

Day four

“Cuarta pata” (Four leg)

Us as objects of curiosity

During our stay in Glasgow, “we” were objects of curiosity and sympathy for the general public. After all, we were citizens of an unknown and faraway country run at the time by a butcher of human flesh: Augusto Pinochet. I must admit that I liked the idea of being an object of interest and our situation as political exiles proved to the cynics of this country that the Pinochet regime was not a joke. People in the streets were a bit puzzled at seeing me, and other friends, wearing ponchos. I wore my Peruvian poncho for three reasons: because in those days I did not have many clothes to wear, because it was warm and suitable for the climate, and because I was happy to show the Scots something which could give them a little hint about my cultural identity. I must stress that I never wore ponchos in Santiago because they were associated with rural areas and I was a typical urban dweller. I was also an object of interest because I spoke another language and I, like my Chilean friends, tended to behave rather differently from the Glaswegians. Many years later, I came to the conclusion that the Glaswegians are ‘Latin’ in some respects in the way in which they behave. I hope that this is a compliment.

Susceptibility and contradictions

I never took offence at the Scots for not knowing where Chile was. This was a cause of some irritation for some of my fellow Chilean refugees. I also know that almost all of us knew next to nothing about Scotland. I knew a few things about it: a bit about Greenock, as the place where some ships and submarines were made for the Chilean Navy and it was thanks to Admiral Lord Cochrane, the interesting nineteenth-century Scotsman who helped to found the Chilean Navy. He led his ships to charge to get rid of some of the last remaining Spanish garrisons in Chile.

For some reason I got the funny idea that people and local authorities felt pity towards us, but was this just an illusion? Perhaps! What I know is that, as a result of this false impression, I got the strange and absurd sensation of disapproving of, or rejecting, everything that ordinary people, political organisations or the apparatus of the state were trying to do on our behalf. Was this a rather strange reaction? I did not like the idea of people feeling compassion towards us and I rejected in my thinking all type of paternalism. (this was already discussed in Day 3)

Social Security.

It was a time when we began to learn about some civic institutions such as the Social Security offices responsible for our welfare. I always found these rather dignified places to be a bit sad as we knew that, for the people attending them signified exclusion of some sort, social deprivation, unemployment and poverty. The Social Security offices were, for us, rather strange places with no equivalent in our country, existing as they did to give economic help to a variety of people, including us.

I found it interesting to note that Social Security was seen by many Chilean refugees, including myself, as something negative in British society:

“I don't like Social Security. I don't like to take unemployment benefit. I don't like that kind of system because it maintains the conformity of the people.

It is good if the state pays benefits, for example, when a woman has a child and I'd like better attention for old people and a lot of benefits for the students. But not to maintain young people because those people do nothing... All the time we from Chile say we don't come here for economical reasons-we come for political problem." *

Was Social Security a symbol of a paternalistic society? That is, the state giving us some money to live and us not paying anything back to the state?

We thought at the time that this state attitude towards the working people acted, in some ways, against the interests of the most vulnerable people in society. If the state accepted unemployment as a way of life, then the state was not acknowledging the legitimate right of its citizens to work. It is impractical to begin to explain that a job for a human being means to live fully both spiritually and physically: Unemployment is equal to no income, no food and no place to live: in a way joblessness in the life of an individual is equal to start dying. (Desempleo en la vida de un individuo es como morir un poco)

What I do know is that we never liked the experience of going to a state office "to beg for money". But were we not "socialist refugees" who supported the role of the state in the lives of the individuals? What did we, "socialist refugees" have to say about the famous British welfare state of which the Social Security, the National Health Service were part? Were we, as "socialist" exiles", not happy to see socialist principles implemented in Scotland and acting as a safety net for its people?, Were we not happy to see a state with a free education system designed to give proper education to every child in this country without distinction of class? We Chileans were simply not used to the idea that a society ought to have a protection net for its inhabitants in time of need.

It was not easy for us to comprehend that Britain has socialist structures built inside its capitalist society. Chilean refugees really wanted two things: to learn English as soon as possible and to work as soon as they could. The idea of asking the state for money was hard to tolerate in our minds. It was absurd. Chileans were too proud to accept easy money and, if they accepted it or other material things, this was only because there was real need in our community. It must be said that the Socialist government of Salvador Allende aspired to have in Chile an education scheme intended to provide proper education and an appropriate Health Service for everyone.

The power of the pound

Very quickly we began to know the power of the Pound and its place in the world economy as a strong currency. This was good and very exciting news for all of us because a five pound note could translate to good money in Chilean currency and, if I worked, I might still be able to send some useful money to my mother for her maintenance. This is exactly what happened. For years I used to send her, through a Scottish bank, and on a monthly basis, some useful amounts of money. Many Chileans did the same. (But it was very difficult to entertain the thought that this hard currency may have been used by the Pinochet regime to buy weaponry in Britain

* Moving World's 'Personal recollections' of twenty one immigrants to Edinburgh", T. Edensor and M. Kelly, pub. By Polygon,1989.

El Círculo Lautaro, a Chilean organisation in Glasgow

Soon after arrival in Glasgow, there were a lot of get-togethers among Chileans and innumerable meetings with the “gringos”. Chilean political parties in exile began to take shape soon after arrival, with their supporters joining in. As Chileans, the first task was to formalise our group of exiles in a committee which we called El Círculo Lautaro. “Lautaro” was an astute Indian chief involved in the resistance against the Spanish conquistadores in Chile during the 16th century. We thought that the name was appropriate for our committee, which represented, democratically, all Chileans in Glasgow. Two communist “compañeros”, Mario Concha* and Luis Machiavello were given the task of writing the statutes for our “círculo”. These sophisticated statutes, written in Spanish in December of 1974, and of which I still have a copy, were discussed, corrected and approved in a general assembly.

Political parties in exile.

These Chilean political parties had their own agenda and code of conduct in relation to their political involvement in our círculo. As I did not belong to any particular party, I responded to the challenge of the círculo with a cultural-political commitment which was much appreciated by the “políticos” as a good tool to support the solidarity work in Britain. The círculo was headed by a “Secretario General” who was Ivan Hastre, living at 75 Inchfad Drive-Drumchapel, Glasgow. (Ivan was a member of the “Partido Radical tercer congreso”).

The statutes of our círculo were intended to achieve two goals: to try to solve by ourselves any domestic problems arising in our community and to support the work of the Chile Solidarity Campaign. That was to co-ordinate, with our “gringo” friends in the solidarity Campaign, all activities related to solidarity with the People of Chile. There was one statute which dealt exclusively with our commitment to contribute some of our scarce money to the círculo with the aim of helping compañeros who might be in need.

One important activity carried out by el Círculo Lautaro in 1975 was to organize the solidarity week in Glasgow from the 3rd to the 8th of March and, to coincide with it, they organised from the 7th to the 9th of March a “congreso”, a meeting involving all the representatives of the Chilean refugee organisations in Great Britain. This meeting to be held “*in front of the river Clyde*” was in accordance with an agreement taken in the previous meeting held in January in Durham. The following was the programme for that occasion:

** Mario lives and work in Venezuela. He is an international political and economical annalist.

Solidarity with the Chilean People.
Programme of Activities of the Círculo Lautaro in Glasgow

Monday 3rd of March.

At 12,30

The Scottish Trade Centre.

Presentation of the Chilean Band, (this was myself, Hugo and Tulio)
playing typical Latin-American songs.

Directors of the Círculo Lautaro will be present.

From 2, 30 to 7, 30

The Glasgow University central building

Exhibition of Chilean posters

At 17, 00

Queen Margaret Union

Film about the Chilean situation

Tuesday 4th of March

From 10.00 to 18.00

The Glasgow University central building

Exhibition of Chilean Posters

At 12.45

Roll Royce Plant *

Meeting in front of the main entrance

At 13 .00

Queen Margaret Union

Film about the Chilean situation

At 18, 00

Trades Council, East Kilbride *

Reception with the Chilean Band (this was myself, Hugo and Tulio)

At 19, 30

Murray Hall

Presentation of the Chilean Band (this was myself, Hugo and Tulio)

Wednesday 5th of March

From 14, 30 to 19, 00

Clyde University (It must be understood as Strathclyde University)

Exhibition of Chilean posters

At 17, 00

Clyde University

Film about the Chilean situation

Thursday 6th of March

From 10, 00 to 18, 00

Clyde University

Exhibition of Chilean Posters

At 13, 00

Clyde University

Film about the Chilean situation

Friday 7th of March

From 12, 00 to 19, 00

Trade Unions Centre

Exhibition of Chilean Posters

* The workers of the Roll Royce Plant were refusing to repair the engines belonging to the war-airplane of the Chilean Air Forces. We were asked to play music to the workers of the plant to thank them for their involvement in the solidarity work with the People of Chile.

At 19, 30
Trade Unions Centre
Film about the Chilean situation

Saturday 8th of March

At 10, 30
Participation in the demonstration for
International Women's Day.
Speech by a Chilean comrade.

From 13, 30 to 15 00
Saint Enoch Station
Picket in Exhibition of Chilean Posters

The debates at the congress were centred in a study about the work being done by the British Solidarity Committees, and the work being done by the Chilean committees in Britain. It was going to focus on its relationship with the unions and related themes, dealing with a variety of themes: boycotts, national debt, demonstrations, campaigns carried out by Chilean committees in Britain, propaganda work, political education, relationship with the media and cultural matters. For the 7th of March it organised performances by a Chilean folk group (Myself, Tulio and Hugo) and a Scottish folk group, presumably The Laggan led by the singer Arthur Johnstone.

La Coordinadora Regional de la Izquierda Chilena

By the same year (1975), there was also functioning "La Coordinadora Regional de la Izquierda Chilena", a Glasgow-based organisation set up to coordinate the solidarity work of the Chilean committees in Britain. In its first bulletin, corresponding to April and May (with a price of 5 pence), we read the following list of contents:

Editorial letter, news from Chile, a message from the CUT (Chilean Trades Unions) commemorating the 1st of May festivities, the situation of prisoners at the concentration camp at Ritoque, visit of Luis Figueroa* (the exiled president of CUT) to Scotland, and the speech he made to the Scottish workers".

The following was the editorial of the bulletin, written by "La Coordinadora Regional de la Izquierda chilena" and addressed to all Chileans.

(My translation)

Dear Comrades,

The Glasgow based "La Coordinadora Regional de la Izquierda Chilena" (CRICH) has published this bulletin with the aim of organising the work that must be carried out by the Chilean committees in support of the solidarity work done by the British Solidarity Committees. That is to say that the tasks recommended, through this bulletin, must be closely linked to the work done by the solidarity campaign within the areas of England; from Newcastle and Durham to the north and Scotland (the committees in Dundee, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Clydebank, Stirling etc)

La Coordinadora Regional met last Saturday 5th of April with comrades belonging to the Edinburgh's "Quimantú" committee. To this meeting were invited representatives of the above committee: It was agreed to carry out a series of tasks in support of the British campaign which will reach its climax in the next few months, the most decisive in the struggle against fascism.

The Edinburgh agreements are the following:

*Luis Figueroa, Allende's Minister of Labor and leader of the Central Unica de Trabajadores

1) The Chilean Committees must help to stimulate solidarity as organisations of support without directly taking part in the internal decision-making processes carried out by the British Solidarity Campaign. In other words, our committees must: a) spread the word about Chilean reality and let people know about the advances of the internal resistance; b) in accordance with the first, submit ideas to the British Solidarity Campaign and; c) support with our work the campaigns organised by the British committees.

2) The directives of the Chilean committees must be democratically generated and the resolutions must be approved by unanimity and must be orientated exclusively towards the solidarity work.

3) "La Coordinadora Regional" will produce monthly a news bulletin, in Spanish. In it will publish the tasks to be carried out. At present there is a commission working with the Scottish Solidarity Campaign to produce the bulletin in English.

4) It was agreed that the "La Coordinadora Regional" will send to each committee a proposal requesting finance for its activities. This proposal will arrive in the next few days after receiving this bulletin either for its approval, rejection or suggestions for improving the finance request.

5) For the next few months it has been agreed to organise a solidarity platform containing two crucial main points: a) restoration of human rights; and b) reinstatement of union rights. This will be supported by the campaign proposed by the Chilean Trades Unions' platform for the international solidarity movement. Furthermore we are at work developing a document to be distributed afterwards among British workers.

In summary, all of the tasks we are proposing in this bulletin must be known by the solidarity committees for the start of the respective campaigns.

We urge our comrades to send us their collaboration and news about plans of work and documents to be published in this bulletin or to be used as information.

"La Coordinadora Regional de la Izquierda Chilena"

(There is an address at Drumchapel.)

In fraternity,

On the 20th of April Luis Figueroa came to Glasgow, after being present at the Trade Union conference celebrated in Aberdeen on the 18th and 19th of April. Here he met some Chilean refugees from the "Circulo Lautaro" and members of the CRICH who were informed by Figueroa of the resistance in Chile carried out by the workers. Figueroa met some trade unionists from Glasgow belonging to: the shipbuilding unions, Rolls Royce, the Post Office and others. "These people listened carefully to Figueroa's solidarity greeting as well as his gratitude for their support for the Chilean struggle. Figueroa also met officials from the Chile Solidarity Campaign".

The following is my own translation from Spanish into English of Figueroa's speech given to the Scottish trade unionists:

Dear comrades (women and men) and Glasgow's union leaders.

In the first place we would like to thank all of you on behalf of the Chilean workers who are fighting inside Chile against Pinochet's fascist dictatorship and we want also to thank you for your solidarity: the political solidarity, the moral solidarity, and the material solidarity that you have given to our cause.

Since the fascist group led by Pinochet which brought about the coup and killed President Allende, the democratic forces had been fighting against the dictatorship and at the head of the resistance; we find "la clase obrera" and the whole of the Chilean working class. We resisted for six days, from the 11th until the 18th of September of 1973, keeping up a strike accompanied by factory occupations and actions in other public services. We were, however, thrown out by

airplanes, tanks and heavy weaponry. Since then until now, the struggle has not ceased neither during the day nor during the night.

You have been informed about the bloody repression which characterised the coup; without war being declared on us by the imperialism we have had forty thousand dead: men, women and youngsters being assassinated. About three hundred thousand have passed through jails and concentration camps. Today we have between five and six hundred thousand workers displaced from their places of work.

The military coup in Chile was not the product of the uprising of a group of military men. The military men were the armed-wing used by the multinationals to regain control of its privileges in our country. The coup was organised and financed from abroad and all the economic and social policies, beginning on the 11th of September, have been directed towards the re-establishment of the foreign and national monopolies.

Price deregulation had been decreed and the freezing of salaries. These policies not only had affected workers of all kinds and the peasantry but in the last period three hundred small and medium size businesses went bankrupt and hundreds of other businesses had to close down because of loss of purchasing power and the increase in taxes.

The dictatorship has in fifteen months increased by 300 per cent its expenditure for defence. In order to carry out the policy of de-nationalisation, the rulers had to resort to violence and the most savage repression. Today our natural resources had been returned to foreign multinationals and for this it was necessary to dissolve the political parties, to outlaw our trade unions, to detain thousands of union leaders and to sack from their places of work the most politically conscious workers. However, it is very difficult to suppress the aspiration towards freedom of a People; in particular, it is very difficult to defeat the working class people in their decision and ambition to fight for freedom.

At the moment, the right to ask for: better salaries, collective economic bargaining or the right to strike does not exist. It is forbidden, with the death penalty, to strike according to the state of siege law. Many of our trade unions leaders have been executed but in the last six months stoppages and strikes have been carried out in the most important industries and very importantly, 80 to 90 per cent of these actions have been a success.

During the months of March and April were incorporated, into the workers' struggle, actions designed to reinstate those who had been sacked and to ask for the release of workers belonging to a variety of factories.

It is true that we still have about twelve thousand political prisoners, many of them trade unionists. The Dictatorship had offered the alternative of releasing the prisoners under the condition that they must abandon the country. Several hundred had had to leave the country for a variety of reasons: health related problems, family reasons or for their own security related to their welfare in the context of the clandestine struggle. However, the majority of the prisoners prefer to remain in prison as an alternative to be expelled out of the country. In this struggle the unity of the workers had widen and strengthened.

Workers of different political tendencies and religious beliefs struggle under the banners of the CUT which is clandestine for being against the Junta. As the CUT is persecuted, this movement operates under another name: "Movimiento Unitario Central de Trabajadores"

(MUCT). Calls to continue with the struggle had been made under this name. There is a common struggle platform. Leaflets are distributed, and political graffiti are drawn on walls and open clandestine actions take place. In some workplaces go-slow procedures take place and in other workplaces, stoppages are openly declared. It all depends on the strength and circumstances in which each group of workers operates but for us, every action is important however small these actions are.

In Chile, as in Latin America, there is generally diverse religious creed and, impelled by the people, the churches had combined creating "el Consejo Ecumenico", an Ecumenical Council. Under the fascist dictatorship, the C.E. formed a cooperation committee to work towards peace. It works actively for: the release of prisoners, to save the lives of those who are under torture, to provide material help to their relatives, the orphans and widows of the prisoners killed.

From the departure point of open-mindedness, the Union movement works closely with the C.E. even when we, as workers, may not have religious affinities with them. We, who absolutely believe in the democratic values of the People, will work with anyone. From a political point of view, the parties belonging to Popular Unity had re-formed underground and a U.P. clandestine political committee is in place and working with other political forces* which are not part of Popular Unity.

Amid all type of difficulties, we were able to commemorate, inside Chile, International Women's Day and the twenty-second anniversary of the CUT. We are planning to celebrate the 1st of May with a big sporting and cultural event which will include folk music and dance.

The Junta is, day by day, more isolated than ever. It does not possess a political base apart from its link with international monopolies and a small group of fascist ideologists. In the international arena, the dictatorship has been repudiated by all the democratic forces in the world.

We would like to thank the efforts carried out by the British workers, in particular the Scottish workers, in demanding the British government not to assist the re-negotiation of the internal debt incurred by the dictatorship. The British representative to the I.M.F. dared to raise his voice to refute the Junta dictatorship's request to postpone the re-negotiation of the internal debt.

We were here at the end of January and had talks with the overseas department of the TUC and the Labour Party. We obtained from both agencies a unanimous resolution about Great Britain refusing to accept the re-negotiation of the internal debt. We were clear that this British action was going to have international repercussions. Our assessment was correct: of the 14 countries members of the "Paris Club", six countries, virtually half of the membership, took the same position of that of Great Britain, that is, to refuse to accept the request made by the dictatorship for the re-negotiation of the internal debt.

As a product of the rising struggle inside Chile and the economic crisis affecting the dictatorship, but essentially because the creditor countries refused to re-negotiate the internal debt, the whole of the ministerial cabinet was brought down three weeks ago. It is true that the new ministerial cabinet is made up of people belonging to the ultra-right, but nevertheless it shows the increased isolation of the dictatorship vis-à-vis with the majority of Chilean society.

*The MIR, for example.

We would like to insist on two essential matters. In Chile, an anti-fascist struggle is taking place. Despite the terror, the decision to fight for freedom and democracy is more important than ever and in the coming days we will be engaging in very important struggles. In this context the solid international solidarity with Chile will play a very important role in the history of Chile

Those comrades in the resistance have asked us to say frankly to the comrades from Glasgow that the struggle for the economic isolation of the Junta will be decisive in the coming days and that the boycott of certain types of product will be the thin thread that will lead to the total collapse of the repressive fascist system.

Our comrades inside Chile have asked us to thank all of you for the actions you have taken in relation to boycott activities carried out throughout Scotland and they are hoping that in the coming days these actions can still carry on to give the dictatorship, which has oppressed our People, the final blow.

Even after all the sacrifices that the working class has already made, nothing and nobody will deter their determination to get rid of fascism in order to open the road to a new democracy.

More Chileans arriving in Scotland as a result of the Solidarity with Chile

A few weeks after our arrival in Glasgow, more Chileans began to come to Scotland and went to live in many areas of Glasgow or nearby: Cumbernauld, Balloch, Motherwell etc. Other people went to live in other Scottish cities and towns such as Edinburgh, Falkirk, other areas in Fife, Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen, etc. Some of the new arrivals were families with children and others were just single people. Some people came directly from detention centres in Chile where they had been tortured and released thanks to the solidarity work of some Trade Unions and that of Amnesty International. José Luis, who now lives and works in the south of Chile, was supported by the Scottish miners. He used to work and live in Lochgelly. Other Chileans came via Argentina after experiencing very dangerous situations there, like the Cerón family who lived in Dundee.

The Chileans who had come to Glasgow, where went they to live?

Many of those who arrived in Glasgow on the bus and those who arrived after were given temporary accommodation in the homes of local people approached for this purpose by the CH.S.C. Most of these homes, owned either by a single person or by a family, were situated in reasonably good areas. After this initial stage, these “chilenos asilados”, began to be accommodated by local councils in corporation houses. Many families and single people were allocated, in the case of Glasgow, to places like Drumchapel, a housing scheme submerged, so we were told, in social deprecation. Its status depressed many Chilean families, especially those of middle class origins. I personally lived here from the 8th of November, 1976 until the 5th of January, 1978. This is the happy period in which I met my dear wife. *Why did I leave the very central and beautiful flat of Suzi for a room in a council flat very far from the city centre?* Because, what I wanted was to be near of my Chilean friends. *Was it a sign of loneliness?* Perhaps, it was. Dr Douglas Charmers, from the Business division of Glasgow Caledonian University, involved in the Solidarity Campaign in Dundee, said that in this city, the Chileans were housed in the worst areas in Whitfield and Beechwood.

The things we used to do as a group of Chileans.

First of all was to complain: “chucha la huela... no hay sol!” This was our persistent comment about the weather. Glasgow looked to us so dark and rainy. We tried to imagine that the Glasgow climate was the same as that found in the southern part of Chile. The people who complained about the climate were always people like me who came from the warmer central valleys of Chile. But for Hugo, everything seemed to be okay. He was from the beautiful island of Chiloe in the southern, rainy part of Chile. Everything, however, was compensated by the warmth in the personality of the Glasgow people.

We used to enjoy ourselves. One of the first things we did in Glasgow was to have a football team and a musical band. We used to go around and absorbed in the vibrant city with its rather “black” architecture which seemed to us very different from that of our country. *Do we have such a thing as Chilean architecture?* At least the bystanders in the streets of Glasgow dressed in the same way as in Chile. We found that some Scots from Glasgow behaved like Chileans. In Chile you could be stopped in the street by a “curadito” and be asked for some money for a glass of wine. In Scotland drunken men would do the same, but in this case for a glass of whisky.

I remember us, Chileans in Glasgow, taking part in the parade with a decorated carnival float to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the foundation of the city of Glasgow. We greatly enjoyed the experience.

The TV character Rab. C. Nesbitt is, in my view, a typical Chilean character taken all the way from La Vega Central in Santiago to its equivalent in Glasgow - The Barrows. I know a few things about La Vega as I used to be a “veguino” when I was a “wee” boy. In 1990, Glasgow held the title of European Capital of Culture and I, with my fellow Chilean guitarist friend Galo Ceron, took part in a BBC Television special of the Rab. C. Nesbitt programme*. Not only that but, I also appeared in a scene with the actor Gregor Fisher (Rab) in John McGrath’s film, Blood Red Roses.

Exiles, but without losing sight of how to be happy

When were we going to be able to go back to our country? This was the constant thought of all of us during those days. What we really meant was, when was the dictatorship going to come to an end? Nobody was in a position to provide the answer to this important question and this sad reality created a lot of anxiety in our community of exiles. However, we managed to enjoy ourselves and why not?

There were a lot of political activities dealing with our country in those days in Glasgow as well as in many other areas of Scotland and the UK. Amid the many activities in which we were involved and the many obstacles we had in front of us, our community found space to enjoy ourselves and be happy and, in many respects, we were indeed happy in Glasgow. We were a bunch of people thrown together by circumstances but with a happy outlook on life and this, I think, surprised ‘the gringos’. Chilean culture and history is often concerned with tragedies but it is also about a sort of positive approach to thinking about us, about our country and about our surroundings.

* see this webpage and click at CULTURE. On this page, go to the end to watch the clip with the famous man.

During these years there were always special events to celebrate or commemorate. We did it with music and a few drinks - but in a dignified manner, submerged, of course, in deep thoughts as it was a time of apprehension, loneliness, guilt and anger for the horrible things taking place in Chile and the fact that we had come to Scotland to experience, as “political exiles”, a rather strange situation.

Perhaps it may be interesting to record at this point that we were not political animals as the term “political exile” may suggest. We were ordinary people, rooted by education and tradition in democratic values - and in a state of shock at what was taking place in our country. The term “political”, in the case of the exiles, denoted only that we had to leave our country as a result of political upheaval caused by the arrival in our country of a ruthless dictatorship which produced panic, life-threatening and fear for million of peaceful Chileans.