⁰

In Gabriel’s interview, we can witness the same generalization from a different perspective. Gabriel arrived in Chile in 1985 because he got a job at a shipping company, therefore, his motive of leaving for Chile was also economic, but he details the emigration of his parents from Hungary,²²¹ through which he tries to give an overall story of why and how Hungarians left their home country.²²² Thus, he also applies generalization and states the political motives led to the emigration of thousands of Hungarians, however, he does not include himself as part of it, hence, he does not tie his personal story to the universal story of Hungarian emigration. His perspective, of course, is different considering the fact that he was born in Argentina, however, this makes even more interesting that he uses the same technique to introduce his life story.

Both Julieta and Paolo were children when they arrived in Chile, so in their cases we can only speak about the motives of their parents. As Paolo describes, their uncle sent visas for their family members, since he had already been living in Chile at that time, and he saw the outcome of the revolution of 1956, which made him offer this opportunity to his distant family.²²³ When speaking about the motives of her family’s migration to Chile, Julieta connects her memory of Communism to the motives. She evokes her memories about how their family home was taken away by the Communists, and that they were not allowed to take all their belongings with

²¹⁹ Robert Atkinson, *The Life Story Interview* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2011), 62.

²²⁰ Ibid., Transcription in the original language: “A magyarok nem voltak kivándorló emberek, két okod lehet, hogy elmenj otthonról bármilyen gazdasági ok, vagy politikai ok. De a magyar nem megy el gazdasági okokból, mindenki politikai okok miatt jött el.”

²²¹ Gabriel B. A., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 27, 2018.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

themselves.²²⁴ In other words, according to her memories, Communism forced her family to leave Hungary.

As we could see, in Jorge's case, the emigration to Chile was preceded by thorough preparation. His father, as member of the Smallholders Party, was working closely with the political elite, so he could foresee what would happen after the Communist takeover in the country.²²⁵ Thus, we can say that Jorge's family left the country because of political reasons, however, these motives are also connected with conflicting experience in Jorge's memory. He recalls a story when his bicycle was taken away by the Russians, who promised him that he could get it back later, however, he never managed to find it afterwards.²²⁶ Though this anecdote is only a small part of his life story, he compares his experience with the Russians to the experience that many Hungarians share, namely how their properties were taken away by the Communists. Interestingly, the motives of migration are often attached to former conflicting experience, no matter whether this experience had anything to do with the migration itself. Therefore, it is necessary to observe how and why former conflicting experience affects the understanding of the motives of migration.

3.2 Former Conflicting Experience

Considering the former conflicting experience of émigrés, Andres gives the most detailed account on what had happened to his family. He explains that the family estate that they owned in Tiszatenyő was demolished during the Second World War, therefore, the family had to move to Budapest, where he was enlisted.²²⁷ The destruction of the family home and his conscription are the first two conflicting memories he shared. The third one was his hopes for a democratic transition after 1945. As he discusses, he and his family thought that after the election of 1945

²²⁴ Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²²⁵ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018.

and the setup of the coalition government, democracy would be introduced, sadly history took another turn. Lastly, Andres also mentions the Korean War, as a possible threat that could have led to a third world war, and which eventually made him leave Europe.²²⁸ His experience of the war is the most outstanding from all the memories he shared, because he starts his life story with telling about this experience, not with his childhood or other earlier memories. Since he was enlisted during the Second World War, in which his own father lost his life fighting against the Soviets,²²⁹ Andres' conflicting memories are strongly tied to anti-Communism.

In spite of being born in Argentina, Gabriel also holds conflicting memories about Hungary. Gabriel shares in his life story that he and his family was sentenced to death in Hungary until 1972, owing to their emigration: "We had death sentence until 1972. The whole family was sentenced to death."²³⁰ This memory is a truly unique one, since Gabriel had no memories about Hungary as he did not live in the country, still he knew about his Hungarian origin and the death sentence that forced his family to stay in Latin America. The starting point of his life story is the emigration of his parents: "My parents left Hungary before the Russians came in. They knew that the Russians were coming because part of the family was in the government."²³¹ Again, the beginning of the life story tells a lot about how the individual places himself or herself into the universal story. In case of Gabriel, the Soviet occupation of Hungary represents this starting point which became his own experience in his childhood being a member of a family that was sentenced to death by a Communist state.

In the life stories of Julieta and Paolo, the shared conflicting memory they hold is the loss of their home in 1954 that Julieta had to re-experience in the 1970s in Chile when her flat was taken away as she says by the "filthy Communists."²³² Both Paolo and Julieta tell a lot more

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Gabriel B. A., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 27, 2018.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

about the difficulties that they experience today than what they experienced earlier. This can be due to the fact that Paolo is one of the representative of a Hungarian association in Chile,²³³ therefore, he and his sister deal a lot about the community of today.

The loss of belongings is a conflicting experience that Jorge also holds in his memory. It was already discussed how he lost his bicycle to the Soviets, but he also tells about how his father tried to escape their belongings from Hungary. As he explains, his father had to smuggle their enormous wealth to the Netherlands where it was kept in a warehouse until his father could arrange the shipping to Chile.²³⁴ Although they managed to take their personal properties with themselves, the threat of losing their valuables due to Communism is a vivid memory recurring in Jorge's life story.

As we can see, former conflicting experience is closely attached to the experience of Communism in these life stories. Furthermore, the experience of Communism is also associated with the motives of migration. It is difficult to tell apart when interviewees are speaking about the motives of leaving their home country and when about their conflicting experience since the two are often confused and mixed together. However, what is clearly visible that Communism is presented in these life stories as a threat which led these people to leave their homes, thus, they share a somewhat same memory of migration in their diasporic community. As Dániel Gázsó argues, migration, as an origin story, does not mean the actual, personally experienced migration, but the event of emigration in the collective consciousness, with its symbolic, community-forming power.²³⁵ Hence, we can understand the influence of conflicting experience as the motive of migration on the diaspora. This shared memory leads us to the third theme of the interviews, the interviewees connection to the Hungarian community.

²³³ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²³⁴ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²³⁵ Gázsó Dániel, "A magyar diszpóra fejlődéstörténete," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 9.

3.3 Ties to the Hungarian Community in Chile

Analyzing the interviewees' ties to the Hungarian community is necessary since, as it was already argued in the theoretical introduction, individual memory and remembrance are affected how a community remembers a certain event. The social interactions between individuals and their community shape the individual memory and the collective memory as well.²³⁶ Therefore, in the following subchapter, the interrelation of individual and collective memory is in focus.

Considering the life stories of the five interviews, we can realize two different types of relation to the community. The first type is related to shared experience within the community, such as the events of 1956 in Chile. The second type of relation is in connection with formal functions that some of the individuals hold in the community, such as being a representative of a Hungarian association or being a former honorary consul. As it can be guessed, those interviewees who experienced the events of 1956 in Chile, are within the first category, those interviewees who arrived in Chile later than 1956, are members of the latter.

Andres and Jorge arrived in Chile before 1956, and both of them shared in their life story how they experienced the Hungarian revolution in Chile. Jorge does not talk much about the Hungarians in general, but he tells a fascinating story how he and his friends tried to destroy the press office of a Communist newspaper in Santiago, and how they encountered Salvador Allende during that night.²³⁷ Even though we cannot be sure whether Jorge really met Allende or this is his unique way, how he include himself into the universal Hungarian story about fighting against Communism in the context of the events of 1956, however, as Donald Ritchie argues in oral history, the emphasis is on how facts are remembered and not on the actual facts.²³⁸ Jorge probably associates his fight against Allende with the revolution of the Hungarian

²³⁶ Paolo Jedlowski, "Az emlékezet szociológiája," *Információs Társadalom* 8, no. 4 (2008): 101.

²³⁷ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²³⁸ Donald A. Ritchie, "Introduction: The Evolution of Oral History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

freedom fighters against the Communist rule. His vivid memory about that night when they broke into that press office is the only occasion he mentions fellow diasporans in his life story, otherwise he only talks about his connections with the workers of the Hungarian embassy.

The events of 1956 also play an important role in Andres' life story as well. In the beginning of the interview, he explains that at the time of his arrival in Chile, there were three Hungarian associations in Santiago, and he concludes that the existence of three different associations reflects the fragmentation of the community.²³⁹ However, he continues that the events of 1956 brought Hungarians together within the community. In spite of the fact that they did not experience the revolution in Hungary, 1956 became a reference point to the community, since the shared experience of migration and the attached threat of Communism to this experience within the diaspora triggered the same reaction from the diasporans.

Although Paolo and Julieta arrived in Chile in 1958 as children, they had a special connection to the events of 1956, since Hungarians who left the country after the revolution are collectively called the emigrants of 1956, which is a term used by both Julieta and Paolo for identifying themselves.²⁴⁰ They do not call themselves "56-ers", as those Hungarians who were active participants of the revolution, but they consider the revolution, or more precisely, the breakdown of the revolution as the motive of their migration.²⁴¹ Still when talking about their relation to the community, they evoke formal ties, not memories. Paolo is a representative of a Hungarian association in Santiago, therefore, he holds a formal status in the community.²⁴² As the sister of Paolo, Julieta closely works with the association and, therefore, she also sees her connection to the Hungarian community through this formal lens.²⁴³

²³⁹ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018.

²⁴⁰ Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²⁴¹ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

Gabriel, being born in 1955 in Argentina, has absolutely no personal experience about the events of 1956, he could only recall the memories that his parents shared with him. However, as being a former honorary consul,²⁴⁴ he has strong connection with the community. Though he shares the collective memory of the diaspora, and he participates in the diasporic activities, such as the commemoration of the revolution of 1956, he is also the only one of the interviewees who openly discuss the lack of cohesion within the community. He argues: “It’s not a community here. To have a community you have to have a serious mass. The other way of maintaining a community if the community is somehow attacked, then they stick together.”²⁴⁵ Gabriel’s interview sheds light on how shared experience of an event create an attachment and a cohesion within the community. The fact that Gabriel articulates an opinion about the community that sticks out is probably due to the fact that he takes a different perspective on the diaspora, lacking a former experience that could serve as a link to the diasporic community.

To recapitulate, so far, we discussed how in the case of Chilean Hungarian diasporic memory, the former conflicting experience is connected to the supposed motives of migration. In spite of the differences in individual experience, the collective memory of the diaspora interprets the experience of Communism as the motive of migration, therefore, Communism appears as a threat to the individuals. Individual diasporans share a collective memory within the diasporic community, therefore, their reactions to further threats can reflect more on how the memory of former experience with Communism affects their activities. For that, we should focus on events that could have meant a possible threat to the diaspora. Considering the threat of Communism, one possible event in the recipient country that could trigger the reaction of Hungarians was the elections of 1970, and the presidency of Salvador Allende.

²⁴⁴ Gabriel B. A., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 27, 2018.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

3.4 Perception of the Recipient Society

In earlier chapters the events of 1970s in Chile was discussed briefly, pointing out the fierce violence that was unleashed against left-wing elements in the country. In order to grasp how these events can be linked to the collective memory of the Hungarian diasporans, a short theoretical detour is necessary. Therefore, in this subchapter we refer back to the historical context, detailing key elements of the events of 1970s, then the context will be connected to the individual memories of Hungarians about the 1970s.

As it was mentioned previously, Margarita Palacios argues that antagonism between the right-wing and the left-wing parties in Chile were crucial parts of setting the table for political violence.²⁴⁶ Palacios approaches violence from “the perspective of identity construction and the limits of integrating the *other* within it.”²⁴⁷ The author argues that the image of Communists as the main enemies of the people of Chile represents the image of the radical other, who has no ties or channels to the *self*.²⁴⁸ The distinction between the self and the other is a key aspect in examining violence, however, what makes Palacios’ analysis even more interesting is how she perceives violence. Though violence is usually understood as an extreme reaction of the self to the actions of the other, Palacios argues that violence, in the form of exclusion, is an element of identity formation. When the self creates an image of itself, it must define itself against the other. Hence, if the other tries to invade the space of the self, the self will react violently to the threat.²⁴⁹

The process through which the other is excluded from society is described by Palacios as social antagonism.²⁵⁰ The creation of the other is a creation of a threat to the self, thus, the self creates

²⁴⁶ Margarita Palacios, *Fantasy and Political Violence: The Meaning of Anti-Communism in Chile* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2009), 102-117.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

its own enemy. Only if the threat is understood as existential can be violence justified, hence, collective violence has to be declared against an existential threat, so the act of social antagonism can create an identity for the collective. What happened in Chile in 1973 is described by Palacios as an extreme moment of realization when the democratic system intervenes and stops the work of democratic institutions, hence, interrupts democracy. This could occur in Chile, since a threat of breakdown had been being sensed for years, therefore, by the military coup, democracy was given up for the sake of preserving the remains of the societal establishment.²⁵¹

The political left and the right in Chile had conflicting identity formations, fantasies that created the political crises of 1970's. The left was always considered as reformist, it can be seen in the political program of the Unidad Popular, Palacios sees the greatest distinction between the Allende-government and the preceding political establishments in the idea of redistributions. As the author argues, between 1970 and 1973, not only the products of the economic system were supposed to be redistributed but also the means of production as well, thus economic and political power.²⁵² Palacios describes these policies as revolutionary, though the socialization of foreign-owned mines and companies meant a serious economic threat. Though the left-wing Unidad Popular did not drop the idea of revolution, it was generally understood within the coalition that any revolutionary method should be in accordance with the methods of the constitutional democracy. Hence, the idea of peaceful revolution was created and it dominated the self-identification of the left.²⁵³

In spite of the idea of peaceful revolution, preceding the elections of 1970, several violent acts were carried out by the radical left.²⁵⁴ These events tell a lot about the social uncertainty that

²⁵¹ Ibid., 62.

²⁵² Ibid., 90.

²⁵³ Ibid., 90-91.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 91.

existed before the election. The lower classes of the society which strived for the changes in the economic and political institutions backed the left-wing coalition. Meanwhile, the political right developed its own historical fantasy.

The right possessed the fantasy of anti-Communism, which had an impact on the emerging of social antagonism, since by the formation of Unidad Popular, the right realized that the enemy was threatening the stability of the society from within. Therefore, an existential threat was communicated by the right. As Palacios points out, at that time the meaning of anti-Communism was very close to the American interpretation of anti-Communism. This similarity can be observed in the aggressive campaign against the left, which was labelled as “the Communist threat.”²⁵⁵ Thus, while the right offered a political program which aimed at maintaining stability and the existing order, the left offered the reconstruction of economic and political structures, which was seen as the dismantling of political order by the right.

Since none of the candidates gained absolute majority in the election of 1970, therefore, the congress had to nominate the president from the two candidates who obtained most of the votes. After the election, in which Salvador Allende got 36 percentage of the votes, the right realized that the threat of the left was even more physical than it had been considered previously. This realization was embodied in violent events happened between the election and the nomination of the president. One of these events was the attempt of kidnapping of Rene Schneider by the CIA and the Chilean military which was close to the right-wing.²⁵⁶ As it is well-known, this attempt ended in the brutal assassination of Schneider, which clearly proves that the political left meant such an existential threat from the perspective of the right that even the assassination was morally justified.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 91.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 92.

The three years of Allende's government were characterized by constant clashes between the government and the opposition and within the government. Since the governing coalition was built up by six parties, Allende was unable to maintain to unity within the Unidad Popular. The socialization processes in the economy triggered protests throughout the country. Moreover, the method of socialization created conflicts within the government. The moderate sectors wanted to remain within the constitutional boundaries, however, the radical sectors fostered mobilization to achieve socialism. Meanwhile, the radical right movements declared open violent confrontations with the government. The climax of these confrontations was the truckers' strike which made it impossible to supply the capital city with basic food.²⁵⁷

The reaction to the attempt of mobilization by the government was mass-mobilization by the right. Thus, the political opposition was extended to the whole society which became deeply divided. Such social antagonism was unexperienced between 1938 and 1973,²⁵⁸ which also added to the radicalization of the events. However, the fight for the power was unequal because the right-wing Chilean military found itself confronted with civilians. Thus, during the coup the civil society did not take up a hopeless fight against the military, however, this fact did not decrease the brutality with which the military tried to eradicate the civilian enemy.

Owing to the fact that the left was politically divided, there was no unity among them. In contrast to this, the right could develop a strong unity against the left in the early 1970's. The right could present itself as the final solution to the problems caused by the left, which solution was the eradication of Communists from Chile. By this, the image of the enemy became more and more darker, and it was presented as a growing existential threat to the country especially in the right-wing oriented press.²⁵⁹ The growing threat posed continuous fear on the people, which, at one certain point, became so intolerable that it called for revenge. On 11 September

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 93-95.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 95.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 115-118.

1973, the coup launched fierce violence against the civilians who previously backed the left. The brutality did not aim at the destruction of a political opposition, but to exterminate individuals who were declared as enemies of the people of Chile.

This theoretical and contextual detour is important in order to emphasize that political violence and the image of the Communist threat was present in the Chilean society at that time. Palacios analyses the press²⁶⁰ to argue the presence of the threat, which corresponds with Julieta's account who refers to the threat that she and her Hungarian friends felt after Allende was elected, stating that everybody knew what would happen, it was outlined even in the press.²⁶¹ Julieta speaks relatively little about the 1970s, her main argument is that half of the Hungarian community left after the election in fear of Communism.²⁶²

The escape of half of the Hungarian community from Chile is a recurring image in the interviews. It is also mentioned by Andres, who associates Allende to Mátyás Rákosi, and he also talks about that Hungarians knew what would happen owing to their experience they gained in Hungary,²⁶³ which is an explicit way of connecting former experience of Communism with the suspected threat of Communism in 1970s. Reference to former experience appears in the interview of Paolo too, who says that those who left Chile after the election had already experienced Communism once, and they did not want to have it once again.²⁶⁴ Julieta, Paolo and also Andres refers back to their memories on how their homes were destroyed or taken

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 102-114.

²⁶¹ Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²⁶² Ibid., Transcription in the original language: "Megijedtünk, hogy kicserélődik a rendszer, mint Kubában,"

²⁶³ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018. Transcription in the original language: "A magyarok fele elment másnap, mert senki nem akart egy kommunista világban élni. Nem is volt kétséges, hogy ez lesz belőle. Magyarországon is elfoglaltak minket a szovjet csapatok 1945-ben, és a Rákosi Matyi átalakította kommunistává a világot 1947 végén, 1948 elején. Ugyebár ez eltart 2-3 évig."

²⁶⁴ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018. Transcription in the original language: "Mi már nagyon jól tudtuk, hogy mi lesz ebből az Allende dologból. Akik elmentek, nem akartak a palacsintasütőből a tűzbe esni. Egyszer már átéltek ezt, még egyszer nem akarták. Pontosan odafelé mentek a dolgok, mint Magyarországon. Természetesen sokan féltek."

away by the Communists, by which they tried to justify how they could know what would happen in Chile.

Not only the image of the threat, but also the solution to this threat is represented in the interviews. Even though Julieta and Paolo do not mention Pinochet, Andres, Gabriel and Jorge do express their opinion on the military junta in the interviews. Andres talks very briefly about Pinochet, he only states that those who did not deal with politics were left unharmed and that Pinochet did a favor by stopping Allende.²⁶⁵ Jorge and Gabriel elaborate more on the military regime.

Gabriel argues that the atrocities of the first year might be justifiable, but not the persecution of the masses.²⁶⁶ He compares the “corrupt” Allende with Pinochet, who was a “blessing” for Chile since he led the country out of an economic disaster.²⁶⁷ The very same logic can be witnessed in Jorge’s interview who also highlights the economic crisis of the Allende government, and calls Pinochet an angel for providing a solution to the crisis.²⁶⁸ After all of these, we can raise the question how evident was it to the Hungarians what was happening during the military regime?

In order to answer that question, we should consult archival sources. A report from the Hungarian State Security reveals that during a discussion in 1974 between Sándor Steiner, who was a Hungarian doctor practicing in Chile, and László Hoffman, who was an agent of the Hungarian State Security, Steiner mentioned that once he saw fourteen dead bodies floating in Mapocho River, and he added that this had been “a part of the landscape lately.”²⁶⁹ Referring to the atrocities that were well-known among the citizens.

²⁶⁵ Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018.

²⁶⁶ Gabriel B. A., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 27, 2018.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²⁶⁹ “Hoffman L. jelentései Chiléből,” 4 June 1974, 79-103. HU ÁBTL 3.2.6.8-75/I. “Santiago de Chile-i hírszerzőpont; Szervezési dosszié.” Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

It is visible from the interviews that the image of the Communist threat was so strong in the mind of diasporans that even the atrocities of the Pinochet regime could not overwrite diasporans' hatred towards Communism. However, we can also observe a few contradictions in the activities of individual diasporans. From the interviews, we can learn that both Jorge and Paolo had connections with the Hungarian state during the Allende government. In spite of the fact that they held strong anti-Communist beliefs, they understood the opportunities provided by the relationship of the Chilean and the Hungarian state. Paolo tried to establish connection with the Hungarian state television in order to obtain records that could be broadcasted in Chile,²⁷⁰ while Jorge did business with the Hungarian state by purchasing the building that still serves as the embassy of Hungary in Santiago.²⁷¹ Even though they shared the same collective memory of the diasporans, on the individual level, their reaction to the election of Allende was contradicting the collective level of memory.

In both cases, the contradiction between the individual actions and the collective memory is relieved. In Paolo's case, the Hungarian state was not cooperating with him, so he could say that the Communist state was not interested in the diaspora, presenting it as an ignorant, careless and even suspicious entity.²⁷² In Jorge's case, the solution is, again, Pinochet since Jorge argues that he helped Pinochet by providing radios for the military during the coup.²⁷³ This is another fascinating encounter that Jorge had with a prominent political figure of the 1970s, which counterbalances his former story with Allende.

In conclusion, the former experience of Communism has significant impact on diasporic memory. It influences how the motives of migration are understood within the diaspora and how the community articulates its origin story. In spite of the different individual experience,

²⁷⁰ Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²⁷¹ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²⁷² Paolo Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018.

²⁷³ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

the individual level of memory is in accordance with the diasporic, that is the collective level of memory. Contradictions between the individual actions and the collective memory is traceable, however at a certain point these contradictions are relieved, thus, they cannot cause conflict within the diasporic community or for the individual.

However, in order to thoroughly understand how diasporic memory is affected by the events of the recipient country, we should look into the societal context of the host country. As it was argued through the work of Margarita Palacios, the Communist threat was present in the Chilean society for a long period of time during the late 1960s and the early 1970s already, which could also reach the Hungarian diaspora by the press, which is confirmed by one of the interviewees, Julieta as well. Therefore, exploring the motives and the background of migration, which includes the conflicting experience tied to the migration, is indispensable to an analysis of a diasporic community, since these motives and experience influence the collective memory of the diaspora, which has an effect on the diasporic activities. However, the diasporic memory has to be scrutinized in the context of the recipient society in order to provide a careful and in-depth analysis, since the recipient society can trigger and activate those memories that affect the activities of diasporans.

Limitations

Slowly arriving at our conclusion, an overview of the limitations is necessary to critically approach the findings of this thesis and to outline the direction of further researches on the topic. Though constraints on time and length are the most obvious limitation that one can mention, this thesis bears geographical limits first and foremost. Since the empirical research is based on oral history interviews, it is fundamental to point out that all of these interviews were conducted in Santiago de Chile, in a community of intellectuals, therefore, it would be crucial for further researches to expand the circle of interviewees with diasporans living outside of Santiago, possibly from Antofagasta, Valparaíso, Chillán and from Concepción where small Hungarian communities can be found, but exploring Punta Arenas, the center of the southernmost region of Chile would be also advantageous.

Furthermore, oral history interviews can be aimed at analyzing how certain memories inherited by younger generations, therefore, interviews with families, and rather than only individuals, would also be an interesting approach to research further the topic of this thesis. A comparative analysis of different diasporic communities would be a fundamental next step to take in order to confirm the findings of this research. There are several diasporas that can be reached in Chile, most importantly the German and the Croatian diaspora, since they have the biggest and most active communities. A comparative research can be aimed at comparing diasporas which hold similar conflicting memory, such as diasporic communities stemming from the former Soviet bloc; or comparing diasporas with distinctly opposing background in order to shed light on how diasporic memory influences activities of diasporans.

Since primary sources of this thesis is closely tied to the diplomatic relations between Hungary and Chile, other primary sources of the diaspora should be consulted that are not products of diplomatic relations, but of diasporic activities, such as bulletins or newspapers published in

the diaspora. If such sources are not available in the case of the Hungarian diaspora, further researches can be aimed at exploring diasporas which produced such documents. Bearing these limitations in mind, there are some conclusions to be drawn.

Conclusion

This thesis argues that in order to thoroughly understand diasporic activities, we need to examine the motives and background of migration as well as setting the diasporic behavior within the context of the recipient society. The analysis of the collective memory of a diaspora sheds light on the identity of the diasporic community, but also on their activities. As Jan Assmann puts it, collective memory affects the interpretation of the past, but also organizes the experience of the present.²⁷⁴ However, within a diasporic setting, the collective memory of the diaspora is integrated into a recipient society which, hence, serves as a context for the experience of the present. Thus, without exploring the societal context diasporic activities and behavior cannot be comprehended.

The brief history of the Hungarian diaspora in Chile reveals that though the Chilean Hungarian community has always been small in numbers, it has been apparently great in diversity throughout the last century. In the early twentieth century, the life of the diasporic community was centered around the political-religious based conflict between the Jewish and non-Jewish members of the diaspora. The conflict stemmed from the home country, where due to the anti-Jewish laws, Jews had to face explicit discrimination. Jewish members of the diasporic community protested against the injustice exposed to their friends and relatives. A harsh reaction was triggered within the Jewish community which led to the establishment of the Association of the Hungarian Speaking Jews,²⁷⁵ which aimed at providing an opposing

²⁷⁴ Jan Assmann, *A kulturális emlékezet. Írás, emlékezés és politikai identitás a korai magaskultúrákban* (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1999), 42-43.

²⁷⁵ "Évi koloniális jelentés," 31 December 1940. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile -i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary. "A zsidókérdéssel kapcsolatos hazai

organization to the Chilean Hungarian Circle and Aid Association. Though the latter association had the role of providing aids for Hungarians in need, the income of the Hungarian Circle was coming from the diasporans, and when the Jewish members of the diaspora started protesting against the anti-Jewish laws of Hungary, they gave up contributing to the Aid Association.²⁷⁶

This conflicting episode of the history of the Chilean Hungarian diaspora was approached through various sources. Although most of the primary sources used for this research are products of the Hungarian-Chilean diplomatic relations, two poems were also presented in order to reflect on the fragmentation of the diaspora. The two poems are products of the diasporic activities, Nándor Flesch's poem was written for the celebration of Saint Stephen Day,²⁷⁷ while the second poem was written as a reaction to the first one.²⁷⁸ Highlighting these two pieces of primary sources is necessary to shed light on the fact that the abovementioned conflict within the diaspora was perceived as serious by not only the Consulate, but, in fact, it was bitter and unresolved.

Analyzing the abovementioned conflict is important since it tells a lot about how former conflicting events that was experienced in the home country affects the activities of diasporans in the host country. A further incident helps us to connect the diasporic conflict of the early 20th century to the main argument of the thesis. The Chilean Jewish committee that was previously set up by the Chilean state in order to process the entry requests of Jews, was denied by the Hungarian Jewish community, they did not cooperate with the community, therefore, the Chilean state refused to issue entry permits to Jews who held Hungarian citizenship.²⁷⁹ Even

helyzetben érdekeltek részéről elzárkózást tapasztaltunk, amely odáig fejlődött, hogy néhány vallási fanatikus által egy "magyarul beszélő zsidók egyesülete" megalakulásához vezetett."

²⁷⁶ Ibid. "Ők azért nem járulnak hozzá a gyűjtéshez, mert őket nem tekintik Magyarországon magyarnak, hanem zsidóknak, holott ők magyarnak érzik magukat és amíg ezt nem orvosolják, passzív viselkedést tanúsítanak."

²⁷⁷ "Költemény Flesch Nándortól," 26 August 1936. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile -i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

²⁷⁸ "Fábián legutolsó verse," Date not known. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

²⁷⁹ "Évi kolóniális jelentés," 31 December 1938. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

though it is perfectly understandable why the Jewish members of the Hungarian diaspora tried to protest against the anti-Jewish laws by establishing their own association through which they could give a special emphasis to their protest, their reaction to the actions taken by the recipient state is difficult to interpret. Since so far, no sources have been found yet that could reveal the contradiction why Hungarian Jews refused to cooperate with the Chilean Jewish committee, we cannot fully understand this diasporic reaction. However, at this point we have to refer back to our main argument that is not only the analysis of the motives and background of migration is necessary to understand diasporic behavior, but the context of the recipient society is also essential to introduce to the discussion. It might seem as an unbalanced or underdeveloped argument, but the abovementioned conflict proves that in order to understand the fragmentation of the Hungarian diaspora in the early 20th century, we need to know more about the recipient society before we could draw conclusions.

The analysis of oral history interviews aimed at answering the question what role diasporans' former experience had in the forming of an understanding of the Allende government and of the Pinochet regime. The life stories reveal that conflicting experience is closely tied to their supposed motives of migration, in other words, the conflicting experience is often presented as the main motive of migration. In the case of the interviewees, the conflicting experience of Communism is presented as the motive for leaving their home country. Hence, Communism appears as a threat in the life stories of diasporans.

In the recipient society, the threat of Communism appeared in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and it was propagated by the press. This threat could evoke the memories of former conflicting experience from diasporans and triggered the collective memory of the diasporic community which organized the experience of the present according to the memory of the past. This could lead to the point that half of the Hungarian community left the country after the

election of 1970.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, there were members of the community who stood up against the threat, just like Jorge, who shares the story how he encountered Allende while he and his friends were destroying the press office of a Communist newspaper in Santiago.²⁸¹

Though the research suffered some limitations detailed in the previous chapter, we can conclude that contrary to Gabriel Sheffer's argument, according to which the identification of the reasons and motives of migration is not important in understanding the diasporic activities,²⁸² we can see that the motives of migration and the reasons why diasporans left their home country are essential elements in the analysis of diasporans' behavior in the recipient society, with the inclusion of the host society as a context of the diasporic activities.

²⁸⁰ Julieta Sz. P., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 13, 2018. and Andres L. T., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 28, 2018.

²⁸¹ Jorge G. S., interview by Erzsébet Árvay, April 12, 2018.

²⁸² Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 76.

Appendices

Appendix A

Idegenben²⁸³

Feneketlen tenger, sötétlő nagy vizek,
Életem hajóját, jaj merre is viszed?!
Idegen tengeren messze kikötőbe
Kis hajóm horgonya vaj' feneket ér-e?
Új élet hajnalán, új magyar akarások;
Keserves sorsomnak én elébe állok!
Idegen ég alatt és idegen rögön,
Számkivetésemet csak azért sem nyögöm!
Idegen dolgoknak, idegen arcoknak
Értem a szavukat s nem tudom mit mond'nak.
Nem tudom mit mondnak, nincs ki engem érthet,
Mások az örömek, más itten az élet.
A kis magyar sziget, melyre itt találtam,
Mért nem érti egymást, egyazon sorsában?!
Takarodj el tőlem cégéres hazafi!
A hazát szeretni akarsz-e tanítani?!
Eget elborító hatalmas fellegek,
Fekete gyűlölet, fekete seregek
Tapodják, szagatják, nyög belé a Haza!
Elűztek engem is, nem mehetek haza.
Gyűlölve szeretni, tudod-e hogy az mi?
Ezer átok között mégis csak áldani?
Bús magyar sorsomtól oly messzire futok,
Kacagva vigadok, amikor gyászolok!
Megvetem sarkamat idegen talajban,
Mikor csak otthon jó, örömben és bajban.
Magyar humuszt én többé nem taposom,
Idegen föld alatt teljesedik sorsom.
Fejemet meghajtva mormolom az imát:
Áldassék a neved mindég Magyarország!

²⁸³ "Költemény Flesch Nándortól," 26 August 1936. HU MNL OL K524. "Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus" 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

Appendix B

Fábián “legutolsó” verse, avagy “kölcsonkenyér visszajár” Flesch Nándornak²⁸⁴

Ellenzékeskedni sehol sem kellemes
Chilei zsidó körökben, meg életveszélyes
Egyik helyen elnök BIZTOSIThat arról,
Hogy a másik elnök, kirekeszt szinpadról

Nagy Katalin cárnő mi volt ahoz képest
Amit az elnökne diktátorsága tesz
Nándi otthon papucs, ott meg sem mukkanhat
De még a kis kutya sem, meg nem vakkanhat

Bezzeg kabarében ember Ő a gáton
Akár a hagyományos szar, a személtapáton
Ízlést, esztétikát ne keressél ottan
Hiszen póker közben, nem írhatnak jobban

Flesch Nándor nem zsidó, hanem izrálita
Egyedül Fábián, ki kétségbe vonja
Magyarnak sem magyar, Ő állítja bátran
Azért elnök Ő, egy magyar ... kuplerájban

Jaj neked ellenzék, a magyarok vezéri
Flesch kabaréában végeznek téged ki
Szegény magyar követ téged is sajnállak
Mert Flesch bojkottja egy telitalálat

Ha pedig Chilében hazafit keresel
Van belőlük elég a zsidó egyletben
Szájuk az hatalmas, akár beleszarhatsz
Nemzetgyalázásért ott ... érdemrendet kaphatsz!

²⁸⁴ “Fábián legutolsó verse,” Date not known. HU MNL OL K524. “Santiago de Chile-i tb. konzulátus” 1. csomó. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Hungary.

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