



# **BOOK OF ABSTRACT**

Allende 50 Conference

11th of September 2023

The conference “Allende 50” intends to unfold the developments in Chile, its impacts in the field of history, literature, art, economics, social and political processes.

The conference is organised by the members of the *Latin America Subcommittee of the International and Development Studies Scientific Committee of Division IX of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* in cooperation with the [Embassy of Chile in Budapest](#) and the [Hungarian Diplomatic Academy](#). The members’ affiliation stretches through the whole higher education and research institute system of Hungary (including Corvinus University of Budapest, ELKH Centre for Economic and Regional Studies Institute of World Economics, Eötvös Loránd University, Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, University of Pécs, Ludovika University of Public Service, University of Szeged). The lectures and the panels are onsite.

Homepage of the conference: <https://www.uni-corvinus.hu/ind/allende50-2/?lang=en>

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## **Members of the organising committee**

BAKUCZ, Dóra, Pázmány Péter Catholic University

CSIKÓS, Zsuzsanna, University of Szeged

HORVÁTH, Emőke, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary

LÉNÁRT, András, University of Szeged

LILON, Domingo Antonio, University of Pécs

MENCZEL, Gabriella, Eötvös Loránd University

NAGY, Sándor Gyula, Corvinus University of Budapest

RICZ, Judit, ELKH Centre for Economic and Regional Studies Institute of World Economics and Corvinus University of Budapest

SOLTÉSZ, Béla, Eötvös Loránd University and Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade

SZENTE-VARGA, Mónika, Ludovika University of Public Service

SZILÁGYI, Ágnes Judit, Eötvös Loránd University

## Conference program

**8.30-8.55**

**Registration (Corvinus Faculty Club)**

**09:00-10:30**

**Conference opening and keynote speeches (Corvinus Faculty Club)**

Moderator: Dr. RICZ, Judit

- **Prof. CSABA, László** (Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Chair of the International and Development Studies Scientific Committee of Division IX of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences): *Opening remarks*
- **Ex. SANHUEZA, Camilo** (Ambassador of Chile to Hungary): *Opening remarks*

**Keynote speakers:**

- **Prof. YOPO HERRERA, Mladen Daslav** (Universidad SEK, Chile): *Consequences of the Chilean “socialist experiment” in Latin-America*
- **Prof. FISCHER, Ferenc** (University of Pécs): *Atraído por Chile (1973-2023): La mirada de un historiador húngaro (in Spanish – without translation)*

**10:30-11:00 Break**

**1. Session: Changes of economic thinking and economic relations in Latin America**

(lecture room nr. III.)

Roundtable discussion:  
"Chile's economic and political processes in comparison with the Pacific Alliance"

Judit Riez  
Sándor Gyula Nagy  
María José Sanchez

**2. Session: Chile Between Transition and Turmoil - Democracy and Dictatorship**

(Faculty Club theatre podium)

Emőke Horváth: Magyar-chilei kapcsolatok az 1960-as években

Dániel Farkas: Barátságos és barátságtalan katonatisztek – Az 1971-es bolíviai és az 1973-as chilei puccsra adott szovjet válasz kontrasztja

László Kupi: Halál Washingtonban: Orlando Letelier meggyilkolása és annak hatása a Pinochet-rezsimre

Gabriella Thomázy: Chile elhúzódó alkotmányozási folyamata

**3. Session: Chile's social and political struggles in a global context**

(E 69)

Ágnes Deák: The democratisation process in Chile and Hungary

Béla Soltész: Political fiasco or a lesson in democracy? Chile's constitutional process, 2021-2023

Gergő Máté Nagy: The incorporation of the Mapuche flag during Chile's Estallido Social of 2019 and the downfall of a plurinational project – A comparative analysis of Chile and Bolivia

**4. Session: Chilean literature and culture in the world (1973-2023)**

(Faculty Club cigar room)

Gabriella Menczel: Poesía y resistencia (Elvira Hernández y Verónica Zondek)

Ilian Ilinca Pablo Neruda en el espacio socialista: etapas, coincidencias y diferencias

Enikő Yilmaz-Mészáros: La naturaleza en la poesía de Raúl Zurita: un tema chileno para la Literatura Comparada

2. PANEL  
13:30-15:00

**1. Session: Changes of economic thinking and economic relations in Latin America**

**(lecture room nr. III.)**

Ágnes Deák: Dimensions of poverty in Latin America, Lesson from Chile

Tamás Csontos: Different manifestations of the middle-income trap and the role of industrial policy: Comparison of Chile and Hungary

Juan Cristóbal Demian Inzulza: Alianza del Pacífico y ASEAN, el desafío de una nueva alianza interregional y el rol de Chile en el Indopacífico  
Szijártó Norbert: Copper, fiscal policy rules and economic development in Chile

**2. Session: Chile Between Transition and Turmoil - Democracy and Dictatorship**

**(Faculty Club theatre podium)**

Attila Zolcsák: A chilei gerillamozgalom (1973-1990)

András Bakó: Michelle Bachelet élete a Pinochet-rendszer éveitől

Máté Deák: Az Allende-kép napjainkban. A Frente Amplio és az újbaloldal térnyerése Chilében a rendszer bukásának ötvenedik évfordulóján.

András Lénárt: Nincs kegyelem: a chilei Méltóság Kolónia múltja és jelene

**3. Session: Chile's social and political struggles in a global context**

**(E 69)**

Zsófia Gilly: From coup d'état to soft coup: the impeachment as a tool of lawfare in Latin-America

István Szilágyi: Unidad Popular en Chile – las experiencias de una política reformista revolucionaria desde una perspectiva de cincuenta años

Zoltán Bács: Relations between Allende's Government and the Catholic Church in Chile

Mónika Szenté-Varga: Sports for or against Dictatorship? Sports in the 1988 Referendum TV Campaigns

**4. Session: Chilean literature and culture in the world (1973-2023)**

**(Faculty Club cigar room)**

Kata Varju: Pautas de percepción en tres obras de Roberto Bolaño

Petra Báder: Literatura y política: una lectura de Las infantas de Lina Meruane y Kramp de José María Ferrada

Laura Miklós: Los límites del lenguaje en las novelas de Mike Wilson. La ficción y el libro impreso al borde del apocalipsis

Zsuzsa Csikós: La narrativa chilena en el ámbito cultural húngaro (1965-2020)

15:30-17:00 3. PANEL

**1. Session: Changes of economic thinking and economic relations in Latin America**

**2. Session: Chile Between Transition and Turmoil - Democracy and Dictatorship**

**(Faculty Club theatre podium)**

Diplomaták személyes  
élményeikről: Chile, Allende,  
Pinochet

Gulyás András  
Horvát János  
Varga-Koritár Pál  
moderátor: Pólyi Csaba

**3. Session: Chile's social and political struggles in a global context**

**4. Session: Chilean literature and culture in the world (1973-2023)**

**(Faculty Club cigar room)**

Márton Árva: La responsabilidad  
ético-política de la percepción en  
Los perros (Marcela Said, 2017)

Tony Lilón: La Nueva Canción  
Chilena

Dóra Bakucz: El movimiento  
Basta: una especie de #MeeToo  
(micro)literario



## Keynote speakers

### *Opening remarks by:*

**CSABA, László** (Professor of Central European University and Corvinus University of Budapest, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Chair of the International and Development Studies Scientific Committee of Division IX of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

and

**Ex. SANHUEZA, Camilo** (Ambassador of Chile to Hungary)

**YOPO HERRERA, Mladen Daslav** (Universidad SEK, Chile):  
*Consequences of the Chilean “socialist experiment” in Latin-America*

He is a journalist from the Pontificia Universidad Católica, Master in International Studies from the Universidad de Chile, Phd in Political Science from Leiden University. Academic and Researcher for more than 40 years with publication in different countries as, for example, the book “Navegando entre los Claroscuros de una Transición Exitosa en Chile: La Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia 1987-2010”, Editorial Académica Española, 2017, with foreword by former President Ricardo Lagos. Currently working as a researcher at the SEK-Chile University in the Program of Global Policy, as adviser to the Chilean Undersecretary of Defense and columnist for various media.

*Abstract:* President Salvador Allende was a Marxist, but above all was a democrat, a humanist and a visionary. With his election it was the first time that a Marxist reached the presidency through the ballot box in the Western world. The singularity of an “institutional revolution” (the experience of “empanadas and vino tinto”) was a new framework for the so called “global planning” parties. Allende’s government was inaugurated in the context of a diversity of social expressions in Latin America, in which armed actions were a very small part. But his leadership differentiates the Chilean path from other’s by emphasizing that it was possible to achieve economic democracy through the full exercise of political freedom and respect for legality. This period of the rise of nationalist and revolutionary governments (1968-1973) in the region, marks a strong relationship between the internal and external context. It was the time when the region was a low priority for the United States but it was seen as part of the global struggle for power during the Cold War. A time that ended by a conspiracy by the conservative

parties and the US with a systematic imposition of a process of militarization with the coup d'état of 1973 in function of the National Security doctrine.

**FISCHER, Ferenc** (University of Pécs): *Atraído por Chile (1973-2023): La mirada de un historiador húngaro*

Professor Emeritus of the University of Pécs since 2020. Between 2009-2016 he was dean of the Faculty of Humanities and for 14 years director of the Interdisciplinary Doctoral School of the University. Between 2008-2018 he was director of the Institute of History and for 2007-2011 head of the research group of “Hungary, Europe, and Ibero-America” of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Between 2001-2020 he was director of the Ibero-American Centre. Since 2003 he is doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (DSc). He was Coordinator of the National Association of the Latin- American Historians in Europe (AHILA) between 1993-2005 and member of the Directive Commission for 2007-2013. Member of the “Consejo Europeo de Investigación Social de América Latina” (CEISAL). He has received in 2019 the “Order of Isabel la Católica” awarded by the King of Spain and he was awarded in 2010 with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Hungarian Republic.

*Resumen:* Tras el golpe militar de 1973 mi profesor, Ádam Anderle me aconsejó optar por la influencia militar prusiana-alemana en Chile como tema de mi futura tesis. Con este tema en 1977 gané el premio principal de la Conferencia Nacional de Estudiantes. Después de 1973 salieron a la luz muchos libros dedicados al tema arriba mencionado, pero pocos investigaban sistemáticamente la "prehistoria prusiana" de las Fuerzas Armadas chilenas. Cada vez más me enfrenté al hecho de que tenía una increíble suerte histórica de ser un joven húngaro, que pudo viajar tanto al Alemania de Este como al Alemania de Oeste, y trabajar en ambos archivos divididos. Llegué a Chile en 1999 con una “tarjeta especial”, con mi libro “El modelo militar prusiano y las Fuerzas Armadas de Chile 1885-1945”. Les dejé claro a los chilenos que no estaba investigando el golpe de 1973, sino las relaciones militares entre Alemania y Chile antes de 1945. Esto fue aceptado: tanto por la derecha como por la izquierda, tanto por los civiles como por los oficiales. En 2000 viajé por segunda vez a Chile para preparar el viaje del Rector de la Universidad de Pécs, quien después firmó convenios con tres universidades. Después de mi tercer viaje a Chile en 2002, defendí mi tesis doctoral académica.

*Abstract:* In 1973 there was the military coup and my professor *Ádám Anderle* advised me that my future thesis could be the Prussian-German military influence in Chile. In 1977 I won the main prize of the National Student Conference for that thesis. After 1973 many books have been published but few have systematically investigated the "Prussian prehistory" of the Chilean Armed Forces. More and more I was confronted with the fact that I had the incredible historical luck of being a young Hungarian, as I was able to travel to both East Germany and West Germany, and to work in both divided archives. I arrived in Chile in 1999 with a "special card", with my book "The Prussian Military Model and the Chilean Armed Forces 1885-1945". I made it clear to the Chileans that I was not investigating the 1973 coup, but the military relations between Germany and Chile before 1945. This was accepted: by right and left, by civilians and officers alike. In 2000, I went to Chile for the second time to prepare for the trip of my Rector, who signed agreements with three universities. After my third trip to Chile in 2002, I defended my thesis to become doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (DSc).

# 1. Session: Changes of economic thinking and economic relations in Latin America

Organizers and moderators: Judit Ricz and Sándor Gyula Nagy

## 1.1 Panel

Roundtable discussion: "Chile's economic and political processes in comparison with the Pacific Alliance" with

*Judit Ricz*, research fellow at the Institute of World Economics, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies (IWE CERS) and associate professor at the Department of World Economy, Global Studies Institute, Corvinus University Budapest. At her research institute (IWE CERS) she is responsible for economic, political and social issues related to the Latin American region (has conducted various research projects focusing mainly on Brazil). She is author of several publications related to development economics and Latin America (both in Hungarian and English), and speaker at numerous conferences (both domestic and international). At Corvinus University Budapest she is teaching various courses related to world economy, international political economy, development economics including a strong (but not exclusive) focus on Latin American development theories and experiments. She is fluent in English and Spanish.

*Sándor Gyula Nagy*, currently full professor at the Department of World Economy, Global Studies Institute, Corvinus University of Budapest. His main fields of research are Latin-America, the process of global, regional and European integration and the development of the SME sector. He is author of several books, book chapters and academic papers written in Hungarian, English, Spanish. He is Chief Advisor of the Hungarian Diplomatic Academy, and holder of the Official Grade of the Rio Branco Order given by the Federative Republic of Brazil due to his “dedication and services for improving the Brazilian–Hungarian bilateral academic relations”.

*María José Sanchez*, a PhD student in the World Economics program at Corvinus University. She is a Scholar of the Hungarian government's Stipendium Hungaricum 2022 program and a graduate of the University of Corvinus with a master's degree in International Relations, as well as an

Internationalist from the International University of Ecuador (UIDE). Her area of expertise is the issues and developments in the fields of migration and regional integration in Latin America. I also have a Diploma in Geopolitics, Strategy, and International Relations, as well as other awards and academic recognitions. Participating in international conferences at Tufts University in Boston, USA and in Hungary as well as on several forums focusing on gender and human rights. Experience as a social activist for more than 5 years in inclusive education.

## ***1.2 Panel***

Ágnes Deák: Dimensions of poverty in Latin America, Lesson from Chile

She is currently a PhD-candidate at Corvinus University in Budapest. Her research field covers social and economic development processes in Latin America. She is primarily interested in the field of human development, but due to her studies in various fields of social sciences, her interest comprises many aspects of the region. She considers the interdisciplinary approach and fieldwork important. She has participated in study trips and fieldworks in countries of the region, such as Mexico, Costa Rica, Argentina, and Colombia.

*Abstract:* In the Latin American region, under the Pink Tide era in the first decade of the new millennium, new development models were introduced directing the focus to long-standing socioeconomic problems. As a middle-income region with a long history of various poverty measures, it became an exceptional case of the introduction of multidimensional poverty measurement based on the theoretical work of Amartya Sen. The paper aims to provide an overview of the newly introduced multidimensional poverty measurements in a comparative study emphasizing the peculiarities of the Chilean case. Analyzing academic and official government expert documents, the research reviews and synthesizes the evolution of the methodology and the ways in which these can contribute to improving public policy to effectively address the elimination of various forms of deprivation. This analysis demonstrates that there is no singular playbook for the process of elaborating the new methods and the role of various sectors, especially impoverished people. It also highlights the new dimensions of poverty and their indicators in the current social and economic context of the region.

Csontos Tamás: Different manifestations of the middle-income trap and the role of industrial policy: Comparison of Chile and Hungary

He is a doctorate student at the Corvinus University of Budapest. He was a research assistant at the Boda & Partners Ltd. and The Centre for Social Sciences. He is a member of the editorial secretary at the Review of Economic Theory and Policy. His research interest includes comparative political economy, institutional economics and developmental economics.

*Abstract:* In my presentation, I will examine the different manifestations of the middle-income trap in Chile and Hungary in a historical perspective. The theoretical framework is provided by the model of participation and self-effort. The participation strategy aims at achieving the production, consumption and institutional factors that facilitate the process of catching-up through participation in the global division of labour, while the self-effort strategy covers efforts to neutralise the factors that hinder the process of catching-up through participation. In this model, I distinguish two kinds of middle-income trap; the exclusion trap, which is the result of a one-sided focus on self-effort; and the vulnerability trap, which is the result of a one-sided focus on participation. The model argues that catch-up will be achieved when participation and self-effort are in harmony. The aim of my presentation is to examine how the development of Chile and Hungary in the last decades can be characterised on the basis of this model. Moreover, it also examines the role of industrial policy in finding a harmony between participation and self-effort and it evaluates the extent to which the industrial policy strategies of the two countries differ.

Juan Cristóbal Demian Inzulza: Pacific Alliance and ASEAN, the challenge of a new interregional alliance and the role of Chile in the Indo-Pacific region

Political scientist with a master's degree in security, defence and international relations. His main topics of investigation are geopolitics, international relations, geoeconomics and political theory. He is the author of two books published in Portuguese and Spanish concerning both global and Chilean political changes in the last decade.

*Abstract:* Given the possibility of a world in which political and economic relations could mutate due to the absence of American hegemony, it is necessary to anticipate and propose new development initiatives around a new type of regionalism, one that is based on geopolitical advantages and that is structured around the solidity of the projects of the countries that comprise them. Such would be the case of a strategic strengthening of ties between the Pacific Alliance and ASEAN, two regional alliances that share

their presence in the Indo-Pacific region and that are nourished by the common commitment of their member states to solidify their economy and lead by example in their respective regions. In this process, Chile acquires a key role, due to its recent but unquestionable trajectory of growth and commercial and financial expansion, which gives it institutional and economic primacy in Latin America to serve as a bridge in the gestation of a strategic alliance that marks the course of future development of the Americas and Asia.

Szijártó Norbert: Copper, fiscal policy rules and economic development in Chile - From the resource curse hypothesis to a resource-based growth

Assistant professor at the Department of World Economy (Institute of Global Studies, Corvinus University of Budapest), where he earned his PhD title as well. His research interest mainly focuses on the political economy of the European integration; however, Norbert shows keen interest in economic development (the role of natural resources in economic development), varieties of capitalism (capitalist models of developing countries), and economic policy. At Corvinus University he is responsible for courses related to international economics, international political economy, European economic governance, and country risk analysis with a special focus on developing regions. He is fluent in English and intermediate in Spanish.

*Abstract:* The presentation provides an institutionalist political economy approach to understand how Chile turned the natural resource curse into a blessing. The natural resource curse hypothesis highlights that resource-rich countries have often failed to develop more rapidly compared to resource-poor counterparts. Since Chile is the largest producer of copper, an enormous literature has been accumulated to investigate the role of copper in the long-run economic development of Chile. On the one hand, the empirical analysis of this paper scrutinizes Chile's coping strategy with commodity-price volatility, covers the country's countercyclical fiscal stance based on stable fiscal rules and institutions, and explores Chile's industrialization policy and productive diversification. On the other hand, it examines how this systemic exploitation of copper has affected the long-run economic development of Chile. Finally, this paper endeavours to depict a pathway of a resource-based growth model through the lens of Chile's experience.

## **2. Szekció: Chile az átmenet és a zűrzavar között - demokrácia és diktatúra**

Szervezők és moderátorok: Horváth Emőke és Szilágyi Ágnes Judit

Szilágyi Ágnes Judit, PhD, az ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Karának habilitált docense, az Új- és Jelenkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék és Doktori Program vezetője. Oktatóként kurzusokat hirdet a latin-amerikai és ibériai országok 19-20. századi történetének témakörében. Mint kutató elsődlegesen a portugál nyelvű országokkal, Brazíliával és Portugáliával foglalkozik.

### ***2.1 Panel***

Horváth Emőke: Magyar-chilei kapcsolatok az 1960-as években

Egyetemi docens, a Károli Gáspár Református Latin-Amerika Kutatócsoportjának vezetője. Szakterülete a latin-amerikai történelem, kutatásai a kubai forradalom történetére, a karibi térség identitásproblémáira, valamint a hidegháborús magyar és latin-amerikai nemzetközi kapcsolatok történetére irányulnak. Rendszeres résztvevője és előadója hazai és nemzetközi konferenciáknak. Könyveket és számos cikket publikált a kubai és latin-amerikai történelemmel kapcsolatban. Legújabb kötete (2022) az egyház és az állam viszonyát vizsgálja a kubai forradalom győzelme után.

*Absztrakt:* Az 1960-as évek fordulatot jelentettek Magyarország és Latin-Amerika kapcsolatában. Az évtized folyamán Magyarország intenzívebben fordult a térség irányába, diplomáciai kapcsolatot létesített több latin-amerikai országgal, köztük Chilével is. Ez a periódus mindenképpen fontos előzményként szolgál az Allende-korszak jobb megértéséhez. Az évtized vizsgálata során elsősorban Eduardo Frei elnökségének idejére, politikájának elemzésére, Chilének a kelet-európai országok irányába történő elfordulásának a kérdésére helyezem a hangsúlyt.



Farkas Dániel: Barátságos és barátságtalan katonatisztek – Az 1971-es bolíviai és az 1973-as chilei puccsra adott szovjet válasz kontrasztja

Jelenleg harmadéves doktori hallgató a Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskolájában. Készülő doktori disszertációjának munkacíme: „Magyarország külkapcsolatai Bolíviával és Peruvával, 1945-1990”. Alapszakos és mesterszakos tanulmányait egyaránt a Károli Gáspár Református Egyetemen végezte történelem diszciplináris képzésen, mesterszakos oklevelét 2021-ben szerezte meg. Jelenleg doktori tanulmányai mellett a Danube Institute kutatójaként dolgozik. Tudományos érdeklődési területe doktori disszertációjának témája mellett elsősorban a hidegháború nemzetközi rendszerére és a globális Dél korabeli politikai eszmeáramlataira terjed ki.

*Absztrakt:* Az 1973. szeptember 11-ei chilei puccsra a szovjet blokk kétségtelenül erőteljes diplomáciai választ adott, határozott Pinochet-ellenes kampányokkal és a külkapcsolatok teljes befagyasztásával. Előadásomban a puccsra adott heves szovjet választ kívánom perspektívába helyezni egy, az Allendét megbuktató puccshoz időben és térben közel levő, hasonló eseményre adott szovjet reakcióval. 1971. augusztus 21-én Bolíviában szintén a keleti blokkal jó kapcsolatokat ápoló rendszert sodort el egy katonatisztek által vezetett, hagyományosan Amerika-barátnak bélyegzett puccs, amely a helyi baloldalt teljes illegalitásba kényszerítette. A heves szovjet reakció mégis elmaradt, a kapcsolatok többé-kevésbé normális mederben folytak. Arra kívánok választ adni – elsősorban magyar diplomáciai forrásokra alapozva, de bevonva nagyobb mennyiségű angolszász és bizonyos mennyiségű bolíviai forrást is - hogy milyen, a Pinochet-rezsim helyzetétől eltérő helyi és nemzetközi tényezők segítették hozzá Hugo Banzer Suárez 1971 augusztusában hatalomra jutott bolíviai rezsimjét a szovjet kapcsolatok fenntartásában. Vizsgálom a rezsim összetételét, a helyi kommunista párt szerepét és hozzáállását, valamint a legfontosabb lépéseket, amelyek a kapcsolatok fenntartásához vezettek – közöttük a korszakban a legfontosabbat, egy 10 millió dolláros magyar-bolíviai hitelszerződés történetét.

Kupi László: Halál Washingtonban: Orlando Letelier meggyilkolása és annak hatása a Pinochet-rezsimre

Az ELTE Új- és Jelenkori Egyetemes Történelem Doktori Programjának PhD-hallgatója. 2016-17-ben elvégezte a Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Latin-Amerika szakreferens szakirányú továbbképzését, ahol a szakdolgozatát a Kondor-hadműveletről írta. Doktori tanulmányait 2019-

ben kezdte, kutatási területe az Egyesült Államok és Kuba kapcsolata az 1950-es években. A kontinens új- és jelenkori történetével amatőr latinamerikanistaként már 2002 óta foglalkozik. Több alkalommal járt Latin-Amerika különböző országaiban, 2022-ben pedig Washingtonban folytatott kutatásokat.

*Absztrakt:* 1976. szeptember 21-én példátlan merénylet rázta meg az Egyesült Államok fővárosát. Az Allende-kormány egykori miniszterét és amerikai állampolgárságú segítőjét autóba rejtett pokolgéppel gyilkolták meg Washingtonban, ami komoly feszültséget okozott a Pinochet-rezsimen belül, de súlyos csapást mért az Egyesült Államok és Chile kapcsolatára is. A merénylet ugyanis több szempontól is kilógott a Pinochet-rezsim által elkövetett gyilkosságok sorából. Mivel az eset az Egyesült Államokban történt, az amerikai hatóságok komoly nyomozást indítottak a merénylet felderítésére, és annak dacára, hogy „baráti” országról volt szó, elszántan igyekeztek nemcsak az elkövetőket, de a gyilkosság kitervelőit is felelősségre vonni. A nyomozás szálai azonban a chilei rezsim legfelsőbb köréhez vezettek, és olyan bizonyítékok láttak napvilágot, melyek szerint a merénylet végrehajtására maga Augusto Pinochet adott parancsot. A chilei junta vezetője minden eszközzel igyekezett leplezni személyes érintettségét, és emiatt kész volt feláldozni titkosszolgálatának vezetőjét, Manuel Contrerast is. Végeredményben ez a merénylet vezetett a Contreras által irányított chilei titkosszolgálat, a DINA megszüntetéséhez és átszervezéséhez. A gyilkosság a latin-amerikai elnyomó rendszerek nemzetközi jellegét is megvilágította, amikor kiderült, hogy a közvetlen elkövetők között egy amerikai-chilei kettős állampolgárságú ügynök és kubai emigránsok is voltak.

Thomázy Gabriella: Chile elhúzódo alkotmányozási folyamata

Szociológus, ezen kívül HR menedzsmentet és pedagógia szakot is végzett. Jelenleg a Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem doktorjelöltje (Hadtudományi doktori iskola, biztonsági tanulmányok). Több, mint 9 évet élt Chilében, ahol a Pápai Katolikus Egyetemen a juttatási-rendszerekről tanult. Több éves munkatapasztalattal rendelkezik a dél-amerikai országban úgy, mint latin-amerikai Humán Erőforrás vezető. Kutatási területe: migráció, Dél-Amerika és biztonsági tanulmányok

*Absztrakt:* Chile jelenlegi, 2023-ban hatályban lévő alkotmánya a katonai diktatúra alatt íródott és 1981. március 11-én népszavazás után lépett hatályba. A chilei társadalom rendkívül megosztott a Pinochet-diktatúra óta, így bár az alkotmány számos módosításon esett át, a mai napig

megkérdőjelezi az érvényességét. A demokráciába való visszatérést követően (1990-2010) sorra baloldali kormányok voltak hatalmon az országban, ám csak a baloldali Michelle Bachelet második elnöksége alatt (2014-2018) merült fel az új alkotmány kérdése, amelyet végül az elnök elvetett, a mandátumából maradt kevés időre és a társadalmi konszenzus hiányára hivatkozva. 2019 októberében a neoliberais gazdaságpolitika eminens tanulójának tartott Chilében egy 30 pesós metrójegy áremelés tünetes sorozatot indított, amelynek egyik fő célkitűzése egy új alkotmány megalkotása volt. Az előadás Chile elhúzódó alkotmányozási folyamatára fókuszál bemutatja az előzményeket, továbbá a 2020-2023 közötti két alkotmányozási folyamatot. 1. a 2022. október 25-én tartott alkotmány-referendumtól, az alkotmányozó nemzetgyűlés (Convención Constitucional) megválasztásán keresztül az alkotmánytervezetet elutasító 2022. szeptember 4-i népszavazásig. 2. A szeptemberi népszavazás utáni időszak elemzését, a 2023. május 7-én az alkotmányozó tanács (Consejo Constitucional) megválasztását és a jobboldali fordulat körülményeit, egészen napjainkig. A kutatás elemzi a két alkotmányozó folyamat eltérő vonásait, választ keres arra, hogy milyen okok vezettek az első alkotmánytervezet elutasításához és értékeli az új alkotmányozási folyamatot, kitérve a lehetséges scenáriókra.

## 2.2 Panel

Zolcsák György Attila: A chilei gerillamozgalom (1973-1990)

Az ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Intézet hallgatójaként 2022-ben doktorált a spanyol köztársasági oldal belső viszonyairól írt disszertációjával. Ezt megelőzően az ELTE TáTK politikaelmélet szakján a spanyolországi anarchizmus történetéről, az ELTE BTK történelem szakon a spanyol polgárháború nemzetközi vonatkozásairól írta szakdolgozatát. A doktori képzés ideje alatt a spanyol polgárháború mellett Latin-Amerika történelmét kutatta több magyar és spanyol nyelvű publikációval, konferencia-előadással és fordítással. E területen publikációi többségében a XX. századi és a jelenkori Chiléről értekeznek, továbbá az 1965-ös dominikai forradalomról és az azt megelőző Trujillo-korszakról. Az angol és a spanyol nyelv mellett orosz nyelvismerettel rendelkezik.

*Absztrakt:* Az előadás a chilei Pinochet-diktatúrával szembeni fegyveres ellenállás témáját járja körbe. Az 1960-as évek és az 1980-as évek között - Latin-Amerika más országaihoz hasonlóan - Chilében is több gerillamozgalom született. Noha soha nem váltak olyan erőssé mint a régió

más, ismertebb gerillamozgalmai, történetük több sajátosság miatt mégis elemzésre szorul: milyen ideológiai hatások formálták őket, milyen befolyást gyakoroltak rájuk a különleges történelmi előzmények - így Salvador Allende demokratikus szocializmusának kísérlete -, a többi latin-amerikai gerillamozgalom, a hidegháború kontextusa, és az, hogy a korabeli Latin-Amerika talán legjobban szervezett elnyomó apparátusával, az 1973-as katonai puccs után született Pinochet-diktatúrával kényszerültek harcra. Bemutatásra kerülnek a legfontosabb gerillacsoportok: a Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), az el Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (FPMR) és a Movimiento Juvenil Lautaro (MJL), fejlődésük, történetük, akcióik, a hidegháború kontextusának szerepe, valamint az egymáshoz és az ellenállás békés formáihoz való viszonyuk. Fejlődésük csúcspontja az 1980-as évek elejére esett, és noha a diktatúra megdöntését illetően nem jártak sikerrel - utóbbi békés úton, az 1988-as népszavazással és az 1989-es választásokkal ért véget -, az előadás kitér e gerillacsoportoknak a chilei rendszerváltásra gyakorolt hatására, az azt követő demobilizálásukra, végezetül örökségükre és jelenkori megítélésükre.

Bakó András: Michelle Bachelet élete a Pinochet-rendszer éveit alatt

Az ELTE Történettudományi Doktori Iskola Új- és jelenkori egyetemes történelmi doktori programjának doktorjelöltje. Kutatási témája a latin-amerikai politikum társadalomtörténete. Publikációi jelentek meg többek között a Világtörténet és az Öt kontinens folyóiratokban. Több féléven keresztül óraadó oktatóként tanított Latin-Amerikával kapcsolatos tárgyakat az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Karán és Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsész- és Társadalomtudományi Karán.

*Absztrakt:* Chilében a legutóbbi demokratikus átmenet utáni időszak egyik meghatározó női alakja Michelle Bachelet. A szocialista politikus miniszterként (előbb az egészségügyi, majd a védelmi tárcákat vezette) szolgált, majd két cikluson át köztársasági elnökként vezette az országot (hivatalban töltött évei: 2006-2010 és 2014-2018). Bachelet – és családja – egyike volt annak a számos politikai aktivistának, akiket az 1973-as hatalomátvétel után az új, tekintélyelvű katonák vezette kormányzat előbb letartóztatott, majd külföldi száműzetésbe kényszerített. Ennek során Ausztrália és a Német Demokratikus Köztársaság „vendégszereteté” élvezhette éveken keresztül, mielőtt 1979-ben hazatért volna. Az előadás célja az ő életútján keresztül bemutatni a Pinochet-rendszer éveit alatti chilei emigrációs folyamat jellegzetességeit, különös tekintettel a nőket érintő vonatkozásokra.

Deák Máté: Az Allende-kép napjainkban. A Frente Amplio és az újbaloldal térnyerése Chilében a rendszer bukásának ötvenedik évfordulóján

Adjunktus a Pécsi Tudományegyetemen. Tagja a PTE Ibero-Amerika Központjának, az AHILA és CEISAL nemzetközi tudományos társaságoknak. Történészként diplomázott, majd doktori kutatásait a két világháború közötti német repülés és geopolitika összefüggéseiből írta, különös tekintettel Latin-Amerikára. Jelenleg Pogány település önkormányzati képviselője, Pécsi Magyar-Spanyol Társaság elnöke, s számos civil szervezet aktív tagja. A társadalmi innováció és a helyi fejlesztések tartoznak a fő érdeklődési területei közé.

*Absztrakt:* Csaknem öt évtizeddel a Salvador Allende baloldali elnököt és rendszerét megdöntő puccs után a chilei baloldal elkezdte újjáépíteni a hatalmát, miközben együtt kell élnie az Allende-rendszer véres bukásának mai napig feldolgozatlan örökségével. Az új baloldal pártja, a Revolución Democrática 2014-ben avatta fel központi irodáját Chilében. Az iroda kialakításakor a falakat Allende-idézetekkel írták tele, jelezve a választóknak, hogy melyik szellemi hagyatékot alapul véve kívánják felépíteni az új politikai erőt. Napjainkra a Revolución Democrática az egyik legnagyobb párt lett Chilében. Több más politikai és társadalmi szereplővel együtt egy váratlanul sikeres politikai koalíciót tudott életre hívni, mely a Frente Amplio (Széles Front) nevet kapta. Ennek a koalíciónak sikerült megkérdőjeleznie és átalakítania az ország 1990 óta megszokott politikai erőtereit, dacolva a koalícióalkotásból fakadó számos nehézséggel és kihívással, végül figyelemre méltó sikereket érve el a 2017-es választásokon. A chilei baloldal 2017-es választási sikerei új, sajátos megvilágításba helyezték Allende bukásának évfordulóját, szükségszerűvé tették annak újra értelmezését, hiszen Chile – az éppen regnáló politikai pártoktól függetlenül – hasonló geopolitikai, társadalmi és gazdasági kihívásokkal néz szembe napjainkban is, melyek a rezsim véres elsöprését eredményezték öt évtizeddel ezelőtt. Chile ugyanakkor nincs egyedül a saját politikai palettájának átrendeződésével és az újbaloldali hangsúlyok megjelenésével, hiszen ez az átrendeződés jó illeszthető a Latin-Amerika szerte lezajlott, ún. pink tide, vagyis a baloldali fordulat folyamatába. Az átalakulás ugyanakkor a régi kérdések mellé számos új kérdést is felvetett: hogyan kell annak az új chilei generációnak - akik közül sokan nem élték át sem Allende népi egységkormányát, sem Pinochet diktatúráját – megküzdnie az államhatalom ígéreteivel, lehetőségeivel és veszélyeivel? Milyen tanulságokat kell levonnia egy olyan projektnek, mint a Frente Amplio az Unidad Popular tapasztalataiból – és egyáltalán, lehetséges-e

szellemi elődként tekinteni az 1973-ban gyakorlatilag megszűnt politikai tömörülésre? Transzformálható-e az Allendéről, s a bukott baloldaltól kialakult kép napjaink chilei újbaloldaliságának eredőjévé és üzenetévé? Bár a fenti kérdésekre adott válaszok eltérőek még az új chilei baloldalon belül is, a tanulmány szerzője szerint ezek feltárása kulcsfontosságú Allende szerepének, s napjainkban gyakorolt hatásainak megértéséhez, melyre a szerző az előadás keretein belül tesz kísérletet.

Lénárt András: Irgalom nélkül: a chilei Colonia Dignidad múltja és jelene

A Szegedi Tudományegyetem Hispanisztika Tanszékének egyetemi docense. Kutatási területe a 20. századi Spanyolország és Latin-Amerika történelme, politikája és filmtörténete, a hispán világ jelene, valamint az Amerika-közi kapcsolatok. 3 könyv és több mint 140 könyvfejezet, tanulmány és cikk szerzője, 3 kötet társszerkesztője. 12 országban több mint 90 nemzetközi konferencián volt plenáris előadó és előadó. A Latin-Amerikai és Karibi Tanulmányok Nemzetközi Szövetségének (FIEALC) elnöke, valamint számos nemzetközi tudományos társaság és kutatócsoport tagja.

*Absztrakt:* A német Paul Schäfer által Chilében alapított Méltóság Kolónia (Colonia Dignidad) különleges helyet foglal el az ország történelmi emlékezetében. Az 1970-es években alapított kolónia vallási szektaközpont, internálótábor és a politikai foglyok kínzóhelye volt, ahol sok gyermeket szexuálisan és fizikailag is bántalmaztak. Az itt elkövetett bűntettek többsége Augusto Pinochet diktatúrájának szolgálatában történt, a kolónia vezetői a tábornok elkötelezett hívei voltak. Az itt történtek nem voltak széles körben ismertek, de az elmúlt években könyvek és filmek révén egyre többen szereztek tudomást Chilén kívül is az ország történelmének egyik legsötétebb epizódjáról. Az egykori kolónia, amely megváltozott formában és célokkal ma is létezik Villa Baviera néven, rávilágít a chilei diktatúra egy fontos aspektusára. Az előadásom célja bemutatni, hogyan jött létre a kolónia, hogyan illeszkedett a jobboldali latin-amerikai diktatúrák működésébe, hogyan viszonyul a jelen ezekhez a múltbeli eseményekhez, és hogyan próbálja a chilei társadalom beépíteni az itt elkövetett bűnöket a nemzeti történelmi emlékezetbe.

## 2.3 Panel

Kerekasztal beszélgetés: " Diplomataák személyes élményeikről: Chile, Allende, Pinochet"

Gulyás András

Nagykövet, hispanista, diplomata, műfordító. A budapesti Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetemen végzett, a spanyol filológia doktora, a Radnóti Gimnázium nyelvtanára. 1970-ben lépett külügyi szolgálatba, spanyol és portugál nyelvű országokban szolgált, Brazília, Peru, Mozambik, Angola, Portugália, Spanyolország stb. Főkonzul volt Barcelonában, nagykövet Luandában és Lisszabonban. Tolmács volt Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Raul Roa, Salvador Allende, Clodomiro Almeyda, Luis Corvalán, José María Velasco Ibarra, Juan Velasco Alvarado, Carlos Andrés Pérez, Omar Torrijos, José López Portillo, Ramalho Eanes, Mário Soares, Agostinho Neto, José Eduardo dos Santos, Samora Machel, Ernesto Melo Antunes, stb. magas szintű megbeszélésein. A Magyar Köztársaság három elnökének, Göncz Árpádnak, Mádl Ferencnek és Sólyom Lászlónak a külpolitikai tanácsadója. 2013-tól a Göncz Árpád Alapítvány tanácsadó testületének elnöke. Számos Latin-Amerikával, spanyol, portugál és katalán irodalommal, történelemmel és politikával kapcsolatos könyv fordítója vagy szerzője, valamint több nemzetközi és hazai konferencia előadója.

Horvát János

Ismert magyar televíziós újságíró, a Független Újságírás Központ elnökségi tagja. 1969-ben kezdte műsorvezetői pályafutását, és Magyarország egyik elismert televíziós személyiségévé vált, egy évtizeden át a Magyar Televízió (MTV) vezető politikai magazinműsorának műsorvezetőjeként dolgozott, dokumentumfilmeket készített többek között Dél-Amerikáról, Spanyolországról és Portugáliáról. 1975-76-ban Nieman-ösztöndíjasként egy évet töltött, újságírást tanult az M.I.T.-n és a Harvard Egyetemen, majd vezető külföldi tudósítóként tért vissza az MTV-hez. Ezzel párhuzamosan újságírást kezdett tanítani a Magyar Újságíró Akadémián és a Magyar Filmművészeti Főiskolán, majd az MTV-nél film- és műsorbeszerzési vezetői posztokat töltött be, 1989-ben pedig vezérigazgatóként létrehozta és elindította a Magyar Televízió új, 2-es csatornáját. Két évet New York-ban töltött (1990-92), ahol előbb ösztöndíjas, majd vezető kutató munkatársa volt a Columbia Egyetem The Freedom Forum Media Studies Centerének.

1994-ben magán televíziós műsorgyártó és -terjesztő céget alapított. 2006 és 2010 között Magyarország havannai nagyköveteként szolgált. Újságírói tevékenységéért 1996-ban a Magyar Köztársasági Érdemrend Tiszti Keresztjével tüntették ki.

#### Pólyi Csaba, moderátor

Közgazdaságtudományok doktora (PhD), nyugalmazott nagykövet, címzetes főiskolai tanár. 2007-2010 között Magyarország brazíliavárosi nagykövete. 2013-2014-ben utazó nagykövet az Andok országokba (Bolívia, Ecuador, Kolumbia, Peru és Venezuela). 2006-ban PhD tudományos fokozatát a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Társadalomföldrajzi Doktori iskolájában védte meg nemzetközi migrációból. 2007-2009 között nemzetközi migrációt oktatott a Szegedi Tudományegyetemen. 2010-2016 között a Budapesti Gazdasági Főiskola kutatója és oktatója. Tudományos kutatásának fókuszja Latin-Amerika és a migráció.

#### Varga-Koritár Pál

A Budapesti Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetemen szerzett diplomát. Pályafutása során a Külkereskedelmi Minisztériumban, majd a Külügyminisztériumban dolgozott különböző megbízatásokban. Összesen 23 évet töltött külszolgálatban, 1997-től nagykövetként Spanyolországban, Argentínában, Mexikóban és az Andok országaiban. 1994 és 1997 között a Külügyminisztériumot képviselte a Magyar Eximbank igazgatótanácsában. 1994 és 1997 között több könyv szerzője és fordítója volt. Jelenleg az Európai Unió - Latin-Amerika Alapítvány jószolgálati nagyköveteként dolgozik. Magas szintű kitüntetéseket kapott a spanyol, chilei, argentin és magyar kormánytól.



## **2. Session: Chile Between Transition and Turmoil - Democracy and Dictatorship**

Organizers and moderators: Emőke Horváth and Ágnes Judit Szilágyi

Szilágyi, Ágnes Judit PhD, associate professor, ELTE (Budapest), Faculty of the Humanities. Head of the Department and Doctoral Programme of Modern and Contemporary World History. Professor of Iberian and Latin American History (19th and 20th centuries) and her research in recent years has focused on social, political and cultural figurations of Portuguese-Brazilian and European-Brazilian relations.

### ***2.1 Panel***

Emőke Horváth: Hungarian-Chilean Relations During the 1950s and 1960s

Associate Professor and Head of the Latin American Studies Research Group at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, Budapest. She is specialized in Latin American history, her researches focus on the history of the Cuban Revolution, the identity problems of the Caribbean region and the history of Hungarian and Latin American international relations during the Cold War. She is a regular attendee and speaker at conferences, both national and international. She has several books and published numerous articles related to the Cuban and Latin American history. Her latest book (2022) examines the Church - State relations after the victory of the Cuban Revolution.

*Abstract:* The 1960s marked a turning point in the relationship between Hungary and Latin America. During that decade, Hungary turned more intensively towards the region, establishing diplomatic relations with several Latin American countries, including Chile. This period certainly is as an important background for a better understanding of the Allende era. During the examination of the '60s, I mainly focus on the presidency of Eduardo Frei, the analysis of his politics, and the question of Chile's turning towards the Eastern European countries.

Dániel Farkas: Friendly and unfriendly military officers - Contrasting the Soviet response to the 1971 coup in Bolivia and the 1973 coup in Chile

He is currently a third-year PhD student at the Károli Gáspár Reformed University's Doctoral School of History. The working title of his PhD thesis is "Hungary's foreign relations with Bolivia and Peru, 1945-1990". He completed both his bachelor's and master's studies at the Károli Gáspár Reformed University in the history discipline, and received his master's degree in 2021. He is currently working as a research fellow at the Danube Institute. In addition to his doctoral dissertation, his academic interests focus on the international system of the Cold War and the contemporary political ideologies of the Global South.

*Abstract:* To the Chilean coup of 11 September 1973, the Soviet bloc undoubtedly responded with a strong diplomatic response, with determined anti-Pinochet campaigns and a complete freeze in foreign relations. In my presentation, I will put the fierce Soviet response to the coup in perspective with a Soviet reaction to a similar event close in time and space to the coup that overthrew Allende. On 21 August 1971, in Bolivia, a regime also on good terms with the Eastern Bloc was overthrown by a coup led by military officers, traditionally branded pro-American, which forced the local left into complete illegality. Yet there was no violent Soviet reaction and relations continued more or less as normal. I will try to answer the question - based mainly on Hungarian diplomatic sources, but also including a large number of Anglo-Saxon and some Bolivian sources - of what local and international factors, other than the situation of the Pinochet regime, helped the Bolivian regime of Hugo Banzer Suárez, which came to power in August 1971, to maintain Soviet relations. I examine the composition of the regime, the role and attitude of the local Communist Party, and the key steps that led to the maintenance of relations, including the most important of the period, the story of a \$10 million Hungarian-Bolivian loan agreement.

László Kupi: Death in Washington: the murder of Orlando Letelier and its impact on the Pinochet regime

He is a PhD student in the PhD Programme in Modern and Contemporary Universal History at ELTE. In 2016-17, he completed a postgraduate course in Latin America at the Károli Gáspár Reformed University, where he wrote his thesis on Operation Condor. She started her PhD studies in 2019, her research interests include the relationship between the United States and Cuba in the 1950s. As an amateur Latin Americanist, he has been working on the continent's modern and contemporary history since 2002. He has

visited several countries in Latin America, and in 2022 he will be conducting research in Washington DC.

*Abstract:* On 21 September 1976, an unprecedented assassination attempt shook the US capital. The assassination of a former minister in the Allende government and his US citizen aide by a car bomb in Washington, DC, caused serious tensions within the Pinochet regime, but also dealt a serious blow to US-Chilean relations. In many ways, the assassination stood out among the assassinations carried out by the Pinochet regime, because it took place in the United States. The US authorities launched a serious investigation into the assassination and, despite the fact that it was a 'friendly' country, were determined to bring to justice not only the perpetrators but also the planners of the assassination. The investigation, however, led to the highest circles of the Chilean regime, and evidence came to light that the assassination was ordered by Augusto Pinochet himself. The head of the Chilean junta was doing everything he could to conceal his personal involvement and was prepared to sacrifice the head of his secret service, Manuel Contreras, to do so. Ultimately, this assassination led to the abolition and reorganisation of the Chilean secret service, the DINA, which was controlled by Contreras. The assassination also shed light on the international nature of Latin American repressive regimes when it was revealed that the direct perpetrators included a US-Chilean dual national agent and Cuban exiles.

#### Gabriella Thomázy: Chile's drawn-out constitutional process

She has educational background in Sociology, HR Management, and Educational studies. Currently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Public Service Doctoral School of Military Sciences. She lived for more than nine years in Chile and studied Benefits management at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. She has several years of work experience in Chile, including as director of Human Resources – in Latin America. Her research focuses on migration, South America, and security studies.

*Abstract:* Chile's current constitution, in force in 2023, was written during the military dictatorship and came into force after a referendum on 11 March 1981. Chilean society has been extremely divided since the Pinochet dictatorship, and although the constitution has undergone numerous amendments, its validity is still questioned today. Following the return to democracy (1990-2010), the country has had a succession of left-wing governments, but it was only during the second presidency of the left-wing Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018) that the question of a new constitution was

raised, which was eventually rejected by the president, citing the short time left on her mandate and the lack of social consensus. In October 2019, a 30 peso metro fare hike in Chile, triggered a series of protests, one of the main objectives of which was to create a new constitution. This presentation will focus on Chile's protracted constitution-making process, presenting the background and the two constitution-making processes between 2020 and 2023. First, from the constitutional referendum held on 25 October 2022, through the election of the Constituent National Assembly (Convención Constitucional) to the referendum of 4 September 2022, which rejected the draft constitution. Second, an analysis of the period after the September referendum, the election of the Constitutional Council on 7 May 2023 and the circumstances of the right-wing turn, up to the present day. The research analyses the differences between the two constitutional processes, seeks answers to the reasons that led to the rejection of the first draft constitution and evaluates the new constitutional process, including possible scenarios.

## ***2.2 Panel***

György Attila Zolcsák: The guerrilla movement in Chile (1973-1990)

He received his PhD at the ELTE-BTK Institute of History in 2022 with a dissertation on the internal relations of the Spanish side of the Republic. Prior to this, he wrote his thesis on the history of anarchism in Spain at the ELTE-TáTK Political Theory Department and on the international aspects of the Spanish Civil War at the ELTE-BTK History Department. During his doctoral studies, he researched the history of Latin America and the Spanish Civil War with several publications, conference presentations and translations in Hungarian and Spanish. Most of his publications in this field deal with 20th century and contemporary Chile, the Dominican Revolution of 1965 and the preceding Trujillo era. In addition to English and Spanish, he is fluent in Russian.

*Abstract:* The presentation will explore the theme of armed resistance to the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, as in other Latin American countries, several guerrilla movements were born in Chile. Although they never became as powerful as other better known guerrilla movements in the region, their history needs to be analysed for a number of specific reasons: How they were shaped by ideological influences, the influence of specific historical antecedents such as Salvador Allende's attempt at democratic socialism, other Latin American guerrilla movements, the context of the Cold War, and the fact that they were forced

to contend with perhaps the best organised repressive apparatus in contemporary Latin America, the Pinochet dictatorship born after the 1973 military coup. The most important guerrilla groups are described: the Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), el Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (FPMR) and the Movimiento Juvenil Lautaro (MJL), their development, history, actions, the role of the Cold War context and their relationship to each other and to peaceful forms of resistance. Their development culminated in the early 1980s and, although they were not successful in overthrowing the dictatorship - the latter ended peacefully with the 1988 referendum and the 1989 elections - the presentation will discuss the impact of these guerrilla groups on the Chilean regime change, their subsequent demobilisation and, finally, their legacy and contemporary perception.

András Bakó: Michelle Bachelet's life under the Pinochet regime

He is a doctoral candidate at the doctoral programme of Modern and Contemporary Universal History of ELTE History Doctoral School. His research topic is the social history of Latin American politics. His publications have appeared in journals such as *World History* and *Five Continents*. For several semesters, he has been a lecturer in Latin American Studies at the Faculty of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University and at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Pázmány Péter Catholic University.

*Abstract:* Michelle Bachelet is one of Chile's leading female figures of the recent post-democratic transition period. A socialist politician, she served as minister (first of health and then of defence) and then as President of the Republic for two terms (2006-2010 and 2014-2018). Bachelet - and her family - was one of the many political activists arrested and forced into exile abroad by the new authoritarian military-led government after the 1973 takeover. In the process, he enjoyed the 'hospitality' of Australia and the German Democratic Republic for years before returning home in 1979. The aim of this lecture is to illustrate, through her life story, the characteristics of the Chilean emigration process during the Pinochet years, with a special focus on the aspects that affected women.

Máté Deák: The Allende image today. The rise of the Frente Amplio and the New Left in Chile on the fiftieth anniversary of the fall of the regime

Assistant Professor at the University of Pécs. Member of the Ibero-American Centre of PTE, AHILA and CEISAL international scientific societies. He graduated as a historian and wrote his doctoral thesis on the interrelationship between German aviation and geopolitics between the two world wars, with a special focus on Latin America. Currently, he is a municipal councillor of Pogány, president of the Hungarian-Spanish Society of Pécs and an active member of several NGOs. His main interests include social innovation and local development.

*Abstract:* Almost five decades after the coup that overthrew leftist President Salvador Allende and his regime, the Chilean left has begun to rebuild its power while having to live with the still unresolved legacy of the bloody fall of the Allende regime. The party of the new left, Revolución Democrática, opened its headquarters in Chile in 2014. In designing the office, the walls were covered with quotes from Allende, indicating to voters which intellectual legacy they wanted to build the new political force on. Today, Revolución Democrática has become one of the largest parties in Chile. Together with several other political and social actors, it has been able to create an unexpectedly successful political coalition, the Frente Amplio (Broad Front). This coalition managed to challenge and transform the country's traditional political power structure since 1990, defying the many difficulties and challenges that coalition-building entailed, and ultimately achieving remarkable success in the 2017 elections. The electoral successes of the Chilean left in 2017 have cast the anniversary of Allende's fall in a new and specific light, making it necessary to reinterpret it, since Chile, regardless of the political parties in power, is facing similar geopolitical, social and economic challenges today as those that led to the bloody overthrow of the regime five decades ago. However, Chile is not alone in the rearrangement of its own political palette and the emergence of a new leftist emphasis, as this rearrangement fits well into the process of the pink tide, or left turn, that has been taking place across Latin America. At the same time, the transformation has raised several new questions alongside the old ones: how will the new generation of Chileans, many of whom did not live through Allende's government of popular unity or Pinochet's dictatorship, cope with the promises, opportunities and dangers of state power? What lessons should a project such as the Frente Amplio learn from the experience of the Unidad Popular - and, indeed, is it possible to see the political grouping, which virtually ceased to exist in 1973, as an intellectual forerunner? Is it possible to transform the image of Allende and the failed left into the origin and message of Chilean New Leftism today?

Although the answers to these questions are different even within the new Chilean left, the author of this paper argues that exploring them is key to understanding Allende's role and his impact today, which the author will attempt to do in the context of this presentation.

András Lénárt: Without mercy: the past and present of *Colonia Dignidad* in Chile

Associate professor at the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Szeged. His research interests include 20th century Spanish and Latin American history, politics, cinema, current affairs, and also Inter-American Studies. He is the author of 3 books and more than 140 book chapters, essays and articles, and is the co-editor of 3 volumes. He has been a keynote speaker and lecturer at more than 90 international conferences in 12 countries. He currently serves as president of the International Federation for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (FIEALC) and is a member of various international scientific societies and research groups.

*Abstract:* Colonia Dignidad, founded in Chile by the German Paul Schäfer, occupies a special place in the country's historical memory. Established in the 1970s, the colony was a religious cult center and an internment camp and place of torture for political prisoners, where many children were also sexually and physically abused. Most of the crimes committed here were done in the service of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, the colony's leaders were staunch supporters of the dictator. What happened here was not widely known, but in recent years, through books and movies, more people outside of Chile have learned about one of the darkest elements of the country's history. The story of the colony, which still exists today under the name Villa Baviera but has taken on a different function, highlights an important aspect of the Chilean dictatorship. The aim of my lecture is to explain how the colony came into being, how it fits into the *modus operandi* of the right-wing Latin American dictatorships, how the present relates to these past events, and how Chilean society tries to incorporate these horrible crimes into its historical memory.

## 2.3 Panel

Roundtable discussion: "Oral history of diplomats about Chile, Allende and Pinochet" with

András Gulyás

Amb. András Gulyás Hispanist, diplomat, literary translator. Graduated from the University Eötvös Lorand of Budapest, Doctor in Spanish Philology, language teacher in the Radnóti Secondary School. Joined the Foreign Service in 1970, serving in Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries, Brazil, Peru, Mozambique, Angola, Portugal, Spain, etc. General Consul in Barcelona, Ambassador in Luanda and Lisbon. Interpreter in high level talks to Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Raul Roa, Salvador Allende, Clodomiro Almeyda, Luis Corvalán, José María Velasco Ibarra, Juan Velasco Alvarado, Carlos Andrés Pérez, Omar Torrijos, José López Portillo, Ramalho Eanes, Mário Soares, Agostinho Neto, José Eduardo dos Santos, Samora Machel, Ernesto Melo Antunes, etc. Foreign Policy Adviser to three Presidents of the Republic of Hungary, Árpád Göncz, Ferenc Mádl and László Sólyom. From 2013 Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Foundation Árpád Göncz.

János Horvát

He is a well-known Hungarian TV-journalist, a Member of the Board of the Centre for Independent Journalism, Hungary. Beginning his broadcasting career in 1969, he became one of Hungary's respected television personalities, working for a decade as an anchor for the leading political magazine program of Hungarian Television /MTV/, and producing documentaries on South America, Spain, Portugal, and other countries. In 1975-76 he spent a sabbatical year as a Nieman fellow, studying journalism at M.I.T. and Harvard University, he then returned to MTV as senior foreign correspondent. Concurrently he began teaching journalism at the Hungarian Journalists' Academy and the Hungarian Film School, and later held posts as Head of Film and Program Acquisition in MTV and in 1989, as CEO, created and launched the new Channel-2 for Hungarian Television. He has returned to MTV after two years in New York City, (1990-92) where he was first a fellow and later a senior research associate at The Freedom Forum Media Studies Centre at Columbia University. In 1994 he set up a private television program producing and distribution company. From 2006



to 2010 Mr. Horvat served as an Ambassador of Hungary to the Republic of Cuba. For his journalistic activity he was awarded with the Officers' Cross of the Order of Merit of the Hungarian Republic in 1996.

Csaba Pólyi, moderator

Economist, retired ambassador, and honorary college professor. Former Ambassador of Hungary to Brazil (2007-2010) and Ambassador at Large to Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Perú and Venezuela (2013-2014). PhD in Social Geography at the University of Pécs (2006, focus on international migration). He was senior investigator and lecturer at the Szeged University (2007-2009) and at the Budapest Business School (2010-2016). His research focuses on Latin América and migration.

Pál Varga-Koritár

Graduated at the University of Economics in Budapest. During his career he was working in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and later in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in different assignments. Spent altogether 23 years in foreign service, from 1997 as Ambassador in Spain, Argentina, Mexico and the Andean countries. Between 1994 and 1997 he represented the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Governing Board of the Hungarian Eximbank. Author and translator of several books. Now he is working for the European Union - Latin-America Foundation, as Goodwill Ambassador. He got high level distinctions from the Spanish, Chilean, Argentinean and Hungarian governments.

### **3. Session: Chile's social and political struggles in a global context**

Organizers and moderators: Mónika Szente-Varga and Béla Soltész

#### ***3.1 Panel***

Ágnes Deák: The democratisation process in Chile and Hungary

She is currently a PhD-candidate at Corvinus University in Budapest. Her research field covers social and economic development processes in Latin America. She is primarily interested in the field of human development, but due to her studies in various fields of social sciences, her interest comprises many aspects of the region. She considers the interdisciplinary approach and fieldwork important. She has participated in study trips and fieldworks in countries of the region, such as Mexico, Costa Rica, Argentina, and Colombia.

*Abstract:* The end of the 1980s in Latin America, similarly in Central-Eastern Europe, was a period of democratic transformation. Thirty years later, remembering the events of that time, this paper presents the processes taking place in the two regions through a country, Chile and Hungary, respectively. While different democratization waves are distinguished in the literature, this study is based on a theoretical approach of Michael McFaul. Applying the method of comparative analysis, the authors explore the political, economic, and social context of the ways of transformation of authoritarian regimes into new democratic societies. The purpose of the analysis is to point out similar and distinct elements of the processes such as: the actors committed to the change, the role of the elite and determining whether the emergence of the new political reality came about through a series of agreements or confrontation.

Béla Soltész: Political fiasco or a lesson in democracy? Chile's constitutional process, 2021-2023

He holds a PhD degree in International Relations (Corvinus University of Budapest, 2016) and MA degrees in Spanish and Portuguese Language and Literature (Eötvös Loránd University, 2006) and International Relations (Corvinus University of Budapest, 2008). He spent exchange semesters in Spain, Chile and Mexico, and he worked as a researcher and as a project

manager in several international projects. He has been an assistant professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Political and International Studies since 2018. His main research interests are the analysis of Latin American social and political processes in the 21st century, as well as the study of international migration and development studies.

*Abstract:* Due to livelihood and social problems, a series of massive demonstrations took place in Chile in 2019, and radical left-wing candidate Gabriel Boric won the presidential election in 2021. In a bid for re-founding the Chilean state, a directly elected Constituent Assembly was established in order to replace the constitution adopted during the Pinochet dictatorship. The text, completed in mid-2022, was considered by its critics to be extremely left-wing and ideological, and in a referendum, 62% of voters rejected it. President Boric proposed the creation of a new, directly elected Constitutional Council to rewrite the text, yet, the council election favoured Boric's main opponent, radical right-wing José Antonio Kast's party. The presentation interprets the events leading to this result from the perspective of the dilemmas related to electoral mechanisms and voter behaviour. To what extent can a directly elected, extraordinary body set the rules for a country's political system, and why did Chileans reject the outcome of a political process that they themselves initiated? Also, can it be expected that the new Constituent Assembly produces a lean, consensual, ideology-free text, or will it commit the previous mistake of the left, and ideological, non-consensual, ultra-conservative elements will be included in the draft constitution, that citizens vote down just like the previous version?

Gergő Máté Nagy: The incorporation of the Mapuche flag during Chile's Estallido Social of 2019 and the downfall of a plurinational project – A comparative analysis of Chile and Bolivia

He is a young international relations expert and a freelance journalist. He completed a bachelor's degree in international studies at ELTE Faculty of Social Sciences in January 2023. His primary fields of research are contemporary political and social tendencies in the countries of Latin America (especially the struggles of different popular and indigenous movements) and the role of the Latin American region in today's transforming international order. He is a regular guest author at Hungarian online newspaper called *Mérce*, and at Hungarian online social science magazine called *Új Egyenlőség*

*Abstract:* During Chile's 2019 Estallido Social, many diverse factions of Chilean society expressed their dissatisfaction and opposition to the

country's existing political and economic order, demanding the replacement of the Pinochet-era constitution with a new one. In the middle of these anti-establishment sentiments, members of the Mapuche people (the largest indigenous group in Chile) also joined this mass popular mobilization, which made the Wenufoye (the Mapuche flag) one of the protests' central symbols. The spontaneous alliance between the Mapuche people and other Chilean social movements, the incorporation of Wenufoye, and the role played by Mapuche organizations in the directly elected Constitutional Convention seemed to pave the way for the recognition of Chile's indigenous peoples and their rights, and the creation of a plurinational state. But in September 2022, Chileans have overwhelmingly rejected the new constitution, partly due to its provisions on the plurinational character of the Andean country. My presentation examines this apparent contradiction between the incorporation of Mapuche symbols during the 2019 protests and the rejection of plurinational ideas in the 2022 referendum. In addition, I also briefly analyze why the plurinational project ended radically differently in Chile than in Bolivia, which successfully became a plurinational state in 2009.

### ***3.2 Panel***

Zsófia Bernadett Gilly: From coup d'état to soft coup: the impeachment as a tool of lawfare in Latin-America

She is a dedicated law student at Eötvös Loránd University. With a passion for international affairs, she broadened her horizons by spending a year at the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon. As a member of the Bibó István College for Advanced Studies, Zsófia actively engages in interdisciplinary academic pursuits that foster critical thinking and leadership skills. Her research interests focus on the constitutions of Latin American countries, particularly the intricate dynamics of the impeachment process. She excelled as a research intern at the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, where she honed her expertise in legal analysis and policy research.

*Abstract:* The concept of impeachment has its origins in the history of political and legal thought as a constitutional mechanism to remove public officials for serious law violations or abuse of power. From its English origins it has influenced the constitutions of the United States and the countries of Latin America. In addition to a concrete ground for impeachment constitutions provide an abstract ground, designed for cases

where no specific offence can be proven but the abuse of power is so obvious that the people must be guaranteed the right to recall their elected leader. In Latin America, military coups have been replaced by so-called "soft coups" that abuse the legal instruments. The abstract nature of the grounds for impeachment contributes to the potential misuse of this mechanism as a tool of lawfare as many cases demonstrate. In the last decade, the countries of Latin America have experienced a series of impeachments, with presidents facing removal from office due to political conflicts between the legislative and executive branches. The cases highlight the abuse of impeachment as a tool of lawfare, undermining democratic stability and raising concerns about the transparency and impartiality of the process, as well as the erosion of democratic principles.

István Szilágyi: Unidad Popular en Chile – las experiencias de una reforma política revolucionaria desde una perspectiva de cincuenta años

Profesor emérito de la Universidad de Pécs de Hungría, Doctor de la Academia Húngara de Ciencias. Es hispanista. Sus estudios se han centrado en los problemas de la democratización en América Latina, la Europa Meridional y, más recientemente en la Europa del Este, con énfasis en el caso húngaro. Se ocupa de las cuestiones de la teoría de las relaciones internacionales y de geopolítica, de la modernización y de la política regional y de cohesión de la Unión Europea. Es autor de más de 340 ensayos en húngaro, español, ruso e inglés y de diecisiete libros.

*Resumen:* El 4 de septiembre de 1970 en las elecciones presidenciales chilenas venció Salvador Allende, el líder más prestigioso del Partido Socialista de Chile, el candidato de la Unidad Popular, consiguiendo la mayoría relativa de los votos. La Unidad Popular era una coalición de seis partidos de izquierdas que llegando al gobierno del país comenzó a implementar el programa de la vía chilena del socialismo. Con la llegada al poder de la Unidad Popular se inició un proceso de las reformas revolucionarias que despertaron el interés del mundo entero y del cual las experiencias tenían importancia internacional. Pero los cambios y las transformaciones económicos, sociales y políticos iniciados en el país fueron interrumpidos por un golpe de Estado militar el 11 de septiembre de 1973. Se estableció el Estado de Excepción del nuevo militarismo, lo que inició la refundación y la reorganización total de las estructuras económicas, sociales y políticas de Chile. Sobre los acontecimientos acaecidos salieron a la luz muchos libros, ensayos, estudios y análisis en Chile y en el extranjero. Después de pasar cincuenta años, es justificado examinar los acontecimientos y los procesos sucedidos. En nuestra ponencia analizamos

a partir de la actividad de la Unidad Popular las experiencias en relación con el concepto del camino sin guerra civil, o sea, vía chilena del socialismo, con el rol de las organizaciones del poder popular, con la política económica y militar del Gobierno de Salvador Allende, y con la evolución y transformación de los factores y circunstancias internacionales.

#### Zoltán Bács: Relations between Allende's Government and the Catholic Church in Chile

Assistant professor of the Ludovika University of Public Service, where he earned his PhD as well. He is a former diplomat, author of over fifty publications in four languages. He specializes on terrorism, on national security, on innovative assessment and evaluation methods, on radicalization and on drug problems and organized crime in Latin America. He served as a diplomat in Moscow, Kiev, Baku, Minsk and Buenos Aires. Between foreign assignments, he worked for international and national private companies in Hungary. Dr. Bács is fluent in Spanish, English and Russian languages.

*Abstract:* The relations between a government representing a new approach to solve the most important socio-economic problems and the local dominant church are never easy. The relations are even more complicated in a country which has been ruled by forces opposite to revolutionary changes and has always been influenced by the conservative leaders of the local Roman Catholic Church. The presentation is aimed to describe the new phenomena in the relations between the clerical elite and the governing coalition led by S. Allende on one hand and the role of the catholic believers supporting the Government of the Unidad Popular. The presentation gives special attention to the oscillations and changes in the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church of Chile between 1964 and 1973 and in this context, to the discrepancies between the Church and the Government in the case of the drafts of laws on divorce and unified education. The presentation also describes the changes in the attitude of the Holy See during the Government of Salvador Allende.

## Mónika Szente-Varga: Sports for or against Dictatorship? Sports in the 1988 Referendum TV Campaigns

She has Ph.D. in History (2005) and Habilitation (2014). Associate professor at the Department of International Security Studies at Ludovika - University of Public Service. Main research areas: Modern and Contemporary History of Latin America; Interconnected and Global History; Knowledge Transfer and Exchange; Cold War History and Sports History. Recent publications: Hungarian Football Coaches in Latin America in the Interwar Period (*International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2021) and Labor Migration Programs Within the Socialist Bloc. Cuban Guestworkers in Late Socialist Czechoslovakia and Hungary (*Labour History*, 2021, co-authored with Hana Bortlová).

*Abstract:* Given its great attraction and popularity, its ability to unite people regardless of their socio-economic background, its potential impact on national identity and country image, etc., sports has long been courted by politics. These efforts tend to be more palpable in the case of authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. This presentation first of all explores the general trends in the relationship between the Pinochet regime and Chilean sports to provide a general context. Then it concentrates on the role of sports and sportsmen in the 1988 Referendum TV Campaigns. The principal sources of the investigation were the *franjás del sí y del no*, televised on a daily basis from 5 September until 1 October 1988, complemented by press articles and academic literature.

## 4. Session: Chilean literature and culture in the world (1973-2023)

Organizadores y moderadores: Dóra Bakucz, Zsuzsanna Csikós és Gabriella Menczel

### 4.1 Panel

Menczel Gabriella: Poetry and Resistance: Elvira Hernández and Verónica Zondek

Professor of Hispanic literature at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. Her research focus is on Hispanic American narrative, with special attention to short fiction, and fantasy literature. Lately she has published several articles on poetry, especially on the historical avant-garde and the Spanish-American neo-avant-garde.

*Abstract:* In this presentation two volumes of poetry considered as voices of complaint against the dictatorial regime of Pinochet will be studied in comparative ways: *La bandera de Chile* (1987) by Elvira Hernández and *El hueso de la memoria* (1988) by Verónica Zondek. Both poets share the same political context of repression and censorship, and both are inscribed in the poetics of the neo-avant-gardes for their experimentalism with which they break the traditional discourse. On this occasion I am interested in the figures of resistance and the rupture language that serves to represent the ineffable.

Ilinca Ilian: Pablo Neruda in the socialist space: stages, coincidences and differences.

Full Professor at the University of West Timisoara. She is the editor of the journal *Colindancias - Journal of the Regional Network of Hispanists of Hungary, Romania and Serbia* and coordinator of academic exchanges between several universities in Central and Southeastern Europe. Her main lines of research currently are the Latin American prose of the 21st century and the reception of Latin American literature in the former socialist space in general and in Romania in particular, during the Cold War. In parallel to her research and teaching work, she is dedicated to literary translation.



*Abstract:* The personality of Pablo Neruda received special attention in the socialist space, due to his active communist militancy and especially until the mid-1960s his political work was one of the most translated and promoted in all the countries of the Eastern Bloc / Balkans. However, the change of cultural climate - with reasons in the trajectory of the Cold War itself and in the relaxation of communist propaganda under Western influence - resulted in a slight decline in the importance given to him in this space until the events of Chile in 1973 brought him back to the cultural front page, this time as a symbol of the tragedy of his country. In our presentation we propose to make a comparison of Neruda's literary destiny in the socialist countries, to observe the coincidences and differences regarding his reception in the USSR and its satellites, in Albania and Yugoslavia, and also to consider the way in which his death in 1973, a short distance after the coup d'état in Chile, was reflected in the cultural media of these countries. We also reflect on Neruda's posterity in the cultures of Central and Southeastern Europe and on his literary status until the fall of the communist regimes and thereafter.

Enikő Yilmaz-Mészáros: Nature in Raúl Zurita's poetry: a Chilean subject for Comparative Literature.

She completed his MA studies in Spanish Language, Literature and Culture at the Department of Hispanic Studies at the University of Szeged (Hungary), then obtained a PhD degree at the Department of Comparative Literature at the same university. His main field of research is the poetry of Raúl Zurita. He is also finalizing a Master's degree in Hungarian Studies, where he focuses on local cultural phenomena, especially rural ones, appearing in Hungarian literature.

*Abstract:* The work of the contemporary Chilean poet, Raúl Zurita, has become popular not only because of the innovative ways in which he presents poetry that exceeds its own limits, but also plays an important role in creating opportunities for the traumatized Chilean society to embrace the hope of a new life after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Chilean nature and its perpetual circulation play a significant role in his poetry, representing the eternally enduring foundation of existence. I attempt to describe the link between man and nature in Zurita's poetry, while seeking to understand what are the unique and local elements, either in his poetry or in Chilean social and environmental settings, that distinguish his perspectives on nature within world literature. My presentation makes delicate observations and raises some theoretical questions that the discipline of Comparative Literature must confront in introducing this

Chilean phenomenon into a broadly international field of literary criticism where even crucially different perspectives may collide.

## ***4.2 Panel***

Kata Varju: Perceptual patterns in three works by Roberto Bolaño

Philologist and literary translator, currently studying cultural translation theories (University of Miskolc) and Hispanic narratology (ELTE University), focusing on the work of Roberto Bolaño. Her recent work considers narratorial reliability, theories of natural and unnatural narratology, the fictional lives of Marcel Schwob. Moreover, she is interested in the different configurations of cultural transmission in translation, with a special interest in Catalan culture and literature.

*Abstract:* Referring to perception or the mental process involved often contributes to feeling "at home" in the world, making the strange familiar (Fludernik, 1996). However, in Roberto Bolaño's narrative, these processes often contribute to a greater degree of alignment. Perceptual hesitation presents different patterns, also depending on the type of narrative. The narrator of *The Third Reich* represents a self-taught learning process (how to write a diary? how to become a narrator?), so typical of Bolaño. In his case we are talking about a personal genre, his writing is halfway between orality and writing, his posture resembles the writers presented in *The Nazi Literature in America*, although presented by a first person narration. In the case of *Nocturno en Chile* we witness a stream of consciousness, which does not even reach orality, performed by a narrator skilled in writing. This narrator, instead of beginning, ends the writing in this way, with a new, mental, lying sincerity. In *Estrella distante* we return to the third person, with a homodiegetic narrator, although hardly identifiable, with a changing narratorial position. The perception, depending on the narrator and the narrative game applied, can be very different in these cases, although Bolañesque characteristics always appear, the current presentation tries to group these features, taking into account their different meanings.

Petra Báder: Literature and politics: a reading of Lina Meruane's *Las infantas* and José María Ferrada's *Kramp*

Lecturer in the Department of Hispanic Studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. Her main research interest is postmodern and contemporary Hispanic American narrative, especially with regard to the representation of the human body, autofiction and metafiction, and lately, posthumanist literary criticism.

*Abstract:* The aim of the paper is to offer a critical reading of the work of two contemporary Chilean authors, Lina Meruane (1970) and María José Ferrada (1977), in order to reflect on the network of references to the dictatorship. The starting point will be two concepts that are frequently used when talking about the generation of these authors, "literature of children" and "literature of post-memory", and after their brief critical review, a reduced literary corpus will be studied, consisting of two novels, *Las infantas* by Meruane and *Kramp* by Ferrada, but other texts of interest in the subject will also be mentioned. The peculiarity of these works is that they do not belong to the genre in current trend of the new historical novel (whose representatives seek to offer a revision of the historical past by constructing alternative truths that question the official position of the State) or autofiction (where the empirical author is part of the plot to a greater or lesser extent fictional), but offer other strategies to thematize political violence, especially from the creation of metaphors, such as the questioning of the human in the case of Meruane, or the construction of a child universe, in the case of Ferrada.

Laura Miklós: The limits of language in Mike Wilson's novels. Fiction and the printed book on the verge of apocalypse.

Doctoral candidate at the Spanish department of Eötvös Loránd University. Her research areas are the work of Mario Bellatin, contemporary Spanish-American literature and alternative publishing. In 2021 she founded the micro-publishing house Sonora, dedicated to the dissemination of contemporary Latin American literature in Hungarian.

*Abstract:* Critics place the beginning of Latin American literature of the 21st century in the 1990s, when there was a definitive rupture between economic trends, technological development and artistic autonomy. This change entailed aesthetic turns in Latin American literature. Ana Gallego Cuiñas classifies Mike Wilson as related to the subjective or autobiographical turn but we could also include his work in a category related to craftsmanship since his novels write a new grammar that goes against the logic of the

market. After leaving Alfaguara publishing house, Wilson decided to publish his books in small publishers such as the Chilean Orjikh, the Argentinean Fiordo, then he decided to self-publish some books such as Scout (2016, online) or Nemesis (2020). This aspect of publishing texts, that is, the book as a medium, is not separate from the new grammar of novels, but rather complements it. In my talk I will present how texts are intrinsically related to their media and modes of circulation and what position Wilson takes in the face of current unsustainable trends. Born in Missouri, Wilson spent his childhood between Chile and Argentina, and is currently a professor at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

Csikós Zsuzsanna: Chilean Narrative in the Hungarian Cultural Sphere (1965-2020)

Full professor in the Department of Hispanic Studies at the University of Szeged. She received her PhD in Hispanic literature with the thesis *El problema del doble en Cambio de piel* by Carlos Fuentes (2002). Her research focuses on twentieth-century Hispanic narrative together with the history of historical and literary-cultural relations between Hungary and the Hispanic world. She is director and editor of the scientific journal *Acta Hispanica*.

*Abstract:* Until the change of the political system in Hungary (1989-1990) Chilean literature was identified with the poetry of Pablo Neruda. While 15 books of Neruda's poetry were published between 1948 and 1988, the presence of narrative was scarce: only 2 short stories and 4 novels were published. Since the 1990s, with the appearance of several novels by Isabel Allende in the Hungarian book market, the situation began to change and today she and Roberto Bolaño are among the most popular Latin American authors in our country. The paper will focus on presenting the reception of the Chilean narrative in the Hungarian cultural sphere in the last half century.

### 4.3 Panel

Márton Árva: The ethical-political responsibility of perception in: *Los Perros* (Marcela Said, 2017).

Assistant professor at the Department of Hispanic Studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest and an independent film critic. His main fields of research are Spanish-speaking cinemas, community audiovisual, postcolonial theory and decolonial thought.

*Abstract:* In tune with certain currents of recent posthumanist discourses that propose to approach the non-human as a tool to deal with the traumatic experiences of the systematic violation of human rights in the 20th century, the dog motif has become a central symbol of a series of cultural products dealing with the crimes of Augusto Pinochet's civil-military regime in Chile and the impunity after the democratic transition. Inspired by such critical discourses and their application to the analysis of *Dogmeat* (2012) and *The Clan* (2015) by Sarah Wright, the paper will look at the ethico-political implications of the construction of filmic experience in another pertinent feature film, *Los Perros* (2017). It will be argued that, in that film, dogs—rather than "mute witnesses" whose "spectral sounds" (Wright) refer to the atrocities of the dictatorship—embody a more refined perceptual capacity than the human one, in order to highlight the protagonist's inability (and, later, reluctance) to pay attention to the signs pointing to the presence of unpunished criminals around her. To this end, we will analyze the sensorial cinematographic rhetoric that, by placing the most significant indications in peripheral positions, hinders the spectator's receptive work as well.

Domingo Lilón: "The New Chilean Song".

He is BA and MA in International Law, doctor (PhD) in Contemporary European History, dr. habilitatus. Full professor, director of the Institute of Romanistics, the Department of Hispanic and Ibero-American Studies and the Ibero-American Center of the University of Pécs, Hungary. He is co-editor of the Ibero-American yearbook *Quinqueecclesiensis* and author of several books and essays on history, politics, international relations, culture. He is a member of several international organizations (CEISAL, AHILA, ADHILAC), of several research groups, as well as of editorial boards of several scientific journals.

*Abstract:* The Nueva Canción Chilena was officially born with the First Festival of the Nueva Canción Chilena held in 1969 and organized by the

Vicerrectoría de Comunicaciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile. This New Song was the Chilean manifestation of the social song, the popular song, also known as protest song in other countries during the decade of the '60-'80, mainly, and whose main Chilean representatives would be Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, Quilapayún, Inti Illimani, just to mention a few. They were songs with a great social content that emphasized social inequalities, injustice, poverty, and, naturally, and later, against dictatorial, military and imperialist repression. All this in the context of the Cold War, strongly influenced by the Cuban Revolution (1959), the figure of Che Guevara, the triumph of Allende (1970) and Pinochet's coup d'état (1973), among others.

Dóra Bakucz: The Basta movement: a kind of (micro)literary #MeeToo

Full professor at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Hungary where she teaches literature and translation. She also works as a translator. Her publications include articles on narrative, micro-storytelling, and theater in Hispanic, Catalan, and comparative literature, as well as translations of Catalan and Spanish literature.

*Abstract:* In 2011, the first anthology of micro-stories against gender violence was published, entitled ¡Basta! - Cien mujeres contra la violencia de género in Chile, edited by the writer and anthologist Pía Barros, a proposal that was followed by a series of similar anthologies published in other Latin American countries. The purpose of the paper is to study some texts in the context of the #MeeToo and #NiUnaMenos movements, which also aim to fight against gender violence, but with other resources and methods. In addition to indicating the points in common, the relationship and the differences between these movements and this literary network that was born thanks to the initiative of the Chilean anthology and that has a very strong echo in Argentina, we also propose to analyse the discourse around violence that appears in these texts, the thematic nuclei and rhetorical modalities used to talk about experiences that are so difficult to transmit.

## 4. Sesión: Literatura y cultura chilena en el mundo (1973-2023)

Organizers and moderators: Dóra Bakucz, Zsuzsanna Csikós és Gabriella Menczel

### 4.1 Panel

Gabriella Menczel: Poesía y resistencia: Elvira Hernández y Verónica Zondek

Profesora de literatura hispánica de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd de Budapest. Sus publicaciones se centran en el ámbito de la narrativa hispanoamericana, con especial atención a la narrativa breve y, en el de la literatura fantástica. Últimamente ha publicado varios artículos sobre poesía, sobre todo, en torno a las vanguardias históricas y las neovanguardias hispanoamericanas.

*Resumen:* En esta comunicación se estudiarán en claves comparativas dos volúmenes poéticos considerados como voces de denuncia contra el régimen dictatorial de Pinochet: La bandera de Chile (1987) de Elvira Hernández y El hueso de la memoria (1988) de Verónica Zondek. Son poetas que comparten el mismo contexto político de represión y censura, y ambas se inscriben en la poética de las neo-vanguardias por su experimentalismo con el que rompen el discurso tradicional. En esta ocasión me interesan las figuras de la resistencia y el lenguaje rupturista que sirve para representar lo inefable.

Ilinca Ilian: Pablo Neruda en el espacio socialista: etapas, coincidencias y diferencias

Profesora titular de la Universidad del Oeste de Timisoara. Es directora de la revista Colindancias – Revista de la Red Regional de Hispanistas de Hungría, Rumanía y Serbia y coordinadora de intercambios académicos entre varias universidades de la Europa Central y del Sureste. Sus principales líneas de investigación en la actualidad son la prosa latinoamericana del siglo XXI y la recepción de la literatura latinoamericana en el espacio ex socialista en general y en Rumania en particular, durante la Guerra Fría. En paralelo a su labor investigadora y docente, se dedica a la traducción literaria.

*Resumen:* La personalidad de Pablo Neruda recibió una atención especial en el espacio socialista, debido a su activa militancia comunista y especialmente hasta la mitad de los años 1960 su obra de carácter político fue una de las más traducidas y promovidas en todos los países del Bloque de Este / Balcanes. Con todo eso, el cambio de clima cultural – con razones en la propia trayectoria de la Guerra Fría y en la relajación de la propaganda comunista bajo la influencia occidental – redundó en un leve declive de la importancia que se le fue dada en este espacio hasta que los acontecimientos de Chile de 1973 volvieron a lanzarlo de nuevo en la primera plana cultural, esta vez como un símbolo de la tragedia de su país. En nuestra ponencia nos proponemos hacer una comparación del destino literario de Neruda en los países socialistas, observar las coincidencias y las diferencias en cuanto a su recepción en la URSS y sus satélites, en Albania y Yugoslavia y considerar también la manera en que su fallecimiento ocurrido en 1973, a poca distancia del golpe de Estado en Chile, fue reflejado en los medios culturales de estos países. Asimismo, reflexionamos sobre la posteridad de Neruda en las culturas de Europa Central y del Sureste y sobre su estatuto literario hasta la caída de los regímenes comunistas y después de este momento.

Enikő Yilmaz-Mészáros: La naturaleza en la poesía de Raúl Zurita: un tema chileno para la Literatura Comparada

Terminó sus estudios de Máster en Lengua, literatura y cultura españolas en el Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos de la Universidad de Szeged (Hungría), luego obtuvo el grado de doctor en el Departamento de Literatura Comparada en la misma universidad. Su principal campo de investigación es la poesía de Raúl Zurita. También está terminando un Máster en Estudios Húngaros, donde se centra en los fenómenos culturales locales, especialmente rurales, que aparecen en la literatura húngara.

*Resumen:* La obra del poeta chileno contemporáneo, Raúl Zurita, se ha vuelto popular no sólo por las formas innovadoras en que presenta una poesía que excede sus propios límites, sino que también juega un papel importante al crear oportunidades para que la sociedad chilena traumatizada acoja la esperanza de una vida nueva después de la dictadura de Augusto Pinochet. La naturaleza chilena y su circulación perpetua tienen un papel significativo en su poesía, representando el fundamento eternamente perdurable de la existencia. Intento describir la vinculación entre el hombre y la naturaleza en la poesía de Zurita, al mismo tiempo que busco comprender cuáles son los elementos únicos y locales, ya sea en su poesía o en los escenarios sociales y ambientales chilenos, que distinguen sus



perspectivas sobre la naturaleza dentro de la literatura mundial. Mi presentación formula observaciones delicadas y plantea algunas cuestiones teóricas que la disciplina de la Literatura Comparada debe enfrentar al introducir este fenómeno chileno en un campo ampliamente internacional de la crítica literaria donde pueden colisionar perspectivas hasta crucialmente diferentes.

## 4.2 Panel

Kata Varju: Pautas de percepción en tres obras de Roberto Bolaño

Filóloga y traductora literaria, actualmente cursando estudios de teorías de traducción cultural (Universidad de Miskolc) y narratología hispánica (Universidad ELTE), enfocando en el trabajo de Roberto Bolaño. Su trabajo reciente considera fiabilidad narratorial, teorías de la narratología natural y no natural, las vidas ficticias de Marcel Schwob. Por otra parte, se interesa por las configuraciones diferentes de la transmisión cultural en la traducción, con interés especial en la cultura y literatura catalana.

*Resumen:* Referirse a la percepción o al proceso mental que conlleva muchas veces contribuye a sentirnos „en casa” en el mundo, hacer lo extraño conocido (Fludernik, 1996). No obstante, en la narrativa de Roberto Bolaño, estos procesos a menudo contribuyen a mayor grado de alineamiento. La vacilación perceptual presenta pautas diferentes, también dependiendo del tipo de narración. El narrador de *El Tercer Reich* representa un proceso de aprendizaje (¿cómo escribir un diario?, ¿cómo convertirse en narrador?) autodidacta, tan propio de Bolaño. En su caso hablamos de un género personal, su escritura está a medio camino entre oralidad y escritura, su postura se asemeja a los escritores presentados en *La literatura nazi en América*, aunque presentada por una narración de primera persona. En el caso de *Nocturno en Chile* presenciamos un flujo de consciencia, que ni llega a la oralidad, realizado por un narrador experto en escritura. Este narrador, en vez de comenzar, termina la escritura de esta manera, con una sinceridad nueva, mental, mentirosa. En *Estrella distante* volvemos a la tercera persona, con un narrador homodiegético, aunque difícilmente identificable, con una posición narratorial cambiante. La percepción, dependiendo del narrador y del juego narrativo aplicado, puede ser muy diferente en estos casos, aunque siempre aparecen características bolañescas, la presentación actual intenta agrupar estos rasgos, teniendo en cuenta sus sentidos diferentes.

Petra Báder: Literatura y política: una lectura de Las infantas de Lina Meruane y Kramp de José María Ferrada

Profesora del Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd de Budapest. Su principal interés de investigación es la narrativa hispanoamericana postmoderna y contemporánea, sobre todo en lo que se refiere a la representación del cuerpo humano, la autoficción y la metaficción, y últimamente, la crítica literaria posthumanista.

*Resumen:* El objetivo de la ponencia es ofrecer una lectura crítica de la obra de dos autoras chilenas contemporáneas, Lina Meruane (1970) y María José Ferrada (1977), para reflexionar sobre la red de referencias a la dictadura. El punto de partida serán dos conceptos que se utilizan con frecuencia hablando de la generación de dichas autoras, “literatura de hijos” y “literatura de la posmemoria”, y después de su breve revisión crítica, se estudiará un corpus literario reducido que se constituye de dos novelas, Las infantas de Meruane y Kramp de Ferrada, pero también se mencionarán otros textos de interés en el tema. La peculiaridad de estas obras es que no pertenecen al género en boga de la nueva novela histórica (cuyos representantes pretenden ofrecer una revisión del pasado histórico construyendo verdades alternativas que cuestionen la postura oficial del Estado) o de la autoficción (donde el autor empírico hace parte del argumento de mayor o menor medida ficticio), sino que ofrecen otras estrategias para tematizar la violencia política, sobre todo a partir de la creación de metáforas, como el cuestionamiento de lo humano en caso de Meruane, o bien la construcción de un universo infantil, en el de Ferrada.

Laura Miklós: Los límites del lenguaje en las novelas de Mike Wilson. La ficción y el libro impreso al borde del apocalipsis

Doctoranda del departamento español de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd. Sus líneas de investigación son la obra de Mario Bellatin, literatura hispanoamericana contemporánea y las editoriales alternativas. En 2021 fundó la microeditorial Sonora, dedicada a la difusión de literatura latinoamericana contemporánea en húngaro.

*Resumen:* La crítica sitúa el comienzo de la literatura latinoamericana del siglo xxi en los años noventa cuando se produjo una ruptura definitiva entre las tendencias económicas, el desarrollo tecnológico y la autonomía artística. Este cambio conllevó giros estéticos en la literatura latinoamericana. Ana Gallego Cuiñas clasifica a Mike Wilson como

relacionado con el giro subjetivo o autobiográfico pero también podríamos incluir su obra en una categoría relacionada con la artesanía ya que sus novelas escriben una nueva gramática que va en contra de la lógica del mercado. Después de abandonar la editorial Alfaguara, Wilson decidió publicar sus libros en editoriales pequeñas como el chileno Orjikh, el argentino Fiordo, luego decidió autoeditar algunos libros como Scout (2016, en línea) o Némesis (2020). Este aspecto de la publicación de los textos, es decir, el libro como medio, no está separado de la nueva gramática de las novelas, sino que la complementa. En mi intervención presentaré como los textos están intrínsecamente relacionados con sus medios y modos de circular y qué posición toma Wilson frente a las tendencias actuales insostenibles. Nacido en Misuri, Wilson pasó su infancia entre Chile y Argentina, actualmente es profesor de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Csikós Zsuzsanna: La narrativa chilena en el ámbito cultural húngaro (1965-2020)

Profesora titular del Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos de la Universidad de Szeged. Se doctoró en literatura hispánica con la tesis *El problema del doble en Cambio de piel de Carlos Fuentes* (2002). Sus investigaciones se centran en la narrativa hispánica del siglo XX junto con la historia de las relaciones históricas y literario-culturales entre Hungría y el mundo hispánico. Es directora y editora de la revista científica *Acta Hispanica*.

*Resumen:* Hasta el cambio de sistema político en Hungría (1989-1990) la literatura chilena se identificó con la poesía de Pablo Neruda. Mientras se publicó 15 poemarios nerudianos entre 1948 y 1988, la presencia la narrativa era escasa: salieron a la luz solo 2 libros cuentísticos y 4 novelas. A partir de los años 1990, con la aparición de varias novelas de Isabel Allende en el mercado de libros en Hungría, la situación empezó a cambiarse y hoy en día ella y Roberto Bolaño se encuentran entre los autores latinoamericanos más populares en nuestro país. La comunicación se enfocará en presentar la recepción de la narrativa chilena en el ámbito cultural húngaro en el último medio siglo.

### 4.3 Panel

Márton Árva: La responsabilidad ético-política de la percepción en Los perros (Marcela Said, 2017)

Profesor asistente del Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd de Budapest y crítico de cine independiente. Sus principales campos de investigación son los cines hispanohablantes, el audiovisual comunitario, la teoría poscolonial y el pensamiento descolonial.

*Resumen:* En sintonía con ciertas corrientes de los discursos posthumanistas recientes que proponen acercarse a lo no humano como herramienta para lidiar las experiencias traumáticas de la violación sistemática de derechos humanos en el siglo XX, el motivo del perro se ha convertido en símbolo central de una serie de productos culturales que tratan los crímenes del régimen cívico-militar de Augusto Pinochet en Chile y la impunidad tras la transición democrática. Inspirándose por dichos discursos críticos y su aplicación al análisis de Carne de perro (2012) y El clan (2015) por Sarah Wright, la ponencia observará las implicaciones ético-políticas de la construcción de la experiencia filmica en otro largometraje pertinente, Los perros (2017). Se argumentará que, en dicha película, los perros –en vez de “testigos mudos” cuyos “sonidos espectrales” (Wright) se remiten a las atrocidades de la dictadura– encarnan una capacidad perceptual más refinada que la humana, para destacar la incapacidad (y, luego, la reticencia) de la protagonista de prestar atención a las señales que apuntan hacia la presencia de criminales impunes en su alrededor. Con tal fin, se analizará la retórica cinematográfica sensorial que, colocando a las indicaciones más significativas en posiciones periféricas, dificulta el trabajo receptor del espectador también.

Domingo Lilón (Universidad de Pécs): „La Nueva Canción Chilena”

Él se graduó BA y MA en Derecho Internacional, doctor (PhD) en Historia Europea Contemporánea, dr. habilitatus. Profesor titular, director del Instituto de Romanística, del Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos y del Centro Iberoamericano de la Universidad de Pécs, Hungría. Es coeditor del anuario Iberoamericana Quinqueecclesiensis y autor de varios libros y ensayos sobre historia, política, relaciones internacionales, cultura. Es miembro de varias organizaciones internacionales (CEISAL, AHILA, ADHILAC), de varios grupos de investigación, así como de consejos editoriales de varias revistas científicas.

*Resumen:* La Nueva Canción Chilena nace oficialmente con el Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena celebrado en 1969 y organizado por la Vicerrectoría de Comunicaciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile. Esta Nueva Canción era la manifestación chilena de la canción social, la canción popular, también conocida como canción protesta en otros países durante la década de los '60-'80, principalmente, y cuyos principales representantes chilenos serían Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, Quilapayún, Inti Illimani, por sólo mencionar algunos. Eran canciones con un gran contenido social que ponían su acento en las desigualdades sociales, la injusticia, la pobreza, y, naturalmente, y más tarde, contra la represión dictatorial, militar e imperialista. Todo esto en el marco de la Guerra Fría, muy influido por la Revolución cubana (1959), la figura del Che Guevara, el triunfo de Allende (1970) y el golpe de Estado de Pinochet (1973), entre otros.

Bakucz Dóra: El movimiento Basta: una especie de #MeeToo (micro)literario

Profesora titular en la Universidad Católica Pázmány Péter de Hungría donde imparte clases de literatura y de traducción. Trabaja también como traductora. Sus publicaciones incluyen artículos sobre narrativa, microrrelato, y teatro en la literatura hispánica, catalana, y también de literatura comparada, así como traducciones de literatura catalana y española.

*Resumen:* En 2011 se publica la primera antología de microrrelatos contra la violencia de género titulada ¡Basta! - Cien mujeres contra la violencia de género en Chile, editada por la escritora y antóloga, Pía Barros, propuesta que va seguida por una serie de antologías parecidas, publicadas en otros países de América Latina. El propósito de la comunicación es estudiar algunos textos en el contexto de los movimientos #MeeToo y #NiUnaMenos, que también tienen el objetivo de luchar contra la violencia de género, pero con otros recursos y métodos. Además de señalar los puntos en común, la relación y las diferencias entre dichos movimientos y esa red literaria que nace gracias a la iniciativa de la antología chilena y que tiene un eco muy fuerte en Argentina, proponemos analizar también cómo es el discurso en torno a la violencia que aparece en estos textos, cuáles son los núcleos temáticos, qué modalidades retóricas pueden servir para hablar de experiencias tan difíciles de transmitir.

