Graham Holton e Robert Austin

Was There a Chilean Holocaust? Concentration Camps, Political Genocide and the Pinochet Dictatorship

INTRODUCTION: THE HOLOCAUST DEBATE

The word holocaust comes from the Greek, *holo* and *kaiein*, meaning a burnt offering. It entered the English language from the Latin, *holocaustum*, in the thirteenth century, meaning any great destruction or loss of life. Despite this long history of popular usage, the definition of a holocaust and the question of who is entitled to use the term, and with what referents, only became controversial during the 1960s. Since then the term 'Holocaust' has been conceptually colonised by a series of ideologically-Right intellectuals and organisations to define the Nazi extermination of Jews and Jewish culture between 1933 and 1945, and simultaneously to eliminate all other historical massacres from consideration under this category, irrespective of their dimensions or brutality.[1] Under their schema, Nazi holocaust victims of Romani, non-Jewish gay or lesbian, socialist, communist or social democrat origin are all rendered invisible.

Hence if one accepts the orthodox position on their definition, the genocide which extinguished around half of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1923,

the extermination of fifteen million Chinese during the Imperial Japanese occupation (1935-45),[2] the Spanish-colonial extermination of some eighty per cent of the Inca civilization of Peru in only five years[3], the extermination of over 200,000 mostly indigenous citizens in Guatemala between 1954 and 1990, the Soeharto junta's liquidation of up to two million in Indonesia following its military overthrow of the Soekarno government in 1965[4], and the death of 1.5 million Biafrans in the 1960s do not qualify as holocausts.

In his book *The Holocaust in History* (1987), Michael R. Marrus supports the exclusivist view on the grounds that the 'Holocaust' is not a reference to the 'number of people killed'; he gives as a counter-example the mass killings of the Armenians by the Turks.[5] According to Marrus, this does not qualify as a holocaust as the process 'lacked the machinelike, bureaucratic, regulated character as well as the Promethean ambition' associated with the Nazi holocaust. The Turkish attack on the Armenians lacked the 'all-consuming ideological obsession' which the Nazi assault on the Jewish population of Europe constituted.[6] Bernard Lewis also denies that the mass killings of the Armenians was a holocaust, as it lacked the 'demonic beliefs or the almost physical hatred' of anti-Semitism.[7] Yehuda Bauer argues that what was unique about the Nazi holocaust was 'the totality of its ideology and its translation of abstract thought into planned, logically implemented murder.'[8] This rejection of the usage of the concept of holocaust for any other ethnic, national or political group insists that the Jewish experience was 'unique, unprecedented, and categorically incommensurable.'[9] Deborah Lipstadt, professor of modern Jewish and Holocaust studies at Emory University in the United States, goes further, arguing that those who do not accept the uniqueness of the Jewish Holocaust are by definition crypto-Nazis.[10] Lipstadt's exclusivity on the use of the term reduces intellectuals holding non-orthodox positi-

ons in the debate to the equivalent of David Duke, the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

Jewish anti-Zionist political scientist Norman Finkelstein has argued that such a position is consciously intended to dissuade any further debate on the concept 'holocaust', and deflect attention from the exploitation of the Jewish experience by reactionary Jewry. In reality, before the late 1960s only a handful of books in English touched on the Nazi holocaust, and only one U.S. university offered a course on the topic. U.S. academics paid little attention to the Nazi holocaust within the total historical perspective of World War II. From 1949 West Germany had become an important Western ally in the fight against the Soviet Union, and the pro-Zionist World Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League set out to contain any 'anti-German' sentiment amongst the U.S. Jewish population. The Final Solution became a taboo topic and the Nazi holocaust was seen as a 'Communist cause' by those opposing the Cold War. This changed with the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, when U.S. Jewish elites now 'remembered' the Nazi exterminations as 'The Holocaust'.[11] In *The Holocaust Industry* (2000), Finkelstein reveals how the 'Nazi holocaust became The Holocaust'[12] and how Zionism mobilised it to exploit Jewish suffering. He also argues that such early works as Viktor Frankl's *Man's Search for Meaning* (1959) and Raul Hillberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961) have not been bettered by all the 'shelves upon shelves of schlock that now line libraries and bookstores.'[13]

Anti-Zionist Jewish scholar Lennie Brenner demonstrates how Zionism has historically accommodated Nazism, even posited anti-Semitism as "natural". In the Weimar Republic years leading to the Nazi seizure of power in 1932, prominent Zionists in Germany muffled or openly curtailed anti-Nazi propaganda and organisation. Even the random killing of Jews and destruction of hundreds of Jewish stores in the early 1920s pro-

duced collaborationist responses in the Zionist press. The majority of Jews had accommodated to liberal capitalism under Weimar, argues Brenner, and the Zionist leadership saw that economic integration as under distinct threat from Soviet communism. As Hitler grabbed power and re-affirmed Aryan race politics, the Zionist Federation of Germany remained in denial and instead organised anti-Communist meetings to warn Jewish youth against 'red assimilation'. Anti-Marxism thus entered Zionist ideology as an article of faith, preventing an alliance with the German working class to defeat Hitler, whilst presaging the indifference it later showed to the extermination of Left Jewry under Nazism and support of Western imperialism in the postwar era. As Brenner notes:

> Born amidst a wave of defeats for the Jews, not only in backward Russia, but in the very centers of industrial Europe, modern Zionism's pretensions were the noblest conceivable: the redemption of the downtrodden Jewish people in their own land. But from the very beginning the movement represented the conviction of a portion of the Jewish middle class that the future belonged to the Jew-haters, that anti-Semitism was inevitable, and natural. Firmly convinced that anti-Semitism could not be beaten, the new World Zionist Organisation never fought it. Accommodation to anti-Semitism—and pragmatic utilisation of it for the purpose of obtaining a Jewish state—became the central stratagems of the movement, and it remained loyal to its earliest conceptions down to and through the Holocaust.[14]

This essay sets out to re-focus the holocaust debate on Latin American terrain, taking the Pinochet Dictatorship's record of human rights violations as a case study. Ongoing revelations of the dimensions of Chilean state terror, and recent broader research on state terror in Paraguay, Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua inter alia[15],

suggest that it is timely to interrogate the conceptual scaffolding of 'holocaust' anew within that context. We argue that the Chilean military's systematic torture, disappearance, execution and assassination of a significant part of its population in both Chile and the Americas, with an absolute physical hatred resembling the demonic; consummation and widespread implantation of anti-Marxist and even anti-liberal ideology; appeals to fundamentalist and Marianist Christianity; development of a terrorist state apparatus; and institutionalised racist practices that followed the coup constitute a holocaust, under the criteria set out by Marrus, Lewis and Bauer. In their terms, the U.S.-sponsored military killed with an all-consuming ideological obsession best described as machine-like, and displayed a bureaucratic efficiency to eliminate Communism with Promethean ambition.

In 1992 the first post-dictatorship government in Chile, led by pro-coup Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin, prohibited the Truth Commission headed by Senator Raúl Rettig from identifying General Pinochet as having a role in acts of torture, although the dictator had never denied responsibility for violent acts and openly boasted of them in public.[16] What sets Pinochet's record apart in South America is the scale of his regime's systematic and institutionalised use of torture as a device to maintain a climate of fear and to demoralise any active opposition. 'The rituals of the torture centres were intended to send horrific whispers throughout the populace: this was the punishment for thinking and speaking ill of the regime. For this reason, many were eventually released, broken in body and spirit, to tell of the disappearances of those who had been killed and secretly buried.'[17] Geoffrey Robertson QC gives the figure of four thousand murdered in Pinochet's detention centres during the regime's 'war on the threat of Cuban-style Communism.'[18] However, anecdotally and from those sectors most savaged by the regime, there is speculation of a figure of four or

five times that size; up to 20,000 deaths and disappearances are often cited in the popular sectors and by Left activists.[19]

When General Pinochet was arrested in London in 1998, the House of Lords could not agree to the Spanish prosecutor's allegation that Pinochet had attempted to exterminate the Left in Chile, as the extermination of a political group or party is not included under the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. However, Pinochet could be prosecuted for committing crimes against humanity, which include 'persecution on political grounds'. In December 1946 the United Nations General Assembly had unanimously confirmed that the Nuremberg Charter (1945) reflected universal principles of international law, allowing Article 6 of the Charter to be used by the House of Lords in the case of Pinochet, detained under 'individual responsibility' for Crimes against Humanity. Article 6 (c) of the Charter defines Crimes against Humanity as 'murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population before or after the war', and thereby covers all acts of barbarity conducted within the state against its own nationals, irrespective of whether the country is technically at war.[20]

The third Pinochet Case, brought against the ex-dictator in Chile after British foreign minister Jack Straw released him on dubious health grounds in late 1999, has become the most significant precedent for international law since the Nuremberg Trials. Prosecutors accused Pinochet of using torture throughout his dictatorship as a means of engendering terror to maintain power. He was not accused of personally participating in acts of torture, but directing those acts through his personal command over the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (Directorate of National Intelligence: DINA, or secret police). These torture sessions were often attended by hooded doctors, who advised on the level of pain each victim could supposedly endure. The proscription of torture is listed under

Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment.[21]

While these actions by the Pinochet dictatorship may not be genocide, they are Crimes against Humanity within the U.N. definition, and constitute 'political genocide' insofar as their aim was the extermination of the Left. The term *genocide* comes from the Greek *genos* meaning 'race or tribe' and the Latin *cide*, 'killing'. It was coined in 1943 by Raphael Lemkin and introduced by the United Nations General Assembly in 1946 as 'a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups', a definition hinting at its origin as a description of Nazi atrocities against the Jews.[22] Two years later the U.N. General Assembly passed the Convention on Genocide, limiting the definition to large massacres of 'a national, ethnical, racial or religious group', while excluding any reference to Environmental Racism[23], Cultural Genocide, and Political Genocide. We argue that widespread and systemic acts of political genocide constituted Chile's holocaust.

We also show that former top-ranking Nazis collaborated with the incipient authoritarian capitalist state before and after the coup to set up concentration camps, where prisoners were systematically detained, tortured, and executed. As had occurred in Nazi Germany, perverse elements of the scientific and medical communities collaborated on a Junta torture programme, which included but was not limited to chemical and biological experimentation on political prisoners.[24] At the Café Coppelia in the upper class Santiago suburb of Los Leones, Air Force officers boasted publicly of casting the weighted bodies of torture victims and live political prisoners into the Pacific Ocean.[25] Burnt remains of victims of the Coup were found in ovens in southern Chile. As one victim testified, 'only the gas chambers were missing.'[26]

THE COUP AND ITS AFTERMATH

A brief summary of the demise of liberal democracy and reformist socialism in Chile will suffice to contextualise our concerns in relation to the modern history of Nazism there. Dr Salvador Allende's inauguration as the world's first Marxist president to come to power by liberal-democratic franchise took place on 4 November 1970.[27] Via constitutional amendment on 11 July 1971, Congress unanimously nationalised Chile's copper industry. U.S. multinationals Kennecott and Anaconda received no compensation because of the 'excessive profits' already extracted from Chile's world-leading reserves.[28] By March 1973 the Allende administration had nationalised 35 per cent of the country's industrial production and 40 per cent of its cultivated land. The parliamentary election on 4 March 1973 gave the Popular Unity (UP) government 43.4 per cent of the vote, and an increase of eight seats in Congress. This was the first time in Chilean history that an incumbent government had increased, rather than reduced its popular vote. Its faint hopes of electoral resurgence dashed, the forces of U.S. imperialism and the complicit, largely-reactionary national bourgeoisie settled on a military takeover as its strategy to restore capitalist hegemony and eliminate the threat of Allende's peaceful, or 'Chilean Road' to socialism. In what became a dress rehearsal for military takeover, troops from Santiago's Second Armoured Regiment mutinied and surrounded La Moneda presidential palace on 29 June 1973. After several hours troops loyal to the president repelled the 'tanquetazo', with twenty-two citizens killed.[29] From that point, the pro-coup sector of the Armed Forces moved decisively, with unfettered support from the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which had been instructed by President Nixon to play a direct role in the coup.[30] Constitutionalist commander-in-chief General Carlos Pratts, forced to resign in August and later assassinated in Buenos

Aires, was succeeded by General Augusto Pinochet. On 7 September 1973 President Allende advised Pinochet that on 11 September the government would announce a national plebiscite to dissolve both houses of parliament and create a single-chamber popular assembly.

Faced with the real prospect of popular dissolution of the liberal-capitalist system, the Armed Forces violently overthrew the Popular Unity government on 11 September 1973. Allende died in controversial circumstances during the coup. The Chilean Resistance was born on the same day, inspired by the Grupo de Amigos del Presidente (Group of the President's Friends: GAP) and its valiant defence of Allende, by a highly-effective corps of loyal sharpshooters positioned in a building beside the palace, and fierce prolonged armed opposition in a major working class industrial belt in the capital, centred on La Legua.[31] A junta under General Pinochet immediately assumed totalitarian powers, decreed a state of siege, suspended constitutional rule indefinitely, and unleashed a seventeen-year reign of state terror¯including summary detention, internment, torture, assassination, disappearance and exile¯with few parallels in twentieth century South America.

All political parties were banned. On 25 September all mayors and city councillors were removed from their position and the Chilean Constitutional Court abolished. The electoral registers of 3.5 million voters were destroyed. Postal services and the media were suppressed, and the term '*compañero*' (comrade), a traditional greeting of Allende's supporters, was banned. The systematic arrest, torture and elimination of prominent Popular Unity figures began almost immediately. Acting with virtual impunity the Armed Forces repressed all forms of opposition, especially in the more militant working class areas. Those taken into custody were often later listed as deaths by 'shootouts with security forces.'[32] Thousands of potential opponents were placed in detention centres which 'were already designated and equipped' as places of torture.[33]

Technologies used were as varied as they were hideous. Torture involved physical pain induced by electric shocks and the degradation of the person through rape, bestiality, and ritual humiliation, often in front of family, friends or allies. Within days of the coup, prison camps had been set up in stadiums and military barracks throughout Chile. U.S. intelligence realised that Junta Decree no. 521 on 14 June 1974 provided the statutory foundation for a 'Gestapo-type police force'.[34] The National Stadium in Santiago held thousands of political prisoners, as the military hunted Leftists, union leaders, church activists, and anyone it viewed as political opponents. The Red Cross International estimates that by September 22 the National Stadium held some 7,612 prisoners. Chile (now Víctor Jara) Stadium was also used to hold political prisoners. As well, the military had set up several concentration camps in isolated areas to hold high-profile prisoners for longer periods, such as Pisagua, Chacabuco, and Dawson Island.

The Junta intended public recognition of this network of centres to spread fear throughout the population; the eventual release of significant numbers of torture victims to tell of the disappearances and inhuman degradation at such centres compounded the national psyche of fear. Pinochet's often-repeated claim of 'estamos en una guerra' (we're at war) led to rhetoric about 'el enemigo interno' (the enemy within), a fabricated threat and code for Leftist whose dimensions would justify massive repression under the doctrine of national security.[35] Pinochet granted amnesty to the death squads and torturers in 1978.

Professor Enrique Kirberg, Allende advisor on higher education and elected rector of the Universidad Técnica del Estado from the time of its emblematic democratisation in the 1960s, was arrested and taken to Dawson Island.[36] He later observed that 'in many respects the camp copied those of Nazi Germany to perfection. We were constantly watched by guards on top of machine-gun towers. Our barracks were surrounded by two

barbed-wire fences separated by a barren strip of land. Each of us was told that the outer fence was electrified.'[37] In 1974 former U.S. ambassador to Chile, Ralph Dungan, testified before a senate committee on political refugees that:

> You have systematic torture being used in connection with interrogations with substantial numbers of persons. And, when I say substantial, I am talking about 10 or 20 percent of the total number of people detained. Electric shock, psychological tortures of one kind or another, plastic bag tortures, immersion of the head in water or oil, all kind of tortures ... There was evidence of people being hung by the wrists, of needles or other instruments under the fingernails ... The situation reminds one of the 1930s in Germany.[38]

A report by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations General Assembly states that Chile's intelligence services had been transformed into a secret police organisation which was 'omnipotent and immune from responsibility.'[39] Beginning on the day of the coup those majority sectors of the Right which supported military intervention initiated a parallel struggle for control of popular memory, which continues unabated.[40] For instance, a recent book by Víctor Farías alleges that Allende was an anti-Semite, a claim now comprehensively refuted.[41]

PINOCHET AND THE DIRECTORATE OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE (DINA)

The junta officially launched the DINA on 14 June 1974, but its origins date back to a 'DINA commission' in November 1973, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda. Declassified U.S. intelligence dates the appointment of Contreras to head the DINA to 24 February 1974, and the commencement of CIA collaboration with DINA to soon after its unofficial

creation.[42] DINA began operations as a secret unit within the National Executive Secretariat for Detainees (SENDET), formed in December 1973. By February 1974, it had an estimated 700 agents and officials drawn from the ranks of the police, army, and paramilitary legions of the neo-fascist organisation Patria y Libertad.[43] They were presently joined by members of the Italian fascist organisation Avanguardia Nazionale, and former top-ranking Nazis, who helped set up the authoritarian state and its concentration camps. Under Contreras's command, DINA maintained a web of secret detention, torture and execution facilities throughout the country, integrated into the continental military intelligence and political prisoner disappearance network known as Operation Condor (see discussion under this heading, below).

In early October 1973 Pinochet had set in motion the 'Caravan of Death,' responsible for the murders of seventy-five political prisoners without trial, in five Chilean cities. They were tortured, shot and their bodies hidden from their next of kin. These atrocities portended the creation of the Chilean secret police. Four members of the death squad were transferred to the new intelligence agency, [44] which Pinochet established as the principle agency responsible for the 'war on internal subversion/enemy within'.[45] As such, the intelligence services of all four branches of the armed forces were obliged to inform DINA immediately alleged subversive activities had been uncovered, and to turn over the detainees to DINA.

The original DINA personnel level of 1,500 increased to 2,000 (mostly active duty military personnel) with 2,100 additional civilian personnel located throughout the country. This latter group constituted a unit subordinate to DINA baptised the Brigada de Inteligencia Ciudadana (Citizens' Intelligence Brigade). During operations, members of this civilian network functioned in coordination with regular DINA operatives if arrests were to be made. Pinochet gave the DINA director a free hand

in establishing personnel requirements. When DINA first set up operations, its headquarters were located in three houses in central Santiago. As an indication of the size, ominous symbolism and incremental audacity of the organisation, DINA constructed a new 24-floor office building on a nearby location to serve as its national headquarters from 1975.

The relationship between DINA and the four branches of the armed forces varied considerably. The Navy adopted a pragmatic attitude, recognising that it lacked the monetary, material and personnel assets to conduct the widespread but inaptly named anti-subversion activities that characterised DINA operations. As a result they seldom found themselves with conflicting interests. The Carabineros had a working relationship with DINA very similar to that of the Navy, for the same reasons. However, Army-DINA relations were less cordial. Army Intelligence, headed by a general officer and operating with an impressive budget, had been reluctant to follow the wishes of DINA. Army Intelligence chiefs, General Pollon and then General Mena, resented the expansion of DINA operations into what they considered Army domains. They and several other officers of the armed forces were quite concerned about the 'barbaric' tactics employed by DINA towards their personnel. The Air Force also had strained relations with DINA. Air Force Intelligence was antagonised during the first days of 1975 when total responsibility for anti-MIR operations was given to DINA by order of the Junta (drafted by Colonel Contreras). The Air Force's anti-subversive activities centre, located at the Air Force War Academy, was disestablished and all duties previously under Air Force cognisance transferred to DINA. Because of this internal conflict the original concept of DINA as an intelligence body to support all of the Junta members seemed less valid. Yet in May 1977 DINA increased its detentions. The Directorate's detention facility at Cuatro Alamos was again in operation after being largely abandoned following a decree in January 1976.[46] But

none of these internecine power disputes between the quisling DINA leadership and the territorial branches of the armed forces detracted from its genocidal mission. To the contrary: if anything, they streamlined its operations and further entrenched Pinochet as apparently unassailable dictator.

EXTREME RIGHT POLITICS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CHILE

Nazism and fascism have a long history in Chile.[47] Inspired by Hitler and Mussolini, Jorge González von Marées, retired army general Díaz Valderrama and writer Carlos Keller established the Movimiento Nacional Socialista (National Socialist Movement: MNS) in 1932. All three had strong military or family ties with Germany. González was a fervent anti-Semite; Hitler's portrait and swastikas hung at party headquarters. MNS members included both Chileans of German background as well as non-German Chileans. The party adopted storm-trooper uniforms and the greeting 'Heil Chile!' The official Nazi presence in Chile was extensive, with eight consulates for a country of barely 5 million people at the time. At its 1936 congress in Concepción, some 3,000 MNS storm-troopers and 6,000 members attended. Germany was now Chile's largest trading partner.[48] As World War II approached, secret radio transmitters along the Pacific coast reported on Allied shipping movements. In an unsuccessful attempt to ally itself with the antifascist Frente Popular government elected in 1938, and with a momentary policy backflip to render itself as a popular, anti-imperialist party, the MNS changed its name to the Vanguardia Popular Socialista (Popular Socialist Vanguard: VPS). González von Marées had been elected to the National Congress from Santiago in 1937, and despite a failed Nazi *putsch* on 5 September 1938, he retained the position until 1945.[49] Each year young Nazis dressed in brown shirts and black boots commemorate

the attempted *putsch* at a monument in the Santiago General Cemetery to the fifty-five Nazis who died on that day. A plaque on the exterior of the building of Chile's Ministry of Justice, across from the presidential palace, bears their names.[50]

During World War II Chile remained neutral until it declared war on the Axis powers in February 1945, despite the progressive politics of the anti-fascist Popular Front governments from 1938. However, the ultra-right congealed around the former dictator Carlos Ibáñez as a real threat in the election which followed the death in office of President Pedro Aguirre Cerda in 1941, and his candidature was supported by the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile (Chilean National Socialist Party, or Nazi Party) as it had been in 1938, though ultimately without success.[51] By 1943, U.S. ambassador Bowers thought that many officers in the Chilean army displayed 'pro-Nazi' tendencies, and these Nazi values remained after the war.[52]

Indeed Nazi influence in the Chilean army 'remained a problem for the rest of the twentieth century.'[53] One Chilean military authority told the U.S. defence attaché that DINA was becoming 'a modern-day Gestapo.'[54] This allusion took on greater validity when the Pinochet regime appointed Walter Rauff, a former SS officer and Nazi war criminal, as a key advisor in DINA.[55] The notorious Nazi had moved to Chile after the fall of the Perón regime in Argentina in 1955. Beyond book burning, the Nazi methods which Pinochet used to crush opposition were immediately evident, even to Washington:

> DINA's current pattern of growth is not consistent with any form of democratic control or management of its activities. The apprehension of many senior Chilean military authorities regarding the possibility *of* DINA becoming a modern day Gestapo may very well be coming to fruition. *DINA's* autonomous authority is great, and *increasing*. Junta members are apparently unable to influence President Pinochet's decisions concerning DINA activities in any way. Regar-

> ding DINA organization, policies and operations. Colonel Contreras' authority is near absolute - subject only to an unlikely Presidential veto. DINA's development is a particularly disturbing phenomena: in view of the Chilean government's desire to enhance their international image. Any advantage gained by humanitarian practices can easily be offset by terror tactics (even if on a relatively small scale) on the part of poorly trained and supervised DINA operatives.[56]

The Mossad kidnapping in Buenos Aires of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in 1960 and his subsequent trial and execution in Israel sparked an upsurge of anti-Semitism in South America, especially among the large German population in Chile where Eichmann had stayed shortly in the 1950s. Oswaldo Pascual Gonxales of the Alien Police claimed that under Allende he was not permitted to apply drastic measures to curb the rise of Nazism in the country.[57] Otto Skorzeny had ensured that Nazism remained alive after World War II, using Chilean movements such as Acción Chilena Anticomunista (Chilean Anti-Communist Action: ACHa) and the Movimiento Pro-Chile. Efforts were also made to co-opt sectors of the large Arab community, whose anti-Zionist politics had intensified after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1946 initiated the destruction of Palestine. In 1963 the Nazi movement led by Franz Pfeiffer, wearing a Hitler moustache, stormtrooper uniform and Nazi banner, attracted ten thousand members in a year. Their group, Das Reich, paid the substantial costs of Walter Rauff's defence to avoid his extradition. In the 1990s neo-Nazi propaganda intensified, especially among extremist right-wing groups such as the Movimiento Nacionalista de Chile, headed by Marcelo Saavedra. Academic Erwin Robertson and the group produce the journal, *La Ciudad de los Césares*.[58] Unlike their European counterparts however, 'the social origin of these groups was generally bourgeois and the landowning class with a strongly controlled popular, mass base.'[59]

A group of Germans who arrived in Chile in the mid-1950s founded La Sociedad Benefactora y Educacional Dignidad (Dignity Benefactor & Educational Society) and were joined in 1961 by their eventual leader Paul Schäfer, a former Nazi medic wanted in Europe for kidnapping and child abuse. Colonia Dignidad, a heavily-fortified *estancia* (cattle ranch) near Catillo in southern Chile founded by Schäfer in 1961, practised Aryan eugenics and paedophilia from the outset. It reached its zenith under Pinochet's dictatorship. Its 300 German immigrants mixed with selected Chileans based on a doctrine blending Nazism and Voodoo.[60] Research on post-1990 political parties has shown close ties between the ultra-Right Unión Democrática Independiente (Independent Democratic Union: UDI) and Colonia Dignidad's operations as a detention and torture centre during the dictatorship.[61] Fugitive Nazi war criminals Walter Rauff, Klaus Barbie and Josef Mengele were linked with Colonia Dignidad at one time or another.

Michael Townley¯dual DINA-CIA officer and co-assassin of exiled Armed Forces commander General Carlos Pratts and Popular Unity's foreign minister Orlando Letelier, inter alia¯was also closely associated with Colonia Dignidad, and biological experiments on torture victims were carried out in connection with the Bacteriological War Army Laboratory.[62] Investigations by Amnesty International and the Chilean National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation verify that along with Villa Grimaldi, it was one of the most important torture centres and prison camps used by DINA, intensively so from September 1973 to 1977. Manuel Contreras Jnr. claims that his father and Pinochet visited the Colonia in 1974.[63] Schäfer was eventually arrested in Argentina in 2005 and extradited to Chile to face multiple charges, including the torture and disappearance of prisoners during the dictatorship and serial child sex abuse. The Simon Wiesenthal Center applauded Argentina's government for the capture.[64]

In the 1960s many Nazi hunters thought Martin Bormann was still alive in South America. On 27 March 1967, Simon Wiesenthal stated at a press conference promoting his new book *The Murderers Among Us* that Bormann was definitely alive 'using five or six names' and 'utilizing a double' to evade capture. Wiesenthal told Irving Spiegel of *The New York Times*: 'Bormann travels freely through Chile, Paraguay and Brazil. He has a strong organization (and plenty of money) dedicated to aiding other Nazi war criminals.'[65] This was despite Arthur Axmann, the former Reich Youth Leader, regarded by Professor Trevor-Roper as a reliable witness, having seen the body of Bormann in the rubble of Berlin after an air raid. These remains were recently subjected to DNA analysis and proved to be the infamous Nazi *Reichsleiter*.[66]

Three key Nazi war criminals played a direct role in Operation Condor (discussed below): Walter Rauff, Klaus Barbie and Paul Schäfer.[67] Barbie, the Butcher of Lyon, was protected by and worked for the Allen Dulles faction of U.S. intelligence in Germany until 1951, when he was smuggled to Bolivia via the Vatican's Nazi escape route, the 'Ratlines' and later played a critical role in terrorism and drug-trafficking, culminating in Operation Condor.[68] The pro-Nazi regime of Colonel Hugo Banzer refused to extradite Barbie, and vowed to 'protect' him. According to *Stern* magazine at the time: 'Bolivia is firmly in German hands.' The article featured wealthy and powerful German families of the Bolivian ruling elite. Because of the likes of Barbie, Altmann and Scwend, Nazism remained an acute criminal problem in Bolivia.[69]

During World War II Rauff was the SS officer responsible for overseeing the development of mobile gas chambers used to execute 250,000 Jews, Gypsies and Nazi opponents.[70] As head of the Milan Sicherheitsdienst (SD), the elite intelligence service, he was also chief SS security officer in northwest Italy. In that position he assisted SS General Karl Wolff in Operation

Sunrise, separate peace negotiations with Allen Dulles, station chief of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Bern, Switzerland.[71] According to an article in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* in 2007, Rauff was employed by the Israeli secret service although wanted by the Allies as a war criminal.[72] In 1949, Nazi collaborators using the Ratlines transferred Rauff to Ecuador with the help of British intelligence, after which he settled in Argentina, and then Chile where he may have served in Chilean intelligence.[73] In February 1957 the infamous Doctor Josef Mengele travelled to Chile to meet Rauff.[74] There is no known record of what the former top Nazis discussed. Rauff's two sons were educated in the Chilean military academy while he lived in Punta Arenas. In 1958 his whereabouts became known when he wrote to the West German Finance Ministry asking for his naval pension to be paid to him at his new home. In 1962, the West German government requested his extradition, but the Supreme Court of Chile ruled that since his crimes were 'essentially political in nature,' he could not be extradited; and that in any event the statute of limitations on his crimes had expired.

Later President Allende wrote to Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal that he could not reverse the court's decision. It was in practice only for the Supreme Court to reverse, the same court which would presently grant immunity to the fascist dictatorship in every civil action brought against it for the next quarter century. A few months after the military coup, the French newspaper *Le Monde* reported that Rauff had been appointed head of Chile's intelligence service, which the dictatorship denied. CIA officials could not determine Rauff's exact position in the secret police, but added: 'In any case, the government of General Augusto Pinochet resisted all calls for his extradition to stand trial in West Germany.'[75]

In January 1984, the military junta turned down an extradition request for Rauff from Israel's Justice Ministry. A month later, West Germany repeated the extradition request. The Chi-

lean Supreme Court responded that the case would be reopened only if it were presented with evidence of new crimes. Extraditing Rauff would not serve any public interest in Chile, the court added, since he had lived in the country for many years and his behaviour was always beyond reproach. The director-general of Israel's Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, visited Santiago that year, allegedly to urge the dictatorship to deport Rauff. But a few days before the new extradition papers arrived, Rauff died peacefully in May 1984. In an act of defiance, his comrades gave a final Nazi salute at his graveside.[76] The sincerity of the Israeli government efforts can be judged by the fact that in 1979 it authorised selling patrol boats to Chile and then overhauled Chilean war planes, and in 1984 was still assisting with their maintenance.[77]

Historically, European fascism has complemented Nazism in Chile, refined by Catholic University law professor Jaime Guzmán during the Frei Montalva and Allende eras (1964-1973). Throughout his philosophical development, Guzmán argued the complementariness of Catholic doctrine and capitalism, basing his constitutional thinking on the work of pro-Nazi Carl Schmidt and the latter's Spanish followers, like Luis Sánchez Agesta and Francisco Javier Conde; and on the destruction of the liberal 1925 constitution. In particular Guzmán, an indispensable junta adviser, promoted the social corporativist model of fascist Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, for whom individual theoretically dominated collective expression. The military junta's 1980 constitution, adopted by fraudulent plebiscite, drew heavily on this ideology, itself first expressed in the junta's Declaración de Principios (Declaration of Principles) of 1974, which Guzmán had written.[78] In January 1975 the Chilean army congratulated Franco and his Falangists for defeating the 'Communists'. The Chilean air force also congratulated Franco in 1975, as did the Carabineros in 1976. In August 1983 a former member of the Chilean Nazi Party and leader of Patria y Libertad, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, was appo-

inted Minister of the Interior.[79] In July 1989, General Pinochet told Chilean journalists that he feared Communists more than the Nazis, a comment that allows us to understand why former Nazis and military officers with pro-Nazi leanings were a feature of his dictatorship.

OPERATION CONDOR

In 1975 the U.S. Senate report *Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973* revealed extensive U.S. government intervention in Chilean politics for a decade prior to the military coup. However, the U.S. government has never made a comprehensive declassification of its secret documents related to the coup, or to human rights violations under the military dictatorship which followed. Pinochet's arrest in London in October 1998 on human rights charges brought pressure on the U.S. to open its archives, from both human rights activists and the Spanish prosecutors of the Pinochet case.[80] Consequently a National Security Council directive in February 1999 called on U.S. intelligence agencies to compile and turn over documents related to Chile, which led to the June release of 5,800 previously-classified documents dating from 1973-1978, and the October release of another 1,100 dating from 1968-1973. A third tranche of declassified documents was released the following year. Yet much of the U.S. government's secret documentation on Chile, even for the period covered by the recent declassifications, remains hidden. After the declassifications of June 1999, a wide array of media led with the 'revelation' of CIA documents showing the agency was aware of the dictatorship's plan for a wave of 'severe repression' in the days after the coup, and then of the hundreds murdered in state custody (a CIA memo numbers it at 1,500).[81] But despite its undisputed central role in postwar Chilean politics, the CIA itself has so far made public fewer than 500 documents.[82]

Those released confirm that the Nixon administration had foreknowledge of the coup, that it knew well the extent of the repression in the days following it, and that it was aware of the Chilean secret police's international terror network (Operation Condor).[83] On 6 October 1970 a CIA status report noted that the station had contacted 'a representative of an anticommunist group intent on organizing terrorist activities.' This was the neo-fascist group Patria y Libertad, which after the Coup would provide recruits for DINA and Operation Condor. Another document shows that U.S. ambassador Nathaniel Davis thought that while it would be politically risky for the U.S. to provide the dictatorship expert assistance in setting up concentration camps, the U.S. could send material aid such as 'tents, blankets, etc.,' for the camps without specifying their purpose. Davis had been named ambassador to Guatemala in 1968, where he was alleged to have supervised a 'pacification program' that resulted in the death of twenty thousand civilians.

Operation Condor's origins date from the 1960s with the U.S. commitment to deter 'another Cuba' and to protect their political and economic interests in the hemisphere. The resulting Doctrine of National Security assigned the Latin American military the mission of eliminating the so-called "internal enemy" and led to the creation of what political scientist Patrice McSherry labels the National Security State, determined to obliterate every trace of Leftist ideas and institutions. Condor began in 1973 as a bilateral arrangement between the Argentine and Chilean military intelligence organisations with the encouragement of CIA officers in Uruguay. The DINA, ex-Nazis harboured by the Chilean regime and the CIA were its foundation groups.[84] The declassification of a letter written by DINA's chief, Colonel Manuel Contreras, shows his key role.[85] Among the most important functions of Condor were the coordination of information through a centralised data bank, special commu-

nication channels, and permanent working meetings, all to facilitate the cross-border tracking down and disappearance of Left political opponents of the series of dictatorships now emerging in the region, including Brazil (1964), Chile and Uruguay (1973), Argentina (1976), and Bolivia (various juntas from 1964 until mid-1980s). Paraguayan intelligence services also collaborated, driven by the anti-communist Stroessner dictatorship installed after a US-backed coup in 1954. Peru and Ecuador eventually participated once neoliberal regimes were installed. McSherry demonstrates that Operation Condor selected its victims on the basis of political ideology, not illegal acts. Those regimes mentioned 'hunted down dissidents and leftists, union and peasant leaders, priests and nuns, intellectuals, students, and teachers as well as suspected guerrillas (who are, in a lawful state, also entitled to due process).'[86]

A novel investigation, 'Cóndor en el Ambito Universitario. Conspiración contra la Sociedad del Conocimiento' (Condor in the university arena: Conspiracy against the Knowledge Society) is underway at the Centro de Investigación en Estudios de Opinión Pública (Centre for Research on Public Opinion Studies: CICEOP) in the Faculty of Journalism and Social Communication at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina. Its confirmation of a civilian-military espionage network in Argentine universities during the military dictatorship and "Dirty War" between 1976 and 1982 suggests similar operations throughout the region during the era of authoritarian capitalism from the Brazilian coup in 1964 to the semi-democratisation of Chile in 1990. Operatives compiled lists of "subversives" on campus¯or, in the Chilean junta's preferred term, "conflictivos" ("conflictive persons", code for Left dissident, union activist or revolutionary)¯who were promptly tortured, executed or exiled. One such torture victim whose wife was executed at the same Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Martín Almada, claims that CICEOP research has shown that agents of the ci-

vilian-military axis of terror which Operation Condor represented eliminated Paraguayan, Peruvian, Ecuadorian, Chilean and Colombian students at UNLP during the militarisation of Argentine universities under the junta (1976-1983). The project has initiated links with other Southern Cone universities to systematise its findings. Estimates of Condor's final toll vary. For its part, CICEOP claims that a minimum of 100,000 citizens of Southern Cone nations died during its reign of state terror.[87]

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND PINOCHET

Since the Nuremberg Trials (1945-49) sentenced some senior Nazis to death or imprisonment, torture has been recognised under international law as involving individual responsibility. Although Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights covers the proscription of torture, it was only after the overthrow of Allende and the reported widespread use of torture by the military junta that the General Assembly in 1975 drew upon the obligation of states under the UN Charter to take 'effective measures' to prevent torture. The Declaration Against Torture asserted that torture was defined as 'any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted by or at the instigation of a public official on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or confession, punishing him for an act he has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating him or other persons.'[88] The Convention on Torture – to which Britain, Spain and Chile are parties – also outlaws 'inhuman and degrading treatment', making both 'torture' and 'inhuman treatment' prohibited under the European Convention.[89] The Convention defines torture as the infliction of severe pain 'by or with the acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.'[90] It follows that a head of state cannot

escape accountability which falls on those who actually carried out orders to commit acts covered under these statutes. In Pinochet's case, claims of 'cultural relativism' could not be asserted, as Chile had no history of concentration camps being used to house political prisoners. Nor could it be used to defend the acts of widespread torture of women and children, as Chile had no history of such acts of terror against its own population before its use by Pinochet and DINA.

The Pinochet regime was so violent and brutal in its repression following the coup that the CIA itself claimed that it was unable to gain an accurate tally of casualties throughout the country. In October 1973 the CIA station in Santiago reported that '4,000 deaths have resulted from the 11 September 1973 coup and subsequent clean-up operations.' Four days later the same station reported estimates amongst civilians of 'death figures from 2,000 to 10,000.'[91] For its part, the junta admitted to only 244 killed. Later the CIA obtained a 'highly sensitive' summary on post-coup repression which claimed that, in the six weeks following the coup, the military had despatched 13,500 citizens to twenty detention centres. Nearly 1,500 civilians had been massacred, and 360 summarily executed. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, at a private meeting with Nixon's secretary of state Henry Kissinger on 13 November 1973, protested about Pinochet's brutality. 'They shouldn't go in for slaughtering that way. It was terrible … hundreds of bodies were thrown out of the stadium.'[92] Kissinger responded with a secret briefing paper, 'Chilean Executions'.[93] But in reality both the Chilean and Brazilian coups were causes for celebration in Washington, where 'U.S. personnel actually helped in the writing of White Papers justifying and explaining these *constructive* developments.'[94]

Following the inauguration of Patricio Aylwin as first post-

dictatorship president on 11 March 1990, General Pinochet warned that 'No one is going to touch my people. The day they do, the state of law will come to an end.'[95] It took the government five years before it could place the head of DINA, Manuel Contreras, on trial, and then only after massive public pressure and reluctant U.S. insistence on his prosecution for the assassination of Allende's foreign minister Orlando Letelier and his assistant Ronni Moffat in Washington D.C. in 1976.[96] After popular pressure within Chile, the first Concertación regime established two commissions of enquiry into dictatorship victims. The Rettig Report (1992) listed 3,197 dissidents and leftists killed, while the Valech Report (2004) gives a figure of 28,000 tortured.[97] Neither of these withstand scrutiny, and are tainted by the Right's post-dictatorship efforts to minimise true statistics and adhere to the 'transición pactada', a Concertación government-military pact from the 1980s under which the Armed Forces agreed to limited democracy in exchange for immunity from prosecution for their crimes against humanity. So for instance according to the Catholic church's Vicaría de la Solidaridad there were 42,486 political detentions between 1973 and 1975; some 12,134 people were individually arrested for political reasons and 26,431 collective arrests took place between 1976 and 1988. Between 1977 and 1988, 4,134 persons were threatened or harassed, 1,008 were victims of forced disappearance and 2,100 people died for political reasons.[98] Dwarfing state figures, the Colegio Médico de Chile (Chilean Medical College, or Doctors' Guild) has established that the regime tortured some 400,000 citizens in a population of ten million between 1973 and 1989, or almost one in every twenty members of the population[99]; and up to 20,000 citizens were executed (see earlier discussion). Both figures may still rise.

Beyond the argument so far, Pinochet's responsibility for the Chilean holocaust includes activities carried out at con-

centration camps and his establishment of DINA within the military, to supervise the operations of torture centres under the directorship of Colonel Contreras, who reported daily and directly to him.[100] DINA went on to eliminate opponents of the regime throughout the Americas under Operation Condor. Pinochet appointed himself 'Supreme Chief of the Nation' and later 'President of the Republic', and ruled under such capacity as head-of-state until 1990. He saw himself beyond the rule of international law for his crimes against humanity under the 1970 'Friendly Declaration', also known as the 'tyrants' charter': 'No state or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law.'[101] In 1978 Pinochet granted an amnesty to 'all persons who as authors, accomplices, or accessories committed... criminal offences during the period of the State of Siege between 11 September 1973 and 10 March 1978', excluding the Letelier bombing in Washington D.C. following the insistence of the Carter administration.

It was under such legal protection that Pinochet felt safe to travel to Britain in 1998, when his presence in London was reported in the *Guardian* by Hugh O'Shaughnessy.[102] The Chief Justice refused the Spanish government's request for extradition since Pinochet was an ex-head of state and therefore had sovereign immunity for every crime that he committed in Chile. The *Pinochet Case* proceeded to Britain's highest court, the House of Lords, where the results provided a significant change in international law. The majority decision was that sovereign immunity applied only to sovereigns who were exercising le-

gitimate state functions, and that the use of widespread torture could not be considered a legitimate conduct by any head of state.[103] On 24 March 1999, the 6-1 judgement held that an international law prohibition which had achieved *jus cogens* status, such as the rule against systematic torture, dissolved the sovereign immunity which customary law granted to former officials and heads of state. Under British statutory law, however, Pinochet could only be extradited for crimes committed since 1988, when Britain introduced extra-territorial torture as an offence in its own law. The Madrid investigating magistrate Balthazar Garson uncovered thirty cases of torture in 1988-89 for which Pinochet could be held responsible, and ordered his extradition to Spain. Pinochet launched an appeal that on medical grounds he was unfit for trial, and with the Home Secretary extending compassion the aging dictator fled back to Chile. In August 2004 the Chilean Supreme Court stripped him of immunity and declared Pinochet fit to be tried for his authorization of Operation Condor. Meanwhile a U.S. Senate enquiry uncovered evidence of Pinochet's multimillion dollar secret accounts with the Riggs Bank and his fraudulent money laundering through the ghost Ashburton Company Ltd. and Althorp Investment Co. Ltd.[104] What is important about the Pinochet case was that it was 'the first and paradigm test of international human rights laws' that crimes against humanity, such as the systematic use of torture, override sovereignty. It is the most important precedent for international law since the Nuremberg Trials.[105]

The British prosecutors levelled a general conspiracy charge of the use of systematic torture and engendering fear to maintain power in Chile, and that the conspiracy to terrorize opponents by the systematic use of torture continued until 1990. Thirty other charges made specific allegations of the use of such

torture. General Pinochet was not accused of being personally responsible, but with directing it while in command of DINA. Prior to his arrest in London in 1998, Pinochet had never denied responsibilities for torture being carried out in Chile.[106] In Britain, the *Pinochet Case* galvanised compliance with the Torture Convention. The European Court of Human Rights confirmed the ruling of *Pinochet (No. 3)* on 24 March 1999, finding that the international prohibition against torture overrides sovereign immunities in criminal cases.[107]

Augusto José Ramón Pinochet Ugarte died at the age of 91 of heart complications on 10 December 2006, by coincidence, International Human Rights Day. Pinochet's corpse was publicly exhibited the following day at the Military School in Las Condes, where thousands mourned his passing. To avoid 'profanation of his tomb' his body was cremated in Parque del Mar cemetery, Concón, on 12 December 2006.[108]

STATISTICS OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a concentration camp as 'a camp where non-combatants of a district are accommodated', such as those instituted by Lord Kitchener during the South African Boer War of 1899-1902; also for the 'internment of political prisoners, foreign nationals, etc.'[109] Facing attack by Boer guerrillas, British forces rounded up the Boer women and children as well as black people living on Boer-claimed land, and concentrated them into thirty-one camps scattered around South Africa. This was part of the scorched-earth policy that denied the guerrillas access to supplies of food and clothing required to fight the war. Nazi Germany set up camps whose main objective was to exterminate prisoners, and called them concentration camps to conceal their true purpose.

The term until then was used to mean a camp where a group of prisoners was concentrated, with no reference to conditions endured. Since 1945 no government or organization has set up 'concentration' camps by that name, instead calling them by euphemisms, such as internment camps, or in the case of Chile, detention camps. During the 1976-1983 military dictatorship in Argentina some 100 places served as secret detention centres and concentration camps. The peak years were 1976-78, when nearly 9,000 people are known to have been killed there. The Argentine National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP, 1984) Report states that there is 'reason to believe that the true figure is much higher' than the figure of 30,000 which is often quoted.[110]

Sergio Diez, the Pinochet regime's delegate before the United Nations General Assembly claimed on 7 November 1975 that 'many of the supposedly disappeared do not legally exist.' Abraham Santibáñez, assistant director of *Hoy* magazine, described the human remains found in the limestone ovens in Lonquén on 30 November 1978. 'Yellowing splinters of skull with some traces of head hair; some loose, black, hairs; torn clothing which can be recognized as being from a pair of jeans, a man's sweater...' (Santiago de Chile, 15 September 1979). These were all that remained of fifteen men arrested on 7 October 1973 in the rural community of Isla de Maipo, and whose whereabouts were unknown until the end of 1978 when the ovens were discovered. The armed forces administered more than twenty 'detention sites' throughout Chile. Most were unknown to the public.[111]

A list of the major concentration camps and centres of torture shows that they were set up either on the day of the coup or soon afterwards (see table below). As many were in isolated areas, this could only have been possible if plans for such camps and centres had been thought out well in advance of the coup.[112]

Main Chilean Concentration Camps and Detention Centres[113]

Concentration Camp	Location	Duration	Prisoners
National Stadium and Chile Stadium	Ñuñoa & Estación Central, Santiago	From 11 sept 1973	15,000
Valparaíso	Valparaíso port	11 sept 1973 - 1974	324
Pisagua	Tarapacá Province	11 sept 1973 - October 1974	500
Tejas Verdes	San Antonio, central Chile	11 sept 1973 to mid - 1974	200
Quiriquina Island	Talcahuano Bay, Province Concepción	11 sept 1973 - late 1974	1,000
Dawson Island	Near Punta Arenas, far southern Chile	11 sept 1973 - october 1974	400
Chacabuco	Antofagasta, far northern Chile	november 1973 to april 1975	1,000
Colonia Dignidad	Catillo, southern Chile	1973 – 1977	1,000
Ritoque	Province Valparaíso	june 1974 to 1975	unknown
Melinka (Puchuncaví)	Province Valparaíso	july 1974 to 1975	70
Concepción Regional Stadium	Concepción	october 1974	589
Concepción Public Jail	Concepción	november 1973	73
Talcahuano Base	Concepción	november 1973	158

In Santiago, the symbol of the repression was the eighty-thousand-seat Estadio Nacional, built in 1935. Its walls were impregnable, and its locker rooms were used for interrogation and torture. The eighty-five-thousand capacity Estadio Chile served as a way station for prisoners. The National Stadium and Chile Stadium were used as temporary concentration camps immediately after the 11 September 1973 military coup. The navy at the port of Valparaíso operated detention centres

aboard the ships *Esmeralda*, *Maipo* and *Lebu*. The *Maipo* was transferred to the Navy on 11 September 1973 at 10:00 am. The Red Cross reported in November 1973 that there were 324 political prisoners aboard the *Lebu*. In 1975 the DINA executed a group of people at the Rinconada de Maipú centre. Quiriquina Island near Talcahuano Bay, Concepción, was initially a Navy training school, before being used as a detention centre from 11 September 1973. The Red Cross estimated 552 prisoners were held here in October 1973.

At Pisagua, near Iquique in the north, prisoners were brought to the military base immediately following the coup, then held in several detention centres set up for political prisoners: the No. 6 Telecommunications Regiment in Iquique, the 'Rancagua' Motorized Infantry Regiment in Arica, the Pisagua public jail built in 1948, as well as that town's theatre annexes and a warehouse. Prisoners were tortured or subjected to other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Prisoners from the Iquique Telecommunications Regiment, regional police headquarters, and those aboard the Maipo prison ship at Valparaíso were transported there in October 1973. The Rettig Report shows that the Pisagua jail was the most important detention centre in the region. Deaths at Pisagua were generally reported in the press and, in a large number of cases, families were officially notified. But in the majority of cases, the victims' bodies were not returned to their families. In June 1990, a judicial enquiry in Pisagua led to the discovery of an unmarked grave, next to the cemetery, containing nineteen bodies. At Chacabuco, 110 kilometres from Antofagasta, is a small mining town abandoned in 1938 and subsequently used by the army for military exercises. Here prisoners lived in adobe corridors, each containing ten small houses. The camp was run by the Army First Division based in Antofagasta, but guard duty rotated between Army, Air Force and Carabineros personnel.

During the Popular Unity era, the government had built Melinka in far southern Chile, a resort for low-income families. Owned by the Central Labor Confederation (CUT) it was taken over by the military as a concentration camp, where 58 prisoners from the Chile Stadium were sent. In October 1974, more prisoners were transferred from Chacabuco. The Melinka prisoners were highly organized, and about 100 organised a hunger strike to protest the case of 119 disappeared persons reported to be dead abroad. Ritoque, another beach resort owned by the CUT, was enclosed with barbed wire by the military. In June 1974 members of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government were sent there from Dawson Island, and other prisoners were transferred there from Chacabuco and Tres Alamos. The camp was under the jurisdiction of the Quintero Air Base and guard duty was done by the FACH and Carabineros. Officially called Prison Camp No. 2 of the Military Engineers' School, Tejas Verdes was one of the first concentration camps set up by the military and was known as a major torture camp. An OAS delegation visited it in July 1974 and verified 200 detainees. San Antonio jail was run by the military from Tejas Verdes.[114]

A forced labour camp was established at Fort Rondizzoni, initially used for interrogations of prisoners from Concepción and Bío Bío. Other detention centres include the Concepción Regional Stadium, where the International Red Cross reported 589 prisoners in October 1973, the Concepción Public Jail, where the Army held 43 prisoners, the Navy 17 and 13 condemned by War Councils. The Talcahuano Naval Base had 158 prisoners, while other detention centres were the Tomé Prison and the Fourth Carabineros Headquarters in Concepción. Dawson Island, in the Magellan Straits south of Punta Arenas, had been used as a concentration camp for the Selknam (Ona) and other indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century. Some thirty important political figures from the Popular Unity government were

sent to Dawson Island following the coup, alongside some 200 prisoners from the local area. In the Magallanes region in 1973 an estimated 1,000 people were held and submitted to torture at other detention centres in the region: the former Naval Hospital of Punta Arenas; 'Pudeto' Motorized Infantry Regiment No. 10 in Punta Arenas; the 'General René Schneider' Armed Battalion No. 5; Destacamento de Infantería de Marina No. 4 'Cochrane'; Estadio Fiscal of Punta Arenas; and the Bahía Catalina Air Force base.

In March 1974 Graham Holton interviewed travellers who were caught up in the Coup and placed in what they referred to as concentration camps in southern Chile. After interrogations on whether they had supported the Allende regime, they were taken to forests on the border with Argentina and told to keep walking. If it had not been for an Argentine farmer making his weekly trip to a small town finding them, they would have frozen to death overnight. The press would then have been told that they had died while hiking. Holton himself was taken off a bus at gunpoint outside Iquique, interrogated, and then dumped in the Atacama Desert on the border with Peru. Fortunately a truck load of Bolivians picked him up and saved him from perishing in the waterless desert. Again, it would have appeared as a traveller's misadventure. Holton had wanted to witness the power of place in what Maria Tumarkin calls 'traumascapes', with the knowledge of the suffering of these people to see what meaning could be gleaned apart from the official versions of what had been perpetrated there. As Tumarkin writes: 'Such places bring forth unsolicited interpretations, demand an engagement, ensure the contagiousness of the effect produced by trauma. This why I am here. To begin understanding.'[115]

IMPACT OF POLITICAL GENOCIDE

So widespread and palpable was the repression unleashed upon 70 per cent of Chile's population that some sectors immediately organised to assist the victims of human rights violations, despite the real dangers this posed. By doing so, organizations such as the Catholic Church's Comité Pro Paz (COPACHI, created in September 1973) and its successor the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (Solidarity Vicariate, founded January 1976), as well as a large number of non-government and popular sector organizations, managed to collect data and information which gives an insight into the extensive scope of repression carried out by agents of the state.[116] Solidarity committees sprang up almost overnight throughout much of the world, contributing in material, political and psych-social ways to confronting the dictatorship through civil society.

From March 1974 onwards, COPACHI began to receive large numbers of protective writs from family members of people imprisoned or disappeared. By the end of 1974, the Committee had received 1,341 such writs. From 1976 to 1985, the Vicaria assisted 34,000 people with legal, social, medical or psychotherapeutic assistance. The Latin American Institute on Mental Health and Human Rights (ILAS), created in 1988 with the aim of assisting victims of human rights violations, estimates that 10 per cent of the total population of Chile was directly affected by a repressive situation by the early 1980s. ILAS defines a 'repressive situation' as arrests for any length of time, or threats; having a relative in prison, killed or disappeared; as well as expulsion for political reasons from the place of work or university. ILAS cautions that this figure is conservative. Of this total ILAS believes 'situations of extreme trauma' affected some 200,000 persons, a figure derived from the numbers of prisoners in detention camps until 1975, persons forced into exile, persons tortured, executed or disappeared, and their immediate family.

Chilean psychologists, human rights activists and other sectors working with victims of human rights violations confirmed that the effects of such violations reached deep into Chilean society. The research by these groups concludes that within families of the affected there exist two categories: direct victims and indirect victims. Persons who are tortured, forced to disappear, executed, murdered, detained, abducted or forced into exile are direct victims of human rights violations. The work carried out in Chile with victims and their families concludes that direct victims, or first generation victims, also includes the entire family group of the person subjected to a human rights violation. Children who are born later into this family group are considered indirect victims, as they too are affected by the change in relationships within the family which occur as a consequence of the deep anxiety suffered by the family group to which the victim belongs. These anxiety-filled situations include the death or imprisonment of a relative, the search for a disappeared family member, police raids on the family home, the dispersal of family members, children placed in the charge of other families for months at a time, and long separations when a member of the family must assume a clandestine existence.[117]

At least 80 children 15 years of age or younger died as a result of violent repression or were shot outright. Young people between the ages of 16 and 30 accounted for more 62 per cent of all victims of repression. At least 68 minors and young people are among the disappeared. At least 691 children are known to have been orphaned when their parents were arrested and subsequently disappeared. Although the street¯where more than 24 per cent of all disappeared were apprehended¯was the most dangerous place to be during these years, the home harboured no assurances of safety: 28.5 per cent of the disappeared were taken from their residences.[118]

CONCLUSION: POLITICAL GENOCIDE AND HOLOCAUST

The coup and its bloody aftermath put an abrupt end to a relatively long period of constitutional rule in Chile and set the stage for an authoritarian regime that would be sustained through fascistoid and imperialist-backed force until 1990. Based on the definitions under international law and precedent, human rights violations were widespread and systematic, particularly in the earliest years of the military regime. These included arbitrary arrests, raids on private households, imprisonment, extra-judicial executions, torture, relegation and exile.

It has taken almost thirty years for human rights activists, judges, historians, and social scientists to begin documenting the history of long-known abuses in South America, and to fathom the exact role played by the United States in these events.[119] Under pressure from communications multinational ITT, the Nixon administration decided to prevent Salvador Allende from becoming President in 1970, even though Allende had won a plurality in the elections. Under the direction of Kissinger, who was at first Nixon's National Security Advisor and later his Secretary of State, the White House instructed the CIA to launch a two-track policy. Track I entailed a scenario to induce the Chilean Congress to 'constitutionally' block Allende from being ratified on October 24. Track II was a military coup.[120] The United Nation's Human Rights Commission failed to denounce the CIA's involvement in Chile when the Nixon administration aided the military overthrow of the democratically elected government of Dr Salvador Allende. Geoffrey Robertson QC, distinguished lawyer and author, calls the resultant disappearances and violations of the opposition by the Pinochet regime the 'century's most vicious human rights violations.'[121]

State repression and genocide on this scale required well-educated professionals to run the technology, organise the surveillance equipment, and produce a system of repression arti-

culated with the state's public ideology. As in the case of Nazi Germany, the military regime relied on doctors, engineers, lawyers, school teachers, university professionals, the clergy and civilian espionage to be efficiently mobilised into the state apparatus and its ideological project.[122] In the case of authoritarian capitalism in Chile from the coup until March 1990, it was the military establishment, the DINA and paramilitary death squads, the schools and universities, and the medical system which acted as the tools of the regime's system of ideology and its repression of the Left. As had occurred in Nazi Germany, significant sectors of the medical community collaborated with the Junta in its torture programmes, including chemical and biological experimentation on political prisoners.

To understand how political genocide produced this holocaust, one must understand the particular historical context of the Pinochet regime and its socio-political construct. It is impossible to kill such large numbers of people without a vision of a higher purpose for Chilean society. This consuming ideological position—the removal of Communism and the Left in real and imaginary forms—allowed highly educated people to support the brutal behaviour and violent hatred of the Pinochet dictatorship. It meant that significant sectors of Chilean society internalised a commitment to an allegedly higher purpose, 'legitimising' the otherwise unthinkable. Three levels were involved in the process: the production of the political ideology; the coordination of the systematic processes it implied; and the socialisation of the population to accept the 'ethics' of the new ideology. This required a collection of institutions to be integrated in the common pursuit of political genocide, with a distinct ideology and mind-set, institutional and bureaucratic momentum, and political immediacy. Under the Pinochet regime, the synchronisation of the whole process within a national security state and a Francoist-corporativist crusade produced the mass killings, widespread torture, and disappearances on a formidable scale—all with impunity—that culminated in Chile's holocaust.

NOTES

[1] For a history of Genocide see Ben Kiernan, Blood and Soil: A world history of genocide and extermination from Sparta to Darfur, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2007.

[2] On the Armenian genocide, see http://www.armenian-genocide.org/index.htm; on China, see Gil Elliot, Twentieth Century Book of the Dead, London, Allen Lane, 1972; and Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell (eds.), Republican China, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972, passim but especially pp. 186-194.

[3] See Emir Sader, 'Perú: la civilización inca y su masacre', at http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=62367, 26 January 2008.

[4] V. Marchetti et al., The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, London, Jonathan Cape, 1974, pp. 6, 306-307; Anderson, B., 'Petrus Dadi Ratu', New Left Review 3 (2nd series, 1999), pp. 5-15.

[5] M.R. Marrus, The Holocaust in History, London, Penguin, 1987, p.23.

[6] Marrus, The Holocaust in History, p. 22.

[7] Bernard Lewis, Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry into Conflict and Prejudice, New York, Norton, 1986, p. 21.

[8] Yehuda Bauer, 'The Place of the Holocaust in Contemporary History', Journal of Contemporary Jewry, Vol. 1 (1984), p. 202.

[9] David E. Stannard, 'Uniqueness as Denial: The Politics of Genocide Scholarship', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide, Boulder, Colorado, Westview, 2001, p. 167.

[10] Deborah Lipstadt, Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory, New York, Free Press, 1993, pp. 212-215.

[11] Norman G. Finkelstein, The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering, London, Verso, 2000, pp. 14-17.

[12] Finkelstein, The Holocaust Industry, p. 6.

[13] Finkelstein, The Holocaust Industry, p. 7.

[14] Lennie Brenner, Zionism in the Age of Dictators: A Reappraisal, AAARGH Reprints, Internet, 2004, pp. 10, 31-35. Originally published by Croom Helm, London & Canberra, 1983.

[15] See for instance C. Menjívar and N. Rodríguez (eds), When States Kill: Latin America, the U.S., and Technologies of Terror, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2005.

[16] Geoffrey Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice', London, Penguin, 2006, pp. 352-354.

[17] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 333.

[18] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 47.

[19] Steven Stern puts the figure conservatively at 4,500: see his Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1998, London, Duke University Press, 2006, pp. 392-395. Stern cites the testimony of a US couple held in the National Stadium in September 1973 as carefully counting 400 executions just during their brief stay. In 1994 a taxi driver suggested to us a widely-held figure of 5,000 deaths in the national Stadium alone in the months immediately after the coup. Our combined research there since 1973, especially among popular organisations and in combative areas of the capital, the continuing discovery of secret junta burial sites, plus a more critical reading of official post-1990 than Stern will countenance, suggests that a figure around 20,000 may not ultimately be astray.

[20] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, pp. 259-262.

[21] The Convention is ratified by the United States, despite that country's treatment of prisoners at the Guantánamo Naval Base in occupied Cuban territory.

[22] Raphael Lemkin, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis Of Government, Proposals For Redress, Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944. See also Raphael Lemkin, 'Genocide as a crime under international law', in Mark Lattimer (ed.), Genocide and Human Rights, Aldershot, England, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 3-10.

[23] Enviro-racism is the intentional siting of hazardous and polluting industries in areas inhabited by non-white, working class poor. The landmark study of environmental racism Toxic Waste and Race in the United States, by the Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ (1987) described the extent of racism and the consequences of the victims of polluted environments. In the US over 15 million African-American, over 8 million Hispanics, and 50 per cent of Asian/Pacific Islanders and Native Americans are living in communities with one or more abandoned or uncontrolled toxic waste sites. See Graham Holton, 'Environmental Racism and the Record of Australian Mining Companies', in Labor Review, No. 29 (1999), pp. 23-27.

[24] See F. S. Rivas, Traición a Hipocrates: Médicos en el Aparato Represivo de la Dictadura, Santiago de Chile, 1990; and DINA assassin Mariana Townley in Christopher Olgiati (writer-director), The Assassin: The Pursuit of Michael Townley, London, BBC-Paladin (documentary), MCMXCII. On the surgeons' strike during the Popular Unity government in 1973, see S. Cassidy, Audacity to Relieve, London, Collins, 1977, p. 44.

[25] One of the better known cases in this category was Marta Ugarte, former president of SUTE (Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación), the national education workers union founded by Popular Unity: see Tomás Moulian, Chile Actual: Anatomía de un Mito, Santiago de Chile, LOM, 1998, pp. 182-183.

[26] Quoted in Thomas Hauser, Missing, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978, p. 109.

[27] In 1933 Allende co-founded the Socialist Party of Chile. Four years later he was elected to the lower house, or Congress. He ran three times for the presidency before his eventual election in 1970.

[28] For problems of nationalization of the heights of economy see, Edward Boorstein, Allende's Chile: An Inside View, New York, International Publishers, 1977, pp. 127-147.

[29] Stern, Battling for Hearts and Minds, pp. 17-18, 21, 24.

[30] The Staff Report of United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Washington, D.C., 1975.

[31] See Mario Garcés & Sebastián Leiva, El Golpe en La Legua: Los caminos de la historia y la memoria, Santiago de Chile, LOM, 2005; and Patricio Quiroga Zamora, Compañeros - El GAP: La Escolta de Allende, Santiago de Chile, Aguilar Ediciones, 2001.

[32] Patricia Weiss Fagen, 'Repression and State Security', in Juan E. Corradi et. al. (eds), Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, p. 59.

[33] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 333.

[34] US Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), Official Decree on the Creation of the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA), July 2 1974, cited in P. Kornbluh, The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity & Accountability, London, The New Press, 2003, p. 158.

[35] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 222.

[36] Luis Cifuentes Seves, 'El Movimento Estudiantil Chileno y la Reforma Universitaria: 1967-1973', in Robert Austin Henry (ed.), Intelectuales y Educación Superior en Chile: de la Independencia a la Democracia Transicional, 1810-2001, Santiago de Chile, Centro de Estudios Sociales (CESOC), 2nd edition, 2004, pp. 133-150.

[37] Quoted in Hauser, Missing, p. 109.

[38] Quoted in Hauser, Missing, p. 189.

[39] Quoted in Hauser, Missing, p. 190.

[40] See for instance Alfredo Joignant, Un Día Distinto: Memorias festivas y batallas conmemorativas en torno al 11 de septiembre en Chile, 1974-2006, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 2007, passim; and Stern, Battling for Hearts and Minds, passim.

[41] See Víctor Farías, Salvador Allende. Antisemitismo y Eutanasia, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Maye Ltda., 2005; and Salvador Allende, Higene Mental y Delincuencia (Tésis para optar al título de médico, 1933), Santiago de Chile, CESOC, 2005.

[42] Kornbluh, The Pinochet File, pp. 157-161.

[43] Between 1970 and 1973, the CIA funnelled US$38,500 to Patria y Libertad.

[44] See Patricia Verdugo, Chile, Pinochet and the Caravan of Death, University of Miami, (1989) 2001.

[45] Menjívar and Rodríguez (eds), When States Kill, pp. 17, 32, 34-36, 123, 179-181.

[46] CIA, Latin America Regional and Political Analysis. 24 May 1977. Secret. P. 2.

[47] See for instance Isaac Caro, Extremismos de Derecha y Movimientos Neonazis, Santiago de Chile, LOM, 2007.

[48] Carlos Maldonado, 'Nazis y Movimiento Nazi en Chile, 1931-1945', in Acción Chilena: Revista del Movimiento Socialista Nacional, undated, at http://www.accionchilena.cl/Pagina%20Central/nazisynacis.htm This article has been heavily if not trivially edited by the Nazi editors but still retains some coherence.

[49] Graeme S. Mount, Chile and the Nazis: From Hitler to Pinochet, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 2002, p. 16.

[50] Further, in the Santiago General Cemetery is a small-scale replica of the Washington monument with the names of the 55 Nazis who died in 1938: see Mount, Chile and the Nazis, pp. 157-158, and photos, p. xiii.

[51] Orlando Millas, Memorias: La Alborada Democrática en Chile. Primer Volumen: En Tiempos del Frente Popular, 1932-1947, Santiago de Chile, CESOC, 1993, p. 277; Brian Loveman, Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism, New York, Oxford UP, 1988, p. 246.

[52] Bowers to Hull, 3 June 1943, FRUS, 1943, V, p. 820.

[53] Mount, Chile and the Nazis, p. 156.

[54] William F. Wertz, Jr., 'Nazis, Operation Condor, and Bush's Privatization Plan', Executive Intelligence Review, March 25, 2005.

[55] Mount, Chile and the Nazis, p. 157.

[56] Department of Defense Intelligence Information Report, 'Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA) Expands Operations and Facilities', Santiago, Chile, Report No. 6817009475 (15 April 1975), p. 3. Confidential. Emphasis in original.

[57] Ladislas Farago, Aftermath: Martin Bormann and the Fourth Reich, London, Simon and Schuster, 1974, p. 387. Farago mistakes Popular Unity for an "extreme left" government on the same page, tainting his claims. Was a full-blown extreme-Right counter-revolution not well underway within a year of Allende's inauguration?

[58] Etchepare and Stewart, 'Nazism in Chile: A Particular Type of Fascism in South America', Journal of Contemporary History, 1995, No. 30, pp. 577-605.

[59] Carlos Maldonado, 'Right-wing paramilitary groups in Chile, 1900-1950', at http://www.pdgs.org/Archivo/d00000ba.htm

[60] Ladislas Farago, Aftermath: Martin Bormann and the Fourth Reich, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1975, pp. 386-388. See also Patricia Bravo, 'Mercancía a Bajo Precio: Explotación sexual de menores', Punto Final, N° 545, 5 October 2007, at http://www.puntofinal.cl/555/explotacionsexual.htm

[61] PF, "La 'Solución Final' de la UDI", Punto Final, N° 545, 5 October 2007, at http://

www.puntofinal.cl/545/editorial.htm

[62] http://en.wikipdeia.org/wiki/Colonia_Dignidad.

[63] Jens Meyer-Wellmann, 'Colonia Dignidad: a Hamburg man hunts sect founder Schaefer', Hamburg Abendblatt, November 13, 1999, htpp://www.cisar.org/991103d.htm. Alicia Sánchez, 'RIGHTS-CHILE: Search for Hidden Graves in Colonia Dignidad', htpp://www.noticiasaliadas.org/article.asp?IanCode=1&artCode=2437. BBC News, 'German held over "Chile torture", http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4562918.stm.

[64] Simon Wiesenthal Center, 'SWC Applauds Argentina For Capturing Nazi Fugitive Paul Schaefer; Demands Chile To Investigate His Connections With Nazi War Criminals', 15 March 2005. http://www.wiesenthal.com.

[65] Farago, Aftermath, p. 66. Wiesenthal's book was published in paperback without any revisions.

[66] See Charles Whiting, The Hunt for Martin Bormann: The Truth, London, Leo Cooper, (1973) 1976, pp. 218-219.

[67] Víctor Farías, The Nazis in Chile, Germany, Verlagsgesellsch, 2002.

[68] Mark Aarons, War Criminals Welcome: Australia, A Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals since 1945, Melbourne (Australia), Black Inc., 2001, pp. 131, 422.

[69] Quoted in Farago, Aftermath, p. 408.

[70] Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein and Adalbert Ruckerl (eds.), Nazi Mass Murder: A Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993, p. 53.

[71] Kogon et al. (eds), Nazi Mass Murder, p. 53. The OSS was the forerunner of the CIA.

[72] Ha'aretz, March 29, 2007. http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/843805.html. Shraga Elam & Dennis Whitehead, 'In the Service of the Jewish State', 31/3/2007

htpp://www.haaretz.com/hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=843805.

[73] In relation to MI5, 'September 2005 Release Of Security Service Files: German Intelligence Officers', Walter Rauff: file ref KV 2/1970. 5 September 2005. http://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/Page382.html

[74] Uki Goñi, The Real Odessa: How Perón Brought the Nazi War Criminals to Argentina, London, Granta Books, 2002, p. 290.

[75] See Farago, Aftermath, pp. 305-310.

[76] Simon Wiesenthal Center, News Release, 23 June 2006 at http://www.wiesenthal.com.

[77] Ha'aretz, March 29, 2007 at http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/843805.html.

[78] Renato Cristi, El Pensamiento Político de Jaime Guzmán: Autoridad y Libertad, Santiago de Chile, LOM, 2000, pp. 15-16, 59, 61-62, 101-103. This work is major contribution to

analysis of the ideological foundations of the Extreme Right in Chile, and the role of its more important defenders. These include the Unión Democrática Independiente (UDI), powerful instrument of neoliberal-catholic continuity during the unfulfilled "democratic transition" in place since the dictatorship's political defeat at the 1988 referendum.

[79] Lake Sagaris, After the First Death: A Journey Through Chile Time Mind, Toronto, 1996, p. 205.

[80] Julio Enríquez, 'The English Patient', Peace Review, Vol. 11, Nº 1 (1999).

[81] Alejandro Reuss, 'U.S. in Chile: The U.S. government turns over 5, 800 documents', Z Magazine, November 1999.

[82] Peter Kornbluh, 'Chile and the United States: Declassified Documents Relating to the Military Coup, September 11, 1973', http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/nsaebb8i.htm; The National Security Archive, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB212/index.thm.

[83] John Dinges, The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents, New York, The New Press, 2005.

[84] J. Patrice McSherry, Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America, Lanham, MD., Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

[85] In January 2005 Contreras was arrested to begin serving a 12-year sentence for murder. The unusually comfortable conditions provided for himself and other senior dictatorship functionaries have been the source of widespread protest across the country.

[86] Patrice McSherry, 'Tracking the Operations of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor', Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 29, N° 1 (2002), pp. 38-60.

[87] Martín Almada, 'El Plan Cóndor Universitario: La conspiración contra la sociedad del conocimiento en América Latina', at http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=63352

[88] Quoted in Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 265.

[89] The U.S.A. does not include such acts as the removal of toe and foot nails as torture as it does not threaten life.

[90] Quoted in Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 357.

[91] Kornbluh, The Pinochet File, p. 153. Sources told Graham Holton in March 1974 that 2,000 had been killed in the first two weeks.

[92] Kornbluh, The Pinochet File, footnote 2, p. 517.

[93] Kornbluh, The Pinochet File, p. 153.

[94] Edward S. Herman, The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1985, p. 122. Emphasis added.

[95] Americas Watch, Chile in Transition, 1989, p. 73; 'The Truth About Pinochet: Chile's Legacy of Torture, Murder, International Terrorism and "the Disappeared"', http://

www.lakota.clara.net/derechos/events.htm.

[96] See Robert Austin, 'The Afterlife of Orlando Letelier', in Arena Magazine, Nº 18 (August-September 1995).

[97] George Washington University National Security Archive. 'Pinochet: A Declassified Documentary Obit' and 'CIA Acknowledges Ties to Pinochet's Repression', 2006; Tom Burgis, 'Chile's torture victims to get life pensions', The Guardian (London), 30 November 2004.

[98] See Hugo Fruhling, 'Resistance to Fear in Chile: The Experience of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad', in Corradi et al. (eds), Fear at the Edge, pp 121-141; and CODEPU, Persona, Estado, Poder: Estudios Sobre Salud Mental, Chile 1973-1989, Vol. II, Santiago de Chile, CODEPU, 1995.

[99] Robert Austin, interview with Corporación de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo (Corporation for Promotion & Defence of the People's Rights: CODEPU), Santiago de Chile, 24 November 2001.

[100] Richard J. Wilson, 'Prosecuting Pinochet: International Crimes in Spanish Domestic Law', HRQ, 21, 1999. One infamous centre in the heart of middle-class Ñuñoa, Santiago, operated day and night with impunity, torturing hundreds and assassinating then disappearing 42 women and men, notably Left and grass-roots church leaders. See Corporación José Domingo Cañas 1367, Una Experiencia para No Olvidar: Casa de Tortura José Domingo Cañas 1367, Santiago de Chile, Corporación José Domingo Cañas 1367, 2003.

[101] Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Resolution 2625 (XXV), 24 October 1970.

[102] See Hugh O'Shaughnessy, Pinochet: The Politics of Torture, London, Latin American Bureau, 1999.

[103] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 337

[104] 'Informe del Senado estadounidense sobre las cuentas secretas de Pinochet en el Riggs Bank', at http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=2687 30.7.2004.

[105] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, pp. 339, 352.

[106] Ariel Dorfman, Exorcising Terror: The Incredible Unending Trial of General Augusto Pinochet, New York, Seven Stories Press, 2002.

[107] On the same day NATO countries began bombing Serbia to stop acts of atrocity being committed in that country.

[108] 'Augusto Pinochet', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augusto_Pinochet.

[109] J. A. Simpson & E.S.C. Weiner (eds.), The Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2nd Edition, Vol. III, 1989, p. 652; and The Concise Oxford Dictionary, New York, Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 194.

[110] For details and documentation see Report of CONADEP (Argentine National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons), 1984. http://www.webarticles.com.

[111] CIA, Intelligence Report, Secret, 27 October 27 1973, p. 5.

[112] Rettig Report and DERECHOS Chile, 2003, http://www.chip.cl/derechos/campo_pisagua_eng.html.

[113] From Derechos Chile, Concentration camps in Chile, 2002. For full report seehttp://www.chipsites.com/derechos/index_eng.html

[114] Emilio Rojas, Tejas Verdes: Mis Primeros Tres Minutos, Santiago de Chile, Editora Seminario 90, 1990.

[115] Maria Tumarkin, Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy, Melbourne (Australia), Melbourne University Press, 2005, p. 97.

[116] Elías Padilla, La memoria y el olvido: Detenidos Desaparecidos en Chile, (Santiago de Chile?), Ediciones Orígenes, 1995; CODEPU, Persona, Estado, Poder.

[117] Latin American Institute on Mental Health and Human Rights (ILAS), 1988 at http://www.chip.cl/derechos/campo_pisagua_eng.html

[118] Elizabeth Lira and María Isabel Castillo, Psicología de la Amenaza Política y del Miedo, Santiago de Chile, Centro de Estudios Sociales (CESOC), 1991.

[119] See Lesley Gill, The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas, Durham, Duke University Press, 2004.

[120] Chavkin, Samuel, The Murder of Chile: Eyewitness Accounts of the Coup, the Terror, and the Resistance Today, New York, Everest House, 1982.

[121] Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity, p. 47.

[122] See Lifton and Markusen, The Genocidal Mentality, p. 98; and Moulian, Chile Actual, pp. 119-147.