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Field, Mark E.

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# Discovering a Cultural Hero in Post-Pinochet Chile

Mark E. Field

**Abstract:** In 2004 Chile celebrated the centennial birthday of its Nobel Prize Winning Poet, Pablo Neruda, and enshrined him into Chile's pantheon of National heroes. This paper looks at Pablo Neruda's development as a hero in the context of the mid-twentieth century.

## Introduction

I first became aware of the poet Pablo Neruda in 2004 by reading a *Los Angeles Times* article entitled "National Sonnet for Neruda" written by Hector Tobar. In that article, Chile's Director of Social Communication and Culture, Javier Egaña's description of the 2004 centennial events celebrating Pablo Neruda's birth was quite striking. "Chile is recognizing a poetic hero, a hero of letters, a hero of humanism."<sup>1</sup> Egaña's use of 'hero' in several contexts poetry, letters, and humanism stimulated my interest. His various uses of 'hero' seemed profound since one of Egaña's main roles as Director of Social Communication and Culture was to "specialize in official acts of repentance,"<sup>2</sup> or acts of reparation related to damages inflicted during and following Augusto

Pinochet's September 11, 1973 coup, the other September 11th.<sup>3</sup> Such official acts of reparation have included public ceremonies marking the reburial of the late President Allende and other ministers, who died in the 1973 coup. Although Neruda, himself, did not die in the coup per se, the Chilean government also sponsored his exhumation from the General Cemetery in Santiago and reburial at one of his former homes, Isla Negra, on the coast of Chile west of Santiago in 1992. During the transfer of his remains to Isla Negra, "thousands lined the roads and tossed flowers on the poet's flag-draped casket as it passed."<sup>4</sup> Reading of Egaña's efforts to enshrine Neruda into "the pantheon of Chile's national heroes"<sup>5</sup> made me feel I had discovered what I thought might be called a 'Cultural Hero', a writer, who must have been suppressed in his homeland for political reasons and now was just being rediscovered.

I was fortunate to be able to visit Chile in 2005, and see many sites associated with Pablo Neruda and the political and cultural movements surrounding his life. Chile is a beautiful and fascinating country, and its capital has an interesting cosmopolitan feel. I had mostly expected such before visiting, but what I had not expected was that poets in general, had such a high cachet there. Guidebooks will tell you about the shrines and monuments to Chile's most famous Nobel Prize winning poets, Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda. However, they don't mention that one can actually buy a map of Santiago to explore the haunts of over 50 Chilean poets, or that a seeming typical Santiago hotel bell-man might easily offer an opinion of one of these poets over another. I was also struck by the fact that one of Santiago's main metro stations close to La Moneda, the presidential palace, is called 'Los Heroes' or 'the heroes'. In this context, Egaña's "poetic hero" seemed to take on a new meaning.

The longer I contemplated Neruda as a 'hero' after I visited Chile, the

more I felt I needed a better working understanding of what a hero truly was. I first consulted a dictionary and found four basic definitions. The first was a simply modern literary understanding of the hero as “the principal male character in a poem, story, or play.”<sup>6</sup> A more personal or practical definition of the hero was “a man admired and venerated for his noble deeds or qualities; one invested with heroic qualities in the opinion of others.”<sup>7</sup> The historical or military ideal of a hero was “a man of distinguished valor, intrepidity, or fortitude; a central or prominent personage in any remarkable action or course of events.”<sup>8</sup> Finally, the classical or mythical concept of a hero was “a man of superhuman strength, courage, or ability; an immortal being intermediate in nature between gods and men; a demigod.”<sup>9</sup> All of these definitions had some relevance to Neruda, but did not fully fit what I had discovered about this poet. There was also a nagging personal conflict about how to view and categorize ‘los desapareados’, the disappeared ones, the Chilean Heroes of September 11, 1973, and the unsuspecting victims of terrorism, the American Heroes of September 11, 2001. The September 11th heroes in both countries seemed to come under another category perhaps best described as ‘fallen heroes’, people whose deaths occur in tragic violent events such as wars, coups, or terrorist attacks, and as a result are referred to as ‘heroes’. These ‘fallen heroes’ are probably most closely related to the latter part of the second definition given above “one invested with heroic qualities in the opinion of others.”

Although Neruda did not die directly in the coup, Neruda was aware of what was happening in his country. How could he not be? As a leader of and former presidential candidate for the Chilean Communist Party his houses and gardens were searched for weapons after the coup. In Adam Feinstein’s book, *PABLO NERUDA: A Passion for Life*, Neruda is quoted as telling a soldier

searching his home at Isla Negra: “Look around — there is only one thing of danger for you here — poetry.”<sup>10</sup> Many ascribe Neruda’s ultimate death from prostrate cancer as resulting from the shock of the coup.

As I have slowly come to realize, Pablo Neruda has come to mean much more to Chile than the ‘Cultural Hero’, I first imagined. Neruda’s death and public funeral held just two weeks after the 1973 coup has become part of Chile’s modern national legend. His funeral procession in those early uncertain days after the coup was more than just a funeral march for a dead poet. It was to become simultaneously an ending and a beginning for the whole country. That funeral established a myth leading to the heart of a future democratic Chile. In effect transforming Egaña’s “poetic hero, the hero of letters and the hero of humanism,” or my imagined ‘Cultural Hero’ into what Joseph Campbell once called a ‘Culture Hero’, or city founder,<sup>11</sup> in his seminal book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*.

## I. The Plan of This Paper

Many have spent years examining minute details of this poet’s life and verse, and much has been written about Pablo Neruda and his poetry. So much, in fact, I am afraid I may have nothing terribly profound to say about him, since I am by no means a poetry expert. Nevertheless, I have given almost three years of consideration and study to this poet, and I must try to bring some closure to my journey with Neruda.

In this paper, I will first review the historical context surrounding Pablo Neruda’s life. In the following section, I want to highlight how some parts of Neruda’s early life reflect aspects of the classic hero’s journey, and how his early literary works often tell the story of Neruda, “the principal character”

in that journey up until the Spanish Civil War. Next I want to show how the events following Neruda's time in Spain push Neruda's hero status up to "a man admired and venerated for his noble deeds or qualities." Following these life experiences Neruda's poetry starts to become more epic in nature as his political commitment to communism and personal commitment to representing and fighting for the common man in Chile become new focal points in his life. It is at this juncture that political events in Chile literally force Neruda over the Andes and up to the hero status of "a man of distinguished valor, intrepidity, or fortitude." Throughout the rest of his life, Neruda would continue to write and speak out for his cherished causes, and his words would always carry considerable weight. His human hero status ensured by events and achievement completed before the age of 50, Neruda could have just enjoyed the fruits of his past labors, but he continued to write daily and work for social justice. His final elevation to the ultimate hero "a man of superhuman strength, courage, or ability; an immortal being intermediate in nature between gods and men; a demigod" came with his death just after the 1973 coup.

## II. The Twentieth Century Context of a Legendary Life

T.S. Elliot once wrote: "No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone."<sup>12</sup> Pablo Neruda might have remained just a poetic hero, or perhaps a mere poet without the people and events that amplified his impact on Chilean society and the world stage especially in his later years. It must be remembered that heroes do not need to be perfect, and all traditional heroes have their flaws, just as heroes must have enemies or demons to

conquer. The traditional mythical hero must pass through a series of trials and tribulations, often symbolized as journeys, to take on the mantle of the hero. Neruda spent much of his adult life traveling as a diplomat and a private citizen. Consequently, Neruda's evolution as both a writer and political figure developed along with his many eventful journeys.

Pablo Neruda was born in 1904 as Ricardo Neftali Reyes Basoalto at the end of what the historian Eric Hobsbawm labeled the final period of the long nineteenth century in his book *The Age of Imperialism*. Neruda's life and work, however, were defined and shaped by the conflicts and events of the mid-twentieth century, the central part of "*The Age of Extremes*" as Hobsbawm called it in his book by the same title on the short twentieth century (1914-1991).<sup>13</sup> The age of extremes was defined by the cold and hot wars of the twentieth century, which were usually characterized in the West as the struggles of the liberal democracies against the excesses of first undemocratic imperial monarchies, then undemocratic dictatorial fascist regimes, and finally undemocratic totalitarian communist regimes.

In the English-speaking world, especially in the US, the Cold War is generally thought of as a post World War II occurrence. It starts around the time of Churchill's warning of an "Iron Curtain" falling across Europe and the Berlin Airlift in 1949, and then more or less ends with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The era is seen as the heroic worldwide struggle of the Liberal Capitalist Democracies against the Godless Totalitarian Communists, which the Liberal Capitalist Democracies finally won.

It is interesting to note, however, that many in the Spanish-speaking world, especially on the political left, perceived many twentieth century world and Cold War events in quite different terms. Spain and Latin America were largely outside the events of World War I and World War II,

and basically immune to their implications except for the economic boom and bust of the war cycles. The economics of the war cycles did, however, make more visible the social injustice and human misery caused by the economic inequality, and poverty that socialism was purported to solve. To many in the Spanish-speaking world, the century may be seen as more or less one continuous struggle between Democratic Socialist or Progressive Forces and Imperialistic or Reactionary Fascist Forces. This struggle starts with the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and ends in the 1990s when US foreign policy becomes less hostile to Social Democratic Parties, although not to Communist ones.<sup>14</sup>

Pablo Neruda once told an interviewer in 1971:

I began to become a Communist in Spain, during the civil war . . . That was where the most important period of my political life took place — as was the case for many writers throughout the world. We felt attracted by that enormous resistance to fascism, which was the Spanish war. But the experience meant something else for me. Before the war in Spain, I knew writers who were all Republicans, except for one or two. And the Republic, for me, was the rebirth of culture, literature, the arts, in Spain. Federico Garcia Lorca is the expression of this poetic generation, the most explosive in the history of Spain in many centuries. So the physical destruction of these men was a drama for me. A whole part of my life ended in Madrid.<sup>15</sup>

Clearly, Neruda's political views like many Spanish-speaking intellectuals of the time were formed in the heady days of the Spanish Republic of the 1930s and etched in stone during the ruthless campaigns of



General Franco's Fascists. Fascist brutality and disregard for the arts were epitomized by the murder of Neruda's friend, Federico Garcia Lorca, and other artists during the Spanish Civil War. The lack of support for the Spanish Republic by the Western Democracies drove many to believe that socialism was "the only effective way of fighting fascism."<sup>16</sup> The more truly politically committed, like Neruda began to see communism as the only true defender of the people and their national interests against capitalist imperialism and its fascist partners.

Neruda did not become an official member of the Chilean Communist Party until July 8, 1945, after being elected to the Chilean Senate in early 1945.<sup>17</sup> By the time he did become one, he would be considered by many to be an ardent inflexible Stalinist, who was incapable of accepting the truth that Communist Regimes were just as capable of destroying art and artists as Fascist ones.<sup>18</sup> He often spoke about the western poets who had paid with their lives for speaking out; Neruda "was silent, however, on the Soviet writers who had paid for speaking out."<sup>19</sup>

Neruda was never silent when it came to the injustices he saw in his own country though. As senator for Antofagasta and Tarapaca, he represented "the underprivileged, the starving, the poor, people of the arid Chilean north,"<sup>20</sup> the mining area that Chile's export wealth was based on. His early post World War II years were to remold him as a writer and political figure in a well-publicized struggle against a man he would forever call a tyrant and a betrayer of the people. A man, Neruda worked tirelessly to elect as President of Chile in 1946, the Radical Party politician, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla. A man who as a presidential candidate claimed "there is no power, human or divine, that can break the links which bind me with the Communist party and the people."<sup>21</sup> The same president who on September 3, 1948 introduced the Law for the Permanent Defense of Democracy, commonly known as the Accursed

Law ('Ley Maldita'), which outlawed the Chilean Communist Party and removed thousands of Chileans from the electoral rolls.<sup>22</sup>

### **III. Faces of the Young Hero: Pablo Neruda**

**Definition #1 “the principal male character in a poem, story, or play”**

#### **A. Etusiasmo y perseverancia (Enthusiasm and Perseverance)**

It seems that all writers include characters that resemble his or her personas in their artistic works, but Pablo Neruda seems to be the main character in most of his works even when he was writing about others. His works are deeply personal and he often uses the first person. It may be more appropriate to view his works as the reflective consciousness of the idealized romantic hero, Pablo Neruda, which Ricardo Reyes wanted to become.

Pablo Neruda was only Ricardo Reyes' penname until it was officially changed in December 1946. Reyes' father, Jose del Carmen Reyes “could not stomach the idea of his son sacrificing his studies to poetry, let alone considering such a bohemian activity as a career.”<sup>23</sup> After Jose del Carmen burned some of his son's poetry notebooks in 1920, the 16 year-old Ricardo decided to take on the nom de plum, Pablo Neruda, to show his independence from his father, or perhaps just to hide the source of tension with his father.<sup>24</sup>

It seems that early on Ricardo felt two distinct desires: one for artistic literary expression, and the other for social justice. Ricardo had a “voracious literary appetite”<sup>25</sup> and Augusto Winter, a poet who ran the public library in Puerto Saavedra where the Reyes family spent their summer holidays helped to feed it. Winter was an influential literary mentor, as well as, a model

of an “easy-going, free-thinking man, very unlike the stern, disciplinarian traditionalist, Jose del Carmen.”<sup>26</sup> Traditionalist attitudes were common in the environment of Ricardo’s youth, and in later life Pablo Neruda would describe Temuco, where he grew up as “a tranquil village where a poet is treated almost like a thief.”<sup>27</sup> Tranquil, perhaps, but it was not without a social conscious in the form of the editor of the Temuco daily newspaper, *La Mañana*, Ricardo’s uncle, Orlando Mason.<sup>28</sup> Mason was “a fighter for social justice, the kind of fighter Pablo Neruda would become in years later.”<sup>29</sup> Mason was both a hero and inspiration to the young Ricardo, a man who was unafraid to “read his poetry aloud at public recitals in Temuco.”<sup>30</sup> It was also in *La Mañana* at the age of 13, Ricardo’s first piece was published, an article entitled “Etusiasmo y perseverancia” calling “for people to follow their desires with enthusiasm and perseverance.”<sup>31</sup>

It was Jose del Carmen’s desire, however, that Ricardo become a respectable professional, and it was with this purpose in mind the somber 16-year-old Ricardo was sent to the capital, Santiago, to study to become a French teacher at the Pedagogical Institute in March 1921. It seems that Ricardo fully intended to follow his father’s wishes, but the draw of sharing a joyous bohemian lifestyle talking about politics and literature with “people who spoke about Baudelaire, who knew French poets,”<sup>32</sup> was just too attractive for the young provincial. Away from his authoritarian father, Jose del Carmen, Ricardo soon abandoned his studies and turned to writing both “a weekly political column and poems”<sup>33</sup> for the student magazine, *Claridad*.

As soon as Ricardo’s father found out though, he cut off Ricardo’s allowance, and Ricardo was forced to survive on small amounts of money “from his beloved stepmother, Trinidad, who surreptitiously passed it on to him”<sup>34</sup> through his sister Laurita. In spite of his poverty, or perhaps due to it, Ricardo ate a lot less and wrote a lot more, and in 1923 Neruda’s first

book *Crepusculario* ("Twilights") was published when he was still only 19. In *Crepusculario* ("Twilights"), we can see evidence of both his bohemian lifestyle in Santiago and his early desire for a hero's journey.

I love the love of sailors  
who kiss and go on their way.<sup>35</sup>

In the following year, 1924 at the age of 20, Neruda's second book *Viente poemas de amor y una cancion desesperada* (Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair) came out. The Twenty Love Poems established Neruda's poetic fame with what was considered to be ground-breaking sensual poetry, which "celebrated love in the language of everyday life, with unfettered expressions of desire for women whose beauty was not ethereal."<sup>36</sup> Much speculation has been made about which women in Neruda's real life inspired the Twenty Poems, but there is no doubt who is the hero in despair.

According to Diego Munoz, a contemporary of Neruda's, these two early works quickly brought Neruda "the greatest fame ever witnessed in Chile."<sup>37</sup> These early literary conquests and "celebrity could not buy him prosperity, however."<sup>38</sup> Nor could they help the young Ricardo obtain the approval of his father, Jose del Carmen, who still felt his son was "wasting his life in trivialities and pig-headedly persisting in his ambition to be a poet."<sup>39</sup>

In spite of this father's disapproval and refusal to financial support his son's artistic pursuits, the young Reyes continued to read and write at a feverish pace. In 1926 the young Pablo Neruda published his third book *Tentativa del hombre infinito* (Endeavour of the Infinite Man), which later in life Neruda called: "one of the true nuclei of my poetry."<sup>40</sup> His fourth book, a short novella, *El habititante y su esperanza* (The Inhabitant and His Hope)

and his fifth book a short collection of lyrical prose poems, *Anillos*, he produced in collaboration with his friend, Tomas Lago were also published in 1926.<sup>41</sup> Throughout this period, sadness and loneliness continued to be the underlying themes of the young aspiring literary hero, while “love for a woman is the only thing that appears to give him unmixed pleasure,”<sup>42</sup> if in only fleeting moments. Neruda's sixth published work, *El hondero entusiasta* (The Ardent Slingsman) was also written in 1926, but was not published until 1933.<sup>43</sup>

By 1927 Ricardo, “the man who was now feted throughout Chile and Latin America,”<sup>44</sup> was still basically penniless, and had to face the fact “that poetry — even poetry as successful as his — was not going to make him a rich man in Latin America.”<sup>45</sup> He briefly tried his hand at business, but without much success. He was restless and wanted to escape abroad, but was without the financial means to do so on his own. So following in the footsteps of other Latin American literati of the time, he visited his Foreign Ministry to inquire about vacant consular positions abroad. After an initial rejection, an admirer of his poetry, who was also a friend of the Foreign Minister, arranged for an appointment for him, and then he was present with a list of vacant positions around the world and told to ‘choose one’. He chose Rangoon, the British colonial capital of Burma.<sup>46</sup>

## B. The Call to Adventure?

As I mentioned earlier, the path or growth of a hero is normally associated with a journey or adventure. So it would seem that Ricardo Reyes' travels to Asia, and back to Chile, were the beginnings of his “Call to Adventure”, or the sign of “the vocation of the hero.”<sup>47</sup> Reyes left Chile by Trans-Andean train to Buenos Aires in June 1927. He traveled by ship

to Lisbon, then overland to Madrid and Paris before departing for Asia. He left Marseilles in August 1927 for Port Said in Egypt went through the Suez Canal to Djibouti, then across the Indian Ocean to Colombo and Singapore, and finally arrived in Rangoon Burma at the end of October 1927. After realizing his only official duties happened every three months, he arranged for a trip to Shanghai and Tokyo in January and February 1928 and was back in Burma for his official duties in March. All these early journeys he shared with a Chilean friend, Alvaro Hinojosa, who was his constant companion until Hinojosa left for Calcutta in mid 1928. Hinojosa and Reyes' initial travels were no doubt adventurous, although perhaps more adventurous in the sense of the bohemian lifestyles they had led in Chile.

For the most part, Neruda always called his experience in Burma a hell, or an terrible exile,<sup>48</sup> and complained in one letter: "As life has passed, I have made my literary life harder."<sup>49</sup> Later in life, he would describe Burma as "the most painful period for my poetry."<sup>50</sup> Despite this, he also admitted in a letter to the Argentinean writer Hector Eandi: "The depressing moment, so unfortunate for many, was noble material for me."<sup>51</sup> In another letter written in August 1928, he made his first direct reference to his next book *Residencia en la tierra* (Residence on Earth).<sup>52</sup> Reyes left Burma at the end of 1928 and the inner conflicts of his Burma experience would only be made clear in 1962 when Neruda disclosed the existence of his Burmese lover known only as Josie Bliss.<sup>53</sup>

After spending much of December 1928 in Calcutta and attending a meeting of the Indian National Congress,<sup>54</sup> Reyes took up his next post as consul in Colombo in January 1929. It seems Reyes almost enjoyed his simple life there near the beach, but was becoming increasingly lonely and having stronger desires to settle down. For a number of years, Reyes had been

writing continuously to two different Chilean women, who had been the main inspirations of his *Twenty Love Poems*, Laura Arrue and Albertina Azocar.<sup>55</sup> Laura Arrue never actually received any of those letters including Reyes' proposal of marriage because their mutual friend Homer Arce who was supposed to receive the letters and pass them on to Laura without Laura's family knowing had fallen in love with Laura himself and kept the letters.<sup>56</sup> Albertina Azocar was studying in Europe and had received some, but not all of his letters and replied intermittently. In December 1929, Reyes sent Albertina an ultimatum to join him or he would marry someone else.<sup>57</sup>

In February 1930 Reyes was informed he would become Consul for Singapore and Indonesia. He arrived in Singapore in June 1930 to discover that no Chilean consulate office actually existed there, then traveled on to Batavia (now Jakarta) in Dutch colonial Indonesia and found out his predecessor had farmed out the job to a Dutchman. After sorting out the problem, Reyes set up house and assumed the role of 'Señor Consul' in Dutch colonial Indonesia.

A single member of the diplomatic corps in Asia was always considered a reasonable catch. The mothers of young colonial women had often inquired: "Are you married, Mr. Reyes?"<sup>58</sup> So when out of loneliness, and a desire for stability, the Señor Consul decided he was ready to get married it didn't take long. By October 1930 Reyes had met Maria Antonieta Haagenger Vogelzan, and Ricardo Reyes, the young diplomat married his Dutch bride, Maria (Maruca) Antonieta Haagenger Vogelzan in December 1930.

Stability seems to have brought Reyes/Neruda a "life of desperate tranquility"<sup>59</sup> though. He was no longer lonely, but married life to Maruca "meant he had little material to feed his creative imagination, and his poetic writing dried up."<sup>60</sup> Ironically, the social stability Reyes hoped to gain with his marriage was almost immediately struck down when the effects of

worldwide economic depression set in. In March 1931 Maruca fell ill and major medical bills appeared just as those economic effects were realized in Chilean government budget cuts, which halved Reyes' salary. Unfortunately, the effects did not stop there, Ricardo and Maruca's 'happy and stable' life of diplomatic dinner parties, was abruptly brought to an end when Chile abolished the post of Consul to Singapore and Java in January 1932.<sup>61</sup>

The Reyes left Batavia on February 15, 1932 for a very uncertain future and landed in the cold and rainy southern Chilean port of Puerto Montt on April 18, 1932.<sup>62</sup> From Puerto Montt, the young couple traveled north by train to Temuco, and Maruca met Ricardo's parents for the first and only time. Unfortunately, the welcome the couple received there was even icier than the rain that greeted them in Puerto Montt. Apparently, "Maruca did not need to speak Spanish to sense the hostility of Neruda's family, over both his choice of spouse and the fact he was returning with no job, no money and no savings."<sup>63</sup> Consequently, they continued quickly on their journey north to Santiago where Ricardo's old friends welcomed him "enthusiastically back into his old bohemian lifestyle."<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately, Ricardo's friends were not particularly impressed with Maruca either, and she was soon known as the "gringa" who could only speak English.<sup>65</sup>

In the midst of an economic depression, Reyes had few prospects, but due to "the efforts of friends the Chilean Foreign Minister was persuaded to create a new part-time post especially for Neruda at a Ministry library."<sup>66</sup> He stayed in the post until May 1933 when he was "given a better-paid post at the department of cultural extension at the Ministry of Employment."<sup>67</sup>



### C. Or the Refusal of the Call?

In terms of literary production the period between April 1932 and August 1933 “was a barren one”<sup>68</sup> with Neruda only finishing a few poems that would not be published until 1935. Neruda’s fame as poet, nevertheless, continued to grow along with the fans and detractors he drew to the two poetry recitals he gave on May 11, and November 11, 1932.

Neruda’s seventh book *Residencia en la tierra* (Residence on Earth) was first published in Chile in early 1933. *Residencia* is almost a chronicle of his personal journey through a psychological underworld, which corresponds to his years of self-imposed exile (1927-1932) as a young diplomat in the Far East Asia, mentioned above. To the Neruda expert Jorge Edwards, the title of *Residencia* is actually an allusion to being cut off from his language and culture in colonial Asia, where he basically only heard and spoke English.<sup>69</sup> The British Neruda scholar, Robert Pring-Mill has called *Residencia* the “finest collection of Surrealist poetry in the Spanish language.”<sup>70</sup>

Both the Chilean writer Edmundo Oliveras Briones, who analyzed Neruda’s journeys in the Orient and Neruda’s most recent biographer, Adam Feinstein, have found Rimbaudesque colorings in Reyes’ adventures through Asia.<sup>71</sup> Even the poetically uninitiated like myself can see the choice of paths to Asia via Marseilles, passing through Djibouti could be interpreted as “retracing Rimbaud’s footsteps.”<sup>72</sup> Neruda’s sexual affair in Rangoon with and escape to Colombo from Josie Bliss, the “love-smitten terrorist, who was capable of anything,”<sup>73</sup> his other sexual adventures with local women in Colombo, going to Java, and finally the desire to settle down, all have resonance with Arthur Rimbaud’s mystique. The fact that in later life Neruda did not seem to know even his own famous poems by heart, but “had no problem reciting large chunks of Rimbaud in French”<sup>74</sup> also lends itself to

the interpretation. Rimbaud does seem to have had some influence on Reyes' early journeys and life choices in my view. This influence does not really explain Reyes/Neruda's development as a hero though.

The critic James Nolan analyzed Neruda's works in terms of life stages or personas and viewed the *Residencia* period as "the anguished somnabulist,"<sup>75</sup> or simply the tormented sleepwalker. As I understand it, surrealism is supposed to have a dreamlike quality, so this seems plausible as well. However, if the historical context is important in making a hero and a legend, then a hero should be more than just a sleepwalker. A hero, the principal character in any drama should also have a sense of history and his place in it. T.S. Elliot viewed this historical sense as "nearly indispensable to anyone who would continue to be a poet beyond his twenty-fifth year."<sup>76</sup> Reyes seemed to lack "the historical sense" as he passed his twenty-fifth birthday in Colombo in 1929, and contemplated marriage and settling down.

As Joseph Campbell once wrote: "The Hero is the man of self-achieved submission. But submission to what?"<sup>77</sup> Was becoming a diplomat answering the call to adventure or refusing it? It seems becoming a diplomat was indeed a type of submission, but not to "the vocation of the hero." It looks more like submission to "his father's desire for him to do something 'useful' with his life,"<sup>78</sup> or submission to economic necessity as some of his early poetic lines seem to have foretold:

What the hell, in life, like in the magazines,  
A poet has to graduate as a dentist!<sup>79</sup>

How should we view Reyes' desire to settle down and get married? In a 1929 letter to Hector Eandi, Reyes said he felt "an anguished desire to settle

down”<sup>80</sup> and fix his position. This also appears to be a refusal of the call to adventure rather than submitting to it as this quotation from *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* will hopefully make clear:

[T]he refusal is essentially a refusal to give up what one takes to be one's own interest. The future is regarded not in terms of an unremitting series of deaths and births, but as though one's present system of ideals, virtues, goals and advantages were to be fixed and made secure.<sup>81</sup>

It appears that Neruda only found personal sorrow and depression from his initial journeys rather than some prize simply because he was not following his first ‘Call to Adventure’, ‘the vocation of the hero’: Neruda had neglected to maintain his enthusiasm and perseverance. In later life, Neruda admitted as much when he wished younger people would not read *Residencia* because of its dark brooding poems, saying: “They are poems which are soaked in atrocious pessimism and anguish, they do not help you to live, but to die.”<sup>82</sup> His later view was, no doubt, partial due to an incident in the late 1940s where “a young student had shot himself dead under a tree while reading *Residencia*.”<sup>83</sup> Another factor seems to be Neruda’s focus on rebirth through poetry that will come out of his more direct experience with death during the Spanish Civil War.

#### **IV. Faces of the Awakening Hero: Pablo Neruda**

**Definition #2** “a man admired and venerated for his noble deeds or qualities; one invested with heroic qualities in the opinion of others”

A. New Air for Ricardo: Another Adventure?

Ricardo and Maruca left for his next diplomatic posting in Buenos Aires on August 28, 1933. Ricardo's new position in Argentina was quite a bit busier than any post he had in Asia, and so was the social life. This time Ricardo was no longer alone in the English-speaking world and Ricardo quickly became at home in his new environment. On October 13, 1933 Neruda was introduced to the Spanish Poet and playwright Federico Garcia Lorca, "the genius, who in his short life was to become one"<sup>84</sup> of Neruda's closest friends. Neruda and Lorca had much in common including their political inclinations, not to mention, "a vast appetite for life — and a mutual appreciation for each other's poetry."<sup>85</sup>

Buenos Aires must have been like a breath of fresh air for Neruda. He "quickly found himself in the midst of a wide circle of new friends,"<sup>86</sup> and thus easily "drifted apart from Maruca, spending long nights enjoying the same bohemian lifestyle he had led in Santiago,"<sup>87</sup> including a number of erotic affairs. Despite their deteriorating relationship, the Reyes did their best to keep up appearance, and Maruca became pregnant with Ricardo's child around New Year's 1934. By May 5, 1934 Ricardo and a pregnant Maruca were on their way to his next consul post in Barcelona Spain.

Shortly after arriving in Barcelona, Neruda realized he should move to Madrid "because he knew that it was in the capital that Spanish cultural life was flourishing."<sup>88</sup> Leaving Maruca behind in Barcelona, Neruda left for Madrid and was warmly greeted at the capital's Estacion del Norte on June 1, 1934 by Federico Garcia Lorca. That very evening the Chilean Ambassador to Spain, Carlos Morla Lynch, met Lorca and Neruda "at the Bar Barrera in the Calle de Alcala and took them back home to eat."<sup>89</sup> Then the following night "most of Madrid's most important personalities arrived at the Chilean

Ambassador's residence to meet the illustrious poet,"<sup>90</sup> Pablo Neruda.

Although it took several months of traveling between his official post in Barcelona and his desired position in Madrid, a semi-official exchange of consul posts between the Madrid consul Lucila Godoy (Gabriela Mistral) and the Barcelona consul Ricardo Reyes (Pablo Neruda) appears to have been arranged.<sup>91</sup> Not long after, Maruca joined Neruda in Madrid and they set up house in a small apartment in western Madrid with geraniums growing in the windowsills, which "quickly became known as the Casa de las Flores (House of Flowers)."<sup>92</sup> The Casa de las Flores was to become a model for all Neruda's future homes: a house open to any of Neruda's friends, who wished to join him day or night in drink, food and lively conversation.

Maruca gave birth to a daughter, Malva Marina Trinidad on August 18, 1934, and Neruda, the proud father, "had cards specially printed and sent them off to all his friends around the world, announcing the happy event."<sup>93</sup> Tragically, little Malva Marina was born with a serious illness, later diagnosed as hydrocephalus,<sup>94</sup> excess spinal fluid on the brain that caused her head to grow faster than her body. With intense care from both her parents though she was nursed through the first month, and she seemed to be improving by September 1934, even though her condition still led her father to describe her in a letter as "a kind of a semi-colon."<sup>95</sup>

## B. Comrades and Fellow Travelers

In later years, remembering fondly his relationships with poets in Spain such as Lorca, Rafael Alberti, and Miguel Hernandez, Neruda wrote: "Within a few days I was one with the Spanish poets . . . The Spaniards of my generation were more brotherly, closer-knit and better spirited than their counter-parts in Latin America."<sup>96</sup> These few lines from a tribute written by

Miguel Hernandez called “Ode amidst Blood and Wine to Pablo Neruda” seem to encapsulate the feeling that Neruda and his comrades must have felt.

Around you, Pablo  
everything is crazy chatter, closeness  
bursting out in song and solstices  
until there’s sudden silence from exhaustion  
and kisses of purity, arms that understand  
their ring-like, bracelet-like fate: embracing.<sup>97</sup>

From around the time of the Chilean Independence Day Celebration at Neruda’s house on September 18, 1934, Neruda seems to have determined it was best to keep busy, and so in addition to his consul work, he threw himself into the literary life of Madrid. Around the same time, he also met Delia del Carril, the woman who effortlessly “penetrated, with her slight soprano voice — she sang marvelously — into the poet’s night-time circle, mixing with the jokes, stories and theatre scenes.”<sup>98</sup> The woman Neruda would spend two decades with and become his second wife in 1943.

In early December 1934, Neruda gave a recital and lecture at the University of Madrid. Lorca made the introductory speech calling Neruda one of the greatest Latin American poets who was “closer to death than philosophy, closer to pain than intelligence, closer to blood than to ink”<sup>99</sup> completely without “the two elements with which so many false poets have lived: hatred and irony.”<sup>100</sup> Neruda and Lorca were almost inseparable with Lorca frequenting the Casa de la Flores, Neruda sitting in on Lorca’s theatre rehearsals and the two of them combing “Madrid together for appropriate props for Federico’s plays.”<sup>101</sup>

By New Year's 1935, Neruda was falling deeply in love with Delia del Carril, and "had probably already made up his mind that there was no future in his marriage to Maruca."<sup>102</sup> Delia "was an attractive woman of fifty with very clear ideas, with a very clearly defined left-wing commitment."<sup>103</sup> "While Maruca spent hours lovingly and dutifully singing lullabies in Dutch to her sick baby daughter,"<sup>104</sup> Delia was perhaps everything Maruca could not be. Delia was a woman, who was Neruda's intellectual and linguistic equal, "a very focused Communist and an extremely hard-working political activist,"<sup>105</sup> a woman who could mother Neruda and bring him to intellectual and political maturity.

As mentioned above, Spain was a defining period for Neruda. It was perhaps both the ending of an old chapter and the beginning of a new chapter of his life that overlapped. Neruda had initially hoped Rafael Alberti could help get *Residencia* published in Spain and had sent him an early draft from the Far East. That dream was not realized until September and October 1935, when Cruz y Raya, Madrid published the "first complete version of *Residencia en la tierra* (1925–1935)"<sup>106</sup> in a two volume set. If the first volume is almost a chronicle of his personal journey through a psychological underworld in Asia (1927-1932), then the second volume is more like a chronicle of his mental recovery from that journey and the awakening to the real world of life, birth and death (1932-1935). An interesting example of this awakening found in the second volume of *Residencia* is seen in the poem "Enfermedades en mi casa" (Sickness in My House) that Neruda wrote shortly after Malva Marina's birth. Hernan Loyola believes Neruda becomes fully aware of himself "in an almost irrational mythical sense"<sup>107</sup> since Neruda seems to be appealing for help from 'nature gods' of his Chilean homeland in the lines:

Help me, leaves and rain of the South<sup>108</sup>

This type of mythical awareness developed as Neruda aged, and his poetry matured in new directions along with his political and literary development. The outbreak of civil war would, of course, be the main catalyst for expanding his sense of history. Attending the First International Congress of Writers in Defense of Culture,<sup>109</sup> held in Paris in June 1935 would also expand his horizons. Just as founding the literary magazine *Caballo Verde Para la Poesia* (Green Horse for Poetry) in October 1935, and presenting his poetic agenda of “Poetry without Purity”<sup>110</sup> in response to Juan Ramon Jimenez ‘pure’ poetry would show his poetic maturity, although not a defined political commitment.

### C. End of Spain's Second Republic

The political balance in Spain's Second Republic was always precarious. Leftist and Rightist leaning coalition governments had both had a chance to govern, but an aborted military coup by rightists in 1932, and a Marxist miners rebellion, which was suppressed by military intervention in 1934 had damaged trust in the existing constitution framework and all parties commitment to following it. So when a narrow election victory in February 1936 brought the leftist Popular Front Republican coalition government back to power without giving any concessions to conservative religious or royalist forces on the right, the die was cast.

As political tensions rose Neruda “persuaded Maruca that it would be better to take Malva Marina back to Barcelona”<sup>111</sup> for safety reasons. Neruda, no doubt, had his families best interests in mind, but it also allowed him to spend more time with Delia del Carril. On July 11, 1936 a group of Falangist



briefly captured Radio Valencia and “announced that the fascist revolution was imminent.”<sup>112</sup> The same day Lorca decided to visit his home province of Granada in southern Spain. Despite plenty of advise from friends against leaving the capital, Lorca left for Granada two days later and was never heard from again. Franco’s uprising began in Spanish Morocco on July 17, 1936 and quickly spread to southern Spain. Franco himself confirmed Lorca’s death in a newspaper interview in September saying: “These are the natural accidents of war.”<sup>113</sup> But Neruda was certain “that Lorca’s death had been a brutal execution, not an accident.”<sup>114</sup>

The Spanish Civil War turned out to be very inspiring for Neruda’s poetry. His first ‘hymn’ to the Spanish people at war against fascism was the “Song of the Mothers of Dead Militiamen.” It was initially published anonymously in the journal, *El Mono Azul* (Blue Monkey/Blue Dungarees) in September 1936 to protect Neruda from potential repercussions from the Chilean government, which had taken a pro-Franco stance. Despite this early precaution in October he read the same poem in Cuenca at an event organized to show the support of Latin American Intellectuals for the Republican cause.<sup>115</sup> By November 7, 1936, Franco’s troops were approaching the capital and Neruda and his Chilean Embassy colleagues decided it was time to leave Madrid for the Consulate in Barcelona. Delia del Carril left Madrid at the same time but headed for Valencia where the Republican government had established its wartime capital. In Barcelona Neruda was briefly reunited with Maruca and Malva, and they traveled together to Monte Carlo. Apparently, Maruca was aware that Neruda was going to leave her for Delia, and the plan was to set Maruca and Malava up in residence in Monte Carlo where there was a clinic they hoped could help Malva’s condition.<sup>116</sup>

By early January 1937, Delia had joined Neruda in Paris and introduced Neruda to many of the leading leftist artists and intellectuals there such as

Pablo Picasso, Paul Eluard, and Louis Aragon. On January 21, 1937 Neruda gave a lecture to honor Lorca's memory, in which "he made his love and admiration for Federico and his total commitment to justice and the working-class abundantly clear."<sup>117</sup> Shortly, there after the Chilean government officially closed their Madrid Consulate and cut off his salary.

Over the next few months, Neruda worked to organize the Second International Congress of Writers in Defense of Culture. It was originally supposed to be held in Madrid, but with Franco's troops threatening the capital the opening session on July 4, 1937 was changed to Valencia where the wartime Republican government had moved. A special train was used to take the more than two hundred writers from thirty countries to Valencia to attend the congress, and then onto Madrid where the congress ended on July 7, 1937. The congress "seemed to provide irrefutable proof that many of the world's most prestigious intellectuals were willing to stand up and express their support for the Spanish Republic."<sup>118</sup> Before leaving Madrid, Neruda and Miguel Hernandez who was now in the Republican army returned to Neruda's old home, the Casa de las Flores to pick up the belongings he had to leave behind the previous November. Apparently, Neruda was horrified to find that his old home had been vandalized by Franco's fifth column supporters, and in the end took nothing with him.

One concrete result of the Valencia Congress was the decision "to create an international network of writers' organizations to combat the fascist uprising in Spain."<sup>119</sup> Neruda naturally volunteered to set up "the Chilean 'branch' of this literary war"<sup>120</sup> on fascism, and so Neruda accompanied by Delia del Carril arrived in Chile on October 12, 1937 to take on the new mission. By November 7, 1937, the Chilean Alliance of Intellectuals was established with Neruda as its first president. A week later the Chilean

publisher Ercilla printed the first edition of *España en el corazon* (Spain in the Heart). Many critics view *España en el corazon* as a pivotal point in Neruda's poetry and career turning away from the self-obsessed, romantic, surreal, lyricist of his past to his new self-appointed role as "truth-teller and exposé of the world's injustices."<sup>121</sup> Over the next several months, Neruda traveled the length of Chile holding poetry readings for ordinary workers and raising aid for the Spanish Republican cause.

In 1938 Neruda experienced two family tragedies in a row. First his father died on May 7, 1938 and then his beloved stepmother passed away in August. "Neruda realized that life had, nevertheless, to go on. Not only was he now at the cultural centre of Chile, he also found himself working as the public relations manager for the Popular Front candidate, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, in the forthcoming presidential elections."<sup>122</sup>

Apparently, no one expected the Popular Front candidate, Pedro Aguirre Cerda to win, but his slim election victory of just 4,111 votes,<sup>123</sup> was significant. It resulted in a major change in the Chilean government's stance toward Spain, especially concerning the humanitarian crisis that was developing as thousands of Spanish Republican refugees were fleeing Spain to escape Franco's advancing troops. Not long after, President Aguirre Cerda took office at the end of 1938, he appointed Neruda to be the special consul for Spanish emigration. His mission was to select Spanish refugees in France and bring them back to Chile for permanent settlement.

Neruda and Delia arrived in France at the end of April 1939. By May 19, 1939 Franco had achieved total victory in Spain, and the refugees who had reached France were being held in "concentration camps without the most basic hygiene or medical facilities."<sup>124</sup> Over the next three months, Neruda working with the remnants of the Spanish Republican government-in-exile managed to hire an old ship, the *Winnipeg* and have it converted to transport

the 2000 refugees, who were selected to immigrate to Chile. The *Winnipeg* left the port of Bordeaux on August 4, 1939 and arrived in Valparaíso, Chile on September 3, 1939, the same day the Second World War started.

In my view, it was Neruda's work in support of the Spanish republic, which culminated with his mission to save Spanish Civil War refugees, which elevated Neruda to the hero status of "a man admired and venerated for his noble deeds or qualities." Neruda also viewed it as "the most important mission in his life."<sup>125</sup> To him the *Winnipeg* was the one poem no critic could ever destroy. The only thing that seems to detract from the story of Neruda's evolution from literary hero to a hero of humanism, i.e., a man admired and venerated for saving 2000 helpless people, is his apparent abandonment of his own wife and child in December 1936. In Feinstein's account after Neruda left Maruca and Malva in Monte Carlo, he "would never see his wife and child again."<sup>126</sup> The Fundacion Neruda website says, however, Neruda visited "Maruca Hagenaar and his daughter Malva Marina in La Haya, Holland in mid November 1939."<sup>127</sup> This would have been after the *Winnipeg* left for Chile and before Delia and Neruda went back to Chile in January 1940. Both sources agree that Maruca and Malva Marina moved to Holland sometime in 1937 and Malva Marina died of her condition on March 2, 1943. In any case, it may be best to simply remember even traditional heroes have flaws and everyone makes mistakes.

## V. Initiation of the Hero: Pablo Neruda

**Definition #3** "a man of distinguished valor, intrepidity, or fortitude; a central or prominent personage in any remarkable action or course of events"

## A. Latin America while the World was at War

Shortly after Delia and Neruda returned to Chile in January 1940, Neruda bought a small stone house on the Pacific coast west of Santiago that would become known as Isla Negra named after the large black rock in the sea visible from the house. Isla Negra would become Neruda's favorite home, the place where he came to relax, write, and enjoy the tranquility of the sea. It is at Isla Negra in the Chilean summer of 1940 that Neruda began to write the first poems that would become the *Canto General*. Neruda was not meant to lead a quiet idyllic life for long though, and by the end of July 1940, Delia and Neruda were headed for Mexico, where Neruda became Chile's General Consul to Mexico in late August 1940.

Mexico had been one of the largest recipients of refugees from the Spanish Civil War, something Neruda greatly appreciated. Mexico had also received a kind of sister ship to Neruda's *Winnipeg*, "the *Serpa Pinto*, a Portuguese vessel that was the last boat to leave Europe bound for Mexico carrying opponents of the Nazi regime in Germany."<sup>128</sup> Neruda was already an extremely prominent literary figure and now as one of Chile's leading diplomats in Mexico his "home became *the venue* for Mexico's leading cultural personalities, as well as artist and writers fleeing fascism in Europe."<sup>129</sup>

Just after Neruda arrived in Mexico, the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, who had been granted political asylum in Mexico in 1937, was assassinated. Although Neruda had no involvement in this murder, the timing of its occurrence would lead to many accusations of complicity in later years. Accusations that seemed to be supported by, the fact, that Neruda had granted the Mexican painter Davis Alfara Siqueiros, who had been involved in an earlier attempt on Trotsky's life, a visa for Chile in April 1941. Siqueiros would later travel to Chile and paint a huge wall fresco for the city of Chillan

in southern Chile in compensation for the visa, but at the time the incident only brought Neruda a one-month suspension from his consul duties without pay. Neruda took the force vacation as a blessing and traveled to Guatemala, where he made friends with the Guatemalan novelist Miguel Angel Asturias.

Neruda's experiences throughout his time in Mexico were, in fact, surrounded by controversies. "Neruda's anti-fascist views and activities were well-known in Mexico,"<sup>130</sup> and once Neruda was even physical attacked by "a group of German Nazis who had been infuriated by the pro-Allied cheers emerging from Neruda's table over lunch"<sup>131</sup> in Cuernavaca. In support of Russia which was fighting off a Nazi invasion, Neruda wrote "Un canto de amor a Stalingrado" (A Love Song to Stalingrad). After being criticized in the press for his "ardently pro-Soviet views,"<sup>132</sup> Neruda came out with "Un nuevo canto de amor a Stalingrado" (A New Love Song to Stalingrad). In the end, it was a dispute with Brazil over what Neruda said about its Dictator Getulio Vargas, which caused Neruda to leave Mexico.

In general, these controversies would only strengthen his ideological inclinations towards Communism as the only defense against Fascism. He traveled more widely in the Western Hemisphere than ever before, Cuba, Panama, Peru and even the United States. These journeys broadened his understanding of the American condition, and provided materials to expand the *Canto General* beyond its original Chilean context. In August 1943, a huge farewell ceremony was held in homage to the great poet "attended by some three thousand people"<sup>133</sup> in Mexico City.

On his way back to Chile, Neruda stopped in Peru where he climbed Macchu Picchu in October 1943 before arriving back in Chile in November. In 1944, Neruda started some extensive renovation and expansion of Isla Negra. Later in the same year Neruda was approached to run for the Chilean

senate, and was elected to the senate on March 4, 1945. In May 1945 he was awarded Chile's National Prize for Literature, and in January 1946 the Mexican Government decorated Neruda with the Order of the Aztec Eagle.<sup>134</sup> In June 1946, the Chilean President Juan Antonio Rios died in office setting the stage for Chile's first post World War II presidential race.

## B. The Hero's Stiletto Pen

Some key points of this part of the Neruda legend were already mentioned at the end of section II of this paper. Basically, it was Neruda's very public dispute with the Chilean Presidential Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, which made Neruda a truly celebrated international communist poet, or "a man of distinguished valor, intrepidity, or fortitude; a central or prominent personage in any remarkable action or course of events."

After Gonzalez Videla had broken with the Chilean Communist Party that had worked diligently to get him elected, he crushed a miners strike and began to imprison communists and union activists from across the country in a concentration camp in the town of Pisagua. Due to comprehensive press censorship in Chile, Neruda decided his only choice was to air his grievances abroad. On November 27, 1947 he "published a bombshell article in the Venezuelan Daily, *El Nacion*, under the headline: The Crisis of Democracy in Chile is a Dramatic Warning for Our Continent,"<sup>135</sup> The next day Gonzalez Videla "turned to the courts, demanding the poet's *desafuero* — the revocation of senatorial status,"<sup>136</sup> which protected Neruda from prosecution as long he was a member of the senate.<sup>137</sup> The court agreed, but Neruda immediately appealed the ruling and was able to retain his senatorial immunity, the only thing that kept him from being arrested and jailed or even sent to Pisagua. Neruda made his last speech in the Chilean Senate on January 13, 1948.

In late January 1948, Neruda and Delia took refuge in Mexican Embassy, “days after an unknown assailants had attempted to set fire to Neruda’s house.”<sup>138</sup> Then they tried to cross the border into Argentina. However, his passport, which identified him as Pablo Neruda did not match his other identification papers that still identify him as Ricardo Reyes, and so the border police would not let him cross. Neruda and Delia returned to the Mexican Embassy, and he considered applying for political asylum in Mexico, but ended up leaving the Embassy instead.

In early February 1948, Neruda was informed “the courts had confirmed that he was no longer a senator,”<sup>139</sup> and President Gonzalez Videla had issued an order for his immediate arrest. According to Gonzalez Videla’s memoirs he claims the order he actually gave the police was: “Search for him and don’t find him.”<sup>140</sup> Gonzalez Videla also claimed in his memoirs that he could have had Neruda arrested at any time, “but I didn’t want to give him the pleasure of being a hero.”<sup>141</sup> In any case, Neruda was officially a fugitive and went into hiding. Neruda and Delia spent the next year being secretly shuttled from one home to the next. They were harbored by a number of different people, even one of the former refugees who came to Chile on the *Winnipeg*. As it turned out, his “enforced underground existence increased Neruda’s poetic output, because he had so much time to think and write.”<sup>142</sup> The result was the epic *Canto General*, which attempted to establish a new foundation myth for the Americas.

By early February 1949, the plans were in place for Neruda’s escape across the Andes under the assumed identity of Antonio Ruiz, a 45-year-old Chilean ornithologist. Apparently, “Neruda loved this touch: he did know a great deal about birds and would write a book called *Arte de pajararos* (the Art of Birds) in 1966.”<sup>143</sup> Neruda was taken south by car through his old



hometown of Temuco, and then further south to a timber estate near Lake Miahue. The weather in the south can be quite severe and unpredictable and Neruda would have to cross the Andes on horseback. Neruda and five companions finally left on March 8, 1949 and after a couple of close calls where Neruda could have died, they brought Neruda through a smugglers pass known as Lilpela Pass into Argentina carrying a manuscript copy of the *Canto General* and his typewriter.

A representative from the Argentinean Communist Party in Mendoza eventually met Neruda and took him to Buenos Aires. Neruda was out of the woods, but still had to remain in hiding since the Argentinean police would have arrested him for the Chilean government if he had been found. A fortunate twist of fate was waiting for Neruda in Buenos Aires though in the form of an old friend, who had similar physical features, the Guatemalan novelist Miguel Angel Austurias, who had been working at the Guatemalan Embassy there since 1947. After meeting Neruda in hiding, Austurias readily accepted the opportunity to help Neruda escape to Europe by using his passport. Not long after, Neruda crossed into Uruguay as 'Miguel Angel Austurias'.

The identity switch worked well enough at border crossings in Latin America, but would not be possible in Europe even if Neruda wanted to continue the farce. Once he got to Europe, Neruda would have to revert to his own identity, but "this would lead to difficulties since, as an internationally renowned Communist, at the height of the Cold War, he was persona non grata in many countries."<sup>144</sup> Fortunately for Neruda some of his renown had been created by friends who wanted to help him. At the first World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace held in Poland in 1947, Pablo Picasso had made an impassioned speech in the defense of "a friend who should be here with us."<sup>145</sup> The fugitive poet, Pablo Neruda, who he said was "not only the greatest poet in

his country, Chile, but also the greatest poet in the Spanish language and one of the greatest poets in the world.”<sup>146</sup> After Neruda arrived in Paris in 1949, “Picasso personally dealt with all the bureaucratic hassle.”<sup>147</sup> Picasso also presented Neruda to an astonished audience at the final session of the World Congress for Peace Forces in Paris on April 25, 1949, where Neruda was elected to the World Peace Council that would organize other congresses.<sup>148</sup> Even after the Paris Congress, Neruda still had to remain hidden fearing the Chilean government might be able to persuade the French authorities to detain him. Finally after the Paris Police Chief interviewed him and refused to take away his passport as the Chilean Ambassador had requested, “Neruda was able to emerge into the open in France.”<sup>149</sup> He would, however, be limited to a tourist visa and would have to travel abroad frequently to renew his documentation.

In June 1949, he visited the USSR for the first time, where “Neruda saw nothing but positive aspects.”<sup>150</sup> According to the Russian critic, Vera Kuteishikova who wrote *Pablo Neruda's Fate*, “Neruda always showed an intense desire to seek an echo in Russia of his Chilean experiences.”<sup>151</sup> A desire often exposed in the *Canto General*, which in numerous places seems to equate a Latin American struggle against North American economic dominance with the Soviets’ struggle against fascism with Stalin being the ultimate leader/hero and the battle for Stalingrad their most heroic moment.

In July 1949, Delia is reunited with Pablo in Poland and they travel together through Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia before returning to Paris where they heard the news “police had shot dead seven student demonstrators in Santiago,”<sup>152</sup> and Gonzalez Videla was still claiming Communists were trying to overthrow his government. At the end of August they left for Mexico where Neruda made the closing address at the American

Peace Conference in September 1949. Shortly after the congress, Neruda was bedridden with phlebitis and the Chilean singer/nurse Matilde Urrutia arrived to take care of him.

Apparently early in their relationship Delia had enjoyed mothering Neruda believing: "Pablo was a child. His health improved a lot because I looked after him."<sup>153</sup> Over the years their sexual relation had cooled even though they remained the greatest of friends and political soul mates. Delia had just turned sixty-five years old in Europe, and the last six months in hiding without him had been difficult on her. Domestic chores had never been Delia's strong suit, so she "seemed happy to have someone around to care for Pablo's health."<sup>154</sup> Delia del Carril was not happy, however, when she finally realized five years later Neruda and Matilde Urrutia had been carrying on an affair under her nose since the fall of 1949.

Over the next few months, Neruda worked from his Mexican bed on the final copy of the first limited edition of the epic *Canto General* while "Diego Riveria and Davis Alfara Siqueiros produced the illustrations for this sumptuous limited edition of 341 copies, which was published in March 1950 and offered to readers by subscription."<sup>155</sup> As T.S. Elliot pointed out the poet "works within a tradition that cannot merely be inherited but can only be obtained by great labor."<sup>156</sup> By this time in Neruda's career, he had no doubt achieved "the historical sense" mentioned earlier and through "great labor" had become well versed in various traditions, even if his perceptions of them were overly influence by Marxist inevitability theory. A secretly produced Chilean edition of the *Canto General* based on a typescript Neruda had left behind in Chile came out in April 1950.<sup>157</sup>

By August 1950 Neruda and Delia had returned to Paris. Over the next two years Neruda would play two cat-and-mouse games around the world. In the first game Neruda, "internationally renowned Communist" would

travel often between Eastern and Western block countries, where he would always be welcomed and supported by local Communist parties and writers unions, but often hounded by Western governments, who feared he might be engaging in undesirable political activities. This game would take Neruda to such places as India to deliver letters for the president of Partisans for Peace,<sup>158</sup> Poland to receive the World Peace Prize along with Picasso and Nazim Hikmet,<sup>159</sup> and China where “Neruda had been invited to deliver the 1951 Lenin Peace Prize to Madame Soong Ching-Ling, the widow of Sun Yat-Sen.”<sup>160</sup> In the second game of cat-and-mouse Neruda would be spiriting away time from his wife to spend with his lover Matilde Urrutia often with the help of friends from the same local Communist parties and writers unions.

The penultimate events of these games started in Naples, Italy on January 11, 1952. At 5:30 in the morning, the Naples police burst into his hotel room and insisted Neruda and Delia come to their headquarters for a lengthy interview. “As the news broke of Neruda’s impending expulsion from Italy, many of the country’s intellectuals expressed their horror and anger.”<sup>161</sup> By 5:00 in the afternoon, friends and supporter gathered to see off Delia and Neruda accompanied by police guards as they left Naples Station heading north to Rome to change trains for the border.

When their train pulled into Rome, the platform was crowded with people chanting ‘Pablo, Pablo’ and tossing flowers. While Neruda was getting off the train “thousands of anonymous arms pulled him”<sup>162</sup> from his police escort as the crowd shouted slogans:

‘Neruda stays in Rome! Let the poet stay!’<sup>163</sup>

“It was only when a police superior arrived and pledged to ensure Pablo

would be allowed in Italy for the full three months of his tourist visa that Neruda's hundreds of supporters were finally appeased."<sup>164</sup> Shortly, after this incident, Neruda persuaded Delia to return to South America to prepare for his return to Chile.

After Delia left Europe, Neruda and Matilde took up residence in their lovers' paradise on the Island of Capri just outside of Naples. In June 1952 the arrest warrant for Neruda in Chile was dropped and Neruda was finally free to return to his homeland. Before they finally left Italy in July though, Neruda's book of love poems for Matilde *Los versos del capitán* (The Captain's verses) was anonymously published in Naples as a limited edition with the production costs being taken care of "by the Italian Communist Party as an homage to the exiled poet."<sup>165</sup>

On August 12, 1952, Neruda finally arrived back in Chile, a conquering hero: "a man of distinguished valor, intrepidity, or fortitude." For the rest of his life Neruda would be the "internationally renowned communist," a very prominent personage in many remarkable events following the course of the Cold War. President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla would forever be shrouded in infamy as the betrayer of the people along with other Latin American tyrants reviled in the widely read *Canto General*.

**VII. The Final Transformation of the Hero: Pablo Neruda**  
**Definition #4 "a man of superhuman strength, courage, or ability; an immortal being intermediate in nature between gods and men; a demigod"**

A. The Hero has No Time to Sit on His Laurels

Neruda and Delia would remain married until 1955 while Neruda

continued his secret affair with Matilde. Neruda truly seemed to love both women and wanted to keep both of them in his life. Delia had been the woman who had helped him reach political and literary maturity, but Matilde was the woman he had a burning desire to be with now.

After his return to Chile, Delia and Neruda campaigned for Salvador Allende in his first unsuccessful presidential bid in the fall of 1952 and then they traveled to Moscow in December. Stalin, the great pilot who Neruda had praised so often finally died on March 5, 1953.<sup>166</sup> Later in the year Neruda sent Delia on a mission to Europe to persuade the artist Fernand Leger, who Delia had worked with before, to do illustrations for a new edition of the *Canto General*.<sup>167</sup> While Delia was away Neruda spent most of his time with Matilde and the construction work was started on Matilde's home in Santiago, later known as La Chascona.

Delia returned to Chile in the spring of 1954 and began work on Pablo's fiftieth birthday celebration on July 12, 1954. Friends and writers from all over the world attended the celebration, and in August Neruda's friend and Russian translator, Ilya Ehrenburg came to Chile to present Neruda with his Stalin Peace Prize.

After Delia found out about Matilde around the beginning of 1955, Neruda desperately tried to win her back, but Delia the communist purist was adamant: "this is not a bourgeois marriage, Pablo. If there is no love, there is no marriage."<sup>168</sup> "Then, at the end of March, unable to bear living in the same country as the man she had loved and trusted for so long, she left Chile for Buenos Aires,"<sup>169</sup> and then continued onto Europe two days later to get on with her life.

Neruda was truly shaken by his break up with Delia but in the end Matilde could offer what Delia at seventy could not: "a fulfilling sex life and an

ordered existence allowing him to concentrate fully on his writing.”<sup>170</sup> In June 1955, La Chascona, the home Neruda had built for Matilde was completed, and Neruda began to live publicly with Matilde. Over the next eleven years, Neruda would travel widely with Matilde as his companion and he would dedicate several books of poetry to her.

The couple spent most of 1957 traveling abroad. On their way to Ceylon to attend a peace conference, Neruda stopped in Buenos Aires to give several recitals. Before he could complete all of his scheduled reading though, he was arrested by Argentinean security police and “spent a day and half in the National Penitentiary.”<sup>170</sup> Fortunately, the Chilean consul was able to secure his release and Neruda did not even wait to finish his scheduled readings before he left the country. Apparently, even an “internationally renowned Communist” poet could be considered a threat, in a country where a general had just overthrown a tyrant in the name of democracy.<sup>171</sup>

In 1958, Neruda was actively involved in Allende’s second extremely close, but ultimately unsuccessful presidential try. Later in the year the Law for the Permanent Defense of Democracy, the Accursed Law (*Ley Maldita*), was finally abolished, and the Chilean Communist Party was legalized once again.<sup>172</sup> Shortly there after, *Extarvagario* was released, a witty auto-biographical work that Feinstein called: “a mature book by a man paradoxically sure of his doubts.”<sup>173</sup>

Early in 1959, Neruda encountered Fidel Castro in Venezuela shortly after the Cuban revolution. Over the next year and a half, Neruda worked on “his hymn to the Cuban revolution *Cancion de Gesta* (Song of Protest),”<sup>174</sup> which was published during his visit there in late 1960. Although Che Guevara supposedly quoted, Neruda’s *Canto General* to Castro on their first meeting in Mexico,<sup>175</sup> Neruda’s experience in Cuba was not positive and he felt the regime was rather indifferent to his hymn. Later Neruda told Jorge Edwards,

he had been “appalled by Che’s bad manners,”<sup>176</sup> and “that Castro had been forced to destroy one of the strongest and best-organized Communist parties in Latin America in his quest for power.”<sup>177</sup>

In 1961 Yale University awarded Neruda an Honorary Doctorate, an honor that meant he was “following in the footsteps of such poets as T.S. Eliot and Saint-John Perse.”<sup>178</sup> “As a love poet, his fame now had few equals around the world”<sup>179</sup> with his Argentinean publisher, Losada printing the millionth edition of the *Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair*. On September 18, 1961, his third home, La Sebastiana was opened in time for the annual Chilean Independence Day fireworks display over Valparaíso Bay.<sup>180</sup>

Over the next few years, poems and “books kept flowing in Neruda’s green ink.”<sup>181</sup> In 1963 and 1964 Neruda was rumored to be on the short list to receive the Nobel Prize, but some say there was a concerted effort to steer the prize away from him.<sup>182</sup> As “the greatest literary warrior of the Cold Warrior,”<sup>183</sup> he undoubtedly had many enemies and detractors, who would have certainly been willing to sabotage him any way they could.

Neruda helped on Allende’s third unsuccessful 1964 presidential campaign, and in 1965 Neruda traveled to Hungary with Miguel Angel Austurias, where they co-authored *Comeniendo en Hungaria* (Eating in Hungary). The year 1966 was very eventful with Neruda and Matilde traveling to the U.S., where Neruda gave several recitals and took part in the PEN Club meeting in June. Only later to be accused of allowing himself to be used by the United States in the *Carta de los Cubanos* (Letter from the Cubans) signed by over one hundred Cuban intellectuals. Pablo and Matilde were legally married on October 28, 1966 in a private civil ceremony attended by just a few friends at Isla Negra. In 1967 Miguel Angel Austurias was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, but Neruda was awarded a new



International Literary Prize in Italy, and his play *Fulgor y muerte Joaquín Murieta* (Radiance and Death of Joaquín Murieta) was first produced in Santiago. Siergio Ortega, who wrote the music for the play, observed that Neruda had “transformed the hero, Joaquín Murieta, into a universal figure fighting for social justice,”<sup>184</sup> which Neruda undoubtedly identified with. In August the following year, Neruda traveled to Sao Paulo Brazil for the unveiling of a monument in honor of Federico Garcia Lorca.<sup>185</sup>

In late 1969 Neruda was nominated by the Chilean Communist Party as their candidate for the 1970 presidential election. Later Neruda would be asked to withdraw in favor of the socialist candidate Salvador Allende, who was supported by the six-party, Popular Unity coalition. So in 1970 Neruda fought his fourth election campaign on behalf of Allende, and on September 4, 1970 Allende won the election with a slim plurality of 36.3 percent.<sup>186</sup> On October 24, 1970 the Chilean Congress approved Allende as President.

In April 1971, Neruda became the Chilean Ambassador to France, and on October 21, 1971 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. In April 1972, Neruda gave a recital at the United Nations in New York and in late October he was elected to UNESCO’s executive board. Neruda and Matilde ‘temporarily’ return to Chile in late November 1972, and in early December Neruda made his last public appearance at a tribute held for him at the Estadio Nacional (National Stadium) in Santiago. Neruda had had a long eventful career, but he “knew, this time, that he was returning home to die. And he was also returning to a Chile in the grip of severe political violence.”<sup>187</sup>

## B. The Hero Departs: Only in death can one truly be reborn

I think at this point it is obvious that Pablo Neruda lived an exceptional life and was a significant actor in the course of events that made up the mid-

twentieth century. He was: a prolific writer, a dedicated advocate for human rights and social justice, a politician and diplomat who followed his own beliefs and led the good fight. These qualities are more than sufficient to satisfy the first three definitions of the hero given above, as well as the first part of the fourth definition, “a man of superhuman strength, courage, or ability.”

This one question, however, still remains: What transformed Pablo Neruda into “an immortal being intermediate in nature between gods and men; a demigod,” a true culture hero?

I believe the answer lies in the unmitigated hope and optimism that came out the sorrow and death Neruda experienced during the Spanish Civil War. Adam Feinstein called Pablo Neruda, a “euphorically Communist poet”<sup>188</sup> and pointed to Neruda’s understanding of the classical Spanish poet Francisco de Quevedo as the foundation of Neruda’s “obsession of life through death.”<sup>189</sup>

In his 1939 lecture on Francisco de Quevedo titled “Viaje al Corazon de Quevedo” (Voyage to the Heart of Quevedo), Neruda said:

If when we are born we begin to die, so every day brings us closer to a fixed finishing-point, if life itself is a pathetic stage towards death . . . do we not integrate death into our daily existence, are we not a perpetual part of death, are we not the most audacious part of what came from death? This is why, in so many uncertain regions, Quevedo has given me a clear biological lesson . . . If we have already died, if we come from a profound crisis, we lose our fear of death. If the greatest step from death is birth, the smallest step from life is dying. Which is why life grows in Quevedo’s doctrine as I experienced it, because Quevedo was

not a reading to me but a lived experience. <sup>190</sup>

In the early stages of his “Quevedo” doctrine, Neruda became the voice speaking out for his brothers, the dead, “the victims of Franco’s repression,” <sup>191</sup> but his words “are actually full of hope in the midst of despair” <sup>192</sup> in *España en el corazon* (Spain in the Heart). Later in the poem *Altruras de Macchu Picchu* (The Heights of Macchu Picchu), which is a key section of the underlying mythology developed in the *Canto General*, Neruda acted “as spokesman for his ancient forebears,” <sup>193</sup> and established himself as the link between a pre-Columbian past, the present and “something to survive him.” <sup>194</sup>

Joseph Campbell once wrote: “It has always been the prime function of mythology and rite to supply the symbols that carry the human spirit forward, in counteraction to those other constant human fantasies that tend to tie it back.” <sup>195</sup> Neruda produced over fifty books of poetry and prose in his lifetime although the last seven or so were published posthumously. Neruda initial fame came from his love poems. Love was the true touchstone of Neruda’s life and verse not politics. <sup>196</sup> It was always love and hope that carried his spirit forward. Surrealistic agony added to Neruda’s fame, but if sorrow is the absence of hope then it was just one of those “constant human fantasies” that ended up holding Neruda’s true spirit back. Hope is what Pablo Neruda truly had to offer, and it was hope that the people of Santiago needed most on September 23, 1973, the day of Neruda’s first funeral procession. In that funeral procession, the people of Santiago “dredged up into the light of day . . . a marvelous expansion” <sup>197</sup> of their “powers, a vivid renewal of life” <sup>198</sup> and brought into being “the culture hero of the day — a personage of not only local but world historical moment.” <sup>199</sup>

In the book *Chile: the Other September 11*, Joan Jara, a British choreographer and dancer, who was married to Victor Jara, a famous Chilean

guitarist who was abducted by the Chilean military and executed in the Estadio Nacional (National Stadium) in Santiago just after the 1973 coup, gave this account of Neruda's funeral:

"Sube a nacer conmigo, hermano," ("Arise to be born with me, my brothers") and "Come and see the blood in the streets . . ." Neruda's verses took on a greater significance as voice after voice took them up, confronting the visible face of fascism. As I walked, I knew I was not alone, I knew it was also Victor's funeral and that of all the *campaÑeros* who had been massacred by the military, many of them flung anonymously into common graves. The presence of dozens foreign journalists, film crews, television cameras, protected us from aggression and interference, but as the procession reached the last stage of the march at the rotunda in front of the main gates of the cemetery, a military convoy with armored trucks rounded it in the opposite direction, looming over us. The crowd responded with cries of "*CampaÑero Pablo Neruda: Presente, ahora y siempre!*" "*CampaÑero Salvador Allende: Presente, ahora y siempre!*" and then breaking into "The Internationale," raggedly, nervous at first, but then with more strength as everyone started to sing. It was Popular Unity's last public demonstration in Chile, the first public demonstration of resistance to a fascist regime.<sup>200</sup>

A few days after Neruda's funeral, Francisco Velasco, the doctor who shared Neruda's Valparaíso home known as La Sebastiana, returned home to find a crowd staring and pointing at the upper floors of the house, which belonged to Neruda and had been locked up for several months. It appeared something was moving around inside, when he checked he found "a huge

eagle, with a fierce look and talons ready to attack.”<sup>201</sup>

When Velasco called Matilda at La Chascona and told her about the incident all she said was: “That was Pablo.”<sup>202</sup>

“The hero has died as a modern man; but as an eternal man — perfected, unspecific, universal man — he has been reborn.”<sup>203</sup>

*“Presente, ahora y siempre!”* (Present, now and always!)

#### VIII. Preserving a Hero's Legacy

The years in Chile following Pablo Neruda's death were indeed bleak for those on the political left that honored all their fallen heroes at Pablo Neruda's funeral procession. Neruda's house in Santiago, La Chascona, which was ransacked by soldiers in September 1973 just before Neruda's death was even vandalized by soldiers in 1982 in retaliation against anti-government protests that year.<sup>204</sup>

Not long after Neruda's death, Matilda started working on Neruda's seventieth birthday present to the world, the last seven books of verse he wrote during his final year at Isla Negra, which were published by the Argentinean publisher Losada in 1974. Initially, the government would not allow Matilda to set up a Foundation to preserve Neruda's memory, so she set up a board of directors to look after the Neruda estate. Matilda died in 1985.<sup>205</sup>

In 1986, the executors of the Neruda estate finally received permission to set up the Fundación Pablo Neruda. The Fundación Pablo Neruda manages his three former homes, La Chascona in Santiago, La Sebastiana in

Valparaiso, and Isla Negra on the Chilean coast due west of Santiago. "Pablo and Natilda's bodies were reburied in front of the house at Isla Negra"<sup>206</sup> in 1992 after Chile's democracy was re-established. While I was in Chile in 2005, I visited all three of Pablo Neruda's homes run by the Fundacion Pablo Neruda.

(End Notes)

1. Tobar, Hector. "National Sonnet for Neruda," (Los Angeles Times: WORLD REPORT in The Daily Yomiuri, 28 June 2004), 13 and 15.
2. Aguilera, Pilar and Ricardo Fredes, ed. Chile: the Other September 11. (Melbourne, Australia: Ocean Press, 2003).
4. Tobar.
5. Ibid.
6. New Webster's Dictionary. (Chicago, Illinois: Consolidated Book Publishers, 1975), 707.
7. Ibid.
8. New Webster's Dictionary, 707.
9. Ibid. I have been amazed in recent years how often the term 'hero' has been used in the modern English-language Media and Entertainment, especially since the events of September 11, 2001. Recently CNN has been running weekly short features on essentially ordinary people who worked to help others called "Everyday Heroes". There has also been a drama series called "Heroes" in the U.S. and another by the same name in Japan, and a 'Reality Television' show called "Super Heroes," which features people living their dreams to be comic book Super Heroes. In so many ways the term 'hero' has been overused so often that its deeper meaning have been lost.
10. Feinstein, Adam. PABLO NERUDA: A Passion for Life. (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2004), 413.
11. Campbell, Joseph. THE HERO WITH A THOUSAND FACES. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), 316.
12. Said, Edward W. CULTURE AND IMPERIALISM. (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 4. Source T.S. Elliot, Critical Essays (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), 14-15.
13. Hobsbawm, Eric. THE AGE OF EXTREMES: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991.

(London: Abacus Books, 1996) and Hobsbawm, Eric. THE AGE OF EMPIRE: 1875-1914. (London: Abacus Books, 1996).

14. It is interesting to note where new democracies appeared in the 1990s outside the former Soviet block. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, democracy also broke out across Latin America. A number of authoritarian-military (fascist-style) regimes had stayed in power with US support as bulwarks against Communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere during much of the post-war period, the Pinochet Regime case being the most relevant to this paper.
15. Feinstein, Adam. PABLO NERUDA: A Passion for Life. (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2004), 115.
16. Ibid., 178.
17. Feinstein, 181.
18. Ibid., 157, 199, 241, 362.
19. Feinstein, 173.
20. Ibid., 187.
21. Collier, Simon and William F. Sater. A History of Chile 1808-1994. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 247.
22. Feinstein, 218.
23. Ibid., 22.
24. Feinstein, 22.
25. Ibid., 15.
26. Feinstein, 15.
27. Ibid., 19.
28. Feinstein, 19-20. According to Feinstein Orlando Mason was actually the son of Ricardo's beloved step-mother Trinidad Candia Marverde, in other words not really his uncle, but an elder step-brother, a fact Ricardo never knew.
29. Ibid., 19.
30. Feinstein, 19.
31. Ibid., 19.
32. Feinstein, 27.
33. Ibid., 26.
34. Feinstein, 27.
35. Ibid., 37. Source Pablo Neruda. Crepusculario. (Santiago: Nascimento, 1926), 'Farewell'.
36. Neruda, Pablo. Canto General translated by Jack Schmitt. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) Introduction by Roberto Gonzalaez Echevarria, 4.
37. Feinstein, 43.

38. Ibid., 47.
39. Op. cit., 46.
40. Feinstein, 45.
41. Ibid., 48.
42. Feinstein, 45.
43. Ibid., 91.
44. Feinstein, 49.
45. Ibid., 48.
46. Feinstein, 50.
47. Campbell, Joseph. THE HERO WITH A THOUSAND FACES. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), 36.
48. Feinstein, 61.
49. Ibid., 62.
50. Feinstein, 58.
51. Ibid., 36.
52. Feinstein, 64.
53. Ibid., 65.
54. Feinstein, 64.
55. Ibid., 41.
56. Feinstein, 71.
57. Ibid., 70.
58. Feinstein, 69.
59. Ibid., 76.
60. Feinstein, 78.
61. Ibid., 80.
62. Feinstein, 81.
63. Ibid., 81.
64. Feinstein, 82.
65. Ibid., 83.
66. Feinstein, 84.
67. Ibid., 94.
68. Feinstein, 94.
69. Ibid., 86.
70. Feinstein, 80.
71. Ibid., 64, 69.
72. Feinstein, 57.
73. Ibid., 67.



74. Feinstein, 214.
75. Ibid., 320. Source James Nolan. Poet-Chief: The Native American Poetics of Walt Whitman and Pablo Neruda. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1926).
76. Said, Edward W. CULTURE AND IMPERIALISM. (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 4. Source T.S. Elliot, Critical Essays (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), 14-15.
77. Campbell, Joseph. THE HERO WITH A THOUSAND FACES. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), 16.
78. Feinstein, 22.
79. Ibid., 22.
81. Feinstein, 69.
82. Campbell, 60.
83. Feinstein, 93.
84. Ibid., 98.
85. Feinstein, 99.
86. Ibid., 96.
87. Feinstein, 100.
88. Ibid., 105.
89. Feinstein, 106
90. Ibid., 106.
91. Feinstein, 105, 112, 119. Mistral and Neruda relationship was unique since they were both Chilean diplomats and famous Chilean poets, but very different types of people. According to Feinstein, the arrangements were made by September, but Neruda official status in Madrid seems to have been confirmed much later.
92. Ibid., 107.
93. Feinstein, 109.
94. Ibid., 117.
95. Feinstein, 109.
96. Ibid., 106.
97. Feinstein, 109.
98. Ibid., 115. Source Rafael Albertini, Introduction to Pablo Neruda: Antologia poetica (Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1981)
99. Feinstein, 107.
100. Ibid., 107.
101. Feinstein, 107.
102. Ibid., 115.
103. Feinstein, 114.
104. Ibid., 112.

105. Feinstein, 116.
106. Fundacion Neruda, 1934. html.
107. Feinstein, 110. Source Hernan Loyola speaking during a round-table discussion at the conference, 'Neruda, con la perspectiva de 25 anos', held in Alicante, Spain in March 1999.
108. Ibid., 110. Source Pablo Neruda, Residencia en la tierra, ed Hernan Loyola, 334.
109. Fundacion Neruda, 1934. html.
110. Feinstein, 118. Apparently in response to "Poetry without Purity," Juan Ramon Jimenez called Neruda 'a great, bad poet' at some later date.
111. Feinstein, 119.
112. Ibid., 120.
113. Feinstein, 120.
114. Ibid., 120.
115. Feinstein, 122.
116. Ibid., 122. The Fundacion Neruda website does not mention Neruda going with them.
117. Feinstein, 124-125.
118. Ibid., 128.
119. Feinstein, 129.
120. Ibid., 129.
121. Feinstein, 139.
122. Ibid., 135-136.
123. Feinstein, 136.
124. Ibid., 137.
125. Feinstein, 146.
126. Ibid., 122.
127. Fundacion Pablo Neruda. "Bibliography: Pablo Neruda." [http://www.fundacionneruda.org/ing/biografia/ingles1934.html]. When I first realized much of the psychological angst Neruda/Reyes was experiencing in Asia could the pain of rejecting the call, I wondered if Malva Marina illness might be comparable to King Minos' baby Minotaur, but that seems to be too long a stretch now. Campbell, 13-15.
128. Feinstein, 151.
129. Ibid., 151.
130. Feinstein, 160.
131. Ibid., 161.
132. Feinstein, 160.
133. Ibid., 170.
134. Fundacion Pablo Neruda, 1934. html.

135. Feinstein, 196.
136. Ibid., 199.
137. Apparently, the senatorial immunity statute continues in Chile, Pinochet made sure he was designated Senator for life before he would let go of power.
138. Feinstein, 202.
139. Ibid., 204.
140. Collier and Sater, 249.
141. Feinstein, 218.
142. Ibid., 205.
143. Feinstein, 228.
144. Ibid., 237.
145. Feinstein, 237.
146. Ibid., 237.
147. Feinstein, 237.
148. Fundacion Pablo Neruda, 1949 html.
149. Feinstein, 239.
150. Ibid., 242.
151. Feinstein, 242.
152. Ibid., 244.
153. Feinstein, 115.
154. Ibid., 253.
155. Feinstein, 249.
156. Said, Edward W. CULTURE AND IMPERIALISM. (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 4. Source T.S. Elliot, Critical Essays (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), 14-15.
157. Feinstein, 251.
158. Ibid., 254-255.
159. Feinstein, 257.
160. Ibid., 263.
161. Feinstein, 271.
162. Ibid., 271.
163. Feinstein, 271.
164. Ibid., 271.
165. Feinstein, 274. Supposedly, the book was published anonymously to “protect” Delia.
166. Ibid., 292.
167. Feinstein, 294.
168. Ibid., 302.
169. Feinstein, 302.

170. Ibid., 303.
171. Feinstein, 309.
172. Fundacion Pablo Neruda, 1949.html.
173. Feinstein, 318-319.
174. Ibid., 323.
175. Movie: Fidel (Che and Fidel). Produced by Showtime Networks. 206 min. 2002. DVD.
176. Feinstein, 325.
177. Ibid., 326.
178. Feinstein, 330.
179. Ibid., 330.
180. Fundacion Pablo Neruda, 1959. html.
181. Feinstein, 329.
182. Ibid., 335. Source Frances Stoner Saunders, Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War (London: Granta Books, 1999).
183. Feinstein, 319.
184. Ibid., 356.
185. Fundacion Pablo Neruda, 1966.html.
186. Collier and Sater, 350. Feinstein, 373.
187. Feinstein, 391.
188. Ibid., 185.
189. Feinstein, 185.
190. Ibid., 185-186. Source Pablo Neruda, "Viaje al Corazon de Quevedo" in Viajes (Santiago: Nascimento, 1955).
191. Feinstein, 185.
192. Ibid., 140.
193. Feinstein, 185.
194. Ibid., 187.
195. Campbell, 11.
196. Feinstein, 362-365.
197. Campbell, 17.
198. Ibid., 17.
199. Campbell, 17.
200. Aguilera, Pilar and Ricardo Fredes, ed. Chile: the Other September 11. (Melbourne, Australia: Ocean Press, 2003), 44.
201. Feinstein, 420-421. Source Francisco Velasco, Neruda, el gran amigo. (Galinost-Andante, Santiago, 1987), 133.
202. Ibid., 421.

203. Campbell, 20.  
204. Interview with my tour guide at La Chascona in March 2005.  
205. Feinstein, 421-422.  
206. Ibid., 422.

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