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### Reconsidering Operation Condor: Cross-border Military Cooperation and the Defeat of the Transnational Left in Chile and Argentina during the 1970s

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Reconsidering Operation Condor:  
Cross-border Military Cooperation and the Defeat of the Transnational Left in Chile and  
Argentina during the 1970s

An Honors Paper for the Department of History

By Georgia Claire Whitaker

Bowdoin College, 2014

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## List of Abbreviations

- AAA  
Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance
- CEDOC  
Centro de Documentación—Archival Center
- CNT  
Convención Nacional de Trabajadores—National Workers Confederation
- COMACHI  
Comité Argentino-Chileno—Argentine-Chilean Commission;  
Coordinación de Movimiento de Ayuda a Chile—Coordination of Movement to Help Chile
- CONADEP  
Comisión Nacional de Desaparición de Personas—National Commission on the Disappeared
- DGI  
Dirección General de Informaciones—General Directorate of Information
- DINA  
Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional—National Intelligence Directorate
- ELN  
Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army
- ESMA  
Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada—Navy Mechanics School
- FFAA  
Fuerzas Armadas—Armed Forces
- FOIA  
Freedom of Information Act
- FRECILINA  
Frente Cívico de Liberación Nacional—Civic Front of National Liberation
- JJCC  
Juventud Comunista—Communist Youth
- JP  
Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth
- GUS  
Grupo Universitario Socialista—University Socialist Group
- MAPU  
Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario—Popular Unitary Action Movement
- MIR  
Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Movement
- MLN-T  
Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros—National Liberation Movement-Tupamaros
- MMDH  
Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos—Museum of Memory and Human Rights

MSSA  
Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende—Salvador Allende Museum of Solidarity

NACLA  
North American Congress on Latin America

PCCh  
Partido Comunista de Chile—Chilean Communist Party

PDC  
Partido Demócrata Cristiano—Christian Democrat Party

PN  
Partido Nacional—National Party

PRT-ERP  
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores-Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—  
Workers' Revolutionary Party-People's Revolutionary Army

PS  
Partido Socialista—Socialist Party

ROE  
Resistencia Obrero-Estudiantil—Worker-Student Resistance

SID  
Servicio de Información y Defensa—Information and Defense Service

SIDE  
Secretaria de Informaciones del Estado—Ministry of State Information

SIPBA  
Servicio de Informaciones de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires—  
Police Information Services of Buenos Aires Province

UCRI  
Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente—Intransigent Radical Civic Union

UNHCR  
United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UP  
Unidad Popular—Popular Unity

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## Introduction

On September 21, 1976, the Chilean politician Orlando Letelier and his assistant, Ronni Moffitt, were killed in a car bombing in Sheridan Circle in Washington, D.C. Ex-minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to the United States under the socialist president Salvador Allende Gossens, Letelier was a staunch critic of Allende's successor, the military general Augusto Pinochet. The diplomat's premeditated assassination was a formidable demonstration of the international collaboration against Communism during the Cold War. The bombing was carried out by the Chilean secret police (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional or DINA) with the assistance of the North American Michael Townley, and a group of exiled Cubans living in the United States.

The assassination was one of the first large-scale manifestations of Operation Condor, a transnational intelligence-sharing operation created in the mid-1970s by six South American military regimes and the United States to inhibit the diffusion of leftist ideologies—and leftists themselves—in the Southern Cone, the United States, and Europe.<sup>1</sup> This high-profile assassination, while one of the most infamous examples of Condor, was by no means the first of its kind or an isolated event.

Operation Condor's origins can be traced a full three years prior to Letelier's assassination. On September 11, 1973, Pinochet ousted the democratically elected Allende in a bloody military coup d'état. From that day forward, the newly empowered military junta began to systematically arrest and detain thousands of Allende supporters. Pinochet and his military used a broad brush in identifying and targeting alleged Communist sympathizers who, they claimed, posed a threat to the new regime. In the

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<sup>1</sup> South America's southernmost countries, known collectively as the Southern Cone, include Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Brazil.

days and weeks following September 11, thousands of Chileans were taken from their homes, interrogated, detained, tortured, and massacred in the large sports stadiums of Santiago. By the end of the seventeen-year dictatorship, this systematic repression had affected more than 40,000 Chileans.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after September 11, thousands applied for political asylum at foreign embassies in Santiago. These hopeful asylum-seekers included Chilean natives as well as the many Brazilian, Argentine, Paraguayan, Uruguayan, Bolivian, and Ecuadoran nationals who, drawn to Allende's socialist experiment, had immigrated to Chile between 1970 and 1973. Demonstrative of the transnational character of the Cold War in South America, many of these refugees were leftists (or suspected leftists) who had either been forced into exile or who had voluntarily fled right-wing dictatorships in their home countries during the 1960s and early 1970s. This was especially true for Brazil, where an increasingly repressive military regime had seized power.<sup>3</sup> Since the Argentine government remained (nominally) democratic until its "Dirty War" began in March 1976, a significant number of these militants sought asylum in the Argentine Embassy in the Chilean capital of Santiago. Between September 1973 and late 1975, tens of thousands of South Americans chose to migrate in this manner. Due to its proximity, Argentina

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<sup>2</sup> The exact figure cited by the second Chilean truth commission, the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report (Comisión Nacional Sobre Prisión Política y Tortura), better known as the Valech Report, in 2011 is 40,018. This represents all documented cases of death, disappearance, kidnapping, torture, and abuse that occurred from September 1973 to 1989. Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos, *Comisión sobre Prisión Política y Tortura (Informe Valech)*, Sergio Valech, et. al. (29 Nov. 2004, updated in Aug. 2011), 10 Dec. 2013, [http://www.memoriaviva.com/Tortura/Informe\\_Valech.pdf](http://www.memoriaviva.com/Tortura/Informe_Valech.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> Democratically elected Brazilian president João Goulart was overthrown in a U.S.-backed military coup in 1964; however, there was a noticeable increase in repression in 1968 that precipitated the emigration of 10,000 to 15,000 Brazilians. Leslie Bethell, "Politics in Brazil: From Elections without Democracy to Democracy without Citizenship," *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 1-27, especially 2; and Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger, *The Politics of Exile in Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially 196.

received the highest number of Chilean asylees in the first two years after Allende's fall. But the Chilean diaspora was broad as well as deep. Those taking flight found a safe haven in anywhere from 110 to 140 countries, including such distant and diverse places as Kenya, Bangladesh, the Cape Verde Islands, and Greenland.<sup>4</sup>

Concurrent with these migrations, the six military governments of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Paraguay) created Operation Condor to confront the growth of leftist sympathizers in the region. Thanks to the release of once-classified files, we now know that the murders of several hundred South Americans were attributable to Condor. Even if only a small proportion of the total deaths, tortures, detentions and disappearances during the 1970s can be ascribed to this unusual military alliance, its significance in Southern Cone history is profound. It represented an unprecedented degree of cooperation among heretofore sworn enemies, as well as proof of how single-minded these regimes had become in their commitment to eliminating Marxism from the region. In addition, Condor would also jeopardize the possibility of a safe haven in exile. Following the Operation's inception, political asylum, an international legal principle accepted by democracies and military regimes throughout Latin America ever since independence, was no longer a certainty for leftist refugees.

### **Historiography**

Much of the scholarship on the Cold War views the Southern Cone, specifically, and Latin America, more generally, as proxies for the four decade long struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States. Domestic factors are often given short shrift in

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Wright and Rody Oñate, eds., *Flight from Chile: Voices of Exile* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), especially 91.

the scholarship. This is especially so for the limited secondary scholarship that treats Condor. Only recently, thanks to several archival discoveries, have scholars begun to give the Operation the closer attention it deserves. The discovery of 700,000 pages of materials in 1992 in the Paraguayan Archives of Terror, the National Security Archive's Chile Documentation Project in 1998, and the subsequent release in 2002 of U.S. materials on the Argentine military of the 1970s—the last two caches byproducts of Pinochet's 1998 arrest in London—have allowed scholars to better analyze Condor and its place within a global context.<sup>5</sup>

While the earliest literature from the 1970s and 1980s was by and large unable to detect Condor's transnational network, studies since the 1990s have utilized these new resources to illustrate the collaboration between the United States and Southern Cone military regimes. Unfortunately, much of the scholarship on Condor views the network through the prism of North American policy, and to a lesser extent, the Cuban Revolution. As such, it often ignores the importance of regional and local factors in its evolution. Moreover, the secondary scholarship barely mentions the impact that these operations had on leftist refugees in the Southern Cone—or the agency that exiles had in mediating Condor's development.

Scholars concur that the Chilean and Argentine states during the 1960s and 1970s were isolated geographically, economically, and politically, and that, as a result, pursued

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<sup>5</sup> Philip Chrimes, review of *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, by Peter Kornbluh, and *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents*, by John Dinges," *International Affairs* 80, no. 3 (2004): 576-77, especially 576; and Simon Watts, "How Paraguay's 'Archives of Terror' Put Operation Condor in Focus," *BBC Online Magazine*, 22 Dec. 2013, accessed 14 Jan. 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20774985>.

closer relations with Washington to combat their marginalization during the Cold War.<sup>6</sup> Heraldo Muñoz, a Chilean diplomat, cites Chile's historic isolation as a result of its geographic separation from the rest of the continent and its frosty relations with the United States, western Europe and much of Latin America. This history of isolation, Muñoz posits, is what encouraged the Chilean military to pursue stronger economic and political ties with the United States after the coup.<sup>7</sup> Efforts by the Pinochet regime to improve relations with the United States were made more difficult, however, by media reporting of the junta's repressive tactics.<sup>8</sup> In addition, a change in the White House did not help the junta in its efforts to strengthen ties with Washington. After the 1976 presidential election, Jimmy Carter announced a new direction in foreign policy, stating that the U.S. would no longer support dictatorships because they were inconsistent with North American political values.

In a clear indication of the limited documentation Muñoz and other scholars had access to during the 1970s and 1980s, the author cites the firestorm surrounding the Letelier assassination as further proof of the "significant decline" in U.S.-Chilean relations.<sup>9</sup> In contrast, later scholarship points to that high-profile case as evidence of close, if covert, cooperation between the Ford administration and the Chilean junta.

North American scholars writing in the 1970s and 1980s came to similar conclusions regarding the United States' desire to distance itself from Southern Cone

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<sup>6</sup> E.g., Heraldo Muñoz, "Chile's External Relations under the Military," in *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Oppositions*, eds., J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 304-322; and Arthur Whitaker, *The United States and the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

<sup>7</sup> Muñoz, "Chile's External Relations," 310.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 308-309.

politics. One North American historian agreed with Muñoz's assessment that human rights abuses explained Washington's determination to distance itself from the dictatorship.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the first generation of scholarship, drawing on the sources available, essentially reiterated the positions of the U.S. government and Southern Cone military regimes that Communist encroachment had to be obstructed at all costs. In juxtaposition, more recent accounts, benefitting from access to new sources, acknowledge that the United States provided training and assistance to these regimes.

Following Pinochet's arrest in October 1998, pressure from scholars and human rights activists forced the Clinton administration to release classified records about the U.S. role in Chile during the Allende and Pinochet periods. To a lesser extent, this public pressure also led to the subsequent release in September 2002 of documents relating to Argentina's Dirty War.<sup>11</sup> Although "much sensitive material remains classified for the foreseeable future" and many of the documents made available are heavily redacted, it is clear that recent studies of Operation Condor have profited substantially from their release.<sup>12</sup>

The most convincing accounts of Condor and Southern Cone relations during the 1970s come from three North Americans writing in the early 2000s: J. Patrice McSherry, Peter Kornbluh, and John Dinges.<sup>13</sup> McSherry, a political scientist, provides a comprehensive assessment of Condor's multinational character, arguing that

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<sup>10</sup> Whitaker, *The United States and the Southern Cone*.

<sup>11</sup> Chrimes, "Review," 576.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 577.

<sup>13</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005); Dinges, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York: New Press, 2004); and Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2004).

collaboration with right-wing militaries was consistent with earlier U.S. efforts to roll back Communism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America during the Cold War. Drawing on declassified North American government documents and testimonies from former Condor torturers, McSherry emphasizes the importance of the Cold War context in understanding the fear of Communist subversion throughout the Western Hemisphere. She describes this concept as “*hemispheric defense defined by ideological frontiers*” (italics in the original).<sup>14</sup> McSherry also provides a detailed description of the workings of Condor’s Phase III, the most notorious final stage that targeted leftists outside of Latin America. McSherry cites, for example, a 1976 Defense Intelligence report that one Condor unit “was structured much like a U.S. Special Forces Team,” and that Phase III tactics closely resembled Vietnam-era psychological warfare (PSYWAR or PSYOPS), “especially black propaganda, deception, and disinformation to control and manipulate the ‘hearts and minds’ of the population.”<sup>15</sup> Although McSherry persuasively demonstrates parallels between military operations in multiple nations and shows how Condor has its roots in earlier episodes of Cold War conflict, the far-reaching scope of her project inhibits a wider discussion of regional factors that shaped Condor’s evolution. Moreover, the author’s emphasis on the similarities among North American covert operations across the globe deflects attention away from where Condor actually took place: the Southern Cone.

Kornbluh studies the complicated role of the United States in the 1973 Pinochet coup and Condor’s subsequent development. Inaugural Director of the National Security Archive’s Chile Documentation Project, Kornbluh “led the campaign to declassify

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<sup>14</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 and 15.

official documentation of the secret history of U.S. government history of the Pinochet dictatorship.”<sup>16</sup> A staunch critic of U.S. foreign policy, Kornbluh examines the Nixon administration’s plotting to destabilize the Allende presidency by “making the economy scream.” He also documents Washington’s subsequent support for the junta, its participation in Condor and CIA training of DINA, the Letelier assassination and its reluctance to investigate the cases of its own “missing” leftist citizens.

The National Security Archive’s ongoing filing of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests has given Kornbluh access to a treasure trove of documentation on Condor. Like McSherry, his study emphasizes the targeted assassinations of moderate and leftist politicians during Phase III operations. Even more so than McSherry, Kornbluh’s goal is to reveal the hypocrisy of North American intervention in Chile. The book jacket blurb makes his agenda transparent: “*The Pinochet File* revisits all of the outstanding questions and controversies in this notorious chapter in the history of American foreign policy. It...will allow Americans to understand the full extent of what was done in their name—but without their knowledge—in Chile.”<sup>17</sup> Indeed, his study highlights Washington’s culpability for Condor’s tragedies, particularly the United States’ willingness to turn a blind eye to human rights abuses. For instance, in his analysis of the September 1974 assassination of the moderate Chilean General Carlos Prats González and his wife Sofia in Buenos Aires—the first high-profile assassination traditionally attributed to Condor—the author minimizes the culpability of South American actors and emphasizes the CIA’s assistance and training of DINA. Southern

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<sup>16</sup> As a result of the National Security Archive’s FOIA requests the “CIA [was] forced to release hundreds of records on covert operations” and “16,000 secret U.S. documents” were declassified. Kornbluh, “The National Security Archive: Chile Documentation Project.” gwu.edu; and idem, *The Pinochet File*, book jacket.

<sup>17</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, book jacket.



Cone military leaders are invariably cast as supporting actors in his narrative. Like McSherry, Kornbluh focuses exclusively on Operation Condor at the state level. He fails to consider how it influenced—or was influenced by—factors on the ground in the Southern Cone.

In contrast to Kornbluh and McSherry, the investigative journalist John Dinges' *The Condor Years* does address South American military and paramilitary. Dinges thus makes a monumental contribution to Condor scholarship, shedding light on hundreds of National Security Archive declassified CIA documents and the Paraguayan Archives of Terror, as well as interviews with over 200 individuals, one of whom was a key Uruguayan military officer present at the first meeting of Condor signatories. Thanks to that eyewitness testimony, we now are aware of the full scope of the Operation's agenda, and which military representatives were in attendance in official and unofficial capacities.

Fascinatingly, although Dinges reveals that no North American delegation was present at this first meeting, he overlooks the significance of their absence.<sup>18</sup> He does offer valuable information about the Operation's key technological advances provided by Washington, such as the computer data bank and Condor telex communication system, which the South American militaries shared to track down subversives.<sup>19</sup> As Dinges notes, international “[p]olice agencies had long been organized in Interpol, which often provided for effective exchange of information and action in the pursuit of international criminals.” Operation Condor, however, represented “a giant step beyond previous police coordination and intelligence exchange. Where Interpol had international warrants and extradition proceedings, Condor had political data banks and cross-border

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<sup>18</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, especially 10-17, 116-125, and 241.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, especially 120-124.

kidnappings.”<sup>20</sup> Dinges is careful to document each of the transnational actors that participated in Phase III assassinations—e.g., Cuban exiles, the ex-CIA official Townley, Italian henchmen sympathetic to the Pinochet regime, and South American military men themselves—as well as the strategies and methods employed in each assassination plot.

Yet, like his contemporaries, Dinges’ principal concern is the relationship between South American military generals and North American officials, especially Henry Kissinger and the CIA. Making good use of CIA records obtained from FOIA requests, Dinges highlights the close working relationship that developed between DINA head Manuel Contreras and Kissinger. He documents numerous instances between 1974 and 1976 when Contreras went to Washington to seek Kissinger’s counsel and request aid. As early as March 1974, Dinges contends, “Contreras knew he needed help,” and “traveled to the United States to get it.” As a result of this visit, Contreras secured CIA training of DINA operatives. Dinges describes that “within weeks,” of that training program, “DINA conducted its first international assassination” of Prats. Although Contreras later downplayed U.S. involvement in Condor—“they [the CIA] only acted on the theoretical part[;] [w]e didn’t get to the practical part. In other words, they only taught us, they didn’t participate in anything”—Dinges remains skeptical of a limited U.S. role. He adds, “such a scenario cannot be considered factual solely on Contreras’ word.” He then effectively disproves Contreras’ assertion throughout *The Condor Years*.<sup>21</sup>

Although Dinges provides valuable information on Condor’s technological enhancements and the covert relationship between Contreras and the CIA, his conclusions and sources overemphasize the role of the United States. This preoccupation

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 68-69.

with Washington's hidden hand in Condor unfolds throughout the book, as Dinges emphasizes the North American role in the Chilean coup, the training of South American military officers in the Panama Canal Zone, and the United States' willingness to provide South American military governments with what he terms a "shadow of impunity."<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, Dinges' study of Condor, like McSherry's and Kornbluh's, is U.S.-centric in terms of its references, sources, and conclusions. Acknowledging that he is writing for an audience preoccupied with the ramifications of 9/11 and the FBI and CIA's "advance intelligence about the al Qaeda attacks on the World Trade Center," Dinges asks, "[H]ad the agencies connected the dots using the abundant information they had received, could they have detected and perhaps averted the worst act of international terrorism on U.S. soil?"<sup>23</sup> In part, this explicit comparison can be understood as the journalist's way of relating a more remote history to a general audience with a greater interest in current events. (Dinges also makes inflammatory comparisons between DINA and the Gestapo and the KGB.) But such a teleological approach displaces Condor from its regional context, and obscures the key role South American actors played. His focus invariably returns to the United States: "The political tragedy of this story is that the military leaders who carried out the assassinations and mass murders looked to the United States for technical assistance and strategic leadership.... The tragedy is that the United States acted not to promote and nurture democracy, but to encourage and justify its overthrow."

Leaving little doubt about his moral revulsion towards Condor, Dinges adds:

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., especially 9, 11, 21, and 157. For a list of the South American military leaders that received training in the Panama Canal Zone in the 1960s and 1970s, see Ariel C. Armony, "Producing and Exporting State Terror: The Case of Argentina," in *When States Kill: Latin America, the US, and Technologies of Terror*, eds., Cecilia Menjivar and Néstor Rodríguez (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 305-334, especially 313.

<sup>23</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 5. On comparisons of Chile's 9/11 coup to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, see 2-3, 5, and 9. For allusions to Nazism and Stalinism, see 23 and 65.

Even more tragic, and arguably criminal, were the cases in which U.S. officials were directly involved in plots and liaison relationships with those engaged in political assassination and mass murder.... How many of the thousands of murders committed by Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Brazil could have been prevented if the United States had taken a strong forward public posture, [or] even a private posture against the killing, torture, and disappearances its allies in friendly intelligence agencies were carrying out?<sup>24</sup>

Ultimately, Dinges' interest in condemning Washington obscures why, where, and when Condor developed. Like McSherry and Kornbluh, his is an ahistorical account that fails to consider South American agency and context. In this light, Condor appears to have developed predominately under U.S. direction—the regional causal *why* is left untouched.

There are, however, a number of secondary accounts that further explicate the regional context. The historically frosty relationship between Chile and Argentina, for example, has drawn a fair amount of scholarly attention. Territorial disagreements over Antarctica, boundary disputes over the shared 3,200 mile border, and controversies over economic issues between the two neighbors make the relatively sudden willingness to set aside long-standing historical tensions during the Condor years that much more intriguing.<sup>25</sup> Diplomatic histories of Chilean-Argentine relations imply that Operation Condor represented a unique case of cooperation between two nations that traditionally have been enemies.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>25</sup> Cameron Thies, "Territorial Nationalism in Spatial Rivalries: An Institutional Account of the Argentine-Chilean Rivalry," *International Interactions* 27, no. 4 (01 Sept. 2001): 399-431; David Sheinin, review of *Conflict in the Southern Cone: The Argentine Military and the Boundary Dispute with Chile, 1870-1902*, by George V. Rauch, in *Journal of Military History* 64, no. 3 (01 July 2000): 854-855; Jorge Domínguez, David Mares, and the United States Institute of Peace, *Boundary Disputes in Latin America*. Peaceworks: No. 50 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2003); Whitaker, *The United States and the Southern Cone*; Michael Morris, *Great Power Relations in Argentina, Chile, and Antarctica* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); and Martin Mullins, *In the Shadow of the Generals: Foreign Policy Making in Argentina, Brazil and Chile* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

Similar to the impact that Pinochet's London arrest had on the release of National Security Archive classified documents on Chile, that same year (1998) also saw an increase in the number of published memoirs and scholarly studies, both in the Southern Cone and the United States, about the exile experience during the 1970s. Although this body of literature is technically not Condor scholarship, it provides an invaluable portrayal of the uncertain and peripatetic character of exile for transnational leftists during the Condor period, a massive movement of peoples and ideas driven in part by Condor's operations.

Chilean journalist and political scientist Rody Oñate and North American historian Thomas Wright compiled one of the most comprehensive qualitative studies of the Chilean exile experience, relaying narratives given in the refugees' own words. Growing out of "casual conversations" in Santiago with returning exiles about their experiences abroad, the authors published thirty-three testimonies. These oral histories, of predominately "ordinary people," include "stories of their torture, of their loved ones' deaths, of heart-stopping close calls with arrest or assassination." At their core, these are emotional narratives that reflect how challenging circumstances affected the exiles' individual and collective psyches. As the editors explain:

While exile is a political phenomenon that unlocks key aspects of the dictatorship, it is, much more importantly, a moving human drama. This book...is the story of shattered dreams, broken families, and truncated careers; of psychological and physical trauma; of the struggle to adapt to strange cultures and climates.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps most importantly, by structuring the anthology around common themes that appear in the testimonials and by using the exiles' own words to tell their stories, this set of oral histories contains an underlying political message: the dictatorship caused an

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<sup>26</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, xi.

unquantifiable loss and survival abroad demanded strength and resilience. But the collection's primary purpose is to allow a persecuted group to share its memories of a difficult moment of its past.<sup>27</sup> Due to its nature, this account and others like it do not provide a systematic analysis of the exiles' role, nor does it fully interrogate the historic evolution and ubiquity of political exile in the region during the Cold War.

Several other scholars of the exile experience have published noteworthy accounts of South American migrations. Largely written by political scientists, these studies employ both qualitative analysis and quantitative data. Political scientist Mario Sznajder and political sociologist Luis Roniger, for example, offer a comparative survey of exile in Latin America, including Brazil and the Caribbean, from the colonial period through the 1970s.<sup>28</sup> The co-authors compare the role of exile in different Latin American nations and highlight how "all types of governments," have utilized exile as a "regulatory mechanism" of institutional exclusion. Furthermore, Sznajder and Roniger note that these same governments have often welcomed other countries' political refugees.<sup>29</sup> This work provides excellent analysis of the political history of banishment in the region, the theoretical strategies behind forced relocation, sites of exile, and the long-term impacts of

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<sup>27</sup> For similar autobiographies and memoirs of individual political exiles during the Condor years, see, for example, Iván Jakšić, "In Search of Safe Haven: Exile, Immigration, and Identity," in *Migration and Identity: Memory and Narrative*, eds., Rina Benmayor and Andor Skotnes (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 19-34; Ariel Dorfman, *Heading South, Looking North: A Bilingual Journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998); Marc Cooper, *Pinochet and Me: A Chilean Anti-Memoir* (New York: Verso, 2001); Julie Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches: Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009); Marita Eastmond, *The Dilemmas of Exile: Chilean Refugees in the USA* (Göteborg, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1997); Diana Kay, *Chileans in Exile: Private Struggles, Public Lives* (Wolfeboro, NH: Longwood Academic, 1987); and *Chilean Writers in Exile: Eight Short Novels*, ed., Fernando Alegría (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1981).

<sup>28</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

exile on societies. Although ambitiously broad in its timeframe and spatial reach, its comprehensive, transnational nature is impressive.

In an anthology edited by Roniger and historians James Green and Pablo Yankelevich, a comparable comparative approach to the exile experience is employed.<sup>30</sup> Composed of essays by respected historians, political scientists, and sociologists, this collection highlights the impact of forced exodus and relocation on political ideologies and cultural identities. Drawing similar conclusions as Roniger and Sznajder's work, the editors argue that the "phenomenon" of exile in Latin America—"this paradoxical combination of patterned exclusion and inclusion"—has profoundly altered social networks, notions of identity, power dynamics, culture, and citizenship.<sup>31</sup> Both accounts accurately note that comparative studies of exile and transnational migrations are only recently becoming recognized as critical to an understanding of how the exile diaspora impacts host country politics.

In a groundbreaking trilogy on the "memory box of Pinochet's Chile," historian Steve J. Stern has further added to the scholarship on exile, focusing on the psychological impact of displacement and trauma on individual and collective memory. Drawing on oral history research in Chile around the time of Pinochet's 1998 arrest, a watershed moment in the nation's recent history, Stern studies how the perpetrators and victims of the dictatorship remember this period in retrospect. Although Stern's work centers on how Chileans experienced the dictatorship at home, his theoretical framework for understanding memory and trauma is applicable to the study of exile communities as well. He argues that "the history of 'memory' enables us to see an additional aspect of

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<sup>30</sup> Roniger, Green, and Yankelevich, eds., *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion in the Americas* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-7.

Chilean life that is subtle yet central: the making and unmaking of political and cultural legitimacy, notwithstanding violent rule by terror.”<sup>32</sup> Contesting two prevailing approaches to memory—of *olvido* (literally, “forgetting,” or a “struggle against oblivion”) and the habit of the middle class and wealthy beneficiaries of the dictatorship to deny state violence—Stern instead problematizes memory “as a process of competing selective remembrance,” that offers “a way of giving meaning to and drawing legitimacy from human experience.”<sup>33</sup> By focusing on the very flaws and inaccuracies of memory, he offers insights about how people internalize, rationalize, and process intense trauma.<sup>34</sup> Most relevant to this study, Stern reminds us of the intense psychological impact of exile on individuals and of the distinct ways in which people process and respond to these traumas.

Since Condor and the exile experience have only recently been the subject of scholarly studies, and because these topics are so sensitive and politically explosive, it is unclear what direction future scholarship will take. Given how politically freighted this subject remains in the Southern Cone, it is not surprising that it took Pinochet’s arrest in London to encourage some exiles to publish their stories. Still, this subfield by and large fails to explain how exiles shaped the political context in their new homes. In fact, they tend to reinforce a common trope of the exile as a victim. Of course, Condor’s impact on the exiles was devastating and unjustifiable, but such treatment obscures the reality that many refugees did not acquiesce to their predicament and remained politically active in

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<sup>32</sup> Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), xx. See also idem, *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1988* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); and idem, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

<sup>33</sup> Idem, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, xxvii.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvi-xxvii.



their new surroundings, just as they had not been quiescent in Chile before the coup. As my research will illustrate, while some exiles refrained from politics and sought to live out the dictatorship abroad quietly, others took to the streets and showed solidarity with “native” militants who shared their ideological beliefs. In addition, due to this body of scholarship’s largely apolitical character, it fails to connect the migration patterns and the exile community’s political activism to Operation Condor, and it does not address the collaborative efforts of regional militaries to harass and conduct surveillance operations against these political refugees within and outside their borders.

### **Primary Sources**

This thesis has benefitted from a wealth of unique and untapped primary sources, most of which are housed in Santiago’s Museum of Memory and Human Rights (Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos or MMDH). The museum was established in 2010 by then-President Michelle Bachelet to commemorate the human rights abuses committed by the Pinochet dictatorship. That Bachelet made the creation of the museum such a high priority is not surprising given her family’s history. Her father, an army officer who directed Allende’s food distribution center, was detained, interrogated, and tortured by the military, subsequently dying of cardiac arrest. A medical student at the time, Bachelet and her mother also were detained and taken to Villa Grimaldi, one of the most notorious detention centers. In a further demonstration of the dictatorship’s enduring legacy in contemporary politics, Bachelet recently revealed that DINA chief Contreras interrogated her. Fortunately, owing to her family’s connections, she and her

mother were eventually released from detention. She later sought exile in Australia and East Germany.

While studying abroad in Chile in 2013, I conducted an independent study at the museum's Archival Center (Centro de Documentación or CEDOC). I was given access to a digitized file of documents (approximately 1,000 pages in total) from the Argentine Embassy in Santiago and the Argentine secret police, the Servicio de Informaciones de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (Police Information Services of Buenos Aires Province or SIPBA), between 1973 and 1975, which document the movement of political asylum-seekers from Chile to Argentina after the coup.<sup>35</sup> (All English translations of CEDOC documents, originally composed in Spanish, are my own.)

The documents from the Argentine Embassy provide profiles as well as a description of the “ideological crimes” of approximately one thousand leftists seeking asylum in Argentina in late 1973 and 1974. SIPBA records primarily describe the formation of COMACHI, a thousand-strong organization of Argentine leftists and South American refugees living in Argentina who sympathized with the deposed Allende regime.<sup>36</sup> The SIPBA materials also contain a goldmine of reprinted COMACHI publications, including newsletters, fliers, cartoons and block prints composed by the

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<sup>35</sup> Since these materials have yet to be catalogued, for the present I have labeled the SIPBA documents as the “Archivos del SIPBA” (SIPBA Archive) and the Argentine Embassy documents as the “Archivos de la Embajada Argentina” (Argentine Embassy Archive). Each file has a separate name, stamped on the original documents by its author. An important side note: although SIPBA is rarely recognized in the scholarship, it was an important player in Argentine politics for over three decades under a different name: DIPBA (Dirección de Inteligencia de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires—Intelligence Directorate of the Buenos Aires Province Police). Infamous for its surveillance and repression, especially during the Dirty War, DIPBA functioned from 1956 to 1988. “La DIPBA: antecedentes, denominaciones y jerarquías,” (La Plata, Argentina: Comisión por la Memoria: Centro de Documentación y Archivo, 2008), accessed 12 June 2013, [http://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/archivo/?page\\_id=82](http://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/archivo/?page_id=82).

<sup>36</sup> In SIPBA documents, the organization is identified as both the “Comité Argentino-Chileno” (Argentine-Chilean Committee) and the “Coordinación de Movimiento de Ayuda a Chile” (Coordination of Movement to Help Chile).

leftist organization's leaders that boast the organization's underdog achievements and showcase their vitality during 1974 and 1975. These materials also provide tangible evidence of the solidarity among the transnational left and their Argentine compatriots. Other SIPBA files describe in detail the surveillance of these migrants in several Buenos Aires suburbs. Finding COMACHI publications hidden within SIPBA records was especially fortunate, because they reveal how much interest the Argentine police took in the political activities of this relatively small, but active, group of exiles.

These materials are not without their limitations. First, although my three main primary sources (the SIPBA Archives, Argentine Embassy Archives, and COMACHI publications) represent the views of ideologically distinct groups, record-keepers with distinct goals can still alter the historical record in similar ways. For example, my information on COMACHI's strength (in numbers, international diversity, and activity) comes from a comparison of its publications and SIPBA's internal memos. However, just as COMACHI perhaps might have been compelled to inflate its successes, so too could SIPBA officers have had ample motivation to exaggerate the success of the left in order to justify its own repressive "counteroffensive."

One of the most challenging aspects of this research has been determining not just which raids and assassinations the joint militaries planned and carried out, but also how military leaders and their subordinates conceived of their role. These sources, especially the primary records, clearly show the militaries' justification for taking action against the left. But how much of this was purely propaganda to explain the repression and how much of this polemic represents the militaries' legitimate fear of a successful leftist revolt? At times, even the Argentine police's private documents read like propaganda. As

one SIPBA officer wrote in a September 1974 report, “The Junta Militar is the only solution to that problem called Marxism” (emphasis in the original). The officer continued, “JUNTA MILITAR = THERAPEUTIC FACTOR = WELL-BEING = SOLUTION TO [ALL] PROBLEMS = PROGRESS = PATRIA” (capitalized in the original).<sup>37</sup> On the one hand, it would make sense that unpublished intra-military documents would reliably represent the military’s *mentalité*. Yet most of this correspondence is highly polemical, precisely because every official felt the need to formally record and justify his or her allegiance to the regime.

The Argentine Embassy records are just as contingent. I repeatedly found contradictory information about individuals’ identity, exile activities, and leftist gatherings, depending on which military officer created the file. For example, the Embassy archives documented five official flights that carried exiles from Santiago to Buenos Aires in the last months of 1973, immediately after the coup. However, different officers’ records reveal little congruence about the dates, flight numbers, and number of passengers on each flight. Some recorded all of the flights taking place in October; others all in November; and others distributed the flights between October and December. One bureaucrat documented all of the flights in September 1973, which would have been virtually unfeasible given that the Argentine-Chilean border was closed for official transit between September 11 and September 22.<sup>38</sup>

Considering these issues, whenever possible I compared the data I found in the respective archives with individual testimonies or the conclusions drawn by other

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<sup>37</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” Sept. 1973-1974. Archivos del SIPBA, MMDH: CEDOC, 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile,” in *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion*, 145-162, especially 147, documents the difficulty of crossing the Chilean-Argentine border in the first eleven days after the coup due to its closure.

scholars. But I am aware of the limitations of these materials, written in times of chaos and under great pressure, and shaped by often-conflicting motivations. Still, these materials provide an extraordinary window into the environment in which this surveillance and repression occurred.

In January 2014, I returned to the MMDH and gathered additional materials from Chilean, Brazilian, and Argentine newspapers and journals. I also located addendums to the two Chilean truth commissions that were not included in their final published versions, including invaluable detention records of nationals and foreigners, and individual testimonies. In addition, I significantly benefitted from the museum's testimony documentation project, which creates records (audiovisual or transcribed) of the stories of Chileans who survived the dictatorship, either at home or in exile abroad. I also found a wealth of posters, stickers, and other forms of artwork designed and published by European, Middle Eastern, North American, and Latin American embassies, artists, museums, political parties, and solidarity groups, some of which is included in Chapter Three. Available on the museum's Biblioteca Digital (Digital Library), these images visually capture the exile experience, especially its political activism. In addition to providing aesthetically haunting visuals of the dictatorships and exile, these images also testify to the resilience of the transnational leftist movement abroad *after* its effective dissolution in South America.

A second category of primary sources that I draw from is oral histories. The vast majority of these materials were diligently collected by other scholars, many of whom are discussed above. In addition, while in Santiago in January 2014, I conducted an interview with the Chilean Iván Jakšić, a historian born in southern Chile who sought safe haven in

Argentina for a year and a half following the September 11 coup, and who then immigrated to the United States in the late 1970s after Argentina became increasingly unsafe for foreigners. Jakšić's perceptiveness, memory, and willingness to talk about the past helped put emotions and a personal face to this history. Taken together, these oral histories are not just memories of the past; rather, they are recollections shaped by the past and present. Stern's insight of memory as "competing selective remembrance" resonates throughout all these oral histories. As Jakšić acknowledges, human memory is kind to its owner in that it can allow one to gradually soften, or even forget entirely, the intense pain and fear of the past.<sup>39</sup> In a short story that reflects on the Dirty War's scarring psychological impact on a woman who had been tortured and sexually abused by the military, the Argentine writer Luisa Valenzuela describes human memory's defensive quality: "It's impossible to have access to that corner of her brain where memory crouches, so she finds nothing: memory locked in itself as a defense."<sup>40</sup> As Stern notes, in response to trauma, some individuals' memories can fade or disappear entirely as a self-protecting mechanism. But memory can also do the opposite: it can continue to shape a present life wholly around past events, because individuals are often unable to let go of haunting tragedies.

The exile testimonies that I have included in this project are the best resources I have to shed light on this unwritten chapter of Condor's history, yet they too are not without their own limitations. I have analyzed these testimonies, but I have also tried to read them as a compilation of individual memories that are very distinct from the evidentiary records I encountered in the archives.

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<sup>39</sup> Jakšić, Interview with author. Santiago, Chile, 14 Jan. 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Valenzuela, *Other Weapons*, trans., Deborah Bonner (Hanover, NH: Ediciones del Norte, 1988), 107.

## **Argument**

Though the existing secondary literature regards the development of Operation Condor and the migration of political asylum-seekers within the Southern Cone following Augusto Pinochet's rise to power as isolated events, I contend that these movements were not at all discrete. My reading of the SIPBA, COMACHI, and Argentine Embassy records documents a push-and-pull relationship between the transnational migration of political militants and the impetus for Condor. While I agree with Dinges' contention that Condor's roots began prior to November 1975 and, in fact, can be traced back to several weeks before the Chilean coup, I contend that the initial motivation for the type of collaboration that Condor would later formalize was driven not by the United States, but by the Southern Cone militaries' perception that Marxism had to be excised from the entire region.

While Condor scholars have either ignored or minimized the role of the left as political actors and placed the blame for violence exclusively on the militaries and the United States, I argue that it is essential to broaden our understanding of what both sides in this ideological confrontation were attempting to accomplish. The transnational left, never a homogenous group, evolved to meet a variety of objectives. Many militants continued to be politically active while they were in exile, and many acted in solidarity with like-minded leftists in their midst. This was as true in Buenos Aires as it was in Stockholm or Mexico City. But solidarity had its limits. Indeed, one of the Latin American left's historic weaknesses was its self-defeating factionalism. There is ample evidence of such divisiveness in the materials I consulted.

This thesis also complicates the notion that military operations during Condor were determined entirely by state actors. While existing Condor studies confer agency solely on military leaders, by including the narratives of exiles and members of the transnational left, my thesis underscores the contentious relationship that existed among and between grassroots activists and political authorities.

I also challenge the traditional chronology of Condor, the Argentine Dirty War, and the Pinochet dictatorship. Most Condor accounts begin their analysis with the November 1975 inaugural meeting, while many accounts of the Dirty War start with the March 1976 military coup, and nearly all studies of Pinochet's *dictadura* begin on September 11, 1973. Although these histories may present a "cleaner" story, they also obscure more than they reveal because they absent actors whose ideologies and actions instigated conflict. Even if these individuals and groups did not ultimately "win" these wars, they did play an instrumental role in their inception and trajectory.

I have chosen to start my story with the September 1970 election of Salvador Allende in Chile. By widening the time frame, I reveal that Argentine civil society was at war well before March 1976, that collaboration between the Chilean, Brazilian, Bolivian, and Uruguayan militaries began *prior* to Pinochet's official ascent to power, and that, informal Condor collaboration began as early as August 1973, a full two years before the traditionally recognized date. It is instructive that neighboring militaries sent troops to Chile within days of the coup; some of those soldiers and advisors were directly involved in the repression.

Above all, this project is unconventional in its emphasis on the transnational left in exile. While existing Condor accounts ignore the role of exiles after the start of the



Dirty War, I track how political refugees fled and then reconstituted themselves throughout Latin America, Europe, the United States, and the Middle East. Exile was not a death sentence, and it is important to study how many individuals courageously continued the fight after they were forced to flee the Southern Cone.

Chapter One examines the transnational leftist community in Chile prior to the 1973 coup. It profiles the leftists who fled their home countries due to political persecution and who sought safe haven in Chile. It considers the political work they threw themselves into after they arrived, and how cohesive this heterogeneous community of militants was, especially as the coup appeared imminent. This chapter also analyzes Pinochet's harsh response to these leftists prior to and immediately after the coup. My research illustrates that the coalescence of the transnational left in Allende's Chile prompted joint military collaboration against this exile community.

Chapter Two studies the political left in Argentina after the Chilean coup. It focuses on the Argentine Embassy's political asylum policy, and includes an assessment of why some refugees were granted asylum and why many more were denied. I then turn my attention to Buenos Aires and examine the range of roles that these migrants assumed following resettlement, and their political activities in their new environs. This chapter also illustrates that, at the same time as the left was gaining strength in Argentina the military began to increase its surveillance and interrogation efforts of domestic and foreign leftists. I argue that the July 1974 death of President Juan Domingo Perón, who had originally welcomed the refugees from Chile, and the September 1974 assassination of General Prats in Buenos Aires were two major turning points in Argentina's gradual evolution from a safe haven to a surveillance state.

Chapter Three examines the rise of the right in South America and the military roots of Operation Condor. I contend that high-profile assassinations of the left's leaders preceded Condor's official inception, and that the real significance of its creation was the fear it instilled among grassroots leftists—ideologues and militants alike—as their governments targeted them with impunity across the world. This chapter also considers how the increase in overt repression contributed to a fracturing of the exile community during 1975-1976. While several Argentine guerrilla groups actually gained strength in 1975, other leftists fled or went underground in search of safety. Ultimately, Southern Cone militaries accomplished their overarching objectives: guerrilla organizations were decimated and many exiles were forced to flee, first to Chile and then to Argentina, and eventually leave the region entirely.

The Epilogue tracks Condor's final operations during the late 1970s and the demise of military rule throughout the Southern Cone. In the conclusions, I address the role of the United States in Condor and consider how this thesis' emphasis on the role Southern Cone militaries and the transnational left played during this period changes the way we should think about the Cold War in Latin America.

The roots of Condor lie in a deeply fractured Chilean society, as Allende's victory at the polls in 1970 became a lightning rod for those on the left and the right. As leftists from all over Latin America gravitated to Chile to help construct a peaceful democratic socialist revolution, conservatives, members of the middle class and elements of the Chilean military looked at the arrival of this heterogeneous collection of leftist refugees with deep concern. I now turn to an examination of how the Allende experiment helped sow the seeds of the repression that followed.

## Chapter One:

### From Safe Haven to Surveillance State

Sweet Fatherland accept the vows  
With which Chile swore at your altars  
Either the tomb of the free you will be  
Or the refuge against oppression  
Either the tomb of the free you will be  
Or the refuge against oppression...  
Or the refuge against oppression  
Or the refuge against oppression.<sup>41</sup>

Chilean national anthem

As the lyrics of the *himno nacional* make clear, Chile has historically been a refuge for political exiles. Since the late nineteenth century, immigrants, whatever their political affiliations, have been drawn to the nation's democratic tradition and its economic stability. That would abruptly change on September 11, 1973. At 7:55 AM, the four leaders of the Chilean military junta broadcast a statement on the armed forces radio network. According to Marc Cooper, a young North American who served as Allende's translator and who sought asylum in Argentina after the coup, the junta signaled that foreigners were no longer welcome:

The population is hereby warned not to let themselves be carried away by incitements to violence from either foreign or national activists. And let the foreign ones know that in this country we do not accept violent attitudes or any extreme positions. This should be remembered as means are adopted for their rapid deportation from the country. Any resistance will be met with the full rigor of military justice.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Translated from the Spanish original, these lyrics make up the chorus of Chile's second national anthem. The anthem was primarily written by Eusebio Lillo and incorporates several phrases from the first anthem, written by Bernardo de Vera in 1847. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, "Primer Himno Nacional," Memoria chilena, accessed 14 Dec. 2013, <<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-94806.html>>.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper, *Pinochet and Me*, 36.

In this chapter, I study the diverse roles played by exiles inside Chilean borders during Allende's rule, as well as the ways in which Junta leader Augusto Pinochet capitalized on this foreign leftist activity to justify the overthrow of Allende. I argue that leftist activism—on the part of Chileans and non-Chileans—aggravated the already precarious Allende presidency in both real and imagined ways. Although not all exiles were militants or highly politicized, I contend that the conservative elements of the military utilized and at times exaggerated this visible, active foreign leftist presence as justification for its violent overthrow of the “Socialist experiment.”<sup>43</sup> The Junta employed a host of formal and informal methods to fight dissidents—surveillance, threats, raids, interrogation, detention, and expulsion—all of which constituted an overreaction well out of proportion to the actual threat that these leftists posed to the new regime.

Ultimately, two aggressive strategies would define Chilean and later Argentine military rule: first, the externalization of the foreign subversive “other,” as a rationalization for the need for repression and regime change; and second, close cross-border collaboration among Southern Cone dictatorships against its own citizens and foreigners alike. Within days of the overthrow and a full two years before Operation Condor was established, neighboring militaries were providing intelligence and troops to the Chilean junta in its crackdown against dissidents.

I first discuss Chile's history as a safe haven for political refugees as well as the tumultuous Allende period from 1970-1973. I consider how his presidency opened up Chile to foreign influence to a greater degree than in the past as Latin American leftists fleeing oppressive regimes became entangled in domestic politics, thus becoming

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<sup>43</sup> Robert Ayres, “Political History, Institutional Structure, and Prospects for Socialism in Chile,” *Comparative Politics* 5, no. 4 (July 1973): 497-522, especially 507.

conspicuous targets of the right. I next describe the diverse spectrum of exile identity and activity, and then examine how the military capitalized on this foreign leftist presence—both before and after September 1973—to justify the coup d'état. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the larger issues at stake for the history and historiography of the transnational left, Argentine-Chilean relations, and Operation Condor.

### **Chile's Socialist Experiment**

Historically, Chile has been one of Latin America's most democratic, economically stable, and politically peaceful nations—yet a country nonetheless affected by extreme inequality. In the 1960s, land was concentrated in the hands of a privileged rural elite: a half-million peasants were without land, endemic unemployment plagued the countryside, and 70 percent of peasant families earned less than U.S. \$100 annually.<sup>44</sup> In spite of this, until the 1970s Chile had by and large managed to escape the violent political unrest that afflicted many of its neighbors. As political scientist Paul Sigmund noted in 1973, “Chile, as demonstrated by the astounding survival of its constitution and political structure in the midst of intense ideological polarization and social conflict, has the most institutionalized political system of all [nations].”<sup>45</sup> The narrow 1970 electoral victory and presidency of Salvador Allende Gossens best demonstrate the strength of—and limits to—Chilean exceptionalism.

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<sup>44</sup> Peter Winn and Cristóbal Kay, “Agrarian Reform and Rural Revolution in Allende's Chile,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 6, no.1 (May 1974): 135-159, especially 135.

<sup>45</sup> Sigmund, review of *The Chilean Senate*, by Weston Agor, in *American Political Science Review*, LXVII, no. 4 (December 1973): 1383-1384, especially 1384. On the historic strength of Chilean political institutions, see also Robert Kaufman, *The Politics of Land Reform in Chile, 1950-1970: Public Policy, Political Institutions, and Social Change* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); and Martin Needler, *Political Development in Latin America: Instability, Violence, and Revolutionary Change* (New York: Random House, 1968).

A member of the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista—PS), a “veteran politician,” and a medical doctor, Allende was committed to carrying out “the transition to socialism” in Chile through *la vía chilena*.<sup>46</sup> Allende had helped to found the PS in the early 1930s, served as minister of health in the Popular Front government in the early 1940s, was a long-time senator and then president of the Senate during the Eduardo Frei administration (1964-70), and a three-time presidential candidate prior to his victory in 1970.<sup>47</sup> In his final presidential race, Allende’s platform was based on three main objectives: extending the area of public ownership by expropriating domestic and many U.S.-owned enterprises; redistributing income to the lowest-paid 60 percent of the population; and providing opportunities for rank-and-file worker participation in management and community affairs. Although this platform was comparable to western European socialist parties, what made Allende’s Socialist program distinctive is that, unlike other leftist revolutions, such sweeping change would be brought about gradually, peacefully, and under the law.<sup>48</sup> As then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger noted, Chile was “more dangerous,” than Castro’s Cuba because “it posed an ‘insidious’ model that Latin American, Italian, or French communists could follow.”<sup>49</sup> Not surprisingly, Allende’s reforms met a mixed reception, both domestically and internationally.

On September 4, 1970, Allende narrowly won the popular vote with 36.6 percent. Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez, the conservative National Party (Partido Nacional—PN) candidate, secured 35.3 percent, and Radomiro Tomic, the moderate Christian Democrat

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<sup>46</sup> Peter Goldberg, “The Politics of the Allende Overthrow in Chile,” *Political Science Quarterly* 90, 1 (Spring 1975): 93-116, especially 104; and Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Goldberg, “The Politics of the Allende Overthrow,” 113.

<sup>48</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Tanya Harmer, *Allende’s Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 63.

(Partido Demócrata Cristiano—PDC), gathered 28.1 percent. Under the 1925 Constitution, the failure of any candidate to win a majority of votes gave Congress authority to determine the outcome, the case in all but two of the previous eight presidential races. Allende's plurality surprised the electorate across the spectrum, and a powerful faction of the political elite—and the United States—sought to swing the election to Alessandri by forging a majority coalition of PN and PDC representatives in Congress.<sup>50</sup> The Nixon administration spent millions of dollars trying to thwart Allende's election, and there were multiple terrorist attacks intended to provoke a coup d'état, including the assassination of an outspoken critic of coup plotting, the constitutionalist general, René Schneider, in late October 1970.<sup>51</sup> In spite of this last minute attempt by reactionaries and the CIA to precipitate a takeover, institutional and democratic precedents prevailed and the PDC opened negotiations with Allende's Unidad Popular (Popular Unity—UP) coalition, ultimately agreeing to support his presidency.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 97. The literature on the United States' involvement in Allende's 1970 election, presidency, and overthrow is vast and still contested within the scholarship. See, for example, Whitaker, *The United States and the Southern Cone*; Edward Kolodziej, "The Cold War as Cooperation," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 44, no. 7 (1991): 9-35; Muñoz, "Chile's External Relations under the Military;" Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide* (New York: Verso, 2005); Kyle Steenland, "The Coup in Chile," *Latin American Perspectives* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1974): 9-29; Michael Grow, *U.S. Presidents and Latin American Interventions: Pursuing Regime Change in the Cold War* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008); Goldberg, "The Politics of the Allende Overthrow;" and Harmer, *Allende's Chile*.

<sup>51</sup> Goldberg, "The Politics of the Allende Overthrow," 98-99; and Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 2.

<sup>52</sup> More specifically, the pact between the UP and PDC, later formalized as the Statute of Constitutional Guarantees, guaranteed the existence of opposition political parties, and of the armed forces as a "nonpartisan and autonomous institution subject only to the president's control in his role as chief-of-state." Labor unions and other organized social groups were promised their autonomy and multiparty character, as were the universities, the private school system, and the communications media. The agreement also affirmed the liberal-democratic freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion. Goldberg, "The Politics of the Allende Overthrow," 98-99.

Despite this initial bipartisan commitment, the Allende administration faced an uphill battle from the start. The type of party cooperation and bargaining that had underpinned politics for the previous four decades “was almost completely absent,” from 1970-1973 as political institutions became “increasingly divided and rigid in their inability to reach any accords in the exercise of their shared power.”<sup>53</sup> The young government also faced significant economic difficulties: Allende’s election triggered “financial panic” and a \$90 million drop in bank deposits, a sixty percent decline in the Santiago stock exchange’s volume of trade, and a rush to buy North American dollars.<sup>54</sup>

Despite these early challenges, the first year of Allende’s presidency by and large succeeded in accomplishing his promise of “a revolution *a la chilena* with red wine and *empanadas*,” a reference to a traditional celebratory Chilean meal. Allende redistributed income to the working and middle class and made “significant progress” in agrarian reforms and nationalizing the economy.<sup>55</sup> He nationalized North American copper companies, extractors of one of Chile’s most valuable exports, ninety percent of the banking system, and “virtually all” large and medium-sized farms. By 1973, thirty-five percent of all agricultural land and 300 factories were in the state social sector. In addition, Allende recognized workers’ control of several key industries. In a country where state economic activity had traditionally supported, rather than competed with, private capital, Allende’s policy decisions represented “huge departures” from the past.<sup>56</sup>

If these reforms sparked resistance and opposition from foreign and domestic business interests, they also strengthened Allende’s political base among socially

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> North American Conference on Latin America (hereinafter NACLA), *New Chile* (Berkeley: Waller Press, 1972).

<sup>55</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 2.

<sup>56</sup> Goldberg, “The Politics of the Allende Overthrow,” 104.



marginalized workers and peasants. As the president's support on the left grew, the pace of the public sector's expansion was increasingly determined by politically mobilized workers and *campesinos* who seized factories and estates. According to a June 1972 *El Mercurio* article, there were as many as 1,700 of these *tomas* (take-overs) during the first year and a half of Allende's presidency.<sup>57</sup> While the UP officially opposed the *tomas* because they strengthened the right's allegations of "illegality" and "anarchy," the PS—Allende's own party—and the radical leftist Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Left Movement—MIR) encouraged the seizures.<sup>58</sup> In retrospect, the *tomas* reflected leftist militants' push for a more rapid revolution, and the schisms that were already forming within Popular Unity in 1971.

As the March 1973 Congressional elections approached, the economy was in shambles: the deficit increased nearly fifteen-fold between 1970 and 1971, and again doubled by 1972. Contrary to predictions that Allende's opposition would gain seats in the midterm elections due to mounting economic chaos and voter disenchantment, the UP actually increased its constituent support, from thirty-six percent in the 1970 presidential election to forty-four percent in March 1973.<sup>59</sup> Despite Popular Unity's strong showing at the polls and the inability of the opposition to gain sufficient seats in Congress to impeach the president, by early 1973 it had become apparent that the president's authority was in increasing jeopardy.<sup>60</sup> As Allende attempted to put the brakes on the

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<sup>57</sup> Cuerpo de Carabineros, Dirección General O.S. 3, "Relación de ocupaciones ilegales de fundos ocurridos desde el 1 de noviembre 1970 al 5 de abril 1972," *El Mercurio* (Santiago, Chile), 5 June 1972, 9-15; and 6 June 1972, 24-28.

<sup>58</sup> Winn and Kay, "Agrarian Reform and Rural Revolution," 143.

<sup>59</sup> Goldberg, "The Politics of the Allende Overthrow," 106-107. Goldberg hypothesizes that this atypical growth was likely attributable to Allende's political base voting their approval for his reforms, which "more than offset" the loss of middle-income voters.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

expropriations and the peasant-led *tomas*, he faced criticism from both the left, who wanted him to speed up the process, and the right, who wanted him to roll back the takeovers.<sup>61</sup>

Since Allende's opponents had failed to remove his UP coalition from power at the polls, they sought less democratic methods in an effort to undermine his presidency. In the months following the March 1973 election and leading up to the coup, the collective efforts of opposition parties, the army, business and professional elites, small businessmen, factory workers, peasants, UP affiliates, the United States government and the CIA all "effective[ly]...plunge[d] the society into near civil war." In retaliation for the nationalization of the U.S.-owned, highly lucrative Anaconda and Kennecott copper mines in June 1971, the United States vetoed Chilean applications for loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank, effectively instituting a credit blockade.<sup>62</sup> Widespread hoarding not only invigorated the black market, but also contributed to shortages of many basic goods. As a January 1973 North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) report described, the economic impacts were disastrous:

People found it hard to get certain food stuffs (like chicken, beef, pork, and potatoes); some consumer items like yarn, textiles, and medicine; and more expensive items like radios, tires, cameras, film, and photo lab chemicals.... A source in Chile estimated that around 30 percent of the privately owned "microbuses," 21 percent of the taxi[-]buses and 33 percent of the state-owned buses are immobilized because of lack of parts or tires [due to the credit blockade]. The truck owners who precipitated the October [1972] "walkouts" cited as a reason for striking their inability to obtain needed replacements for their trucks.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>63</sup> NACLA, *Latin America and Empire Report* 5, no. 7-v 11, no. 6 (New York: NACLA, Nov. 1971-July/Aug. 1977): 26-27.

As the NACLA report noted, the October 1972 Confederation of Truck Owner-Operators' strike—aided by the CIA—further complicated matters. After 26 days the *paro* stopped, but only with the incorporation of military officers into Allende's cabinet—"a turning point which marked the beginning of the armed forces' overt politicization."<sup>64</sup> Despite these substantial concessions, the strike resumed in July 1973; by September, the truckers' actions "had strangled Chile's flow of supplies to the breaking point," and were a "major contribut[or] to the crisis atmosphere in which the coup took place."<sup>65</sup>

Adding to destabilization efforts, pre-existing divisions within the military were aggravated and made more public in August 1973. Opposition to constitutionalist General Carlos Prats González, the army Commander-in-Chief and Minister of Interior, had only increased since the midterm elections. As Prats continued to declare his loyalty to the Constitution and deny support to the coup plotters, dissenting sectors of the military became more convinced that "there was no way out but through force."<sup>66</sup> On August 7, disloyal officers in the Chilean navy rounded up a group of sailors and lower-ranked officers known for sympathizing with the UP, and subjected them to torture and imprisonment.<sup>67</sup> In the same month, the right-wing paramilitary group Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty—PYL) launched 316 "terrorist attacks" throughout the country. On May 18, June 29 and August 18, civilian and military groups attempted to overthrow

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<sup>64</sup> Goldberg, "The Politics of the Allende Overthrow," 111; and Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 4.

<sup>65</sup> Goldberg, "The Politics of the Allende Overthrow," 111; and Sigmund, "The 'Invisible Blockade' and the Overthrow of Allende," *Foreign Affairs* 52, no. 2 (Jan. 1974): 322-340, especially 338.

<sup>66</sup> Michael Fleet, "Chile's Democratic Road to Socialism," *Western Political Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (December 1973): 766-786, especially 784.

<sup>67</sup> T. V. Sathyamurthy, "Chile: Parliamentary Socialism and Class Struggle," *Economic and Political Weekly* 10, no. 15 (12 Apr. 1975): 623-625 and 627-634, especially 629.

the president, but each effort was obstructed by forces loyal to Prats and Allende. But by mid-August, Prats “had exhausted his political resources, was isolated, and was forced to resign” from both positions.<sup>68</sup> Although he remained in Chile until September 15, when he was expelled from the country and sought exile in Argentina, Pinochet replaced him as Commander-in-Chief in late August.<sup>69</sup> The loyalist head of the navy, Admiral Raúl Montero Cornejo, also resigned several weeks later.<sup>70</sup> With Prats and Montero gone, the high command of the military was composed entirely of officers committed to a coup. “It then became a matter of time before the military made its move.”<sup>71</sup>

In the early hours of September 11, the coup that Chileans had anticipated for months occurred. Led by Pinochet, a military junta of four generals bombed La Moneda, the presidential palace, with Allende and his remaining loyal advisors inside. Despite the coup’s forecast, “the brutality with which it was executed was shocking even to its advocates.”<sup>72</sup> Soldiers quickly moved to round up thousands of suspected UP militants and sympathizers, conduct mass executions in soccer stadiums, burn books, and raid homes.<sup>73</sup> As Dinges describes, “For days [after the coup], it was common to see bodies along roadsides or floating in the Mapocho River, which traverses Santiago. City morgue workers filled all available refrigeration units and began to stack bodies in corridors, allowing families to walk through to identify relatives.”<sup>74</sup> Chile, in effect, “became a

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<sup>68</sup> Harmer, *Allende’s Chile*, 236.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Sathyamurthy, “Chile: Parliamentary Socialism,” 629.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*; and Fleet, “Chile’s Democratic Road,” 784.

<sup>72</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 4.

<sup>73</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile,” *Latin American Perspectives* 34, no. 4 (2007): 31-49, especially 33.

<sup>74</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 44.

huge concentration camp” after September 11.<sup>75</sup> Expectations for a short-term interim government followed by new elections quickly dissipated as the junta dissolved Congress, banned political parties and labor unions, implemented strict censorship, and established a curfew and a state of siege.<sup>76</sup>

The conservative estimate for the number of people killed in the coup and its immediate aftermath is 2,000, including Allende.<sup>77</sup> The updated Valech Report cites the total number of deaths, disappearances, kidnappings, torture and abuse that occurred between September 11, 1973 and 1990 at 40,018.<sup>78</sup> Although the majority of these deaths were Chilean, the nation’s history as a safe haven for exiles meant that foreigners who entered Chile during the Frei and Allende years also became casualties of the repression.

### **A Safe Haven**

To understand the diverse roles played by political refugees during and immediately after the Allende years, it is important to appreciate how deeply embedded the concept of political asylum is in Latin American political culture. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, exile became a “major mechanism in regulating political conflict.”<sup>79</sup> Appropriated by both the left and the right, asylum became a common form of refuge that was well established in international law and codified in Latin American multilateral agreements.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile,” (2007), 33.

<sup>76</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Goldberg, “The Politics of the Allende Overthrow,” 113.

<sup>78</sup> Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos, *Comisión sobre Prisión Política y Tortura*.

<sup>79</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 29.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

Such an open door policy would be severely tested during the last decades of the Cold War. Beginning with the Cuban Revolution in 1959, over the last four decades of the twentieth century over two million Latin Americans went into political exile. In particular, the military governments of Brazil (1964-1985), Uruguay (1973-1984), Chile (1973-1990), and Argentina (1976-1983) all “severely repressed” leftist subversives and added significantly to this displacement.<sup>81</sup> After the 1964 U.S.-supported military coup that deposed Brazilian president João Goulart and an upsurge in repression that began in 1968, between 10-15,000 Brazilians fled their country.<sup>82</sup> In addition, 8,000 refugees fled Bolivia after 1971, an estimated half a million refugees (twenty percent of the population) fled Uruguay, and over one million (ten percent of the population) left Chile following each country’s respective 1973 coup. Half a million more fled Argentina after the 1976 start to the Dirty War.<sup>83</sup> In each case, military dictatorships were “a catalyst for mass exile from South America.”<sup>84</sup> By the 1980s, massive exiles were induced by repressive regimes in Peru, Colombia and throughout the Central America isthmus. As the renowned Colombian journalist and novelist Gabriel García Márquez noted in his 1982 Nobel Prize acceptance speech, “The country that could be formed of all the exiles and forced emigrants of Latin America would have a population larger than that of Norway.”<sup>85</sup>

Given the number of military regimes that had seized power throughout the region, it might appear surprising or even counterintuitive for one dictatorship to admit

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 28; Bethell, “Politics in Brazil,” 2; and Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 196.

<sup>83</sup> Goldberg, “The Politics of the Allende Overthrow,” 28.

<sup>84</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile” (2007), 32-33.

<sup>85</sup> Gabriel García Márquez, “La soledad de América Latina,” presented at the Nobel Prize in Literature Awards (Sweden: Nobel Foundation, 8 Dec. 1982).

leftist militants from another country. Yet the precedent for political asylum and an open door policy regarding exiles was well established and accepted, in part because changes in government were so frequent that activists across the political spectrum understood that they might need to avail themselves of asylum at some point in the future. Indeed, the exile had become an established figure in the Latin American imagination.<sup>86</sup> As Roniger and Sznajder note, “During the military repression of the 1960s and 1970s, the phenomenon of Latin American exile became massive. Typically among the exiles fleeing repression were prominent figures of the political and intellectual Leftist milieu.”<sup>87</sup>

Indeed, Chile’s longstanding democratic tradition and relative economic stability had made it an attractive site for political refugees dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, only Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina admitted more refugees than Chile.<sup>88</sup> The immigration of foreign exiles into Chile significantly increased between 1970-1973, when the Allende experiment “became a pole of attraction for Left forces.”<sup>89</sup> The Marxist president’s democratic road to socialism was viewed as a watershed moment across the region. As right-wing dictatorships and authoritarian regimes came to power throughout the Southern Cone, Chile appeared to be the only safe haven left.

Scholarship on the Allende period has focused primarily on domestic factors that precipitated the coup and the United States’ heavy hand in ousting the Marxist president.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>87</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, “Political Exile in Latin America,” in *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion in the Americas*, eds., James Green, Roniger, and Yankelevich (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 13-34, especially 28.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 29; and idem, *The Politics of Exile in Latin America*, especially 208 and 229.

<sup>89</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, “Political Exile in Latin America,” 28.

Little attention, however, has been given to the role these refugees played during the Allende years and how their presence exacerbated tensions and served as a justification for his overthrow. Historians of Chile invariably trumpet the nation's historic isolationism and exceptionalism, but I contend that in Chile's treatment of its exiles, both before and after 1973, there are more similarities than differences.

Who were these Latin American exiles and how did the Chilean left and right respond to them? In which ways and to what extent did they influence the Allende presidency and how did they precipitate its overthrow? It is to these questions that I now turn.

#### **Four Traits of Exile Identity**

People left their home countries—and later, Chile—for many reasons: economics, family, politics. I would say that people left for the political situation without necessarily being political themselves.... The explanations for the transition to exile existed on a spectrum.<sup>90</sup>

As Chilean historian and political refugee Iván Jakšić describes above, exile was almost always rooted in politics—a changing political climate or context—but it was not necessarily motivated by an individual's own ideology or motivations. Moreover, there could be a number of ways in which politics underpinned the diversity of exile experiences. Although the rise of a military regime or dictatorship was the most obvious

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<sup>90</sup> Jakšić, Interview by author. Born in Punta Arenas, Chile's southernmost city, in 1954, Jakšić, the son of a retired public employee and a secretary, spent most of his childhood in Puente Alto, an industrial suburb south of Santiago. At the local trade school where he studied to become a machinist, Jakšić was a leader of his secondary school's leftist student movement, but later distanced himself from the more extremist university protests at the Universidad de Chile, where he studied philosophy in the radical Instituto Pedagógico. After narrowly avoiding arrest in a 1974 DINA raid on the Instituto Pedagógico—an experience Jakšić remembers as “a turning point in my life”—he sought exile in Argentina in March 1974. Jakšić's time in exile (first in Argentina, and later in the United States) will be discussed in more detail in the second chapter. See also Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 118-122.



“push factor” sparking emigration in the 1960s and 1970s, a change in government often persuaded individuals to reassess their economic, social, and personal situations. Not infrequently, decisions were made for purely personal or economic reasons, especially when, for instance, someone’s political orientation made it difficult to keep his or her job after a coup had taken place; or an individual chose to migrate after a regime change forced a loved one to flee.

With that said, the vast majority of people who immigrated to Chile between 1970-1973 were leftists. Some of these refugees had been banished for their involvement with militant or guerrilla groups in their home countries, such as Brazil’s Partido Comunista (Communist Party) and Partido Trabalhista (Brazilian Labor Party), the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Leftist Revolutionary Movement) of Venezuela, Uruguay’s Tupamaros, Argentina’s Montoneros, and Bolivia’s Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army). Despite the outsized visibility of these radicals in the press and in the secondary literature, many exiles were professors, students and union members who, although they were in solidarity with the Chilean left, opted to keep a low profile.

A second broad characteristic that defines the exile community is age: many were young (between the ages of twenty and thirty), often involved in the student movement, and single. Professors, most between the ages of forty and fifty, also had strong representation in the exile community. As will be discussed in the next section, this characteristic facilitated exile participation in the national university movement.

A third identifier is gender. Interestingly, although some female refugees had played important roles in their home countries, only a handful continued their political

work in Chile.<sup>91</sup> My research indicates that men comprised the vast majority of the exile community in Chile during the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>92</sup>

Nationality is a fourth overarching trait that defined the exile experience. Brazilians composed the largest of these groups, but a significant number of Bolivians, Argentines, Cubans and Ecuadorians also sought asylum in Chile. Although the right focused on the presence of radical Cuban leftists, the actual number of *cubanos* was quite low relative to other nationalities. On the eve of the coup, political scientist Tanya Harmer documents that there were only 250 Cubans remaining in Santiago.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, the issue of Cuban influence on Allende's Chile is a fraught one: after Che Guevara's death in Bolivia in 1967, Castro became more cautious and more realistic in his campaign to inspire communist revolution in Latin America.<sup>94</sup> Although several hundred Cubans migrated to Chile during Allende's presidency, hoping to provoke an armed revolution led by the Castro-inspired MIR, "many of the young Cubans...were often rather frustrated and culturally bemused by Chilean 'formality' and the 'strictness' of legalistic strategies for revolution. And Havana's leaders were also deeply skeptical of the concept

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<sup>91</sup> Although there has yet to be a comprehensive study done about how female refugees experienced exile in Chile in the early 1970s, there is work on the Chilean women's movement that developed in later years in opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship. It is probable that, due to Brazil and Chile's concurrent women's movements, Brazilian exiles in Chile would have participated alongside host country militants. The gendered activism that emerged in both countries during the 1980s "were two of the largest and most vibrant in Latin America," in that they "joined human rights groups, feminist organizations, and shanty-town groups organized around issues of economic substance." See Lisa Baldez, "Women's Movements and Democratic Transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany, and Poland," *Comparative Politics* 35, no. 3 (Apr. 2003): 253-272, especially 254; and Lisa Belazi, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>92</sup> Stern corroborates this finding of a preponderance of male exiles. Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 93.

<sup>93</sup> Harmer, *Allende's Chile*, 222.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

of a peaceful democratic road to revolution.”<sup>95</sup> Ultimately, the junta’s gross inflation of the Cuban presence speaks more to the right’s fear of Cuban extremists within its borders and its need to externalize justification for the coup than to the actual impact they left on Chilean politics.

Many of these leftist exiles (with the possible exception of the Cubans) had experienced repression in their homelands. María Fiani Savagei, a correspondent at the *Jornal de Brasil*, reported at the Argentine Embassy in Chile (where she applied for asylum immediately after the coup) that she and two friends had been “the object of diverse acts of torture,” while they were detained on September 2, 1969 in Río de Janeiro for being “involved in the investigation of the Acción Popular [Popular Action] Party.”<sup>96</sup> Similarly, the Brazilian engineer Ricardo Zaratini Filho was exiled on August 2, 1969 because he was suspected of being the author of a press article against the then-Minister of War, Artur Da Costa e Silva.<sup>97</sup> As both of these cases suggest, the majority fleeing Brazil after the Goulart coup were young—in their twenties or thirties—and often connected with a local student movement, a labor union, or a university or department that was known to be politically active.

Perhaps most importantly, these cases explain how appealing Allende’s Chile would have appeared to many left-wing exiles. Prior to Allende’s overthrow, these refugees influenced, diversified and strengthened the Chilean leftist movement, but, as we shall see, their presence also encouraged Southern Cone military cooperation.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>96</sup> “Mesa de Varios 1171,” July 1973, Archivos del SIPBA, Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC, 10.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

While many refugees shared a leftist political persuasion, the exile population that Allende's Chile attracted ran the gamut: while some were apolitical or marginally politicized before they came to Chile, others were politically active in their home countries and remained so afterwards. Still others chose to remain on the sidelines during the Allende period.

### **The Spectrum of Exile Activity in Chile**

Truth commissions, human rights advocates and scholars interested in the transition to democracy following military rule have contributed to the "exile as victim" narrative. Accounts that adopt this paradigm tend to focus on the exiles' "disorientation," and "alienation" as they were forced to adapt to new languages, cultures, and political systems.<sup>98</sup> A self-critical Reinaldo Guarany, a Brazilian exiled to Chile, explained in an interview that his refugee status and political activity were not at all reciprocal:

I clung to the past, to the "glories" I had lived through, practically demanding reverent respect for the hero I must have been. Refusing to accept the mediocrity of the present, I re-created a reality known only to myself and my ghosts, a reality that we alone relived through the delusions I was dragged back to each night. There, on a bench in the city square, in the still of the night, I began to recover my identity. I stopped being just some dupe...who had to put up with the vulgar language of the thieves...and hookers of the Mapocho [a Chilean indigenous group].<sup>99</sup>

As this testimony reveals, Guarany's sense of alienation from the political process he witnessed in Chile caused him to "revert to his past as a guerrilla, rejecting his new identity as a refugee."<sup>100</sup> The story of Zé, a Brazilian who had been "brutally beaten" by the military before being exiled to Cuba for treatment and who later moved to Chile,

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<sup>98</sup> Denise Rollemberg, "The Brazilian Exile Experience: Remaking Identities," in *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion in the Americas*, 241-263, especially 244.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

further documents how the personal trauma of exile inhibited the ability to act politically.

Daniel Aarão Reis Filho describes an unsettling encounter with Zé, an old friend, in

Chile, which suggests how disorienting exile could be:

[Zé] was very troubled and had a long story to tell backed up by notes that he showed me. The story was complicated, and supposedly he had discovered, invented, and designed a special weapon that could be of great use to the militant left in Brazil. The weapon was a self-propelled rocket.... I mean, these self-propelled rockets were meant to cause mass destruction in our fight in the cities and in urban guerrilla warfare. At this point I really came to believe that Zé had “crossed the line,” “gone over the edge”.... I...tell this story...to point out one expression of the delusion and deviation that militants and leftist organizations had begun to suffer from.<sup>101</sup>

Furthermore, while Chilean hosts welcomed many leftist exiles, this was not always the case. As political scientist Denise Rollemberg notes about asylum, “even solidarity involved contradictions and ambiguities. If some segments of society mobilized to receive political exiles, others identified them as ‘terrorists’ whose stay should be interdicted.”<sup>102</sup> Though such harsh treatment was much more common in Europe, the United States, and Canada than it was in Chile, it is clear that the exile experience varied on both a national and personal basis.

Indeed, although many scholars have propagated this “exile as victim” narrative in recent years, it is important to acknowledge that not all exiles experienced or conceived of banishment in the same way. While some were overcome with a sense of personal loss and uprooted identity, others saw resettlement as an opportunity to maintain a connection to homeland politics and loved ones. But in Allende’s Chile in particular, it is clear that exiles played significant and diverse roles in the years and months leading up to the September 11, 1973 coup. In large part, this was due to the solidarity that exiles,

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 248.

who had fought for leftist revolution at home, shared with their Chilean compatriots who were fighting to keep the same dream alive. Argentine political scientist Marina Franco explains the origins of this solidarity:

It is...essential to remember the importance of international mobilization, particularly among the Left, against the coups in Latin America and specifically the 1973 coup in Chile...This situation was repeated in all host countries that [later] received Argentinean exiles. Thus, there was a favorable reception for these exiles and empathy with Latin Americans in general, especially as they were seen as politically committed men and women who became persecuted by murderous regimes because of their political ideas.<sup>103</sup>

Harmer lends credence to this argument when she addresses the importance of transnational actors in Chile:

As the country [Chile] had become a theater of an inter-American struggle over these ideas [socialism and revolution], an array of hemispheric actors had joined in the struggle for and against revolutionary change. Partly this was because Chileans of different political persuasions had asked them to, but it was also because their own ambitions had drawn them into the conflict. The question of where Chile fit in the world was also of key importance in the battle to define what Chile was going to be: a socialist democracy, a bourgeois democracy, a dictatorship of the proletariat, or a military dictatorship patterned on Brazil.<sup>104</sup>

For those who were politically engaged, the student movement, at both the secondary and university level, was the main vehicle by which exiles expressed their support for Allende's Revolution.

### **University Politics**

Universities in Chile and elsewhere throughout Latin America had been seedbeds for political activity since the 1910s.<sup>105</sup> This site provided for the basis of an

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<sup>103</sup> Marina Franco, "Exile as Rupture, Transformation and Learning Process," in *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion*, 183-197, especially 189.

<sup>104</sup> Harmer, *Allende's Chile*, 222.

<sup>105</sup> For an excellent history of twentieth century university politics in Chile see, Brian Loveman, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile, 1973-1986: Universities, Students and

internationalist movement, grounded in domestic and local politics but with common aims that transcended national boundaries.<sup>106</sup>

A significant number of Latin American exiles who resettled in Chile (and then subsequently sought refuge in Argentina after the coup) participated in student protests in their home country, in Chile, and in Argentina. By September 1972, a “collective group of far left Chilean, Uruguayan, Argentine, and Bolivian revolutionaries” were acting in concert with Chilean student leaders and the MIR. One year later, this international group (based in Chile) established the Junta Coordinadora Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Coordinating Junta) “aimed at launching armed revolution throughout the Southern Cone.”<sup>107</sup> Similar groups, both formal and informal, were established during this period across the Southern Cone.

The story of José Gómez Rodríguez is indicative of the ability of transnational exiles to not only adapt to new surroundings, but also become increasingly politicized upon resettlement. Born in Spain on May 18, 1950, José moved with his mother to Argentina when he was one and a half years old. He grew up in Santa Fe and studied at the Escuela Industrial Superior (Higher School of Industry) until 1968, when he moved to Brazil to “dedicate himself to art.” Several months later, he moved to Uruguay (most likely after experiencing the effects of the Brazilian military’s increasing repression of students), where he stayed until early 1973. On March 11, he arrived in Santiago, “where

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Intellectuals,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28, no. 4 (Winter 1986-1987): 1-38. For an analysis of the politics of the Brazilian student movement see Michael Lowy and Stephen Gorman, “Students and Class Struggle in Brazil,” *Latin American Perspectives* 6, no. 4 (Autumn 1979): 101-107.

<sup>106</sup> For a discussion of the international politics of the student movements of the 1960s see Philip Altbach, “The International Student Movement,” *Comparative Education Review* 8, no. 2 (Oct. 1964): 131-137.

<sup>107</sup> Harmer, *Allende’s Chile*, 234.

he found other Argentine citizens, several of whom he knew before...who worked in a bookstore and with the postal service.” Although José was “not political” in Argentina, the Argentine friends that he reconnected with in Santiago, Elzo Valiz and Raúl Moure, introduced him to several of their Chilean friends who were studying at the radical Universidad de Chile. Through these connections, José “became involved in politics,” as “a sympathizer with the Allende government.” On the day of the coup, he was “kidnapped,” alongside Moure, who was apparently more active in the movement than he, and was detained until September 29 for selling books “in favor of the Salvador Allende administration,” and “being involved with the Universidad de Chile.” Upon release, he sought asylum in the Argentine Embassy, and arrived in La Plata in late November 1973.<sup>108</sup>

Whereas Gómez Rodríguez represents the process of politicization that many foreign youth underwent in Allende’s Chile, often through the higher education system, the profiles of two Argentine professors, Pedro Francisco Paz and Ariel Dorfman, demonstrate the transnational character of the university movement and the ability of foreigners to maintain and strengthen their activism after resettlement. Both Paz and Dorfman settled in Chile for “political and occupational reasons.” Born in 1936, Paz taught at a Buenos Aires university until he was offered a job at the Universidad de Chile in early 1973. Argentine Embassy records indicate that he was a “Peronist” and had been an activist in his Buenos Aires university and that he held a “similar position” at the Universidad de Chile. In September 1973, he was detained in the National Stadium, then

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<sup>108</sup> “Referencia 16612,” 15 Feb. 1974, in Archivos del SIPBA. Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC, especially 51.



exiled and repatriated on October 4, 1973 as the Junta began to purge the universities of socialist thought.<sup>109</sup>

Dorfman was born in Argentina in 1942 and briefly immigrated with his family to the United States before settling in Chile at the age of two. Despite his Argentine roots, Dorfman was a product of the Chilean educational system and ultimately taught literature and history at the Universidad de Chile. Argentine Embassy records note that he was politically active in efforts to reform the university and was a sympathizer of UP. He was forced to flee Chile for Argentina for fear of being detained by DINA after the Junta leaders ordered that several of his books be “banned and burned.” He arrived in Argentina on November 20, 1973, two months after the coup.<sup>110</sup>

Both of these stories demonstrate the impact of foreigners on Chilean university politics, as well as the Junta’s harsh response to them after the coup. Argentine Embassy records contain similar stories of other Argentine students and professors whose involvement in the Chilean student movement was foreshadowed by previous participation in various Argentine counterparts, such as the Agrupación Reformista de Medicina (Medical Reform Group), Juventud Radical (Radical Youth), Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos (National Conference of Argentines), Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Juventud Sindical Peronista (Peronist Youth Association), Juventud Trabajadores Peronistas (Peronist Youth Workers), Frente de Izquierda Popular (Popular

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<sup>109</sup> “Referencia 16684,” 14 Jan. 1974, in Archivos de la Embajada Argentina, Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC, especially 47.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

Left Front), Centro Estudiantes Facultades Universidades (University Faculty Student Center), and the Agrupación de Juventudes Políticos (Association of Political Youth).<sup>111</sup>

The case of two Brazilian students, Sergio da Faria Finho and José Batista Rita Pereda, also illustrates the impact that young refugees had on the Chilean student movement. After participating in the Brazilian university movement against its military regime and receiving threats, both men left Brazil in September 1971 with student visas and the intent to study at the Universidad de Chile. While Sergio did not have a prior criminal record, José Batista was forced to leave his home country because he was being persecuted for his involvement in its university movement. He was detained in Brazil in 1970 and 1971 “for student problems and for belonging to the terrorist organization M3G [Marx-Mao-Marighella-Guevara].”<sup>112</sup> Brazilian authorities arrested and then detained him in Río Grande do Sul state, along with 70 others for their participation in a bank robbery. José Batista was set free in January 1971, thanks to the intervention of the Swiss ambassador, and departed for Chile in the same month. He studied in Santiago until September 1973, after which he was forced to migrate to Argentina “for fear of his safety...due to his past participation in the [Chilean] JJCC [Juventud Comunista—Communist Youth].”<sup>113</sup> Argentine Embassy records contain *fichas* (files) for approximately 200 other students with similar profiles, whose involvement in various Chilean leftist student groups was preceded by activity in the Brazilian student movement.

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<sup>111</sup> See “Referencia 16698 BIS 1,” Sept. 1974, in Archivos del SIPBA, Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC.

<sup>112</sup> “Referencia 16600,” Nov. 1973, in Archivos de la Embajada Argentina, Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC, 26.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

María Teresa Gamou Soliño, a Uruguayan medical student who arrived in Chile on March 10, 1970, further demonstrates the transnational nature of higher education politics, as well as its impact on Chilean national politics in the early 1970s. María Teresa was an active “militant” with the Uruguayan branch of the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (Revolutionary Student Front) as well as the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros (Movement of National Liberation-Tupamaros—MLN-T). When the Uruguayan military seized power in late June 1973, she was forced to flee and seek asylum in Chile. In Santiago, María Teresa enrolled at the Universidad de Chile and joined the university’s Communist Youth chapter. After the September 1973 coup, her foreign status and JJCC involvement forced her to relocate to Argentina.<sup>114</sup> The same embassy document that contains María Teresa’s record contains similar stories for approximately fifty other Uruguayan students.

Records examined from the Argentine Embassy in Santiago and SIPBA document dozens of instances of transnational student involvement in Chilean protests in the months leading up to the coup, as many of the participants in these movements immigrated to Argentina afterwards. A case in point was a demonstration protesting the Chilean military’s “influence” in politics on August 5, organized by the Chilean Communist Party. Over 750 activists participated in this march, in collaboration with students of the Humanities, Engineering, and Architecture departments of the Universidad de Chile. Students raised the flags of Chile, Argentina, Cuba and Russia and marched through the streets of the capital, carrying signs denouncing the Chilean military as well as “all the military governments of Latin America.”<sup>115</sup> The same SIPBA memo

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<sup>114</sup> “Mesa de Varios 1171,” 16.

<sup>115</sup> “Referencia 16698 BIS 1,” 3.

contains a list of twenty-two Chilean, Argentine and Brazilian student leaders—all of whom later immigrated to Buenos Aires or La Plata following Allende’s overthrow and whom SIPBA suspected of supporting the Argentine leftist movement—and includes detailed information about their parents’ names, education history, date of birth, political affiliation, and previous political activities. For the non-Chilean protest leaders, the document contains additional information regarding their immigration history.<sup>116</sup>

As these cases indicate, while some foreigners were moderately or highly political following resettlement in Chile, others struggled to overcome the dislocation that accompanies life in exile, language barriers, and potential family separation. One limitation of the sources I draw from to describe these stories, however, is that their authors—the Chilean and Argentine governments and police forces—paid greater attention to those individuals who were politically active than those who were not; although lamentable, this shortcoming is largely unavoidable given the nature of the documents and their authors’ biases. As a result, we know more about militant refugees than their more apolitical or less politically inclined counterparts.

Yet it is important to underline that even those individuals who were ostensibly uninvolved in leftist politics were not free of suspicion. Jakšić, someone who had removed himself from political activism at the university to pursue academics, could never rest easy: “You could never be sure you were a target [of DINA]. I fit the profile—college student, political past, studying at a radical department in a known radical

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<sup>116</sup> Although the Argentine police’s record-keeping of activities in Chile may seem perplexing, SIPBA documented these events after the fact, when many Chilean student activists sought safe haven in Argentina and were suspected of participating in their host country’s leftist organizations. The implications of these migrations for Argentine politics and the transnational left are the subject of the second chapter.

university in Chile. This [profile] was more important than who you actually were.”<sup>117</sup>

The military and DINA painted with a broad brush when it came to leftists—both Chileans and foreigners alike—in the weeks preceding and following the coup.

### **Pre-Coup Harassment of Chilean Nationals and Foreign Leftists**

Although the Pinochet government’s harsh use of detention, torture, and expulsion upon seizing power is now well known, the military’s wariness of and actions against foreign political leftists in fact began prior to the coup d’état. One week prior to the coup, General Manuel Torres de la Cruz openly warned, “the armed forces will be untiring in their determination to search out and punish unworthy Chileans *and undesirable foreigners*” (emphasis added).<sup>118</sup>

Indeed, due to the transnational left’s openly political activism in the universities, labor unions, and alongside students in the streets, they became easy targets. Unofficially, Chileans were also rounded up, threatened, and interrogated in large numbers in the weeks preceding the coup. But rather than publically questioning the loyalty of its own citizens, the military found it convenient to blame foreign exiles for the political unrest sweeping the country during the summer of 1973. In this way, the military could blame subversion on foreign agitators. As the following case studies will show, the military utilized surveillance, raids, detentions, and interrogation against immigrants in the weeks leading up to Allende’s overthrow. Equally as important, the records also reveal that these military officers at times collaborated with sympathetic right-wing regimes from Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay in order to do so. This evidence reveals the very early roots

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<sup>117</sup> Jakšić, Interview by author.

<sup>118</sup> Greta Drigalski, “Bathed in Blood,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 8, no. 44 (3 Nov. 1973): 1939-1940, especially 1939.

of the type of cross-border collaboration that would become officially known as Operation Condor two years later.

Argentine Embassy records reveal that on August 3, Venezuelan Liliana Visser Fennen “was detained” in Santiago by the Servicios de Seguridad de las FFAA (Security Services of the Armed Forces) alongside the guerrilla leader Moisés Moleiro, a known leader of the leftist MIR de Venezuela. Liliana and her husband Roberto Frenkel Aissin, a professor at the Universidad Central de Venezuela, had been in Chile since late August 1969, when the Venezuelan government had forcibly deported them. The couple applied for asylum in Argentina on September 19, and arrived in Buenos Aires on one of the first refugee flights after the border opened eleven days after the coup.<sup>119</sup>

The case of Carlos Fernando Núñez del Prado, a Bolivian exile in Chile, further supports this history of early, unsanctioned action taken against the transnational left community. Before arriving in Chile, Núñez del Prado had been detained in Bolivia in the first months of 1970 for his leftist activities and for “wielding fire arms.” He was expelled from Bolivia on March 20, 1970, travelled to Cuba for several months, and then immigrated to Chile in November of the same year on a tourist visa that the Chilean Consulate in Havana had granted him. Immediately after arriving in Santiago, Argentine Embassy records document that the police detained Carlos Fernando “for reasons unknown.” He was soon released, but was arrested again on May 29, 1973 and on September 12. The Junta Militar expelled him from Chile several days later.<sup>120</sup> Although exile had historically been respected for both the left and right in Latin America, these cases demonstrate asylum was no longer a promise of safety and protection—before or

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<sup>119</sup> “Mesa de Varios 1171,” 8.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

after the coup. These profiles reveal that although expulsion became official policy towards subversives and immigrants after September 11, the military was already preparing for the coup in the prior weeks by harassing vulnerable targets—foreign leftists.

But the Chilean military did not confront these transnational leftists alone. Prior to September 1973, elements of the FFAA had already begun to develop the right-wing transnational network that would eventually become Operation Condor. Indeed, at the same time as a cross-border leftist coalition developed, so too did joint military collaboration converge in response.

One example of this early cross-border military collaboration is the treatment of Luciano Alves Dufflayer, a Brazilian who moved to Chile in mid-August 1969 after being detained by authorities for “participating in several activities...in opposition to the [Brazilian] government.”<sup>121</sup> After arriving in Chile with a tourist visa, Luciano traveled to Mendoza, Argentina in August 1973, where the local *Policía Federal* detained him. The Mendoza police had received information from a Chilean military officer alerting them that Dufflayer had “sequestered abundant communist propaganda material, acting as a Castroist postal service.”<sup>122</sup> Although Dufflayer was released after several days and returned to Chile, where he remained until the coup, this case shows that the Chilean and Argentine military’s early joint cooperation against leftists began before either country was officially under military rule.

Further evidence of this transnational teamwork, this time of Brazilian-Chilean military collaboration prior to Pinochet’s rise to power, is documented in the surveillance

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<sup>121</sup> “Referencia 16600,” 4.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

of a group of resettled Brazilian exiles. The managers of an early 1970s created a “slush fund,” a financial instrument allegedly created by Brazilians to provide higher education scholarships for their exiles in Chile. They were discovered to be working simultaneously for the Brazilian government and the Chilean military. The fund’s two principal managers later were accused of embezzlement and supplying information to both the Brazilian and Chilean dictatorships.<sup>123</sup>

Considered together, these files suggest a range of experiences that exiles encountered in Chile. On the one hand, exiles upon resettlement generally demonstrated their support for the Allende revolution. On the other hand, they were not granted a *carte blanche*; they had to cope with the movement’s internal divisions and were harassed by the military. Not surprisingly, such surveillance and repression only increased after the military gained power on September 11.

### **The First Weeks After the Coup**

External forces influenced both the Chilean left and the right in the months leading up to the coup. At the same time as leftists forged links with exiles within and beyond their borders, “coup plotters looked abroad for reassurance and inspiration while fantastically warning of a forthcoming battle with ‘15,000 armed [Cuban] extremists’ allied with the Chilean Left.”<sup>124</sup> Due to the profundity of the Cuban Revolution and the MIR’s known connection with Fidel Castro’s *barbudos* (bearded rebels), the Cuban presence in Chile was viewed by the military as a threatening indicator of the slippery slope the Allende administration was heading down. As Harmer explains:

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<sup>123</sup> Rollemberg, “The Brazilian Exile Experience,” 95.

<sup>124</sup> Harmer, *Allende’s Chile*, 221.



[R]ather than dissuading the coup leaders from acting, the growing possibility of a left-wing combative force, the specter of Cuban involvement in preparing it, and the prospect of an impending showdown radicalized Chilean society and propelled the armed forces to act...the military's targeting of the Cuban Embassy and all foreigners, factories, and poor neighborhoods, together with the ruthlessness with which it did so, clearly illustrates the power of wildly exaggerated fears regarding what the Cubans and left-wing revolutionaries from the Southern Cone could achieve.<sup>125</sup>

Indeed, to justify their claim that a Marxist cancer was eating away at the body politic, military leaders deliberately exaggerated the number of Cubans concentrated in Santiago, and, on the day of the coup, expelled all Cubans from the country. "Their fears reflected the impact that non-Chileans and international concerns had on the escalating struggle within the country."<sup>126</sup> Once again blaming outside agitators—in this case, Cubans—enabled the military to present itself as defenders of the fatherland, while condemning Allende for permitting the infiltration of leftist subversion.

Administrative exile was an essential tool the junta employed to confront these external enemies, who, ironically, had sought safe haven in Chile. While the military harassed and even detained exiles prior to September 1973, after the coup they moved quickly to expel the refugees. According to one Bolivian newspaper, the junta repatriated 315 "Bolivian leftists" a week after the coup.<sup>127</sup> U.S. diplomats also reported that there were "more than 300" Uruguayans in Chile—many current or former members of the Tupamaros guerrilla group—and that "a group of hardline military leaders in Montevideo were hoping the Chileans would 'take care of'" these subversives.<sup>128</sup> All Chilean-born children of Brazilian parentage, who had previously been granted citizenship by

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 254.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 222.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

Allende's administration, were stripped of their citizenship after the coup.<sup>129</sup> This, of course, exacerbated an already tenuous situation: following the junta's banishment of these exiles, those who tried to return to Brazil after fleeing often encountered unsympathetic authorities, and lack of proper documentation only complicated matters for them.<sup>130</sup>

Testimony provided in 2006 by the Chilean leftist Fernando Alarcón illustrates the military's repression of foreigners and Chileans in the weeks after the coup. Alarcón, who joined the MIR in 1969 following the completion of his secondary studies at the Instituto de Humanidades Luís Campino, describes how "a pair of Uruguayan Tupamaros militants" who he had met in school, subsequently moved in with him and several other MIRistas—two Chileans, one North American—in a Santiago apartment during the early 1970s.<sup>131</sup> Although he frequently traveled to Cuba, Alarcón was at home at the time of the coup. He described how on September 11, he, three other Chilean MIRistas, and the two Tupamaros "tried to listen to the radio," and then "abandoned the house...after burning all of the documents that we could in the patio, [including information about] each one of the contact houses that we had been in previously."<sup>132</sup> He remembers how their apartment was raided on the day of the coup: all of his roommates—the North American, the Chileans, and the Uruguayans—were captured and taken to the National Stadium, where suspected leftists were being sequestered and interrogated by the thousands. Although the North American David Horman survived his detention, Alarcón's two Chilean housemates were killed. He remains unsure of the fate of the two

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<sup>129</sup> Rollemberg, "The Brazilian Exile Experience," 257.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Fernando Alarcón, "Testimonio: Bombardeo al palacio de La Moneda," in *Relatos/testimonios* (Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC, 2006), especially 1-2.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 2.

Uruguayans. After being detained for a year and a half, in early 1975 Alarcón escaped from a DINA torture center, went into hiding, and finally obtained asylum at the Costa Rican embassy. In March 1975, with the help of the Red Cross, Alarcón left Chile for San José, where he stayed for several years until ultimately moving to live with a Bolivian artist friend in the United States.<sup>133</sup>

A significant number of foreigners—from nearly every continent—were arrested and detained by the Junta Militar in the days, weeks, and months after the coup. A 2004 Corporación de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo (Corporation of Promotion and Defense of the Rights of the People) report states that 791 foreigners of thirty-nine distinct nationalities were arrested on September 11 alone.<sup>134</sup> Of these, 714 were men and 77 were women. Among these were 154 Uruguayans, 163 Bolivians, 103 Brazilians, eighty Argentines, thirty-nine Venezuelans, thirty-three Colombians, thirty-three Peruvians, and twenty-six Nicaraguans.<sup>135</sup> (See Appendix 1.1 for a full list of nationalities.) The breadth of these foreign prisoners is impressive: they represent nearly every Latin American nation. The list also includes detainees from Europe, North America, and Asia. This speaks to both the diversity of exiles that had resettled in Allende's Chile, and to the military's awareness of this transnational group and its solidarity with the Chilean left. According to the International Red Cross, on September 22, 1973 the Junta Militar captured another 7,000 prisoners; 200 to 300 of these were foreigners "of diverse nationalities."<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 6-11.

<sup>134</sup> Paz Rojas, et. al., "Tercer informe: testimonios de tortura en Chile: los responsables 11 de septiembre de 1973—10 de marzo de 1990," Corporación de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo (Santiago, Chile: 10 Dec. 2004), 1-190, especially 164-165.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 22.

An Argentine secret police document from January 1974 also reveals twenty-five documented cases of Argentines who were kidnapped and tortured at Santiago's National Stadium in the first week after the September 11 coup.<sup>137</sup> It is impossible to know how many other unsuspecting foreign exiles were detained and victimized in the weeks surrounding the coup.

These early arrest and detention records reveal another crucial component of the period: the military's haphazard treatment of foreigners as "the other," independent of an individual's ideology, politicization, or level of activity. Although the exile population was not treated uniformly—some were detained, others arrested, while still others were interrogated and harassed—they were all regarded as a threat. In the noted list of prisoners captured on September 11, the 791 foreigners encompassed a wide spectrum of occupations and political involvement (see Appendix 1.2). Although the majority of detainees representing each national group were students or professors—forty-three of the 156 Bolivians detained were enrolled in university or secondary schools, for example—the list is diverse and includes, among others: chauffeurs, tourists, artists, journalists, electricians, painters, sociologists, engineers, vendors, doctors, economists, lawyers, fashion models, architects, writers, dentists, mechanics, waiters, and two ballerinas. More specifically, of the 103 Brazilian exiles rounded up on the day of the coup, there were seventeen students, seven university professors, four tourists, three domestics, one agronomist, one ballerina, three photographers, three businessmen, two engineers, two doctors, one waiter, one filmmaker, two economists, one salesman, one secretary, one computer programmer, and fifty-four others "without information."<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> "Referencia 16684."

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 166-186.

Although it is challenging, if not impossible, to identify with absolute certainty the reasons why the regime targeted foreigners in such disproportionate numbers, the wide range of non-Chileans detained on September 11 suggests several key characteristics of the Junta Militar's *modus operandi*. First and foremost, foreigners were an easy scapegoat that allowed the nationalist Pinochet regime to focus its early efforts on an external enemy. Although Chileans were by no means spared in the Junta's roundups, by disproportionately targeting the (predominantly leftist) exile population, the regime distracted attention away from its systematic roundup of Chilean leftists.

Though the border was closed for the first eleven days following the coup, thousands of people from across the country immediately descended upon the embassies and churches in Santiago seeking safe haven while they waited for the border to reopen.<sup>139</sup> UP officials, militants, and sympathizers living in smaller, sparsely populated towns and cities, "where they were known and vulnerable," were especially at risk. Although the single north-south highway and rail line made reaching the capital difficult, Santiago, with its population of three million, its embassies, and its sprawl became the best option for many people.<sup>140</sup> Accessing embassies, however, also proved challenging: as Jakšić described, military guards stationed themselves around all of Santiago's embassies, waiting to catch hopeful asylees.<sup>141</sup> Yet even those who did manage to enter an embassy were not necessarily safe or guaranteed a way out. After apartment and university raids began, Jakšić describes how he and a friend, who was later imprisoned, went to the Italian Embassy in search of refuge, but were denied asylum because that government had not yet recognized the new Chilean regime:

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<sup>139</sup> Wright and Oñate, "Chilean Political Exile" (2012), 147.

<sup>140</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 39.

<sup>141</sup> Jakšić, Interview by author.

People waited there [at the Italian Embassy] for months, sometimes as many as six. After several days, my friend and I left the embassy because nothing was happening. But the [Chilean] government soon came after us, so I went into hiding. After several months, I decided I could not take it—the fear—any more. I had to get out. The French Embassy ultimately helped me get a student visa to study at the Sorbonne.<sup>142</sup>

Many of those who did not seek refuge at an embassy went underground to hide, like Jakšić, or tried to participate in resistance efforts.<sup>143</sup>

While the Junta initially prioritized detaining subversives, Pinochet soon changed his focus to embassies to “cut...off this source of refuge.”<sup>144</sup> In the first months after the coup in particular, the junta often enlisted military officials to block access to embassies so that they could catch the subversives who had evaded Pinochet’s early raids and arrest warrants. Though Pinochet continued to utilize administrative exile throughout the dictatorship to minimize internal resistance, his varying approach to administrative versus elective exile suggests he wanted to know who was leaving, where they were going, and when they were departing. These were variables that the dictator could control via administrative exile, but not in the case of those seeking voluntary asylum or refuge.

For those who were not immediately rounded up, in November 1973 the military government issued Law Decree 81, which legalized administrative exile as an executive procedure to be used “at the discretion of the rulers.” During the seventeen-year dictatorship, approximately 4,000 Chileans were expelled under this law.<sup>145</sup> (The total

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid. For a gripping memoir of the difficulties Chileans faced in gaining asylum at the Italian Embassy after December 1973 due to the ambassador’s withdrawal, see Tomaso de Vergottini, *Miguel Claro 1359: recuerdos de un diplomático Italiano en Chile (1973-1975)* (Santiago: Atena, 1991). For an anthology of essays narrating eighteen individuals’ experiences waiting for asylum in various embassies in Chile, see Faride Zerán Chelech, *O el asilo contra la opresión: 23 historias para recordar* (Santiago: Paradox, 1991).

<sup>143</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 39.

<sup>144</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile” (2007), 33.

<sup>145</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 40.

number of Chileans who elected or were coerced to flee is much higher, in the hundreds of thousands.<sup>146</sup>) In addition to exile, Law Decree 81 also required citizens who had left the country after the coup to obtain permission from the Ministry of the Interior in order to re-enter their home country. Exile, in this way, was not merely intended to punish Chileans, but was a way of permanently altering the political landscape. When *exiliados* renewed their passports at Chilean consulates abroad, Pinochet ordered officials to stamp the letter “L” (for “Lista nacional”) on their papers, which indicated that the holder was prohibited from returning to Chile. Although the Junta characterized exile as “a humane alternative to prison for enemies of the nation,” this ultimately meant “no exile considered dangerous was allowed to return.”<sup>147</sup>

Government oversight was extended even further in August 1974 through Law Decree 604, which precluded the re-entrance of Chileans who had left the country for any reason (not just political) after September 1973. In addition, the regime created “black lists” of former citizens and residents who had voluntarily left, were banished, or were not permitted to return to Chile.<sup>148</sup> Interestingly, this use of administrative exile “is no political novelty” in Chilean history, and had been used by governments following periods of political conflict in 1851, 1859, 1891 and 1927-1931. The key difference during the Pinochet years was his staunch refusal to grant amnesty to exiles.<sup>149</sup> When the Chilean constitution was rewritten in 1980 and Pinochet was asked whether exiles would be allowed to return, he replied, “I have only one answer: No.”<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 230; and Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 93.

<sup>147</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 32.

<sup>148</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 229.

<sup>149</sup> Alan Angell and Susan Carstairs, “The Exile Question in Chilean Politics,” *Third World Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (Jan. 1987): 148-167, especially 148.

<sup>150</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile” (2007), 10.

It is difficult to determine precisely how many people applied for asylum from foreign embassies after the coup, but a November 7, 1973 list of applications from Argentine, Brazilian, Bolivian, and Ecuadorian exiles and Chilean nationals is instructive: of the approximately 250 hopefuls on the list, only 36 were *not* denied asylum.<sup>151</sup> What this suggests is that although the regime was committed in principle to administrative exile, there was not always a legal way for refugees to enter another country. This not only applied to Chile at this time, but to the massive movement of political refugees during the Cold War. Article 13 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights states that “Every person has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country;” yet this declaration does not provide for the right to enter another country, thereby “stopping halfway in asserting a right to mobility.”<sup>152</sup> This is the legal paradox that many exiles confronted when they were forced out of their own country, but denied asylum at another nation’s embassy. This is exactly the roadblock that Jakšić had encountered at the Italian Embassy in 1973.

Due to the difficulty of escaping the dictatorship through legal pathways, tens of thousands of people living in Chile at the time of the coup fled illegally to neighboring countries.<sup>153</sup> By early 1974 there was an estimated 15,000 Chilean refugees living in Argentina and an additional 1,500 in Peru.<sup>154</sup> As political scientists Alan Angell and Susan Carstairs note, “the [Chilean exile] numbers for Argentina are especially difficult to establish,” due to the “continuous migratory flow from Chile to Argentina and [the]

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<sup>151</sup> “Mesa de Varios 1171,” 30-46.

<sup>152</sup> Tanya Golash-Boza and Cecilia Menjívar, “Causes and Consequences of International Migration: Sociological Evidence for the Right to Mobility,” *International Journal of Human Rights* 16, no. 8 (2012): 1213-1227, especially 1213.

<sup>153</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 41.

<sup>154</sup> Angell and Carstairs, “The Exile Question,” 151.



many people [who] undoubtedly fled across the border, particularly from country areas where repression is less documented, and have never registered themselves formally with any official body.”<sup>155</sup>

In the first two years after the coup, over 14,000 Chileans received diplomatic asylum, were expelled from prison, or moved abroad for fear of persecution. By 1979, this figure had doubled.<sup>156</sup> Following the 1982 economic crisis, an additional 800,000 Chileans left for Argentina in search of work.<sup>157</sup> Even after the return to democracy in 1990, the National Office of Return in Chile estimated that of the 700,000 Chileans living abroad, 200,000 had left the country for political reasons.<sup>158</sup> Estimates of the number of Chileans who fled their home country between 1973 and 1990 by both legal and illegal means range from several hundred thousand to nearly two million. It was—and remains—the largest mass emigration in Chilean history.<sup>159</sup>

Although the majority of Chilean exiles stayed in Latin America, in smaller numbers, the diaspora constituted a “worldwide dissemination.”<sup>160</sup> Following the coup, Chileans settled in anywhere between 110 and 140 countries—including such far away and varied countries as Kenya, Sweden, Bangladesh, the Cape Verde Islands, and Greenland.<sup>161</sup> One exile noted that, as a result of the diaspora, “There is no important city

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet* (New York: Norton, 1993), 149.

<sup>157</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 7.

<sup>158</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 230; and Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 93.

<sup>159</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 230.

<sup>160</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 91.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

in the world where you will not find a Chilean, nor a city that is not familiar with *empanadas* [meat pies] and *peñas* [informal cafés with folk and protest music].”<sup>162</sup>

It is noteworthy that at the same time as transnational leftist forces worked within and outside of Chile to assist refugees in obtaining exile, the military also enjoyed regional support for its crackdown. As García Márquez noted in March 1974, “There is...evidence that numerous members of secret police forces from neighboring countries were infiltrated across the Bolivian border [into Chile] and remained in hiding until the day of the coup, when they unleashed their bloody persecution of political refugees from other countries of Latin America.”<sup>163</sup> Indeed, Harmer agrees that, “without any apparent U.S. coordination, planes from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Ecuador had arrived with provisions for the new regime days after the coup.”<sup>164</sup> Former DINA prisoners detained in the National Stadium in the first weeks after the coup also reported, decades later, that they were questioned and tortured by both Chilean DINA and “people with foreign accents.”<sup>165</sup> Specifically, CIA records document that Uruguayan and Bolivian police were also present in the Estadio Nacional right after the coup, assisting the Junta in interrogation and keeping order, and by “teaching torture tactics to the Chilean police.”<sup>166</sup>

Although the Pinochet government would be condemned by many international human rights organizations and foreign governments in the first years after the coup, as

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<sup>162</sup> Juan Pablo Letelier, quoted in Mili Rodríguez Villouta, *Ya nunca me verás como me vieras: doce testimonios vivos del exilio* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones del Ornitorrinco, 1990), 106.

<sup>163</sup> García Márquez, “Why Allende Had to Die,” *New Statesman* 8, no. 21 (15 Mar. 1974): 356-358, especially 358.

<sup>164</sup> Harmer, *Allende's Chile*, 251.

<sup>165</sup> Rojas, et. al., “Tercer informe,” 85.

<sup>166</sup> Rollemberg, “The Brazilian Exile Experience,” 252 and 257; and Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 66.

far as neighboring Latin American nations and the United States were concerned, the junta was setting Chile back on course. Just as the presence of pro-Allende transnationals within Chile encouraged the coup plotters of the need to act, multinational support for the socialist president also signaled a regional problem, one that required a regional solution. Not surprisingly, the Brazilian military government was one of the most supportive of the Junta. In addition to Brazil's material support for the new regime, a Chilean exile and scholar, quoted by Harmer, noted in the mid-1980s the way in which the Pinochet dictatorship "was patterned off of Brazil, Nixon's most favored ally in Latin America. Chile's military junta has not only utilized the experience of Brazil but leapfrogged the early experimental stages of the Brazilian process." Indeed, Washington had tried to cultivate this relationship "even before the Chilean coup took place."<sup>167</sup>

## **Conclusions**

Studies of the Cold War focus on the conflict's two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and the collateral impact of their proxy wars. Latin America was undeniably affected by the policies of both the U.S. and the USSR, but the regional conflict was also complex and resulted from the conjuncture of global, national, and local factors. In Latin America, the Cold War was characterized by cycles of political unrest, coups, guerrilla insurgencies and authoritarian military dictatorships.

In this context Salvador Allende's democratic election must be seen as a watershed, not just for Chileans, but also for the rest of Latin America. His victory at the polls, paired with the rise of authoritarian military regimes in Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia, Peru, and Argentina, among others, precipitated the

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<sup>167</sup> Harmer, *Allende's Chile*, 254.

wholesale movement of political refugees throughout the hemisphere. Activists, who would have naturally gravitated to a democratically elected socialist leader, were encouraged to act on their ideological principles when they were driven into exile by repressive regimes. In some respects, the timing of the Allende experiment meshed with efforts by authoritarian regimes to expel their homegrown leftist militants.

Until the last weeks preceding the coup, Allende's Chile had provided a safe haven for leftists from across the region, and a space where multiple nationalities with similar political beliefs could meet and, at times, even collaborate. Although migrations and political exile have been commonplace over the last two centuries, this brief interlude was unique in that it brought together like-minded, politically motivated individuals of diverse nationalities who were undergoing a comparable experience. As this chapter has shown, some exiles, traumatized by the circumstances that forced them to emigrate, prioritized their safety and sought to live quietly on the margins of Chilean society. But others conceived of their time in exile as an opportunity to forge links with other leftists, to work for political change in their home countries from abroad, and to openly assert their political voice in a new context. Such political mobilization, of course, made them a prime target for the junta even before September 11.

A larger issue addressed in this chapter is the trope of the externalization of an enemy. Although Pinochet would have no qualms about imprisoning, torturing, and disappearing his own citizens, it is telling that one of his first targets was the country's foreign population, who were never as threatening as the regime portrayed them. As military officials verbally cast aspersions on the exiles, they directed attention to an ill-defined enemy that all Chileans could unite against. The Junta's takeover, therefore,

sought to justify its actions, claiming that it was acting in defense of the nation as a whole. That meant rooting out cancerous subversives whether they were domestic or foreign.

Despite recent democratic Chilean governments' efforts to come to terms with the repression and human rights abuses of the dictatorship through the creation of such truth commissions as the Rettig Report (1991) and the Valech Report (2004-2005, reopened for eighteen months in 2010-2011), a telling if little-recognized fact is that violence committed against foreigners was excluded from the two truth commission reports.<sup>168</sup> As a team of Chilean scholars explain:

Nothing of the Supreme Decree that established the [Chilean] Commission [of National Political Prisoners and Torture—Comisión Nacional Prisión Política y Tortura] excludes foreigners.... although it does not exclude [foreign] victims because of their nationality, it is evident that neither the Decree nor the Commission took special care to consider them. This topic should have been reflected in a special, separate procedure...[but] the Commission was not amply extensive in manners of national communication, let alone international. Based on this, we suspect that no special action was performed to register foreigners who were political prisoners. In Chile, there was no special reference in the report regarding the general situation of foreign.<sup>169</sup>

While the respective Valech and Rettig commissions collected hundreds of thousands of testimonies from victimized Chilean citizens and military officers, the exclusion of foreign victims from these reports is likely one of the main reasons why there remains so little documentation of the exile community in Chile during the 1970s.

Indeed, it is remarkable how little scholarly attention this exile community *within* Chile has garnered, despite its numbers. In contrast, there are over a dozen comprehensive accounts documenting the Chilean exile community abroad—from Mexico to Sweden to the United States. A comparable body of literature does not exist

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<sup>168</sup> Rojas, et. al., "Tercer informe," 163-164.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 163.

for any other Latin American exile group during this period, even though Chileans were by no means the only nationality forced out of their homeland.<sup>170</sup> I have attempted to begin to fill this lacuna by showing how leftist exiles of multiple Latin American nationalities adapted to life in Allende's Chile. However, much more archival research remains to be done on the varying experiences of different nationalities in exile.

In addition, this chapter reveals the early signs of collaboration among right-wing military regimes to track and target their citizens across borders. While there are no records of attempted or successful transnational murder plots from these early years—it is unclear whether they never transpired or that the records have been successfully destroyed—the early communications and cooperation among the Brazilian, Chilean, Bolivian, and Argentine militaries reveal how the methods and tactics associated with Operation Condor were evident as early as the summer of 1973.

In the next chapter, I discuss how this transnational left that first formed in Chile resettled in Argentina between late 1973 and Prats' assassination in late 1974. During that time, Chilean leftists who had collaborated with South American exiles seeking refuge within their own borders were now exiles themselves. I also consider the influence of the transnational left on Argentine politics and its military's response to this exile community.

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<sup>170</sup> For literature on the Chilean exile experience, see, for example: Angell and Carstairs, "The Exile Question;" Cecilia Araneda, dir., *Chile: A History in Exile* (New York: Filmmakers Library, 2000); *Chilean Writers in Exile: Eight Short Novels*, ed., Fernando Alegria (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1981); Patricia Cariola and Josefina Rossetti, *Inserción laboral para el retorno: el caso de los exiliados chilenos* (Santiago: CIDE, 1984); Cooper, *Pinochet and Me*; Dorfman, *Heading South, Looking North*; idem, *Feeding on Dreams: Confessions of an Unrepentant Exile* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011); Eastmond, *The Dilemmas of Exile*; Kay, *Chileans in Exile*; Liliana Muñoz, "Grief and Loss in Exile" (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 1984); Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches*; Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*; and idem, "Chilean Political Exile" (2007).

### Appendix 1.1

Nationalities of Foreign Prisoners Arrested by the Chilean Dictatorship on September 11, 1973<sup>171</sup>

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Total</b>
East German	4	1	5
Argentina	70	10	80
Bolivia	151	12	163
Brazil	86	17	103
Canada	3	--	3
Colombia	31	2	33
Cuba	4	1	5
Dominican Republic	9	--	9
Ecuador	10	1	11
El Salvador	1	--	1
England	6	--	6
France	15	3	18
Guatemala	1	1	2
Haiti	9	1	10
Holland	6	--	6
Italy	5	2	7
Jordan	1	--	1
Japan	2	1	3
Kuwait	1	--	1
Luxembourg	1	--	1
Mexico	7	1	8
New Zealand	1	--	1
Nicaragua	25	1	26
Panama	8	1	9
Pakistan	2	--	2
Paraguay	1	--	1
Peru	33	--	33
Puerto Rico	1	--	1
Romania	1	--	1
Spain	12	--	12
Switzerland	6	--	6
United States	10	1	11
Uruguay	135	19	154
Venezuela	39	--	39
Yugoslavia	5	--	5
Without information	1	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>791</b>

<sup>171</sup> Information compiled from Rojas, et. al., "Tercer informe," 166.

**Appendix 1.2**

Foreigners Detained in Chile, September-December 1973<sup>172</sup>

<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Detention Center</b>	<b>Circumstance of Detention</b>
Gómez Idelfonso	Alfonso	Argentina	Waiter	Z.N. Valparaíso	No documents
Altamore Pérez	Carlos Jesús	Argentina	Chauffeur	Z.N. Valparaíso	Detained in the Plaza de la Justicia
Alves	Pedro	Argentina	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Amaranto Moris	Héctor Rosario	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Arditi	Héctor Alberto	Argentina	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Asnar Ripullone	Pablo	Argentina	University professor (U. de Concepción)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Balboa	Mario	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Balvoa Valdés	Mario B	Argentina	“Embot Hot” Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Baravalle Sugasti	Graciela María	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Basi Garrofe	Daniel Rubén	Argentina	Musician	Estadio Nacional	“Illegal situation”
Bazán Call	Calixto Hermelindo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Bonacina Abrate	Diego Carlos	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Busch Wernicke	Rodolfo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Castan Asían	Osvaldo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Castello	Omar Raúl Aníbal	Argentina	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Ceruone Roa	Carlos	Argentina	Artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Chabrol Amaranto	Oscar Domingo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Chacón Molina	Matilde	Argentina	Domestic	Estadio Nacional	--

<sup>172</sup> Information compiled from Rojas, et. al., “Tercer informe,” 166-186.



Chirivino Judica	José	Argentina	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Cozodoy	Jorge Adolfo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
D'Alessio Tempene	Néstor	Argentina	University professor	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
De Gregorio Mercuty	Isaías	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Duarte Arriola	María Eva	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Durand Berguerey	Juan	Argentina	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	"Accused of being an activist"
Eryani Kosin	Tomás	Argentina	Businessman	Z.N. Valparaíso	"Accused of Marxist propaganda"
Espinoza Carvajal	Carlos R.	Argentina	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	"Accused of Marxist propaganda"
Falaschi Otero	Carlos	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Feldman Wainstein	Raúl Eduardo	Argentina	Técnico Industrial Eléctrico	Estadio Nacional	--
Figueroa	Rubén Santiago	Argentina	Science Professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Forese	Ipólito Ismael	Argentina	Artist	La Serena	--
Galacia Morales	Miguel Ángel	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
García Barreto	Agustín	Argentina	Sociologist	Estadio Nacional	--
Granatovich Chichik	Sofía	Argentina	Domestic	Estadio Nacional	--
Konoba Krul	Teodoro	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Lacorte Martorell	Miguel Ángel	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
López Tome	Nora Beatriz	Argentina	Photographer	Estadio Nacional	--
Martínez Borda	Juana Fanny	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Mónaco	Ofelia Luisa	Argentina	Model	Estadio Nacional	Curfew violation

Naidino Pereira	Carlos	Argentina	Fábrica Ojeda Hermanos, employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Marín Menchaca	Juan Carlos	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Martínez Prini	Ernesto	Argentina	Businessman	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Moisa	Carlos Gustavo	Argentina	Engineer	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Moure Prete	Raúl Omar	Argentina	Book salesman	Estadio Nacional	--
O’Connell	Arturo	Argentina	Professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Olsina Vidal	Sergio Rogelio	Argentina	Professor	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	Accused of false documentation
Papini Godoy	Julio Arturo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	Accused of political activism
Pasik Fucks	Samuel R.	Argentina	Pediatrician	Estadio Nacional or Llanquihue	“Suspicious”
Pasquali	Juan Carlos	Argentina	Musician	Llanquihue	--
Paz	Raúl José	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Paz Snopek	Pedro Francisco	Argentina	Economist (U. de Chile—Escolatina)	Estadio Nacional	--
Pérez Cotapos	George Peter	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pérez Corapos Urzúa	Jorge	Argentina	Lawyer	Estadio Nacional	--
Porra Graciano	Juan Carlos	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Postigo Magallanes	Carlos Dante	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Prieto Campa	Heltos Félix	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	Raid at the Universidad Técnica del Estado
Raggi Hernández	Roberto	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--

Reymaud Ríos	Héctor Sergio	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	“Without documentation”
Rinaldi Scarpello	Ariel	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	Raid at the Universidad Técnica del Estado
Rodríguez Esperidioni	Alberto	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Roitman Marchevski	Alfredo	Argentina	University Professor (U. Católica)	Estadio Nacional	Detained at work
Sarre	Armando Leopoldo	Argentina	Businessman	Z.N. Valparaíso	--
Sasiain Espinoza	Pedro Luís	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	Accused of membership in the Bolsa Electrónica de Chile (BEC)
Silva Olivares	Enrique	Argentina	Radio controller	Iquique	--
Soria Delgadón	Argentino	Argentina	Stonemason	La Serena	--
Sulbert Oyarce	Ricardo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	Called by the Junta Military
Tadic Lanfuentes	Néstor	Argentina	Employee	Punta Arenas	--
Tarditu Cresta	Héctor Alberto	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Tronoa Bertoni	Aldo Alfredo	Argentina	--	Antofagasta	--
T. Corzo	Pedro D.	Argentina	University Professor	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Uriarte	Jorge Horacio	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Valenzuela Mora	Valentín	Argentina	Fruit salesman	Estadio Nacional	--
Zacarías Comañez	Oswaldo	Argentina	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Van Lancker D.	André	Belgium	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Acosta	Fernando	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Aguilar Tames	Raúl	Bolivia	Architect	Estadio Nacional	--
Alarcón	Juan	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--

Alborta	Antonio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Alborta Reyes	Exequiel	Bolivia	Writer and Diplomat	Estadio Nacional	--
Alcoba Arias	Jorge	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Alcom Quiloe	Víctor Hugo	Bolivia	Professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Alemán Nenduina	Héctor Mario	Bolivia	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
Álvarez Toranzos	Juan	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Álvarez Vampara	Froilán	Bolivia	Worker	Estadio Nacional	--
Añez Gutiérrez	Nelson	Bolivia	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	--
Apaza Apaza	Estanislao	Bolivia	--	Antofagasta	--
Arratia Olmos	Hugo	Bolivia	Filmmaker	Estadio Nacional	--
Arratia Olmos	Jaime	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Arredondo	Justo	Bolivia	Chauffeur	Estadio Nacional	Raid at the Universidad Técnica del Estado
Arce Torrico	Julio Joaquín	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Avilés Ríos	Néstor Gastón	Bolivia	University professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Bacherer Soliz	Juan Pablo	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Barriga Soto	Edgardo Fernando	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Barta Mujica	Walter	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Bascope Román	Alcides Alberto	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Blanco Werth	Carlos	Bolivia	University student (U. Católica)	Estadio Nacional	--
Bustos Quiroga	Homero	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Cabrera	Guido	Bolivia	Student	Estadio	--

Luna				Nacional	
Cadima Garzón	Edgardo Fernando	Bolivia	University student (U. Técnica del Estado)	Estadio Nacional	--
Camacho Valdivia	Julio	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Campero Saucedo	José Antonio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Capriles Argueda	Rudy	Bolivia	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Cardoso Morales	José	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Carlos Meléndez	John Marcos	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Castanan Gómez	Julio César	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Castillo Zambrano	Fidel	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Cautain Andmayo	Ricardo R.	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Céspedes Aguilar	Néstor	Bolivia	Lawyer	Estadio Nacional	--
Chuquimja Laura	Nain	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Clards	John	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Accused of Marxist propaganda
Clare Claros	Elías M.	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Cuiza Vela	Samuel	Bolivia	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
Del Carpio	Guillermo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Del Castillo	José Enrique	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Dios	Jorge	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Dufflayer	Alves Luciano	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	Tourist
Duran Boger	Luciano	Bolivia	Writer	Estadio Nacional	--
Espinoza García	Sergio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Expired residency visa

Fernández Dorado	José	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Galindo Rodríguez	José Alfredo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Galleguillos Salguero	Luis	Bolivia	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Genio Molinero	Ángel Gonzalo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Guevara	Luis	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Guevara	Pedro	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gumucio del Barco	Gastón Gilberto	Bolivia	--	Antofagasta	--
Gutiérrez Quispe	Nemesio	Bolivia	Chauffeur	Estadio Nacional	--
Halcón Quispe	Víctor Hugo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Hinojosa Vargas	Carlos	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Hinojosa Vega	Joaquín	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Higueras	René	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Hurtado	Manlio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Ibáñez Castro	Jorge	Bolivia	Lawyer	Estadio Nacional	Factory raid
Illáñes Rocha	Arturo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Iñiguez Medrano	Felipe	Bolivia	Lawyer/ Economist	Estadio Nacional	--
Jarari Sumpero	Darío	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Jemio Molinero	Ángel Gonzalo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Jiménez	Fernando	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Larrazábal	Luis	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Lizárraga Ferrel	Gualberto	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
López Álvarez	Homo Patricio	Bolivia	University student	Estadio Nacional	--

López Oros	Enrique	Bolivia	Employee	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Machacado Villarroel	Oscar	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Magarinos Revollo	Franklin	Bolivia	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	“Suspicious”
M. Urqueda	Toucuay	Bolivia	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
Marino Vásquez	Ángel	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Martínez	Luis	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Martínez Rea	Julio	Bolivia	University student	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Mazzone Rea	Julio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Elson Justiniano	Hernán	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Miasnird Ovaes	Ignacio	Bolivia	Dentist/tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Michel Nacif	Mario	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Micordia Vallaza	Ángel	Bolivia	Agronomist	Estadio Nacional	--
Mírones Venegas	Diego	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Moncou Ojeda	Reinaldo	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Moreno Villegas	José A.	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Nacif	Marco Miguel	Bolivia	Columnist	Estadio Nacional	--
Nava Ortiz	Raúl	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Navia Quiroga	José	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Nina Sarzuri	Edmundo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Olmedo	Armando	Bolivia	--	Estadio	--

Armando	Villamil			Nacional	
Ortega Vaca	Carlos Alberto	Bolivia	Surgeon	Estadio Nacional	--
Pabón Thenier	Oscar	Bolivia	Editor	Estadio Nacional	“Accused of [being a] possible Communist Agent”
Palenque Cisternas	Héctor Alberto	Bolivia	Lawyer	Iquique	--
Palizza Terrazas	Alfredo	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Paredes Blanco	René	Bolivia	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Parriaga Barregas	Luis	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Parriaga Barregas	Heriberto	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Pérez García	José	Bolivia	University student	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Pinto Cardona	Antonio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pizarro Hidalgo	Pedro	Bolivia	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Portugal	Pedro	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Prado	Raúl	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pulgar Justiniano	Hermes	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Quispe Vallejos	Alberto Paulino	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Roldo Aranda	Eduardo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes Rivera	Simón	Bolivia	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Rico Soliz	Ramiro	Bolivia	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Rocha Cárdenas	Augusto	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Rodríguez	Juan Pablo	Bolivia	--	Estadio	--



Chagana				Nacional	
Rojas	Jaime	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Saavedra Saavedra	Willy D.	Bolivia	Accountant	Estadio Nacional	--
Salazar Ordóñez	Cimar	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Salazar Ordóñez	Víctor Hugo	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	Expired passport
Sánchez Riveros	Juan Pablo	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Sevilla Gutiérrez	José	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Soto Ferreira	Hugo Edgar	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Soto Ferreira	Jorge Osvaldo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Soto Ferreira	Roberto Enrique	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Soto Quiroga	Jorge Ignacio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Suarez Ramírez	Francisco Javier	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Taborga Taborga	Jesús	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Tapia	Justo R. Orlando	Bolivia	Professor	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Toro y Toro	Antonio	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Tuniri Laura	Macario	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Uzeda Salguero	Andrés Oscar	Bolivia	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
Uzqueda Tonchy	Marinkovic	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Valdivieso Sossa	Dardo Ariel	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Valenzia Álvarez	Edgard	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Vargas Guzmán	Carlos	Bolivia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--

Vega Balderrama	Carlos	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Velarde Chávez	Jorge	Bolivia	--	Reg. Guardia Vieja	--
Velásquez	Ernesto	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Vélez Serrano	Luis	Bolivia	Journalist (foreign press)	Estadio Nacional	--
Villa de Lora	Juan José	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Villagra Romay	Mario	Bolivia	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Villalba Benavides	Juan Carlos	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Villalba Murillo	Juan Néstor	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Villamil Olmedo	Armado Villamil	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Viscarra Pando	Ruddy	Bolivia	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	--
Waillany	Juan Hugo	Bolivia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Zacarías Quisbert	Alberto	Bolivia	Mechanic	Estadio Nacional	--
Zambrano Pareja	Luis Fernando	Bolivia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Albes Filo	Pedro	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	“Without documents”
Alves da Silva	W.	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Alves de Souza	José	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Araujo Santos	Acacid Francisco	Brazil	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Avelino da Silva	José Carlos	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Bahlis Dos Santos	Milton	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Batinga de Mondoca	Braga	Brazil	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Benchinol Das Neves	Pablo Roberto	Brazil	Agronomist	Estadio Nacional	--
Benedito	Claudio	Brazil	Ballerina	Estadio Nacional	“Without documents”
Blues de	José	Brazil	Student	Estadio	“Suspicious”

Souza				Nacional	
Boff Tonella	March Domingos	Brazil	Professor	Z.N. Valparaíso	--
Borges	Milton	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	“Entered voluntarily”
Brotas B.	Pedro Paulo	Brazil	Assistant	Z.N. Talcahuano- Tomé	--
Brockes Lopés	Otto	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Buchioni Arauvo	Enio	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Campos Rodríguez	Edson	Brazil	Artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Cardozo Wallwirz	Jaime	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Chávez dos Santos	Pedro	Brazil	Businessman	Estadio Nacional	--
Duarte Netz	Clayton Rogelio	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Costa Dos Santos	Miguel	Brazil	University professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Cunha Neves	Arthur Jader	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Da Costa Pedrosa	Roberto Enrique	Brazil	University professor	Z.N. Talcahuano- Tomé	--
Das Dores	Romanido Maria	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Davet	Sergio	Brazil	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
De Acedevo	Ricardo	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
De Almeida	Gilberto	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
De Barros López	Antonio José	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
De Castro Ramos	Tarzán	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
De Mattos Manio	José	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
De Miranda Nogueira	Vandeval	Brazil	University student	Z.N. Talcahuano- Tomé	--
De Mororo Pocha	Sergio Augusto	Brazil	Engineer	Estadio Nacional	Household raid

De Oliveira Miranda	Eduardo	Brazil	Civil Engineer	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
De Paola Pires	Nielsen	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
De Souza	Lino Renato	Brazil	Visiting doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
De Souza	Pablo Rouberto	Brazil	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
De Souza Rocha	Guido	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Díaz	Mauricio David	Brazil	Economist	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Dos Reis Santos	Filho José	Brazil	University student (U. de Chile)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Duarte Netz	Cayton Rogelio	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	“Irregular situation [in Chile]”
Farbri Cardozo	Luis Carlos	Brazil	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
Farah	Ricardo	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Fernández Rodríguez	Víctor	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Ferraz Nascimento	Antonio Paulo	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Ferreira Soares	Silverio	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Figueiredo	Bernardinho	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	“Detained in public view”
Franca Telez	Lucio	Brazil	University student (U. Católica)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	Household raid
Gianini Aranja	Paulo de Tarso	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Heinz Metzger	Roberto Enrique	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Heredia Arivood	José Antonio	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Jayne de Aguirre	Joaquín	Brazil	Music Professor (U. Católica)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Leitao da Cunha	Wrede Pedro	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--

Leites Fontes	Iedo	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Lima Marchetti	Ivens Do Monte	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
López Perreira	Alfredo	Brazil	Student/ tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Boff Tonella	Naeth Domingos	Brazil	--	Z.N. Valparaiso- Lebu	--
Martins Rabelo	Pedro José María	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Mayer de Miranda	José	Brazil	University student (U. Católica)	Z.N. Talcahuano- Tomé	Workplace raid
Messias Dirce	Luís	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Messias	José Luís	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Netz Duarte	Clayton	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Oliveira de Meneses	Frederic	Brazil	Lawyer/ University professor	Z.N. Talcahuano- Tomé	--
Pinheiro Conceicao	Joelivan	Brazil	Waiter/ Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Pires Fernández	Luis	Brazil	Filmmaker	Estadio Nacional	--
Pires Leal	Carol Stalin	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rabelo Martínez	José María	Brazil	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Ribeiro de Barros	Roberto	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rowchi	Nilson	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Salas Carvano	Adolfo	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Sanseda	Luís Carlos	Brazil	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Setrathiuk	Nelson	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Serra Chirico	José	Brazil	Economist	Estadio Nacional	Accused of gun trafficking
Soboski Tobías	Adolfo	Brazil	Businessman	Estadio Nacional	--

Soroutiuk Hudema	Vitorio	Brazil	Art student	Estadio Nacional	--
Togni	Tomás Tarquinio	Brazil	Photography student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	“Accused of being a MIRista”
Telles Franc	Pablo Roberto	Brazil	--	Rancagua	--
Timoteo Ferreira	Vera Lucía	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Torres Martins	Antonio	Brazil	Hairdresser and painter	Estadio Nacional	--
Viana de Almeida Gómez	Pedro	Brazil	Theater director	Estadio Nacional	--
Vuolo Stevano	Valter	Brazil	Computer programmer	Estadio Nacional	--
Woist Kahn	Tomás David	Brazil	Student	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Wrede Leitao da Cunha	Pedro Henrique	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Yuzuri Maba	Andge Samuel	Brazil	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Beaubien T.	Michael	Canada	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Cameron Paterson	William Eliot	Canada	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Everton	Roberto	Canada	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Abuhatar Gil	Demetro E.	Colombia	University student (U. Austral)	Estadio Nacional	--
Alfonso Bernal	Luis	Colombia	Professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Álvarez Echeverry	Raúl	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	Raid at the Universidad Técnica del Estado
Arbolada Vélez	Germán	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Aristizabal Rubio	John	Colombia	Professor/ Leather Artist	Estadio Nacional	Raid at the Universidad Técnica del Estado

Brown Barquero	Nelson	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Campo Mieles	Armando	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Córdova Ballestas	Gerardo	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Duque Segura	Joaquín	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
García Rodríguez	Ramón	Colombia	Mechanic	Estadio Nacional	--
García Ruiz	León Guillermo	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gómez Altunez	José Luis	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gómez Zambrano	Marco Aurelio	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Jiménez Murcia	Fernando	Colombia	--	Llanquihue	--
Maldonado	Fabio	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Ochoa	Luis Carlos	Colombia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Perea Chala	Rafael	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Pino Torres	Eliecer	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Quiñones Garay	Francisco A.	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes Berrios	Cayetano	Colombia	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Rivera Martínez	Omar	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Romero Acosta	Rafael C.	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Sabogal Sandoval	Jorge	Colombia	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Sánchez	Ariel Alcides	Colombia	--	Estadio Nacional	Accused of illegal residency
Sepúlveda Álvarez	José	Colombia	--	Guardia Vieja	--

Sierra Redondo	Israel	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Tapia Tietjin	Edwin N.	Colombia	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Tenorio Quiñonez	H.	Colombia		Estadio Nacional	--
Toro García	Gustavo	Colombia		Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Varela Rodríguez	César	Colombia	University student (U. Técnica del Estado)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Cebeno Castro	Rogelio	Costa Rica	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Suspicious political activities”
Porras Ledesma	Sergio	Costa Rica	Employee	Punta Arenas	--
Arguelles Mendez	Héctor	Cuba	--	Iquique	--
León Morales	Nemesio F.	Cuba	Businessman	Estadio Nacional	“Irregular tourist”
Talavera Cortez	José Santos	Cuba	Plumber	Estadio Nacional	“Without documents”
Mortensen Lund	Arnolf	Denmark	Audiovisual expert	Estadio Nacional	--
Amaro Núñez	Miguel	Dom. Republic	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Gonzalo Ramos	Luis	Dom. Republic	Lathe operator	Estadio Nacional	--
Martínez Ovando	Luis	Dom. Republic	Lathe operator	Estadio Nacional	--
Ramírez Sánchez	José	Dom. Republic	Mechanic	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes de la Rosa	Luis	Dom. Republic	Mechanic	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes	Rafael Emilio	Dom. Republic	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes Rojas	Marino	Dom. Republic	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Ventura Vargas	Lorenzo	Dom. Republic	Mechanic	Estadio Nacional	--
De la Rosa González	Gilberto	Dom. Republic	--	Estadio Nacional	--



Martínez Puello	Ricardo Juan	Dom. Republic	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Klauss	Pilgram	East German	--	Estadio Nacional (Santiago)	--
Kohliss Wilhrin	Higlas	East German	--	Campo de Pisagua	--
Meschekat	Klauss	East German	University professor	Zona Naval (Z.N.) Talcahuano/Tomé	Household raid
Fischer	Wolfgang Heinrich	East German	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Barreto Baquero	Delfin Diderot	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Betavomalo Saavedra	Bruno Alejandro	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Campos Carrillo	José Alejandro	Ecuador	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Presented himself voluntarily”
Cordova Pacheco	Galo	Ecuador	University student	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Manosalvas Vaca	Nelson Rufo	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Muñoz Román	Carlos Luis	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pachano Holguín	Rodrigo	Ecuador	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Peña Herrera	William Washington	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pérez Romoleraux	Hernán	Ecuador	University graduate student (U. Católica)	Estadio Nacional	--
Ponce Pacheco	Sócrates Augusto	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	“Was summoned”
Rodríguez Madiquena	Carlos Guillermo	Ecuador	University student (Ingeniería Civil U. Federico Santa María)	Estadio Nacional	--
Romero Martínez	Edison Ernesto	Ecuador	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rueda	Luciano	Ecuador	--	Estadio	--

Portéz	Oswaldo			Nacional	
Toro Cepeda	Germán G.	Ecuador	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Bardor Might	Richard Norman	England	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Dubczuk Winiel	Adrian Phillips	England	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Francis Jansen	Adrian Phillips	England	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gathoose Sereny	Michael	England	IBM Programmer	Estadio Nacional	--
Devinock Ampen	Jean Luck	France	Professor	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	Household raid
Gestin	Daniel	France	University professor	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Gruszewsk	Nicolas	France	Peasant	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Guiet	Roberto Gerardo	France	Priest	Estadio Nacional	--
Joly	Alain	France	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Journey	Nicolas	France	University student	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Lerge	Martin	France	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Martin Halier	Serge	France	Student/ Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Heraud Chaveau	Noel	France	Priest	Estadio Nacional	“Ordered detained”
Hutiet Andre	Martie Gerard	France	Priest	Llanquihue	--
Roly	Martine	France	--	Estadio Nacional	--
De León Rodríguez	Rafael A.	Guatemala	Businessman	Estadio Nacional	--
Adán Exantus	Michel	Haiti	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Destre Buteau	Milo	Haiti	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gaspard Blanchard	Napoleón	Haiti	Electrician (INACAP)	Estadio Nacional	--

Joly Lubin	Ulrick	Haiti	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Joseph	Antonio	Haiti	Math teacher	Estadio Nacional	--
Viex Pincambe	Michel	Haiti	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Voltaire Andrade	Michel	Haiti	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Bastiaanse Van der Velden	Alessand	Holand	Priest	Estadio Nacional	--
Bolk Wandus	Albertus	Holand	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Brinbkhof Hulman	Juan	Holand	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Hoster Jacobus	Andries	Holand	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	--
Mijfes Van Heumen	Cornelius	Holand	Priest	Estadio Nacional	--
Constantino Cavallo	De Pascuale	Italy	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Jontal Hutterer	Paolo	Italy	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Suspicious”
Lizul Banco	Marino	Italy	Photographer	Estadio Nacional	“Maritime governance”
Mattiozzi Capitanio	Franco	Italy	Boat supplier	Z.N. Valparaíso	--
Zacarias de Gabarro	Pier Antonio	Italy	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Manzo Hasbun	Carlos	Jordan	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Kobayashi	Osamu	Japan	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Sada	Shinvi	Japan	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Mohamed Abdulla	Abeid Aicha	Kuwait	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Emmanuel Sepúlveda	A. Jesús	Mexico	Agronomist (CORA)	Estadio Nacional	--
Guijarro Miranda	Jaime Alfonso	Mexico	Musician	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes Cortéz	Rodolfo	Mexico	Choreographer (Min. de Education)	Estadio Nacional	--
Sepúlveda	Horacio	Mexico	--	Estadio Nacional	--

Torres	José Luis	Mexico	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Trewa Estrada	Raúl	Mexico	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Bruce Patterson	Derek	New Zealand	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Arguellos Lanzas	José A.	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Blandon de Mantilla	Urania	Nicaragua	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Bolt González	Mary	Nicaragua	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Cepeda	Hugo	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Escoria Urbina	R. Francisco	Nicaragua	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Figueroa Aguilar	José A.	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
García	Alonso	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Henríquez Cruz	Manuel	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Lacayo Jarquín	Francisco Salvador	Nicaragua	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Lanzas Pérez	Mario	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Law Blanco	Guillermo	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
López Miranda	Julio Cesar	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Mantilla Martínez	Enrique	Nicaragua	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Mendoza Castillo	Carlos	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Molina Sediles	Octavio	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Ortiz Dávila	Enoc de Jesús	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Portocarrero Argüello	Noel	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Quiroz Ballares	Francisco	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Ruiz Ocampo	Cesar Augusto	Nicaragua	Student	Estadio Nacional	--

Tablada Molina	Augusto	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Tercero Talavera	Víctor	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Torres	Denis	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Zúñiga	Silvio	Nicaragua	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Bhattachar Jee	Anaddj Kumar	Pakistan	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rhattacherje Reid	Anadi Kumar	Pakistan	Professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Franco Carrión	Jorge	Panama	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
González Santis	Almecias	Panama	Mechanic	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Hernández Foma	Alex	Panama	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Jiménez Galastica	Arsenio	Panama	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Méndez	Agustín	Panama	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Oltafulla Muñoz	Jorge	Panama	Professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Dubczur Miniél	Eugenio	Paraguay	Artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Alcarracin Vargas	Fredy	Peru	Student (U. Técnica del Estado)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Bernejo Carrera	Cesar Augusto	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Breba Repal	Víctor Julio	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Carrasco Vilca	Santiago Jorge	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Carty Alarcón	José	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Castillo Suarez	José María	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Churata Curo	Eloy	Peru	Economist (InduPerú)	Estadio Nacional	--
Cruz Valdelomar	Bernardo	Peru	Textile artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Cugas Carlos	Percy Abraham	Peru	Student	Estadio Nacional	--

Del Carpio Heros	Manuel	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Estrada Farfan	Fidel	Peru	Soldier	Estadio Nacional	--
Gallardo Bazan	Gonzalo E.	Peru	Packager	Estadio Nacional	--
Gutierrez Gutiérrez	Juan	Peru	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Hernández Sánchez	José F.	Peru	Merchant	Estadio Nacional	--
Hurtado Mejías	Mauro	Peru	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Lafforet Cabrera	Hugo Manuel	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Lara Ramos	Cesar Guillermo	Peru	Student	Antofagasta	--
Llong Quin	José	Peru	Graphic artist/tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Lupaca Hualca	Francisco	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Macedo Catalán	Saturnino	Peru	University student (U. de Chile—Valparaíso)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Malaga Canal	José Alfredo	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Maldonado Yañez	Edilberto	Peru	--	La Serena	--
Minaya Salazar	Magno Wilfredo	Peru	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Montero Gallardo	Roberto	Peru	Packager	Estadio Nacional	--
Obrebret Zuñiga	Ernesto	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rodriguez Torres	Clonoveo	Peru	Student (INACAP)	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Sánchez Gamarra	Luis	Peru	University student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Sans Brown	Elchin	Peru	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Santa Cruz Castello	José Francisco	Peru	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Urbina	Leoncio	Peru	--	Estadio	--

				Nacional	
Villagra Romero	Julio	Peru	--	Campo de Concentración de Pisagua	--
Jalocha	Jerzy	Poland	Artist	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Díaz Ramos	Sergio Ernesto	Puerto Rico	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pérez Dunc	Kley Erasmo	Panama	Civil engineer	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Pérez Tapier	Rafael	Panama	Math teacher	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Panaiteescu Verulescu	Videl	Romania	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Aguillo Bonin	Enrique	Spain	--	Estadio Nacional	--
A. Montes	Tuvesio	Spain	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Aventín Arino	Antonio	Spain	Industrial worker	Estadio Nacional	“Accused of extremist activity”
Cogollos	Guillermo Enrique	Spain	Worker	Guardia Vieja	“Suspected of being an activist”
Fuentes Latorres	José Alejandro	Spain	Professor	Puente Alto	--
Lobete Pastor	Julián	Spain	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Montaner Espar	Juan	Spain	Priest	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Habas Orenge	Ernesto	Spain	Journalist	Z.N. Talcahuano-Tomé	Raid at the U. Técnica del Estado
Orta Gómez	Hernán Eduardo		--	Estadio Nacional	“Accused of being an FTR militant”
Rabasa	Juan Ventura	Spain	Electrician	Calama	“Suspicious”
Sánchez Sánchez	Luis	Spain	Technician	Puente Alto	--
Croner	Claes	Switzerland	--	Estadio	--

				Nacional	
Janbell Minders	Henrix	Switzerland	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Nils Sourander	Bard	Switzerland	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Sourander Bare	Niels Bo	Switzerland	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	--
Vandebeu	Henrix	Switzerland	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Aguilera Huidobro	Gustavo Mauricio	Uruguay	Shoemaker	Llanquihue	“Voluntary”
Almeal Pérez	Eduardo	Uruguay	Personal assistant	Campo de Concentración Tomé-Talcahuano	“Suspicious political activity”
Alonso Lema	Enrique Loquín	Uruguay	Chauffeur	La Serena	Tourist
Alvarino Sanzón	Jorge Carlos	Uruguay	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Banales Quindreaen	Luis Enrique	Uruguay	--	Llanquihue	--
Baraibas Figuerido	Julio Miguel	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Barreiro Sánchez	Fernando	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Berriel Natianda	Luis	Uruguay	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	--
Bertolotti Nenari	Julio	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Cabrera Campos	Daniel	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Caggiani Bonilla	Ariel	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Carevan de Condo	Carlos	Uruguay	Textile artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Carvalmo F.	Pablo	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Carvalmo F.	Pedro	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	“Suspicious”
Castellano L.	Fernando Daniel	Uruguay	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Cinoti Coltucho	Luis Alberto	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Conde Martínez	Francisco	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--



Conde	Ruben Tomás	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Corbo Prieto	Hebert Alberto	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Da Cruz G.	José Luis	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Da Silva González	Delvo Ignacio	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	“Suspicious”
Echeverri Pucci	Carlos Antonio	Uruguay	Student	Puente Alto	--
Fabio Alarcón	Rodrigo Gervasio	Uruguay	Agronomist student	Estadio Nacional	Member of MLN-Tupamaros
Fernández Aude	Daniel	Uruguay	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Ferrari Conde	Pablo	Uruguay	Civil engineer	Estadio Nacional	Household raid
Ferrari Silva	Juan Carlos	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	“Irregular situation”
Ferreira De Souza	Sergio Alberto	Uruguay	--	La Serena	--
Fleitas Izquierdo	Amalio	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Fleitas Núñez	Amalio Guillermo	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Fleitas Núñez	José Luis	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gil N.	Miguel	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Giononi Larramundi	Milton Gustavo	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Giusti Continmo	Luis Alberto	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Godoy Villar	Juan A.	Uruguay	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Gómez Julio	Baldomero Pitamiglio	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
González Guvar	Eduardo	Uruguay	Translator	Estadio Nacional	--
Grane Panella	Ernesto	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Grecco Costa	Justo	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Guerrero Moya	Alfredo	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--

Guerrero Pérez	Omar	Uruguay	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	“Voluntary”
Guido Fernández	Nery Juan Francisco	Uruguay	--	Campo de Concentración Tomé-Talcahuano	--
Guixe de Simong	Jorge L.	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Hordenana E.	Francisco	Uruguay	Silkscreen technician	Estadio Nacional	--
Irigoyen García	Carlos R.	Uruguay	Artist	Estadio Nacional	Detained by the Carabineros
K. Spivak	Ricardo	Uruguay	Student	Z.N. Valparaíso	--
Laffite Smith	Jorge Washington	Uruguay	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Larranaga	Carlos	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Larranga Patada	Walter	Uruguay	Sociologist (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Lubetren Tublovic	Julio	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Luisi Pinto	Romulo Fernando	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Marcos del Rosario	Armando	Uruguay	--	Llanquihue	--
Melgar Ardite	Carlos Eliseo	Uruguay	Carpenter	Estadio Nacional	--
Muinos Rodríguez	Hugo	Uruguay	Artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Ortiz Suarez	Miguel Ángel	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pereda da Rosa	Guarani	Uruguay	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Previtali	Alfredo	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Prieto Prieto	Roberto	Uruguay	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Ramos Conde	Ruben	Uruguay	Artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Rodriguez Caballero	Jorge	Uruguay	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Rodriguez	Heber	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rosai Gomez	Carlos	Uruguay	University student (U. de	Estadio Nacional	--

			Chile)		
Rota Rodriguez	Ruben	Uruguay	Music professor	Estadio Nacional	--
Salvia Mendez	Basilio	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Sanchez Alfonsin	Juan Manuel	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Sanchez Salaberri	Luvadino	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Techera Techera	Juan Manuel	Uruguay	Ballerina	Estadio Nacional	--
Torres Bruges	Roberto	Uruguay	Professor (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Ubal Sosa	Juan Carlos	Uruguay	Worker	Estadio Nacional	--
Uturburu Combe	Walter	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Valenzuela Almeida	Heber	Uruguay	Businessman	Estadio Nacional	--
Vallejo R.	Julio C.	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Varela	José	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Vasquez Maceira	Jose	Uruguay	Artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Vigil Grompone	Gonzalo	Uruguay	Graphic artist	Estadio Nacional	--
Young Barden	José	Uruguay	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Yusuru Baba	Samuel	Uruguay	Student	Estadio Nacional	“Illegal residency”
Zalcherg José	David	Uruguay	--	Llanquihue/ Estadio Nacional	--
Ceretti	John Durand	USA	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Doherty McGregor	Joseph Francis	USA	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Fish Rand	Charles Taylor	USA	Employee	Estadio Nacional	--
Flynn Elgrace	Francis Joseph	USA	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Garret Schesch	Yassin Adam	USA	University student (Fundación	Estadio Nacional	--

			FORD)		
Heath Hogffel	Paul	USA	Journalist	Estadio Nacional	--
Nolasco Rodriguez	Juan José	USA	Singer	Estadio Nacional	--
Ritter	James Gordon	USA	University professor (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Warlow	Henry Paul	USA	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Antilland Calcamo	Pablo	Venezuela	Journalist (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Briceno Pacheco	Virgilio	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Bruguera Saba	Raúl	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Calderón Reinoso	Julio	Venezuela	Student (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Carvaja Morales	Raúl	Venezuela	--	Campo de Concentración Pisagua	--
Castañeda Hernández	Lesmes	Venezuela	Student	--	--
Castro Muller	Guillermo	Venezuela	Student	Estadio Nacional	--
Duran Suarez	Enrique Julio	Venezuela	--	Punta Arenas	--
Escalona Cifuentes	Saul	Venezuela	Student (U. de Chile)	Campo de Concentración Talcahuano-Tomé	--
Gómez López	Américo	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
González Santis	Alfredo Angel	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gutierrez Perez	Jose Rafael	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Hernández Sánchez	José Domingo	Venezuela	--	Guardia Vieja	--
León Luzardo	Jesús E.	Venezuela	Tourist	Estadio Nacional	--
Maza	Omar	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Mendoza	Douglas	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Mujica	Vladimiro	Venezuela	University	Z.N.	--

Hernández			student	Talcahuano-Tomé	
Nieto	Jesús Antonio	Venezuela	University student	Estadio Nacional	--
Obregón Yañez	Francisco José	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Olivares Toro	Eduardo Antonio	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Patrizzi Acosta	Luis Eduardo	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Pérez Iturbe	Manuel	Venezuela	Journalist (U. de Chile)	Estadio Nacional	--
Pérez López	Miguel Ángel	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Reyes	Heberto	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Rodríguez Granado	Mariano	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Torres Núñez	Ildemard	Venezuela	Doctor	Estadio Nacional	--
Vargas Pérez	Angel	Venezuela	University student (U. de Concepción)	Estadio Nacional	--
Walter Klunnunda	Juan Jacob	Venezuela	Businessman	Puente Alto	--
Zambrano Sulbaran	Nabon	Venezuela	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Bric Zajic	Gabriel	Yugoslavia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Gojandvic Crljen	Vicente	Yugoslavia	--	Estadio Nacional	--
Sokol Mucic	Danilo	Yugoslavia	Mechanic	Estadio Nacional	

## Chapter Two:

### Rebuilding Across Borders

Most Chilean refugees who immigrated [to Argentina] after September 11, 1973 are guerrillas and/or members of related subversive organizations, primarily challenging the typical ‘political refugees’ that our country has traditionally received throughout its history...this demonstrates, among other things, the proliferation of organizations, some of recent creation, which have mobilized in support of these subversive elements, a high percentage of which have strengthened local subversive groups.<sup>173</sup>

SIPBA, February 1974

I had the impression that we [Chilean exiles] were being watched, in spite of our efforts to mix with Argentines. I remember that one time I was detained because I made a statement in defense of the Chilean journalists who were imprisoned...they took us to the police station and they explained to us that this was interference in Argentine politics and was not allowed.<sup>174</sup>

Gabriel Sanhueza, reflecting on late 1974

Exactly one week after the death of Salvador Allende and the subsequent end to Chile’s three-year “Socialist experiment,” a crowd of 20,000 gathered in the Plaza Dos Congressos in Buenos Aires at five o’clock on September 18, 1973 to honor the memory of the recently deceased Chilean leader and protest the Junta Militar’s rise to power.<sup>175</sup> As a block print from a 1973 COMACHI publication makes clear, the plaza was packed with individuals, political groups, and international human rights organizations representing nearly every Latin American nation (see Figure 2:1). An Argentine police account of the event, which includes this image in its report, documents how “the streets and buildings were full of people...and protest chants emanated from the balconies,

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<sup>173</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 15.

<sup>174</sup> From an interview with Sanhueza, a Chilean MIRista who sought exile in Mendoza and then Buenos Aires in late 1974. Sanhueza, “Paths to Exile: Gabriel Sanhueza,” eds., Wright and Oñate, in *Flight from Chile*, 65-67, especially 67.

<sup>175</sup> This quoted phrase comes from Ayres, “Political History,” 507.

windows, and doorways surrounding the plaza.”<sup>176</sup> Though the first hour of the memorial was generally peaceful, at seven o’clock the streets quickly filled with police cars and “hundreds of *carabineros* [policemen]” who arrested over fifty protestors, of both Argentine and Chilean nationality.<sup>177</sup>

Despite the admonitions of Argentine provisional president Raúl Alberto Lastiri to “remain neutral” towards recent events in Chile, this well-attended civic memorial revealed the considerable support for Allende that existed in Argentina as well as the significant presence of political refugees from other countries.<sup>178</sup> But policemen monitoring the event also suggest that authorities were concerned that these foreign exiles, many of them recent arrivals, would exacerbate an already unstable situation.



Figure 2:1  
“We Will Overcome!”  
Buenos Aires, 1973<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 407.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 408.

<sup>178</sup> Edward Milenky, *Argentina's Foreign Policies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978), 206.

<sup>179</sup> COMACHI, “¡Venceremos!,” in “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 139.

In reality, Argentina was deeply divided over the neighboring coup. For militant leftist groups, this march was an opportunity to publically demonstrate their dissatisfaction with Allende's violent overthrow and their solidarity with leftist *chilenos*. For the right, this event signaled further evidence of the dangerous spread of Communism: exiles crossing the Andes, first by the hundreds, and then the thousands after September 11 were viewed as an undesirable addition to an already polarized body politic.

Although Chile had historically served as a safe haven for leftist political dissidents, when Pinochet overthrew Allende, the new regime utilized administrative exile as a conscious "low-cost" strategy to eliminate the opposition.<sup>180</sup> As a result, both Chilean dissidents and leftist South American nationals who had previously immigrated to Chile had to seek refuge elsewhere.<sup>181</sup> Although the Pinochet government believed that the expulsion of Allende supporters would weaken internal opposition to the Junta, the ramifications of exile proved much more complex.

When exiles are uprooted from their homeland, they are often politically quiescent and unable or unwilling to form meaningful bonds with citizens in their countries of resettlement.<sup>182</sup> To varying degrees, Chilean and other leftist exiles in Argentina from September 1973 to November 1975—following the Chilean coup and prior to the formal institutionalization of Operation Condor—proved to be exceptions to this rule. In this chapter, I examine the unintended consequences of Pinochet's policy of

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<sup>180</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 229.

<sup>181</sup> Silvina Jensen, "Representations of Exile and Those Exiled in Argentine History," in *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion*, 52-69, especially 53.

<sup>182</sup> Jensen, "Representation," 62; and William Walters, "Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens," in *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, eds., Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 69-100.



exporting agitators to Chile's neighbor and historic rival during the first twelve months of this two-year period.<sup>183</sup> I argue that exile served as a "double-edged sword" for the Pinochet regime: while it helped mitigate internal opposition to the military government, it also exported the problem and enabled the transnational left to re-form outside its borders.<sup>184</sup> That Argentina in late 1973 was already deeply divided along ideological lines explains why its security forces perceived leftist exiles in collaboration with like-minded Argentines to be a combustible mix.

The political refugees' presence in Buenos Aires had significant consequences for both the Argentine left and the right, drawing attention to an ideological and logistical war without borders that threatened to destabilize the entire Southern Cone. Proof of the Argentine state's concern over the problem posed by the exiles' activities in Buenos Aires was a multifaceted system of clandestine political surveillance implemented during this period—tactics that would become increasingly more sophisticated and violent when Operation Condor was formalized two years later.

To better understand the milieu that the exiles encountered upon their arrival in Buenos Aires, I first discuss the mounting political unrest that culminated in open violence from late 1973 until late 1974. In contrast to the decimation of leftist forces across the Southern Cone during this period, the Argentine left gained unprecedented strength and mobility between the Chilean coup and the assassination of General Prats exactly one year later. Utilizing unpublished records of the Argentine secret police, COMACHI publications, and several exile memoirs, I analyze how transnational leftists adapted to life in Argentina, and the different ways in which this regional coalition of

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<sup>183</sup> The following chapter, which focuses on the rise of the right, will address the second year.

<sup>184</sup> Wright and Oñate, "Chilean Political Exile" (2012), 152.

exiles mobilized upon resettlement. I then turn to an examination of the Argentine state's response to these immigrants. This chapter concludes with the September 1974 assassination of Prats, generally recognized as the first Condor attack, and then discusses the implications of this high-profile killing for the newly configured transnational leftist community, Operation Condor, Argentina, and Chile.

The state of affairs that *exiliados* experienced upon resettling in Argentina after September 1973 can best be described as political chaos. Various short-lived military and civilian governments ruled the country between 1955, when Juan Domingo Perón was first overthrown in a military coup d'état, and March 1973, when the exiled leader returned to Argentina.<sup>185</sup> Political violence, assassinations, guerrilla insurgency, bombings, and political instability characterized these eighteen years as ten different civilian and military heads of state proved unable to quell the unrest.

From exile, Perón had remained an influential actor in national politics, plotting his return and working to destabilize the country with the help of his loyal supporters. After the Cuban Revolution in January 1959, Perón's rhetoric turned increasingly leftist as he sought to present himself as a revolutionary in order to pander to a younger generation of Argentines enamored with Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.<sup>186</sup> The Argentine left, however, was divided between groups loyal to Perón and others who remained autonomous, such as the PRT-ERP (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores-Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Workers' Party-Revolutionary People's Army), who were committed to a Cuban style insurgency. Further complicating matters, Peronism was itself divided between armed leftist groups such as the Movimiento

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<sup>185</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 87.

<sup>186</sup> Antonius C. G. M. Robben, *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentina* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), especially 137.

Peronista Montonero (Peronist Montonero Movement, known as the Montoneros) and the Juventud Peronista (JP—Peronist Youth), and the Peronist Right, composed of rank and file trade unionists who had been long-time supporters of the General dating back to his first presidency.

Ultimately, extremists on the right and the left undermined what remained of the legitimacy of the Argentine state. As political anthropologist Antonius Robben notes, between Perón's return and his successor's overthrow in early 1976, the "left and right harassed each other with the bombing of offices and neighborhood chapters, assassinations, inflammatory editorials, and even hit lists in their periodicals."<sup>187</sup> The number of politically motivated bombings rose from 141 in 1969 to 434 in 1970; by 1971, the figure had increased to 654.<sup>188</sup> As historian Paul Lewis documents, in the second half of 1974, death squads under the direction of the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance-AAA), a paramilitary force composed of off-duty military and police to crack down on the left, killed over 70 "prominent leftists."<sup>189</sup> In addition, from February to September 1974, the ERP lost more than 160 people in Tucumán, compared to fifty-three for the army, police and gendarmerie.<sup>190</sup> Over 100 ERP members died in combat the following year. In 1975 alone, the Montoneros suffered over 500 deaths and disappearances.<sup>191</sup> As testament to the overt nature of military and paramilitary repression even before the coup, as early as 1974 the AAA began to "sen[d] its victims notification in advance that they were on its 'hit list'

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>189</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 97.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 124.

and warned them to leave the country.” Some sought safety in exile, while others held their ground and fought back against the repression.<sup>192</sup>

Although accounts of the Dirty War tend to emphasize right-wing violence, it is important to recognize that both the right and the left bear responsibility—albeit to different degrees—for the deaths preceding (and during) the 1976-1983 conflict.

Guerrillas carried out 114 “armed operations” in 1969, 434 in 1970, reaching 654 in 1971. Leftist attacks dropped temporarily in 1972 to 352, but rose again in 1973 to 413. That figure almost doubled to 807 in 1974 and remained high at 723 in 1975.<sup>193</sup>

Militant guerrilla groups were not the only sector of society becoming more politically active during this period. Indeed, Lewis documents the growth and politicization of Argentine universities during the 1970s, as Peronists and Marxists came together “to control the national universities’ self-governing institutions and agitate for increasing the size of the student body to incorporate more lower and middle-class and working-class students.” Whereas in 1950 the total enrollment at national universities was 82,500, this figure had more than tripled by 1970 to 274,000 students.<sup>194</sup> In stark contrast to the underground activity of the guerrillas, during 1971 Montoneros and ERP-PRT “militants,” were “openly recruiting on the [university] campuses.”<sup>195</sup> Future guerrilla leader Mario Roberto Santucho first got involved in politics at the Universidad de Tucumán, where he was president of the student body of the Faculty of Economic Sciences. As president, Santucho was elected to serve as a delegate to the national congress of the Federación Universitaria Argentina (Argentine University Federation),

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 97-98.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 30.

where he proposed a “formal declaration of support for Castro’s Cuba.”<sup>196</sup> In part, this youth movement paralleled its contemporaries in Chile, Brazil, the United States and Europe during the 1960s and 1970s; however, the situation was exacerbated in Argentina, where “the political vacuum created by de-Peronization and military rule intensified this youth radicalization.”<sup>197</sup> As we shall see, the Argentine student movement, composed of students, Peronist workers, and labor unions, would reach out to recent Chilean arrivals.

Argentine relations with the Chilean state during this period were no less contentious. Two tempestuous rivals—to this day the two nations continue to dispute their 3,200-mile border—had historically fought over everything from national identities, the territorial division of Antarctica, boundaries and natural resources in Patagonia, and economic policy.<sup>198</sup> One early SIPBA memo from November 9, 1965, discussing the foreigners in Argentina at the time, espouses an especially negative attitude towards resettled Chileans living in Buenos Aires and La Plata. “Chileans: We will never again permit that our sovereignty be defied. The flag of our country does not permit outrages of any nation on earth. Chileans should know that no Argentine will budge even one millimeter if it means to cloud the grandness of *la patria*.”<sup>199</sup> To make sure that the report’s meaning was not lost on those it was intended for, multiple pages of that same memo were covered with large, handwritten notes that read, “Chileans! Out of our country!” and “Chileans! Off our soil!”<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>197</sup> Jerry Dávila, *Dictatorship in South America* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), especially 66.

<sup>198</sup> Whitaker, *The United States*; Thies, “Territorial Nationalism”; David Sheinin, “Review”; Domínguez, et. al., *Boundary*; Mullins, *In the Shadow*; and Morris, *Great Power Relations*.

<sup>199</sup> “Referencia 13698 Tomo 3,” 9 Nov. 1965, in Archivos del SIPBA, MMDH: CEDOC, 3.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

Not surprisingly, Argentine military leaders during Perón's political absence largely minimized their contact with Chile. This began to change when Allende came to power in 1970. A dialogue between Allende and the Argentine General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse "brought a major change in relations with Chile."<sup>201</sup> Conscious of the long border between the two countries, the need for a more flexible international position, and the value of joint infrastructural projects, Lanusse and Allende held a "breakthrough" summit conference in Salta, Argentina in July 1971 to broker a long-standing boundary dispute over control of the Beagle Channel and several islands south of Tierra del Fuego.<sup>202</sup> Three months later, in October 1971, the two heads of state again met in Antofagasta, Chile to endorse ideological pluralism in Latin America and to express concern over the rising cost of U.S. imports. The most recent literature, however tends to dismiss this unusual agreement, as little more than rhetoric, intended to pave the way for a forthcoming economic agreement.<sup>203</sup>

Lanusse announced that he intended to restore constitutional democracy—though, he insisted, without Peronist participation—by 1973. However, Perón and his supporters rejected the proposal and formed the FRECILINA (Frente Cívico de Liberación Nacional—Civic Front of National Liberation) alliance. Under the leadership of Peronist Héctor José Cámpora, FRECLINA called for free and unrestricted elections, which ultimately were held in March 1973. Because Perón initially was banned from running, Cámpora campaigned as his stand-in and won the election, taking office in late May. However, rather than maintaining the uneasy peace between the right and the left that

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<sup>201</sup> Milenky, *Argentina's Foreign Policies*, 203.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 203-204. For a comprehensive summary of the Beagle Channel crisis, see: Church Jon Marco, "La crisis del Canal de Beagle," *Estudios Internacionales* 41 (2008): 7-33.

<sup>203</sup> Milenky, *Argentina's Foreign Policies*, 203-204.

Perón had spent decades cultivating, in his inaugural address Cámpora publically lauded the Montoneros and Peronist Youth as “marvelous youth” and ceded to their demand for amnesty for over 800 jailed guerrillas. Still the violence continued unabated. The Argentine newspaper *La Prensa* noted that in the first twenty days of Cámpora’s administration, eighteen Peronists died in violent confrontations between the Left and Right.<sup>204</sup> As chaos grew alongside mounting guerrilla insurgency, impunity for political criminals on the right and the left, and severe budget cuts and shortfalls, it soon became clear to both sides that Cámpora was not the answer.<sup>205</sup> The military, which had fought to keep Perón out of Argentina for the better part of two decades, now conceded its inability to keep the peace and asked him to return to lead the country.<sup>206</sup>

When he returned on June 20, 1973, his shrewd politicking with both the Peronist Left and the Right finally caught up with him, culminating in a bloody encounter between both at Buenos Aires’ airport, known as the Ezeiza Massacre. More than three million people participated in marches to welcome Perón back to Argentina, but instead of a celebration, intense fighting and “uncontrolled violence” soon broke out near the airport as the military guards stood by and “satisfactorily” watched the intra-Peronist conflict unfold.<sup>207</sup> The massacre left at least thirteen Peronists dead and 365 more injured “and hundreds of thousands of Peronists who became too intimidated to attend any future mobilizations.”<sup>208</sup> Ezeiza marked the culmination of an intense schism that had developed between right-wing and left-wing Peronists while their leader was in exile. More than just

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<sup>204</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 85.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>207</sup> Alberto Medina, “The Return of the Sphinx: State Fetishism and Political Discourse in Peronist Argentina,” *Iberoamericana* 3 (2003): 53-64, especially 58; and Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 88-89.

<sup>208</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 137.

a culmination of an uneasy peace that had developed within the ranks of Peronism during the leader's time in exile, Robben asserts that the massacre "was carried out with the approval, if not direction" of José López Rega, a Machiavellian Peronist operative who would come to play a much greater role after Perón's death a year later.<sup>209</sup>

Despite this factionalism, when Cámpora resigned in July 1973 and paved the way for new elections, Perón and María Estela Martínez Carta de Perón, his vice presidential candidate and third wife known as Isabel, won "in a landslide" with sixty-two percent of the vote.<sup>210</sup> Though Perón had encouraged the Peronist left while in exile, he quickly turned against these groups after the election: in late January 1974, the leader cajoled eight left-wing Peronist congressmen to step down from office, orchestrated the bombing of a dozen Peronist Youth chapters one day later, arrested "prominent leaders" on the Peronist left, and repressed public demonstrations.

After years of encouragement, "Revolutionary Peronists felt betrayed."<sup>211</sup> At a massive May Day rally at the Plaza de Mayo, the president "humiliate[d]," the ERP, Montoneros, and Peronist Youth, "calling them immature, while he embrace[d] the orthodox labor unions that had been harassing the Peronist left with increasing intensity." With disillusioned leftist Peronists storming out of the Plaza de Mayo, what Robben has described as "the most dramatic crowd rupture in Argentine history," Perón's break with the left was complete.<sup>212</sup>

Two months later Perón was dead of prostate cancer. In contrast to the wild popularity of Perón's second wife "Evita," who died of cancer in 1952, "Isabelita," as his

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 49.

<sup>211</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 75.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 77.



third wife was less fondly known, did not garner the same level of public support. As one account glibly notes, “Isabel... was not really prepared for the job, having previously been a nightclub dancer in Panama.”<sup>213</sup> Isabel’s three year presidency was characterized by increasing military operations to curtail leftist insurgency, right-wing death squads, a lack of confidence, and mounting economic chaos, which was reflected in hyperinflation of seventy-four percent in May 1974, 100 percent in June 1975, and over 900 percent in March 1976.<sup>214</sup> In the first year of her administration, 504 political killings were recorded: of them, fifty-four were police, twenty-two were military officers, and the remaining 427 were leftists.<sup>215</sup>

López Rega—a “virulent anti-communist,” old guard Peronist with “long-standing ties with right-wing nationalist circles in Argentina,” and the founder of the AAA—had been Isabel’s personal secretary and principal advisor since 1965. A mystic who dabbled in the occult, López Rega ruled Argentina through Isabel. The Triple A, under López Rega’s leadership, is held responsible for at least 425 political killings between May 1973 and March 1976, slightly under one-half of the total estimated deaths (1,165) committed by all right-wing death squads during the same period.<sup>216</sup> Adding to the unrest, the ERP embarked on an armed guerrilla insurgency in Tucumán.<sup>217</sup> Although the Guerra Sucia (Dirty War) did not begin until March 24, 1976, destabilization, political violence and repression were an ever-present reality for Argentines and their exile guests.

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<sup>213</sup> Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Commanding Heights: The Paradox of Argentina* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), especially 241.

<sup>214</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 100.

<sup>215</sup> Dávila, *Dictatorship in South America*, 77.

<sup>216</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 136-137 and 139.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 95 and 175.

It is difficult to determine precisely what compelled Lastiri, Cámpora and Perón to accept Chile's leftist refugees, especially given the thorny history of Chilean-Argentine relations. The political crisis unfolding at that moment must have been paramount in contributing to this decision. In addition, Peronist diplomacy towards Allende and Pinochet in the early 1970s "reveal[s] the pragmatic, hardnosed side" of Peronist politics. Political scientist Edward Milenky, argues that Perón was "undoubtedly aware" of Allende's deteriorating domestic position and was worried about maintaining relations with his potential successors or, if Allende stayed in power, of "deal[ing] with the security threat of a revolutionary, Marxist Chile sharing a long land frontier and providing sanctuary to leftist Peronist and indigenous Marxist guerrilla movements."<sup>218</sup> As Jakšić notes, after having spent part of his exile in Chile towards the end of Allende's presidency, "Perón... was not interested in accepting Chileans into Argentina, but wanted to help people get out because he understood how bad the situation was."<sup>219</sup> Although this is an overly idealistic reading of Perón's politics, it reveals the initial optimism with which Chilean exiles entered Argentina in 1973 and 1974. Many did believe they had found a safe haven.

But Perón's decision to accept Chileans was likely more calculated. For his domestic image, accepting Chileans was a pragmatic choice, especially before his break with the Peronist left in May 1974: "Perón was probably trying to show his leftist credentials by letting people in."<sup>220</sup> Argentine historian Alberto Medina posits that Peronist leaders' concern with their international image compelled them to welcome Chilean exiles: he argues that it would have appeared hypocritical if the Peronist party

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<sup>218</sup> Milenky, *Argentina's Foreign Policies*, 205.

<sup>219</sup> Jakšić, Interview by author.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

turned a cold shoulder to political *exiliados* after their own leader had benefited from exile in Venezuela and Spain—and briefly, Chile—for nearly two decades.<sup>221</sup>

When Allende was overthrown, Lastiri stood by Argentina’s traditional nonintervention policy. On September 11, he declared a national day of mourning, but sealed the border, expelled journalists and network television crews from a fifty-kilometer zone, and recalled three diplomats who had assisted Chileans seeking asylum at the Argentine Embassy in Santiago. Perón not only was opposed to the coup, publically calling it “a continental catastrophe,” but his government would grant asylum to 600 Chileans at its Santiago Embassy, 500 of whom were permitted to come to Buenos Aires after the borders were reopened.<sup>222</sup> Jakšić, who gained asylum in La Plata via the French Embassy, describes his experience: “Argentina, at that point, was very generous. They weren’t requiring visas. I arrived in Buenos Aires in March 1974, and absolutely no questions were asked.” He adds, “After the coup and until March or May 1974, there was...an open door [into Argentina].”<sup>223</sup> As a leader who had been in the political wilderness for almost two decades thanks to a coup and whose party had been harassed and banned by successive military governments, it is perhaps understandable why Perón, no matter his ideological affinities, would be concerned about what impact a coup in a neighboring country might have on the political dynamic in Argentina. Battling a divided state at home, Perón took a “cautious approach” to Chile. His pragmatic desire to “remain neutral” perhaps explains his willingness to allow a relatively small, but soon-to-be

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<sup>221</sup> Medina, “The Return,” 55-56.

<sup>222</sup> Milenky, *Argentina's Foreign*, 205.

<sup>223</sup> Jakšić, Interview by author.

influential, number of Chileans (and other resettled Latin Americans coming from Chile) to gain formal refugee status.<sup>224</sup>

When Pinochet came to power and Chilean leftists began to flee their home country by the thousands, many chose Argentina as their destination. In part, this decision was due to geographic proximity. Although the Andes were covered in deep snow at the time of the coup, thousands illegally crossed into Mendoza, Argentina on foot between 1973 and 1976: one Argentine professor's 2007 study of Santiago-to-Mendoza migration in the early 1970s asserts that the number of Chilean exiles—both documented and undocumented, as the majority were—in this border city was close to 400,000 between the coup and Argentina's own military uprising in 1976.<sup>225</sup> Chileans also chose to seek refugee status (through legal means) in Argentina because many believed that Pinochet's military junta would not last long; Argentina, therefore, would logically be the most convenient nation to return home from when the junta returned power to civilians.<sup>226</sup> In addition to physical proximity, it is also likely that some Chileans chose Argentina because they believed that the Peronist government would be sympathetic to their plight. A September 13, 1973 article published in *El Día*, an Argentine paper, publicized "Perón's condemnation of the events in Chile," and quoted the president as describing the coup as "a fatality for the continent."<sup>227</sup> One MIR publication from early September 1973 lauded Perón's relationship with workers, a central tenet of the MIR's platform as well. It

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<sup>224</sup> Milenky, *Argentina's Foreign*, 206.

<sup>225</sup> Alejandro Paredes, "Santiago de Chile y Mendoza, Argentina: La red social que apoyó a exiliados chilenos (1973-1976)," *Revista hispana para el análisis de redes sociales* 13, no. 4 (Dec. 2007), accessed 19 Oct. 2013, [http://revista-redes.rediris.es/html-vol13/Vol13\\_4.htm](http://revista-redes.rediris.es/html-vol13/Vol13_4.htm).

<sup>226</sup> Paredes, "Santiago"; and Wright and Oñate, "Chilean Political Exile" (2012), 149.

<sup>227</sup> "Perón condenó los sucesos de Chile y habló sobre el atentado a Clarín," *El Día* 13 Sept. 1973. A copy of this article is included in "Referencia 13698 BIS 1," Sept. 1973, in Archivos del SIPBA: MMDH: CEDOC, 53.

declared: “President Perón with the workers, not with the *patrones* or traitors as usual, delaying the aspirations of workers is against the people, in defense of popular triumphs and our achievements.”<sup>228</sup> Although this was an outdated interpretation of Perón’s politics—by this point he had turned against leftist unions in favor of rank and file conservative loyalists—this publication is nonetheless significant in that it demonstrates the Chilean left’s perception of Perón as a sympathetic and progressive leader.

Although many Chilean exiles in late 1973 did not conceive of Argentina as more than a temporary home because the Junta Militar was only expected to serve as a transitional government, Pinochet’s enduring seventeen-year dictatorship and its harsh laws banning exile reentry meant that those Chileans who had resettled in Argentina impacted the country’s politics in unpredicted but extremely important ways. Argentina (especially before 1976, when the military overthrew Isabel) along with Venezuela, Brazil and Mexico accepted the highest number of Chilean exiles following the Chilean coup.<sup>229</sup> Who were these exiles? What was exile like for these recent arrivals? How did they adjust to their new surroundings? How did they respond to the increasingly chaotic political climate? It is to these questions I now turn.

### **Exile Identity, the Formation of a Transnational Left, and Activism**

Both the identity and activities of exiles after they resettled in Argentina was complex. Despite this, due to the global awareness of the “UP experiment,” the respect that Allende garnered, and the brutality of the Pinochet regime, more often than not Chilean exiles were often welcomed by “receptive audiences” in the places they

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<sup>228</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 393.

<sup>229</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 233; and Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile” (2012), 149.

resettled.<sup>230</sup> They reciprocated that welcome, organizing solidarity committees with Argentines—some general, others built around schools, labor, leftist political parties, and humanitarian activists—that “were often quite effective in lobbying their governments to condemn Chile in international forums and to support high-profile campaigns for the release of selected political prisoners in Chile.”<sup>231</sup>

The majority of refugees who resettled in Argentina following the Chilean coup were members of the Socialist Party.<sup>232</sup> Although the Communist Party also played a major role in the UP coalition, Angell and Carstairs note that the PC “was probably underrepresented among exiles,” due to “its former experiences with underground operations” when it had been banned from 1948-58. Of the smaller UP parties, the MIR and MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario or Popular Unitary Action Movement) “were probably overrepresented among exiles:” the MAPU because of its upper middle-class intellectual membership, which had easier access to friends abroad, and the MIR due to the Junta’s brutal targeting of their organization.<sup>233</sup> A vast number of refugees were from these political groups’ youth counterparts, many of which were based in universities.<sup>234</sup> The profile of Manuel Florentino Pinto Sánchez represents the prototypical Chilean youth exile well: the Santiago-born twenty-four year old was single and a university student. Pinto Sánchez studied electrical engineering at the Universidad Técnica Federico Santamaría (Federico Santamaría Technical University) in Valparaíso, where he first joined the student movement alongside the Movimiento Universitario de

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<sup>230</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 150.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Angell and Carstairs, “The Exile Question,” 154.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> The Argentine Embassy’s immigration records, especially “Mesa de Varios 1171,” “Referencia 16684,” and “Referencia 16600,” document the high number of university-educated, leftist youth that sought asylum after the coup.

Izquierda (University Leftist Movement). According to Argentine Embassy records, he “was not affiliated with any political party, but he sympathized with the party of the Salvador Allende government.”<sup>235</sup> “Aware that some students would be exiled and detained, in particular those students who had participated directly in political parties or student groups with leftist tendencies, like he had,” Manuel Florentino sought asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Santiago in late September and was granted refuge in Argentina on November 29.<sup>236</sup> Although certainly not all Chileans and Latin American refugees sought asylum for political reasons, like Manuel Florentino many were affiliated, either officially or unofficially, with the UP coalition or one of its parties.

In addition, according to a 1984 study conducted by two Santiago sociologists on the occupational status of the exile community, slightly over fifty-three percent of exiles were university educated, nearly twelve percent were professionals, and nearly ten percent were teachers.<sup>237</sup> In addition, a representative group of fifty *asilados* that arrived in La Plata from the Argentine Embassy in Santiago on January 18, 1974 accentuates the exile population’s transnational character: of the fifty, there were forty Chileans, four Uruguayans, three Bolivians, one Spaniard, and one native Argentine.<sup>238</sup> This cohort included nine women (six Chileans, one Uruguayan, one Bolivian, and one Argentine) and eleven minors (nine Chileans, one Uruguayan and one Bolivian).<sup>239</sup> According to Argentine Embassy records, the vast majority of people to leave Chile during this period were young males, born in the late 1940s or early 1950s—making most approximately

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<sup>235</sup> “Referencia 16612,” 49.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Cariola and Rossetti, *Inserción laboral para el retorno*; and Angell and Carstairs, “The Exile Question,” 154.

<sup>238</sup> “Referencia 16612,” 13.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 14.

20-25 years of age at the time of the coup—who had some history of participation in the student movement or the UP “due to the political persecution existing in his home country [Chile]” or “for sympathizing with the Allende government.”<sup>240</sup> Although the exile group was composed of predominately young, single males, families also sought refuge abroad. For example, Luís Alberto Guzmán Robinson, born July 27, 1945 in Santiago, was a mechanic, a Socialist, a leader of the Central Única de Trabajadores, and a father of four. His wife, Olga Robinson and four daughters, María Eugénica (eleven years of age), Marcela (nine), Maritsa (seven), and Claudia Guzmán Soto (three) all moved into exile with him.<sup>241</sup>

Although Pinochet’s first priority after seizing power was removing the internal threat posed by dissidents, it is important to note that the decision to exile leftist individuals, organizations, and political parties did not eliminate or dissolve these groups: it simply moved them abroad. Just as Latin Americans persecuted by their home country governments had sought refuge and remained politically active in Allende’s Chile, the same occurred for Chilean exiles in the Southern Cone and, to a lesser extent later on, in Canada, the United States, and Europe.<sup>242</sup> As political scientists Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela note, in spite of the dangerous nature of political work abroad, “For dedicated leftists, exile became a full-time political activity.” Particularly in Argentina, Chilean exiles formed “*núcleos de chilenidad*,” that were “aimed at giving international projection to the plight of Chile.”<sup>243</sup> While exiles are commonly conceived of as victimized, stateless individuals—democratization and the respective Chilean and

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<sup>240</sup> See Ibid., 15-36 for a list of fifty asylees’ profiles.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>242</sup> In Europe, the highest numbers of Chilean exiles went to the UK, Sweden, Italy, Spain, France and Denmark. Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 233.

<sup>243</sup> Constable and Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 149.



Argentine truth commissions have helped to develop this image after the fact—in reality, this was not always the case. As sociologist Silvia Pedraza recognizes regarding the Cuban exile community in the United States and exiles from Communist nations more generally, there is a crucial difference in the political activity of “always alienated” and “recently alienated” groups in exile. While individuals and groups that have faced long histories of marginalization in their home countries tend to maintain their political inactivity in exile, “recently alienated” people coming from a nation that just experienced a coup d’état or government overthrow often see exile as a new opportunity to reassert their political visions in a different context that may be more receptive.<sup>244</sup>

Due to their political profile, it is not surprising that Chilean exile communities, which often banded together in solidarity, not only remained politically engaged, but also expanded their political circle following resettlement. Sznajder notes:

Many Chilean exiles, looking back at their country with a political vision, adopted voluntarist attitudes that stressed the need for political activism, the organization of committees of solidarity, and the dissemination of information about the Chilean cause, in order to confront the dictatorship while abroad. This attitude, seen as closely related to the struggle against dictatorship being led by different political actors inside Chile at different levels during different periods, resulted in a view of exile as a transitional phenomenon, which could be activated to accelerate the fall of military rule.<sup>245</sup>

After Pinochet banned the political left in Chile, individuals, political parties, committees of solidarity, NGOs, and local and international organizations all demonstrated the ability to migrate, relocate, and assert their message within a new context. The MIR, MAPU, PS, and PCCh all reestablished themselves in Argentina.<sup>246</sup> As the testimony of Jakšić makes clear, although Chileans may have clandestinely left their home country as individuals,

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<sup>244</sup> Pedraza, *Political Disaffection in Cuba's Revolution and Exodus* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), especially 16.

<sup>245</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 232.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

resettlement often allowed opportunities—sometimes predicted, others unforeseen—to regroup. As Professor Jakšić recounts, his friend John “had jumped the walls of the Ecuadorean embassy in Santiago,” was then granted asylum, but decided to cross the border into Peru and Bolivia after being harassed by the military government in Quito. He ultimately “settled uneasily” in Argentina. Years later, Jakšić encountered his friend in the streets of Buenos Aires, where “it was only natural that many refugees would hang around...where there was so much light, so much life, and...hotels were cheap.”<sup>247</sup> Jakšić recalls meeting John—whose story epitomizes the transnational migrant during this period—in Buenos Aires on a weekend visit from La Plata, where he worked, in 1974:

One day we ran into each other on Avenida Corrientes in downtown Buenos Aires. We looked at one another in disbelief, and at that moment we realized that we were not alone, that we could probably start all over again, that we might soon find others. And we did. One by one, our friends and classmates arrived in Buenos Aires. We established a place for meetings...we exchanged news.<sup>248</sup>

Iván Jakšić’s personal story of meeting his friend demonstrates the ability of exiled migrants to reestablish bonds and persevere while in exile. Although Jakšić acknowledges the profound personal hardship of being separated from his family and home country, he also shows that, in spite of such personal and emotional challenges, émigrés created new lives for themselves abroad and move forward politically.

Equally important as the ability to migrate and regroup was the new membership that leftist groups gained upon resettlement; the left not only relocated, but mobilized and expanded in exile. For example, following resettlement, the Chilean MIR formed strong ties with the Argentine PRT-ERP, Uruguay’s Tupamaros, and a fragment of the Bolivian

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<sup>247</sup> Jakšić, “In Search of Safe Haven,” 22-23.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army—ELN).<sup>249</sup> As Wright and Oñate attest, “One of the most important tasks [for Chilean exiles] was to mobilize support among the citizens of the host countries for the campaign against Pinochet.”<sup>250</sup> Gabriel Sanhueza, a Chilean and former MIR member who sought informal refuge in Mendoza after the coup, supports this: in an interview with Wright and Oñate, he explains:

There was a great solidarity in the Peronist sectors regarding the Chilean situation, and they treated us very well, they helped us... We made contacts with old friends from Concepción... There was a great solidarity among the exiles who knew each other, among friends; the ones who had work helped the others, and there was really a fraternal spirit.<sup>251</sup>

Richard Núñez, a Chilean Socialist exiled by the Junta Militar, recalled his time in Buenos Aires: “We worked fourteen hours a day, maintaining contact with Chile, checking on the fate of prisoners, building links with human rights groups, denouncing the crimes of the *junta*.”<sup>252</sup> Diplomatic historian Arthur Whitaker writing a few years after the coup adds that “the subversive [transnational] organizations were not only still going strong at the end of the year [1974] in Argentina itself, but also were slipping men and weapons across the frontiers into Chile and Uruguay for the revival of the guerrilla movements in those countries.”<sup>253</sup> Although exiling dissidents allowed the Pinochet regime to consolidate its hold on Chile in the short term, it only exacerbated political unrest in Argentina.

When these leftist political parties and individuals resettled, their support of Allende, now a martyr, their stories of exile and migration, and their history of fighting

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<sup>249</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 45.

<sup>250</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 150.

<sup>251</sup> Sanhueza, “Paths to Exile,” 66.

<sup>252</sup> Constable and Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 149.

<sup>253</sup> Whitaker, *The United States*, 338.

for socialist ideologies in Chile resonated with similarly minded Argentines, as well as exiles of other South American regimes that had relocated to Argentina prior to 1973. Public awareness of the “UP experiment,” the brutality of that coup, and the repression that followed all “created receptive audiences in many countries whom the exiles sought to organize in mixed committees of Chileans and sympathetic nationals.”<sup>254</sup> Although it is important to recognize that there were crucial differences between the political histories of Argentina and Chile—first and foremost, Argentina had numerous military and dictatorial regimes since the 1930s, whereas Chile had been under predominately democratic leadership—many progressive Argentines empathized with the plight of these transnational exiles.<sup>255</sup> Indeed, as historian Donald C. Hodges notes, “The influence of the Unidad Popular, the popular-front experiment in Chile (1970-1973) hegemonized by the Communist and Socialist parties, encouraged the socialist Left [in Argentina] to emulate the Chilean experience.”<sup>256</sup> Allende was a powerful symbol for Argentine leftists, and his support base only grew after his death. Solidarity committees were built around existing organizations of students, labor unions, left-wing political parties, human rights advocacy, and they were “often quite effective in lobbying their governments to condemn Chile in international forums.”<sup>257</sup>

An additional reason why many Argentines supported and joined the exiles’ cause comes from their history of political mobility and activism, dating back to the 1940s. The transnational left, many having recently fled the Pinochet regime, was partially

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<sup>254</sup> Sanhueza, “Paths to Exile,” 150.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> Hodges, “The Argentine Left since Perón,” in *The Latin American Left from the Fall of Allende to Perestroika*, eds., Barry Carr and Steve Ellner (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993): 155-170, especially 156; and *Juventud intransigente: apuntes para la liberación* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Apuntes para la Liberación, 1985), 10-24.

<sup>257</sup> Sanhueza, “Paths to Exile,” 150.

responsible for transplanting the type of university-based, urban demonstrations to Argentina, but it is critical to recognize that Argentine leftists had been fighting a similar battle at home for decades. Citing worker revolts in the mid-1940s as the start to the nation's long, devolving "spiral into violence," Robben argues that political violence during the 1970s issues were a result of "the accumulation of the traumatic sequels of many acts of violence...inflicted on several levels of social complexity, namely crowds, politico-military organizations, families, and the self."<sup>258</sup>

In the 1960s in particular, universities became "prime targets for 'liberation'...the halls became scenes of permanent meetings and rallies," armed guerrillas stood guard at the doors to keep out potential opponents," and schools were burned to the ground to protest the military regime and the "old order."<sup>259</sup> In short, even before the Allende coup and the migration of the transnational left to Argentina, Argentine activists had already spent decades developing tactics that would come to define transnational protests throughout the Southern Cone. Understanding this aspect of Argentine history both helps explain the profound historical investment that multiple nationalities had in transnational leftist groups, as well as the Argentine military's determination to condemn and suppress that activity, which they viewed as a continuation of decades of chaos and subversive upheaval.

An embodiment of this multinational collaboration was COMACHI, an impressive and little-studied Chilean-Argentine solidarity group. It demonstrates the ability of exiles to regroup abroad, assert political vocality, and challenge national and ideological frontiers. According to a September 1974 intra-departmental memo by

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<sup>258</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 343.

<sup>259</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 85.

SIPBA, a branch of the Argentine secret police that would soon become deeply implicated in Dirty War atrocities, the COMACHI alliance was founded in December 1973 in Bahía Blanca, a suburb in southwest Buenos Aires province. Soon COMACHI “had branches throughout the country.”<sup>260</sup> Its founding motto was “solidarity with the Chilean people following the overthrow of Dr. Salvador Allende.”<sup>261</sup> Its mission statement also declares that COMACHI “will not disappear...until the Chilean *pueblo hermano* is reinstated in office. Hence, the support [that we give them] must be generous and ongoing.”<sup>262</sup>

Although the intention of administrative exile was to separate and marginalize the refugees, COMACHI brought together leftist Argentine groups with an impressive array of transnational exiles from across the Americas and beyond: Chileans, Brazilians, Uruguayans, Peruvians, Bolivians, Ecuadorians, Venezuelans, Colombians, Guatemalans, Mexicans, Panamanians, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, Costa Ricans, Hondurans, Cubans, Haitians, North Americans, Canadians, Spaniards, French, Swiss, and Polish, among others.<sup>263</sup> Under the leadership of Dr. Oscar Alende, the Buenos Aires governor of the Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente (Intransigent Radical Civic Union—UCRI), COMACHI boasted over two hundred member groups from nearly every Latin American nation.<sup>264</sup> According to the umbrella group’s mission statement, one of the Comité’s main goals was to “grant broad asylum to all the political refugees, Chileans

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<sup>260</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 5.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-10.

<sup>264</sup> Both COMACHI and SIPBA records document this figure of international support. For information on the UCRI, see Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 9 and 13.

and non-Chileans, that have come to Argentina as fugitives of a regime of terror instituted by the Chilean military junta.”<sup>265</sup>

In addition to the ability of the left to establish local and transnational ties in exile, COMACHI also disproves the traditional narrative of the victimized, voiceless, fearful *asilado*. One of the organization’s first founding acts was to hold the previously referenced civic memorial in honor of Allende in Buenos Aires in September 1973 that over 20,000 individuals attended.<sup>266</sup> In demonstration of the wide range of transnational, institutional support that COMACHI had, the list of organizations in attendance was over two pages long, including the ERP, Unión de Trabajadores y Estudiantes Bolivianos, Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberación 22 de Agosto, Grupos Revolucionarios de Base, Movimiento Argentino Anti-imperialista de Solidaridad Latinoamericana, Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinas, Vanguardia Comunista, Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Consejo Integral Asociación Argentina de Actores, Juventud Socialista Argentina, Republicanos y Españoles Antifascistas en la Argentina, Juventud Trabajadora Peronista, Comité de Defensa Presos Políticos Uruguayos, Partido Popular Cristiano, Unión de Mujeres de la Argentina, Sociedad Argentina de Artistas Plásticos, and the Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre.<sup>267</sup> Cooper, who had worked in Chile and received UN refugee status in Argentina from September 1973-1975, recalled on the same night that he arrived in country that he participated in a massive solidarity march alongside “100,000 Argentines to protest the Chilean military dictatorship.”<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 3-4.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, 408.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-89.

<sup>268</sup> Cooper, *Pinochet and Me*, 54.

According to COMACHI's first anniversary publication, their strength in Argentine society and institutions only grew after their founding in December 1973. By December of the following year, they had forged connections with resistance groups in schools, universities, churches, theaters, factories, neighborhoods; "little by little, the Resistance Committees that bring together distinct organizations of the Chilean Left are achieving the centralization of this irrevocable decision to fight alongside the Chilean *pueblo hermano*."<sup>269</sup> Throughout 1974, COMACHI's publications document the group's wide ranging activities in Argentina: Pablo Neruda readings and a civic memorial similar (although smaller in size) to the one for Allende after Pinochet had banned a public funeral for the poet who had recently past away in Chile, get together to read the poetry of the Chilean Nobel prize winner Gabriela Mistral, public readings of Allende's speeches in various plazas in Buenos Aires, organizing rallies to protest Pinochet's visit to Argentina in late May 1974, and artisanal fairs to raise money to send to Chileans left homeless after the coup. COMACHI's linkages with Argentine organizations were an important part of their *raison d'être*, and that in spite of the organization's Chilean roots, it had moved quickly to establish linkages with their peers in Argentina—a reality that unnerved the Argentine military.

The majority of COMACHI's activities were based in Argentine universities. Just as universities were a hotbed of leftist political protest in Chile prior to (and, to a lesser extent, after) the coup, they held a comparable function for transnational solidarity groups in Argentina.<sup>270</sup> Universities in La Plata, Buenos Aires, and Bahía Blanca in particular are

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<sup>269</sup> "Referencia 16698 Tomo 1," 137.

<sup>270</sup> For an excellent political history of universities in Chile throughout the twentieth century, see Rodrigo Arocena and Judith Sutz, "Latin American Universities: From an Original Revolution to an Uncertain Transition," *Higher Education* 50, no. 4 (2005): 573-92. For a study of university



documented as sites for hundreds of COMACHI protests and political meetings organized by sympathetic professors and students throughout 1974 and 1975. One article in the Argentine press in January 1974, for example, documents the “several thousand *manifestantes*—students, workers, employees and professionals” who met in the Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales of an undisclosed Buenos Aires university to attend a meeting organized by COMACHI and the Unión Internacional de Estudiantes (International Union of Students). Thirty delegates from both organizations attended and discussed the need for “unity to impede the [Chilean] military *junta*.” The article includes a photograph that pictures a group of five men of different ages sitting on a panel in front of a large banner reading “University decade dedicated to helping Chile.”<sup>271</sup>

In further demonstration of Argentine university groups’ sympathy for the cause of the Chilean left, a pamphlet from the Grupo Universitario Socialista (University Socialist Group-GUS) published in November 1974 states the coalition’s mission as:

To construct a more just society, without exploiters or exploited, a socialist society based on a platform that is against the crimes of the fascist Chilean government; against sending patrol boats and weapons to the murderous Junta on the behalf of the Argentine government; against the exploitative and murderous Policy of Incorporation; long live the heroic resistance of the Chilean people; long live the Argentine workers; global solidarity with socialist groups.<sup>272</sup>

As this polemic illustrates, GUS conceived of their purpose as a transnational one that could best be accomplished through Chilean-Argentine solidarity. In the same month, GUS also collaborated with other leftist university groups—the Juventud Universitaria Socialista (Socialist University Youth), Movimiento de Orientación Reformista (Movement of Reformist Orientation), Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Revolutionary

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politics in Chile from 1973-1990, see Daniel Levy, “Chilean Universities under the Junta: Regime and Policy,” *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 3 (1986): 95-128.

<sup>271</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 312.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 359.

Communist Party)—to organize a first anniversary wake for Allende’s death and to protest “the position of our government in closing the borders and sending assistance to the murderers of the Chilean people.”<sup>273</sup> 1,500 people were in attendance. Whereas the 20,000-strong September 1973 march in Buenos Aires was focused principally on honoring Allende, the smaller 1974 demonstration was expanded to directly incorporate Argentines’ domestic demands as well. Ultimately, as COMACHI grew throughout 1974 and 1975, its purpose went beyond reinstating a socialist civilian government in Chile: the group envisioned itself as taking up a universal cause “against imperialism,” and “in solidarity with all of the people that fight for national liberation and socialism across Latin America.”<sup>274</sup> COMACHI publication images from 1974 visualize the group’s outright condemnation of Pinochet and support of Allende as a heroic martyr (see Figures 2:2, 2:3, and 2:4). In demonstration of its anti-imperialist message, one of COMACHI’s mid-1974 publications included a block print of a large hand labelled “CIA” maneuvering a Pinocchio-nosed marionette wearing a soldier’s hat that reads “Pinocho,” a common anti-Pinochet jab still used in Chile today (see Figure 2:5).<sup>275</sup> Another graphic reads, “Stop the fascist escalation in Latin America!” (a COMACHI slogan used frequently in their publications) and pictures a large hand, backed by guns, creeping over a brick wall (see Figure 2:6). One side is labelled “Chile: yesterday and today” and the other, we suppose, represents Argentina and the rest of Latin America.<sup>276</sup> As much as the Argentine government feared a transplanted Chilean socialist revolution, so too were Argentine

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 286.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 187.

leftists wary of a Pinochet-style regime and the return to pre-Peronist politics.<sup>277</sup> Indeed, as a COMACHI publication from late September 1973 stated:

Until yesterday, there were honest Chileans, honest Argentines that believed that the armies of their countries were impartial,...[and] democratic. Today Chileans do not think the same...even the most fervent believers!!! We Argentines should gain a valuable experience from this sad episode. Yesterday, the Chilean military...spoke of democracy, AS TODAY THE ARGENTINE MILITARY IS DOING. Just a few months ago, the Armed Forces of our country were torturing, jailing, and killing with impunity, to defend the criminal violence and imperial interests, AS TODAY THE CHILEAN MILITARY IS DOING. No one can dismiss the presence of the *gendarmes* of exploitation...in our country and speak of a “Free Argentina” (capitalized in the original).<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 188.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., 342.



Figure 2:2

“They have the strength, they can dominate us, but they cannot stop the function of society with crime or force. Salvador Allende, 11 September 1973.”  
Buenos Aires, 1974<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid., 162.



**SALVADOR ALLENDE, VICTIMA  
MARTIR DE LA REACCION  
Y EL IMPERIALISMO**

Figure 2:3  
“Salvador Allende, Martyr Victim of the Reaction and Imperialism”  
Buenos Aires, 1974<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid., 405.

***a un año del  
pinochetazo***



Juventud Socialista

Figure 2:4  
To One Year of the *Pinochetazo*  
Buenos Aires, 1974<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 316. Included in the COMACHI archives, this drawing was originally made by the Juventud Socialista (Socialist Youth).



Figure 2:5  
Pinocho  
Buenos Aires, 1974<sup>282</sup>

<sup>282</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 140.



Figure 2:6  
Stop the Fascist Escalation in Latin America!  
Buenos Aires, 1974<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid., 187.



Although this chapter focuses on politically motivated exiles, it should be emphasized that not all émigrés were agitators. As Chilean psychologist Liliana Muñoz reminds us, “The exile lives in a world of the past, in a permanent state of bereavement.”<sup>284</sup> In this vein, Constable and Valenzuela add that, “the experience of most exiles...was neither thrilling nor glamorous. Crusaders torn from lives of intense activity and purpose were cast into anonymity and dependence.”<sup>285</sup> Life in exile for many was personally devastating, disorienting, and strange, and often meant that ideological goals took a backseat to personal recovery. Moreover, activist exiles were not exempt from these personal struggles of life abroad.

Personal challenge notwithstanding, the growth and mobilization of the transnational left in Argentina during 1973 and 1974 is significant, if only for the fact that it stands in such stark contrast to the left’s repression and dissolution in the following years. Indeed, during the first two years after the Chilean coup, the transnational left was a politically active, thousand-strong, multi-national presence in the Argentine capital. Although groups under COMACHI’s leadership were initially formed in solidarity with Chilean exiles, they became increasingly involved in national politics following Perón’s death. COMACHI is proof of the existence of expansive ideological frontiers.

As transnational groups grew their numbers and influence while Argentina’s domestic political situation continued to deteriorate, the military and police forces (nominally separate actors) began to crack down on both citizens and resettled foreign dissidents. Although exiles had managed to escape the repressive political regimes of their home countries, many continued to experience persecution, fear, and violence upon

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<sup>284</sup> Muñoz, “Grief and Loss,” as cited in Constable and Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 150.

<sup>285</sup> Constable and Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 150.

relocation. It was a war without national borders, but one that was increasingly dominated by “ideological frontiers”—a Cold War-era concept that suggested that traditional national boundaries were giving way to more fluid solidarities on the right and the left.<sup>286</sup> Similar to when Pinochet gained power in Chile, the subversive threat to the Argentine state was not just an internal one, so the military response could not be either. The government perceived the exile community as a potential threat to both its domestic security and regional stability within the Southern Cone, and it acted accordingly.

### **Setting the Stage for Condor: Military Surveillance**

Though the existing scholarship on Operation Condor focuses on high profile, targeted political assassinations, Southern Cone militaries also employed a variety of less visible counter-insurgency strategies in the years leading up to November 1975. Although the left in Argentina was gaining strength and visibility during this period, the military did not stand idly by while groups like COMACHI took to the streets. Relative to the open violence and impunity with which the militaries would act following Condor’s inception, the 1973 to late 1974 period can be best understood as less invasive and probing. DINA, SIPBA, and their regional allies gathered intelligence—mostly through undercover surveillance—on the exile community that would lay the groundwork for more overt repression during Operation Condor and the Dirty War. In this section, I analyze Argentine police documents as well as COMACHI records and exile publications to characterize the right’s increasing monitoring of the transnational left, and the left’s response to such surveillance.

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<sup>286</sup> Armony, “Producing and Exporting,” 305; and McSherry, *Predatory States*, 1.

Even before hopeful exiles left Chile, the Argentine military monitored their activity and policed their movement. Indeed, one declassified U.S. State Department document reveals that Perón, who publically welcomed the exile community, actually harbored reservations about these refugees as early as late March 1974:

Perón authorized the Argentine Federal Police and the Argentine intelligence to cooperate with Chilean intelligence in apprehending Chilean left-wing extremists in exile in Argentine [*sic*]. Similar arrangements had also been made with the security services of Bolivia, Uruguay and Brazil. This cooperation among security forces apparently includes permission for foreign officials to operate within Argentina, against their exiled nationals using that country as a base for insurgent operations. This authority allegedly includes arrest of such exiles and transfer to the home country without recourse to legal procedures.<sup>287</sup>

Argentine secret police documents corroborate this unofficial position. One SIPBA memo sent on February 4, 1974 warned the Argentine Embassy in Santiago against accepting three Uruguayans, Mercedes Rosa Pimas Basillorens, Felipe Pedocchi Falco, and Graciela Taddey Henestrosa, who had immigrated to Chile before the coup and had participated in resistance efforts afterwards. The memo reads, “on the request of the National Directorate [DINA], it should be made known that this agency ‘believes that it should not grant the request [for asylum] being filed.’”<sup>288</sup> Indeed, this early fear explains why the Argentine government only permitted the legal entry of 500-600 Chileans after the coup.

But in spite of this initial wariness, in general the Argentine military and government limited their infiltration of the exile community to surveillance and internal correspondence in 1973 and 1974 Unpublished memos and reports kept by SIPBA between late 1973 and 1974 regarding the transnational left speak volumes about the

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<sup>287</sup> As cited in Martin Edwin Andersen, *Dossier Secreto: Argentina's Desaparecidos and the Myth of the 'Dirty War'* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 108.

<sup>288</sup> “Referencia 16612,” 6-8.

secret police's anxiety about the exiles. One example of the military's exaggerated fears was that the Argentine state adopted DINA's inflated estimate of "over 40,000 exile guerrillas" in Argentina.<sup>289</sup> Several internal, classified SIPBA documents from late 1973 and early 1974 document this growing apprehension: "As of September 1973 there was a considerable increase in the number of Chilean refugees in our country, giving rise to pro-Chilean organizations with the support of local insurgency groups."<sup>290</sup> A SIPBA officer's description of COMACHI in an unpublished internal memo from February 1, 1974 documents a similar concern:

Most Chilean refugees who immigrated [to Argentina] after September 11, 1973 are guerrillas and/or members of related subversive organizations, primarily challenging the typical 'political refugees' that our country has traditionally received throughout its history...this demonstrates, among other things, the proliferation of organizations, some of recent creation, which have mobilized in support of these subversive elements, a high percentage of which have strengthened local subversive groups.<sup>291</sup>

Later in the memo, the same officer goes on to describe COMACHI as responsible for diffusing "considerable propagandist activity and information across communities...all denouncing the military regime implanted in Chile."<sup>292</sup>

That SIPBA was interested in COMACHI and other leftist exiles from late 1973 is apparent from its documentation of the group's activities and individuals who it suspected to be members.<sup>293</sup> A secondary source corroborates this activity: "Instead of roughing up bearded young men with long hair as suspected terrorists, the police now

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<sup>289</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 55.

<sup>290</sup> "Referencia 16698 Tomo 1," 3.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>293</sup> The archival document that these observations and the above SIPBA memos come from is composed of ten files ("Referencia 16698 Tomo 1-10," the longest of which is nearly 500 pages in length), and includes the profiles and photographs of nearly one thousand people of different nationalities who SIPBA suspected of being involved with COMACHI and its splinter groups in the September 1973-1974 period.

[during the early 1970s] concentrated on compiling data about kidnappings and guerrilla attacks in order to establish patterns...They scoured the records on real estate transactions and bank transfers to locate safe houses, 'people's prisons,' and staging grounds for attacks."<sup>294</sup> SIPBA painstakingly created *fichas* that included such data as an individual's identification number, birthplace, last known address, and a brief history of his or her entry into Argentina. They also document the Argentines who collaborated with key leftist Chilean groups that had re-formed in Argentina. This memo notes that, "with the support of COMACHI," by February 1974 the MIR, MAPU, PS and PC of Chile had all established new headquarters in Argentina and were eliciting support, not only among Chilean exiles, but from Argentines as well.<sup>295</sup>

SIPBA's intense surveillance of COMACHI meetings began in November 1973, though the police's actions taken in the September 1973 civic funeral in Buenos Aires to honor Allende show that COMACHI was on SIPBA's radar several months earlier. Over fifty pages of this record are devoted to the orders of "Jefe Superior del SIPBA" for his officers to "observe" and "take note of the individuals present" at COMACHI meetings. Though several hundred meetings were surveyed from late 1973 to early 1974, several assemblies in particular exemplify their detailed record-keeping: first, a November 25, 1973 funeral service in the Lomas de Zamora home of Chilean exiles Teodoro Konoba and Miguel Angel Lacorte, at which the SIPBA officer documented the "suspicious attendance" of representatives of the Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre, Federación Juvenil Comunista, Partido Comunista Revolucionario, Alianza Popular Revolucionaria, Frente Antiimperialista para el Socialismo, Vanguardias Obreras

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<sup>294</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 72.

<sup>295</sup> "Referencia 16698 Tomo 1," 8-10.

Revolucionarias, and the Partido Comunista de la Provincia de Buenos Aires.<sup>296</sup> Second, a February 28, 1974 meeting in the Salón de la Asociación Empleados de Comercio in Bahía Blanca, where Dr. Pablo Lejarraga, José Golberg and Roberto Rustoy presided over a meeting that “called for the unity of all political refugees who have arrived in Argentina from Chile.”<sup>297</sup> Third, they monitored a gathering was called by the Cámara de Diputados of La Plata (La Plata House of Representatives) and the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria (Popular Revolutionary Alliance) on November 9, 1973 that paid “homage to the constitutional President of Chile, in solidarity with the Chilean people.”<sup>298</sup> Lawyers groups, human rights organizations, labor unions, political associations, theater and art companies were all listed as having offered support to COMACHI. These records do not document what actions—if any—were taken against these groups and individuals, but they illustrate the Argentine police’s discomfort, wariness, and acute interest in Chilean-Argentine leftist solidarity and the growth of the transnational left in the country.

Predictably, SIPBA took a particular interest in COMACHI’s university-based activities. As previously discussed, the COMACHI records document the close collaboration between university student groups and the Chilean-Argentine solidarity movement, so it follows that the police would closely monitor these events. On September 12, 1973, for example, SIPBA sent officers to “investigate” and “control” a meeting in the gardens of a La Plata university (name unspecified) that was organized to discuss the previous day’s military coup in Chile. Several groups were in attendance: the Partido Comunista-Maoísta, Partido Comunista Revolucionario, Partido Obrero-

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 110.

Trotskista, Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Juventud Socialista de Avanzada, ERP, Grupo Revolucionario de Base, Centro de Estudiantes Peruanos, and Agrupación Reformista Peruana. The meeting culminated in a “protest march through the central streets of the city [La Plata].”<sup>299</sup> SIPBA documented a similar protest at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata on September 11 (the same day as the coup), at which a “Profesor Agoglia” made public the university’s position “against the events in Chile, repudiating the coup.”<sup>300</sup> Three months later, on December 11, the UCRI, the Unión de Estudiantes Secundarios and the Partido Socialista Unidos de Azul all met in a secondary school in Azul (a city in the Buenos Aires province) to “issue statements repudiating the military coup in Chile.”<sup>301</sup> On the same day in the La Plata University gardens, the Partido Comunista Revolucionario handed out pamphlets titled “A new aggression of *el imperialismo yanqui*: the victim: the Chilean people,” which the reporting SIPBA officer described as responsible for “producing chaos” in the university cafeteria.<sup>302</sup> There are records of comparable activities—protests, speeches, meetings and gatherings, pamphlet distribution—taking place at in law, medical, and journalism schools across Buenos Aires province in Mar del Plata, Bahía Blanca, Tres Arroyos, San Nicolas, Tigre and Quilmes. These reports make clear that Chilean exiles quickly regained their political voice upon resettlement, and that SIPBA was carefully monitoring COMACHI’s influence on the Argentine left.

In addition to documenting COMACHI activities, SIPBA also kept records of individuals associated with the organization and its *adherentes* (or followers). On

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 95.

February 15, 1974, the “Oficial Principal” José Héctor Ramos received “strictly confidential and secret” instructions from SIPBA’s “Jefe Superior” to create a report “Referencia 16612,” to spy on a group of 50 political asylees who had arrived in Bahía Blanca via the Argentine Embassy in Santiago on January 18 of the same year. Although this was only ten percent of the 500 Chileans granted asylum in Argentina after the coup, the decision to investigate refugees living in Bahía Blanca—the headquarters of COMACHI—is consistent with methods of surveillance throughout the country.

The memo contains information on the activities of these 50 exiles—forty Chileans, five Uruguayans, three Bolivians, one Spaniard, and one Argentine—from the date of their arrival (or, in the case of the one Argentine woman, her re-entry) into Argentina through early February. For each exile, the SIPBA officer conducting the investigation was ordered to find information on their personal background, date of entry, current profession, employment history, “general activities,” any contacts they had forged in Argentina, and “any other facts of interest.” The officer wrote one single-spaced page on each person, finding that five of the Bahía Blanca exiles in question left Argentina for Cuba within the first month, while the majority stayed in Argentina. Typical was the case of Arturo Segundo Álvarez Saavedra, a twenty five-year-old Chilean: Arturo was born and raised in Valparaíso, Chile where he worked as a technical electrician until he applied for political asylum and moved to Bahía Blanca on January 22, 1974 after being tortured and detained in November 1973 for “sympathizing with the politics of Dr. Allende.” The memo focuses on a meeting that Arturo had at the beginning of February 1974 in his home with four other asylees. The investigator, apparently watching from outside Arturo’s house, noted that the meeting began at 5:30 PM on February 4, but that



he could not tell exactly what took place during the meeting because “the door and window blinds were closed.”<sup>303</sup>

Despite the SIPBA officer’s portrayal of the asylees’ actions as “suspicious political activity”, the case of Humberto Enrique Jeria González demonstrates that most of the Bahía Blanca exiles were not political militants or radicals. Humberto was born on January 11, 1938 in Santiago, Chile, where he worked as a pediatrician. At the time of the investigation, he was still living in Bahía Blanca and working as a doctor. The SIPBA official noted that Humberto “was not active in any political or militant group,” but that he “was a sympathizer...of Dr. Allende.”<sup>304</sup> This conviction—“sympathizing” with the Allende government—is the most common claim asserted in these memos. However, as Humberto’s case demonstrates, it was typical for no reasons to be given, other than previous membership in a workers union, a law school, an undergraduate university or a leftist press, or travels to known communist countries such as Cuba or Soviet Bloc nations.

Following instructions given by SIPBA’s Jefe Superior, the findings of this Bahía Blanca investigation were forwarded to various Argentine military and political agencies and, even more significantly, to the Pinochet regime.<sup>305</sup> It is important to note here that in 1975 DINA requested copies of all documents kept by the Argentine military regarding Chilean immigration to Argentina.<sup>306</sup> But as early as February 1974 the cross-border sharing of intelligence predates by eighteen months Condor’s inception.

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<sup>303</sup> “Referencia 16612,” 11.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>306</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 328.

Although the memo's stated justification was to "document and observe" these immigrants, the actual purpose was more complex: earlier Argentine Embassy records from September 1973 also contain information on 47 out of the 50 people listed in the February 1974 memo. Because information sharing between the Argentine Embassy and SIPBA was common during this period, the fact that relatively detailed personal information—individuals' birthplace, last known address, parents' names, criminal pasts, "ideological crimes," employment history, relevant previous immigration history—existed suggests that the purpose of the investigation was not simply to make a record of who had immigrated to Argentine from Chile, but to ascertain what they were doing after they got there.

Finally, these memos make clear that even a low threshold of political activity warranted a SIPBA investigator's interest, suggesting the relatively peaceful character of this exile activity and the police's anxiety about leftists independent of their actual political undertakings. It is unlikely a coincidence that SIPBA chose to conduct such a thorough investigation near COMACHI's headquarters. Moreover, that SIPBA felt the need to investigate these exiles just one month after their personal information had already been gathered—and later share this information with the DINA—demonstrates how concerned Southern Cone militaries were with the cross-border movements of this relatively small group of transnational exiles.

Another instance of surveillance occurs in September 1974, when authorities tracked the movement of a group of eleven Chileans who sought political asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Santiago. This is a brief memo, but documents that after being granted refuge alongside approximately sixty immigrants bound for Buenos Aires in late

September 1973, eleven of these Chileans were rerouted to Argentine Patagonia and then immediately arrested and detained by the Gendarmería Nacional of Chubut (a province in Argentine Patagonia). The memo does not reveal for how many days—or weeks or months—the Chileans were detained. Six of the Chileans on the list were recorded as departing for Cuba after being released; all left for Cuba on January 11, 1974. There is no record of what happened to the other five prisoners.<sup>307</sup>

A 1996 exposé by noted Argentine journalist Horacio Verbitsky who interviewed a group of navy officers that had participated in flights of political prisoners in the mid-1970s and were then tossed out of planes to their deaths in the South Atlantic. Although these disappearances became more widespread after the military took power in March 1976, Verbitsky's interviews reveal that the first flights began well before the coup and soon after Perón had died. His interview with Lieutenant Commander Adolfo Francisco Scilingo documents how prisoners were told they were being transferred from Buenos Aires to southern Argentina, but were actually given strong sedatives in the form of vaccinations. They were “carried out like zombies and loaded onto the airplane,” stripped naked and shackled with heavy chains, and then thrown one-by-one, unconscious, in the ocean by the dozen.<sup>308</sup> Although Scilingo's sensational testimony focuses on the navy's treatment of Argentine political prisoners, he intimates that nationality was not a discriminating factor. “If the order had been to go out and kill Chileans or subversives, it would have been accepted in the same way. Superior orders are not open to discussion.”<sup>309</sup> At another point in his testimony, the lieutenant added, “the identity of the

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<sup>307</sup> “Referencia 16698 Tomo 1,” 110-112.

<sup>308</sup> Horacio Verbitsky, *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior* (New York: New Press, 1996), especially 23 and 49.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

prisoners... wasn't discussed. It was something supreme that was done for the sake of the country."<sup>310</sup> Though this testimony does not directly address the treatment of foreign political prisoners, it reveals the almost indiscriminate attitude of these officers. Additionally, it reinforces how boundaries of citizenship were blurred and Communist subversion was considered a transnational problem.

### **Changing Tactics: The First Condor Attack**

Brazen political assassinations sent an unmistakably harrowing message to political exiles. The example of Prats is arguably the earliest and best-known example of the "transnational arm of the Chilean dictatorship" and Pinochet's ability to collaborate with right-wing regimes and organizations across the Southern Cone.<sup>311</sup> A constitutionalist general who had served in Allende's cabinet and opposed the coup plotting within the Chilean military, Prats accepted Perón's offer of protection and went into exile after the *golpe de estado*. Domestic or international, "No military rival was as threatening to Pinochet:" even in exile, Prats remained vocal in his opposition to Pinochet and the Chilean armed forces.<sup>312</sup> Although he made few comments regarding his feelings for the new Chilean leader in public, among the Chilean and Argentine military officers who frequently visited his Buenos Aires home, "Prats made no secret of his disgust with the brutality and antidemocratic character of Pinochet's regime." The general also had brought his private papers with him in exile and used them to write a memoir documenting the "day-by-day" internal activities of the Chilean military in the months

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<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>311</sup> McSherry, "Industrial Repression' and Operation Condor in Latin America," in *State Violence and Genocide in Latin America: The Cold War Years*, eds., Marcia Esparza, Henry Huttenbach and Daniel Feierstein (London: Routledge, 2010), 107-123, especially 108.

<sup>312</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 72.

leading up to the coup. By September 20, 1974, he had written 100,000 words and had finished the book.<sup>313</sup> As Dinges describes, Prats “conducted himself as a proud military man who had served his country while in office and had nothing to fear or hide in retirement.”<sup>314</sup>

On September 30, 1974, General Prats and his wife were killed in a radio-controlled car bomb attack outside their apartment in Buenos Aires. The plot to assassinate Prats began in June 1974, around the same time that Perón, who had offered Prats protection in Argentina, died and was replaced by his “ineffectual widow.”<sup>315</sup> Although responsibility for the assassination was not determined until 1999<sup>316</sup>—a time lapse due in large part to Operation Colombo, which began in the summer of 1975 to “cover up [the Argentine and Chilean governments’] incriminating activities” in the Prats’ assassination—when compelling evidence was found to attribute the two murders to Pinochet’s secret police and several key actors.<sup>317</sup> One of these assassins was Townley, who was also implicated in the 1976 Letelier assassination. A second operative was Enrique Arancibia Clavel, a Chilean associated with the right-wing paramilitary group that had assassinated Schneider in a botched kidnapping in Santiago 1970. Arancibia had left Chile to take up unofficial exile in Buenos Aires following Schneider’s murder. After

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<sup>313</sup> Carlos Prats González, *Memorias: Testimonio de un soldado* (Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 1985).

<sup>314</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 72.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>316</sup> Although Townley had been suspected of playing a key role in Prats’ assassination since his arrest by the FBI in April 1978 for his role in the Letelier assassination in Washington (the stamps in his passport placed him in Buenos Aires at the time of Prats’ murder), a plea bargain agreement in exchange for his testimony in the Letelier case shielded him from questioning about murders committed outside of the United States. In 1999, however, in secret testimony in a Virginia federal court, Townley finally shed light on his role in the Prats assassination. Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 73.

<sup>317</sup> Chrimes, “Review,” 576-577.

Pinochet's rise to power, he then acted as a liaison between DINA and the Argentine secret police.<sup>318</sup> Arancibia's odyssey is an interesting one on its own, as it demonstrates the relative ease of political asylum and transnational movement throughout the Southern Cone for those on the right.

Most importantly, DINA's orchestration of the murder of one of its citizens living in Argentina, committed by a transnational group of exiles and expatriates, illustrates the cooperation early on between the Pinochet regime and the Argentine state, and the extent to which exiles' political activity prompted intergovernmental collaboration. Prats' murder, I argue, was the first high-profile example of targeted political assassination abroad, something that would become a recurrent feature of Operation Condor. This case also demonstrates that if a powerful political figure with significant support from the transnational left was not safe in Argentina, neither were grassroots supporters. As exile scholars Thomas Wright and Rody Oñate recognize: "The Chilean junta could easily infiltrate and harass the exile community in Argentina; the September 1974 assassination of...Carlos Prats and his wife...in Buenos Aires was a clear warning that exiles in Argentina were not beyond the [Chilean] regime's reach."<sup>319</sup>

Following Perón's death, the Argentine military's determination and ability to eradicate leftist subversion—public figures and grassroots activists alike—increased significantly: the Prats' assassination is just one example of this, and clearly speaks to the blurring of national boundaries and the intergovernmental collaboration to target and eliminate left-wing dissidents that began prior to the Dirty War. Indeed, this period was characterized by covert, less visible attacks on everyday members of the exile

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<sup>318</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 73-74.

<sup>319</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 43.

community. Sanhueza describes the growing danger of exile in Argentina following Perón's death. "After Perón's death in July 1974, both government and paramilitary anticommunist forces made life increasingly difficult for Chileans as well as for Uruguayan and Brazilian political refugees who had fled dictatorships in their own countries." Sanhueza would leave Argentina after six months in residence.<sup>320</sup>

But less public attacks also traumatized the exile community. Jakšić recounts the terror he felt when he heard the "shocking news" of his friend John's arrest by the La Plata police:

[John] did not need to say much for me to realize that there was trouble. My own roommates were restless because a few days earlier a group of unknown but presumed leftist radicals burned the state capitol building in La Plata, causing increased surveillance and harassment of foreigners. The city was occupied. Military patrols combed the streets while unmarked civilian cars drove slowly by. Gunfire pierced the air. Distant shouts could be heard. John confirmed what I most feared: we were not safe; we should try to leave as soon as we could. Argentina was collapsing. [John] had seen a frenzy of blood and death in the eyes and behavior of his captors.<sup>321</sup>

This testimony demonstrates that the Argentine state perceived foreigners to be an existential threat; and they acted on this fear as early as 1974. Like Sanhueza, Jakšić notes "By 1975, conditions for Chileans in Argentina had deteriorated to the point that, ironically, [I] returned to Chile for [my] safety."<sup>322</sup>

Although a Puerto Montt newspaper, *El Llanquihue*, from October 1, 1974 tried to use the Prats' murder as justification for increasing "national security" at home and abroad, the murders produced intense fear in the exile community abroad as well as for those in "internal exile" in Chile. As the article stipulated: "The premeditated murder of

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<sup>320</sup> Sanhueza, "Paths to Exile," 65.

<sup>321</sup> Jakšić, "In Search of Safe Haven," 24.

<sup>322</sup> Jakšić, "The Diaspora: Iván Jakšić," in *Flight from Chile*, eds., Wright and Oñate, 118-122, especially 119.

former General Prats and his wife, and the climate of fear that extremism creates internationally, justify the measures to maintain security and order that the Gobierno de la República [the Junta Militar] has adopted and will continue to adopt for [the sake of] tranquility and the protection of life for all of the inhabitants of Chile.”<sup>323</sup> Indeed, Stern argues that Prats was purposefully assassinated in a public and bloody manner so that the exile community would take notice.<sup>324</sup> Jakšić recounts how a “sense of impending disaster” hung in the air for the exile community: there were police raids of cheap downtown Buenos Aires hotels, then disappearances and bodies found “riddled with bullets.” He remembers the intense fear felt by the transnational left in September 1974 after the assassination: “we knew it was the DINA that was responsible.... We asked ourselves: Where to go? What to do?” as the “situation of the country [Argentina], as well as our own, began to unravel.”<sup>325</sup> Sanhueza also discussed his fear of the Chilean military, even after he had reached Argentina. Though he first arrived in Mendoza, he chose to only spend four days there and then moved to the capital. He recalled his reasons for reconnecting with his Chilean and Argentine compatriots: “to not be with the mass of refugees because we knew that the dictatorship had sent many people—military—to infiltrate the refugees to know what they were doing in exile... The assassination of Prats had a great impact on people.”<sup>326</sup> Sanhueza added:

I had the impression that we were being watched, in spite of our efforts to mix with Argentines. I remember that one time I was detained because I made a statement in defense of the Chilean journalists who were imprisoned...they took

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<sup>323</sup> “En Buenos Aires: asesinados al General Carlos Prats y su esposa,” *El Llanquihue*, 1 Oct. 1974.

<sup>324</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 107-108.

<sup>325</sup> Jakšić, “In Search of Safe Heaven,” 24.

<sup>326</sup> Sanhueza, “Paths to Exile,” 67.



us to the police station and they explained to us that this was interference in Argentine politics and was not allowed.<sup>327</sup>

Despite the profound implications of Prats' murder for the exile community in Argentina, as the next chapter will show, the Chilean general's assassination was just the beginning of a larger string of attacks that Southern Cone militaries would carry out against their exiles in the coming years. Following the institutionalization of Operation Condor and the start to the Dirty War, safe haven in Argentina would become an increasingly unlikely option.

## **Conclusions**

As this chapter demonstrates, Pinochet's harsh use of banishment and exile of both nationals and foreigners living within Chilean borders at the time of the coup had several unintended consequences: though it helped to silence the Junta's internal opposition, it also exported the problem abroad and prompted collaboration with activist exiles in Argentina. It would not be surprising to learn of the existence of like-minded groups of exiles in other Latin American, North American, and European nations as well. Exile abroad allowed Chileans to carry out active political lives and, in this case, to forge links with sympathetic groups and individuals on the Argentine left. It is clear that COMACHI and similar organizations posed a recognizable threat to Argentine security forces, which took steps to inhibit the spread of an "ideological frontier."

In addition to the repercussions of this mobilization for the military governments, the coalescence of the transnational left in Argentina also has implications for our understanding of the left itself. Though the South American truth commissions and the

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<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

vast majority of the secondary scholarship have painted the left in broad strokes and have focused on their victimization, as this chapter has shown, the left was actually gaining strength—in numbers, regional and global allies, institutional support, and visibility—before Perón’s death and Prats’ assassination.

Moreover, the left was never homogeneous. In part, this is because exile had different implications for each individual, and each refugee responded to his or her situation in different ways. Yet there were also different collectives of leftists with disparate goals or tactics. While COMACHI was a non-violent organization, there were multiple armed guerrilla groups operating in Argentina.. Indeed, there were thousands of militant leftists who are also partially responsible (though, it should be emphasized, to a lesser degree than the Argentine junta) for the high death tolls during this period.

The historiography of the Dirty War is likely partially responsible for this oversimplification and victimization of the left. For obvious reasons, most accounts of the 1970s in Argentina are drawn to this recognized period of conflict and therefore focus their attention on what transpired after March 1976. Due in part to this periodization, the story they present is of intense right-wing repression and the eradication of the left. The scholarship, with some notable exceptions, has failed to capture the first half of the 1970s when the left was gaining strength. The profoundly disproportionate use of violence during the Dirty War understandably has overshadowed the left’s actions and evolution during this earlier period.

A second important finding of this chapter pertains to the Argentine state’s role before Operation Condor. As early as September 1973, authorities were determined to closely monitor this relatively small group of generally peaceful activists and foreclose

the possibility of any linkages to domestic guerrilla groups, such as the Montoneros and the ERP. While the Prats' assassination remains the best-known example of the transgressing of borders to eliminate political opponents prior to Condor, its sensational character has so captivated the secondary scholarship on Operation Condor that it has obscured other methods of surveillance and collaboration among Southern Cone militaries. Indeed, little attention has been paid in the literature to the political activities of these transnational exiles. I contend that the surveillance of groups like COMACHI is indicative of a growing concern felt by both the Chilean and Argentine governments.

The next chapter complements this discussion of leftist exile in Argentina with the subsequent discussion of the transnational right. In the face of ongoing leftist growth, I examine the increasingly repressive and public manner in which the Chilean and Argentine militaries utilized the information gathered on the exile communities before (and after) Prats' death to lash out against their enemies.

## Chapter Three:

### A War Without Borders

Subversion...does not recognize borders or countries, and its infiltration is penetrating every level of national life. Subversion has developed a leadership structure that is intercontinental, continental, regional, and subregional.... In contrast, the countries that are being attacked on the military, economic and political front (from both inside and outside their borders) are fighting back at most only with bilateral understandings or simple “gentlemen’s agreements.”<sup>328</sup>

Colonel Manuel Contreras, November 1975

During the week of November 26, 1975, military dictators from Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay sent delegations to the First Inter-American Meeting of National Intelligence at DINA’s Santiago headquarters. Organized and hosted by Pinochet and DINA director Contreras, the meeting was “upbeat,” and allotted one and a half hours to each representative to report on “their intelligence organization, the current situation of subversion and how it is being combatted.”

But this meeting had greater aims than just information sharing. As the week progressed, these delegations established a plan to systematically and collaboratively eliminate the threat posed by “persons and organizations connected directly or indirectly with Marxism” at home and abroad.<sup>329</sup> With high-tech assistance from the CIA and FBI “similar to that which Interpol has in Paris,” Condor signatories would create a digital databank, to be housed in Santiago, on leftist exiles. In addition, the militaries shared

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<sup>328</sup> Contreras, “First Inter-American Meeting of National Intelligence.” Delegates from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay signed the above document on November 28, affirming their future participation in Operation Condor. An informal Brazilian delegation attended as an observer, though the country did not become an official signatory until 1976. Peru and Ecuador joined in 1978 (when Condor was but a shadow of its former self), but their presence at this initial meeting has not been verified. Although the United States did not officially participate in Condor’s inception or send a delegation to the meeting, all Condor scholars agree that the CIA provided state-of-the-art surveillance technical support. The nature of U.S. participation will be discussed in the conclusions. See Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 12-13 and 224.

<sup>329</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 95.

contacts and utilized each other's military and police personnel to track *exiliados* and extradite them for interrogation. In fact, some of those extradited were then imprisoned, tortured and killed after their return home. Later joined by Brazil, and, in secondary roles, Ecuador and Peru, this historic meeting of Southern Cone militaries represented the first official gathering of the principal orchestrators of Operation Condor.<sup>330</sup>

As the Argentine and Chilean military regimes virtually eradicated the leftist threat from within their borders, both dictatorships turned their attention abroad to subversives who had fled and who, they feared, were intent on mounting resistance against their regimes. Unlike the less overt repression utilized by these militaries in the years preceding their ascent to power, after Condor's institutionalization the region's dictatorships operated with total impunity—not just against militants and high-profile politicians such as Prats, but against sympathizers as well. Under Condor, these regimes adopted targeted assassination as a *modus operandi*, selectively eliminating the remaining public faces of leftist resistance in the Southern Cone, the United States, and Europe. And, with the help of a servile media, they publically boasted of their accomplishments, going so far as to provide graphic footage of car bombings and bloody corpses for an international audience. These publicized murders instilled so much fear within the exile community that they precipitated another wave of hurried migrations as refugees sought safe haven elsewhere.

In part, Condor tactics reflected business as usual: as we have seen, the Argentine and Chilean militaries made use of foreign contacts to assassinate Prats, as well as monitor and harass refugees at least two years before Condor came into being. But Condor also signaled a major shift in Chilean-Argentine relations for both the military

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<sup>330</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 13, 118 and 123-126.

and exile community in that it was an official, overtly violent demonstration of inter-military collaboration that undermined the well-established principle of political asylum. After Condor's institutionalization, the militaries not only monitored the exile community, but they also detained, tortured, and killed suspected subversives with impunity.

To analyze Operation Condor between 1974 and 1977, this chapter opens with a discussion of the Argentine and Chilean body politic during this three-year period, a brief comparison of the repressive militaries, and a discussion of the operation's main "phases." Three case studies of targeted assassination on three continents follow, to demonstrate the militaries' "transnational arm," the relative impunity with which they operated, and the continuities between pre- and post-institutionalization.<sup>331</sup> Then, using newspaper articles, testimonies, oral histories, and quantitative migration data, Condor's impact on dissidents and exile communities is addressed. A range of emotional and physical responses—often in the form of flight, relocation, or hiding—will be considered. The chapter concludes with an assessment of how Operation Condor altered military relations and how it transformed the exile experience and the system of exile in the Southern Cone and abroad during the mid-1970s.

### **A Military Junta Consolidates Power**

The weeks following Pinochet's rise to power were bloody and repressive, soon disabusing Chileans of the Junta's claim that it would quickly restore civilian rule. On the one-month anniversary of the coup, Pinochet announced to the nation that the state of siege would continue indefinitely, due to the "gravity," of the nation's problems and the

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<sup>331</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 23.

“ongoing threat,” of the “armed extremist groups, that wound or kill in the dark.”

Claiming to be a provisional government, the Junta announced that the nation “must be reborn purified of vices and bad habits,” and that civilian rule could return only after the military restored security, morality, and economic order.<sup>332</sup> As the next section makes clear, this is eerily similar to the language that its Argentine counterpart would employ to justify its own coup two and a half years later.

In the first six weeks after the coup, 1,500 citizens were murdered and an additional 13,500 were rounded up through raids and mass arrests aimed at UP leaders, activists, labor unions, factory workers, and shantytown dwellers. The Junta’s prisoners were held at approximately twenty detention facilities across the country, only several of which, the CIA reported in late 1973, were “known to the general public.”<sup>333</sup> Between September 11 and December 20, 1973, the Junta recorded that 7,612 prisoners were processed through the Estadio Nacional alone.<sup>334</sup>

Though the military first focused on gaining control of the capital, where half of the country’s population is concentrated, it soon expanded its focus to the rural provinces as well. Immediately after the coup, local officers in the provinces met little resistance and organized “a relatively soft repression—imprisonment, house arrests, job dismissals—of former Unidad Popular leaders and activists.”<sup>335</sup> In October, this changed: under Pinochet’s order, the notorious “Caravan of Death,” led by nefarious army general

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<sup>332</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 51-52.

<sup>333</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, especially 153-154 and 161-162. In addition to the Estadio Nacional, DINA also utilized, among others, the following detention centers during the dictatorship: Estadio Chile, Tejas Verdes (the military engineering school where Contreras trained), Villa Grimaldi, the Discoteque/La Venda Sexy, Londres No. 38, Cuatro Alamos, and Colonia Dignidad.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 153-154.

<sup>335</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 51.

Sergio Arellano Stark and other future leaders of Pinochet's secret police, flew by helicopter to intervene in the provinces and assume power from regional officers. The Caravan's quick visits "left a trail of suddenly murdered and disappeared political prisoners—at least six dozen" in their wake. Although these deaths were justified as necessary shootings during attempted prisoner escapes, their indiscriminate character sent a clear message to leftist *chilenos* and foreign exiles alike: no Allende supporters were safe.<sup>336</sup>

Although Pinochet informally organized his secret intelligence and police force two months after the coup, on June 14, 1974 he publically announced the creation of DINA and gave it carte blanche to root out subversion. As Kornbluh points out, DINA, in some respects, represented the "institutionalization of the Caravan [of Death]—a roving instrument of repression, accountable only to Pinochet, intended to eliminate enemies of the state, circumvent civil, legal norms, and strike fear into the populace and less aggressive military services." Pinochet appointed Contreras as DINA's director and Colonel Pedro Espinoza as deputy director, responsible for repressive operations both within Chile and acts of "international terrorism" abroad.<sup>337</sup> DINA's extensive power and purview also fueled Pinochet's "inside game—the ongoing state-of-war mentality that justified DINA surveillance and pressure as a kind of shadow power within ministries."<sup>338</sup> As an intelligence officer famously testified in February 1974: "There are three sources of power in Chile: Pinochet, God, and DINA."<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

<sup>337</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 157.

<sup>338</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 54.

<sup>339</sup> Quoted in Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 153.



The Junta's eradication of its internal enemy was chillingly effective. From March to September 1974, the number of prisoners publically acknowledged to be in concentration camps dropped from 10,000 to 7,000. The month-by-month reports of the arrests, disappearances, executions, and prison population prepared by the Catholic Church's Comité Pro Paz (Pro-Peace Committee), a group sympathetic to the leftist victims of the dictatorship, noted "a remarkable decline in deaths—to a low point of one disappeared in February [1974]." <sup>340</sup>

Although public displays of repression became more sporadic in 1974, "optimists were misled by the calm." The junta continued to utilize other, less overt methods to target and attack dissidents. <sup>341</sup> In addition to the thousands of people who were arrested in home or workplace raids (often as a result of arbitrary searches and seizures or the anonymous denunciation of neighbors or friends), an estimated 100,000 leftists—approximately fifteen percent of the industrial work force—were purged from their jobs because of their politics and then blacklisted. <sup>342</sup> As historian Peter Winn argues, although Pinochet's repression affected "Chileans of all classes and vocations," workers "suffered most" as factories were taken over by soldiers, national and regional trade unions were banned, and leftist union leaders were assassinated, forced into hiding, or banished from the country. <sup>343</sup>

Even as the internal subversive threat to the regime was effectively eradicated, the Junta continued to scapegoat the left to justify the government's own use of violence.

Throughout 1974 and 1975, as public demonstrations of repression became less frequent,

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<sup>340</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 64.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>342</sup> Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), especially 248.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 248-249.

military leaders and right-wing media sources alike continued to promote stories of violent extremists who “lurked just beneath the surface” and who needed to be subdued by military might.<sup>344</sup> Pinochet’s minions went so far as to fabricate, with the help of sympathetic or coerced press agencies, stories of purported assassination attempts against the dictator. The most elaborate of these was “Plan Boomerang Rojo” (Red Boomerang Plan), an imagined invasion of 14,000 guerrillas from Argentina, allegedly training in southern Chile’s Lakes Region, who were planning to assassinate Pinochet.<sup>345</sup> Even though the left had been effectively decimated within months of the coup, the country remained in an “ongoing war environment” both literally and psychologically.<sup>346</sup>

Excepting several noteworthy, albeit small, pockets of resistance that remained at large until 1975, the regime had effectively rid the country of any visible, organized opposition within two years of the coup. As Dinges relates, “By late 1975, the new tactics [DINA and the Caravan of Death] had achieved almost total victory inside Chile, and Pinochet and his intelligence chief turned their attention abroad.”<sup>347</sup> Indeed, the Junta would next look for support abroad to tackle the one threat still remaining: a reconfigured transnational exile population that Pinochet’s policy of forced expulsion had created. Argentina, Chile’s historic rival, would become one of Pinochet’s most important allies in this new battleground.

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<sup>344</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 52-53.

<sup>345</sup> *La Tercera*, Nov. and Dec. 1975, passim; and *El Mercurio*, Jan. 1975, passim.

<sup>346</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 53.

<sup>347</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 12.

## A Dirty War

In Argentina, violence spiked as the military plotted to overthrow the Peronist government. The volatile year-and-a-half-year period between Perón's death in July 1974 and Isabel's overthrow in March 1976 was characterized by mounting chaos, hyperinflation, and violence on the part of the right and the left.<sup>348</sup> Indeed, political conflict skyrocketed from 1973 to 1976: between May 1973 and April 1974, there were 1,760 armed actions and 754 associated deaths. May 1974 to April 1975 saw 2,425 armed actions and 608 deaths. In the last 10-month period before the Dirty War, 4,324 armed actions resulted in 1,612 killings. It is important to note that, on average, 66 percent of these deaths were of leftist militants.<sup>349</sup>

By early 1976, a weary public was nearly unanimous in support of Isabel's overthrow. Indeed, even the ERP-PRT initially "rejoiced," at the prospect of a coup, interpreting it as a sign of the military's "desperation."<sup>350</sup> Similar to the coup in Chile, Isabelita's downfall was predicted weeks, if not months, before it was carried out. Even as Defense Minister José Deheza tried to bargain for more time with military leaders the day before the coup, already "there were large troop movements taking place around the country."<sup>351</sup>

In the early hours of March 24, the military leaders of the new junta, General Videla, Admiral Emilio Massera, and Brigadier Orlando Agosti, announced to the nation that to ensure law and order, it would act quickly to eliminate subversion. General Luciano Benjamín Menéndez warned, "We are going to have to kill 50,000 people:

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<sup>348</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>349</sup> Dávila, *Dictatorship in South America*, 79.

<sup>350</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 176.

<sup>351</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 126-127.

25,000 subversives, 20,000 ideologues, and we will make 5,000 mistakes.”<sup>352</sup> Echoing measures taken by Pinochet, the military forbade Argentines from congregating in public places; suspended all air, sea, and river transportation, dissolved Congress, placed factories under military control, froze all bank accounts; closed schools and universities, shut down cinemas and theaters; and imposed a midnight curfew. The junta also demanded that citizens turn in their weapons within eight hours after the coup, and decreed that acts of violence against government forces were “punishable by death.”<sup>353</sup> Armed soldiers took over the federal ministries, the provincial and municipal governments, and the labor unions. The constitutional right of Argentines to freely leave or enter to their country was blocked.<sup>354</sup> Leading Peronists, including Isabel and all of her cabinet ministers who had not already fled the country, were arrested. The Peronist era had summarily ended.<sup>355</sup>

Noticeably similar to Pinochet’s justification for ongoing military rule several years prior, the Argentine junta also adopted a moralizing mission, claiming that harsh means were necessary to rid Argentina of its vices: the nation would be restored “through order, work, the full observance of ethical and moral principles, justice, the complete realization of man, and through the respect of his rights and dignity.”<sup>356</sup> But as Robben wryly observes, the “interim” government “failed to inform the Argentine people about the cost of this cultural construct.”<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>353</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 176.

<sup>354</sup> Dávila, *Dictatorship in South America*, 112.

<sup>355</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 127-128.

<sup>356</sup> Proclamation cited in Verbitsky, *The Flight*, 148.

<sup>357</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 177.

Ironically, although the junta appeared to exercise complete control, it was actually quite limited in its ability to exercise this power. Though it could set general governmental policy and appoint personnel, the conduct of the “war against subversion” was vested in regional officials. Though decentralization allowed the military “to penetrate every corner of the country...in order to root out subversion,” this structure also spread power thin in “a tangled, overlapping network that led upwards, not to a single national authority, but to three separate authorities [the heads of the army, navy, and air force].”<sup>358</sup> Ultimately, “[t]his decentralization and autonomy...meant enormous power in the hands of very junior officers, each secure in the knowledge that no one could really tell under whose instructions he was acting.”<sup>359</sup> Moreover, the military takeover would precipitate institutional breakdown, economic chaos, and corruption.<sup>360</sup>

Atrocities were frequent with such a loose chain of command.<sup>361</sup> Even before the coup, “a growing network of secret prisons,” had been established following the military’s take-over of the “anti-subversive war” in October 1975. As Dinges states, “With almost no public notice, the military had kidnapped and disappeared at least 522 people in the five and a half months leading up to the coup.” By late 1975, the number of people detained in these 340 “secret prisons,” grew: “85 percent...were executed and their bodies secretly disposed.” In the remaining months of 1976, “the disappearances more than tripled to a steady rate of 350 per month.”<sup>362</sup> As the number of bodies grew, the junta dumped its prisoners into unmarked mass graves or into the Atlantic Ocean:

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid., 132-133; and Eduardo Crawley, *House Divided: Argentina, 1880-1980* (London: Hurst, 1984), especially 427.

<sup>359</sup> Crawley, *House Divided*, 427.

<sup>360</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 126.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid., 151; and Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 138.

The hooded, shackled prisoners were called out by their case numbers, formed into a single file, and taken to ESMA's [Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada or Navy Mechanics School in Buenos Aires] basement, where a nurse gave them an injection that knocked them out. Still alive, they were then hauled into trucks, driven out to a military airport, and dumped into transport planes.... Far out of sight of land, the prisoners were then thrown out [over the South Atlantic].<sup>363</sup>

Scilingo would confess to throwing approximately thirty people into the Atlantic in these “death flights,” and estimated that ESMA killed between 1,500 and 2,000 in this manner.<sup>364</sup>

The Argentine truth commission CONADEP (Comisión Nacional de Desaparición de Personas—National Commission on the Disappeared), created after the restoration to civilian rule in 1983, corroborated this spike in disappearances between 1975 and 1976. It cited seventeen disappearances in 1973, an additional forty-two in 1974, 326 in 1975, 3,792 in 1976, 2,979 in 1977, 958 in 1978, and 975 disappearances from 1979-1983. The number of deaths—excluding disappearances—was estimated at 1,100 for 1975.<sup>365</sup>

Through such repression the Junta aimed to ensure that the enemy “was not to be merely defeated but exterminated, so that no future civilian government could release the guerrillas to fight again.... the guerrillas’ front organizations and clandestine support networks were to be wiped out, root and branch.”<sup>366</sup> Yet despite mounting violence and the military’s aim to eradicate the guerrillas, the Argentine leftist force had not been totally decimated by 1975. Although estimates of guerrilla membership vary drastically and “their actual number is a matter of guesswork,” in the spring of 1975 the Montoneros

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<sup>363</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 157-158.

<sup>364</sup> Verbitsky, *The Flight*.

<sup>365</sup> CONADEP, *Informe Nunca Más* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1984). As cited by Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 139. It is important to note that CONADEP’s findings exclude disappeared bodies that were later found, which, as Dinges notes, was a “considerable number in 1975 and 1976.”

<sup>366</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 133.

could boast around 250,000 members, of which 25,000 bore arms. The ERP had approximately 60,000 members, but only 5,000 active combatants.”<sup>367</sup> As Lewis surmises, “Whether one accepts the higher or lower estimates, Argentina’s guerrilla organizations, backed by multimillion dollar war chests, were formidable—and lethal. Sustained...by a favorable public opinion, they grew in numbers, organizational sophistication, and fire power.”<sup>368</sup>

Most importantly, the increase in leftist violence was met head on by military repression.<sup>369</sup> The numbers of disappearances alone went from 326 in 1975 to 3,792 the following year.<sup>370</sup> Ironically, the perception that Argentina was a safe haven for leftists prior to the coup precipitated a spike in the arrival of leftist exiles from neighboring dictatorships. This occurred at precisely the same time that the Argentine military sought to eradicate leftist militants. To confront the growing transnational threat, the military would turn to Pinochet.

### **Differences in Tactics**

Although the Chilean and Argentine regimes collaborated during this period and their justification for the repression was nearly identical, they utilized different methods, and their respective roles in the political life of their nations were quite distinct. The Argentine military had governed the country intermittently since 1930. In fact, the coup that launched the Dirty War must have appeared initially to many citizens as nothing out

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid., 46-47. Because neither the ERP nor the Montoneros ever made their membership figures public, estimates vary widely. Army estimates tended to be high (around 150,000 fighting combatants), while human rights organizations minimized guerrilla strength (around 20,000 sympathizers).

<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>369</sup> Armony, “Producing and Exporting,” 315.

<sup>370</sup> CONADEP, *Nunca Más*.

of the ordinary; in the past, ephemeral military governments would remain in power for a few years before power was returned to civilians. In Chile, however, the military's ascent to power in September 1973 represented a profound break with its deeply rooted democratic tradition.

The Argentine military imagined itself as the historic defenders of the nation, believing they had the "right and the obligation," to reorganize the country "as they saw fit," after Peronism's demise "because they had stood at its birth." As Robben describes, the military took pride in its critical roles in the liberation of Argentina from Spanish colonial rule in 1816, their conquest of the Patagonian desert during the 1870s in its war against the indigenous population, and the foundation it had laid for the country's agricultural export economy. Moreover, several eminent presidents, Bartolomé Mitre, Domingo Sarmiento, and Julio Roca, responsible for the country's economic success, had served in the national army. "The 1976 commanders must have seen themselves mirrored in their illustrious predecessors."<sup>371</sup>

In contrast, Pinochet's rise to power in Chile was almost unprecedented. Democratic rule had been a hallmark of Chilean political culture since independence. Although called on at times by civilian governments to repress dissidents and to crush strikes, with some brief exceptions, the Chilean military confined itself to the barracks.<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 177.

<sup>372</sup> Civilian rule in Chile was briefly interrupted in September 1924, when a military coup ousted President Arturo Alessandri. The military remained in power until a plebiscite approved a revised constitution in August 1925. Democratically elected Emilio Figueroa held office for nearly two years, but the military again seized control following Figueroa's resignation in May 1927. From that date until the Great Depression decimated the Chilean economy, the military dominated the country's politics. Although the 1925 constitution technically remained in play, it was only selectively applied; labor was repressed, censorship was widespread, and political parties' activity was limited. Military rule collapsed in July 1931 and democracy was reestablished in 1932 with Alessandri's reelection. Civilian presidents remained in power until September 1973. See



Although the respective regimes collaborated and shared information, they also benefitted from each other's past mistakes. Based on its historic role and its future vision for the nation, the Argentine military "wanted to avoid a personalistic dictatorship like the one in Chile under General...Pinochet." It wished to avoid the concentration of authority in the hands of any one individual, and, through its loose web of command, tried to prevent "any individual junta member expanding his power."<sup>373</sup> Moreover, the Argentine junta believed that completely eradicating their subversive population—while still within their borders—was necessary "to avoid the international protests and pressures that Pinochet's government had faced after the coup in Chile."<sup>374</sup>

### **Operation Condor**

The summit of Southern Cone militaries convened by Contreras in November 1975 in some respects formalized and enhanced existing bilateral partnerships among these dictatorships. But its multilateral nature set it apart. As one scholar related: "In the underground world of competition and mutual suspicion, the Santiago meeting was a unique and unprecedented event, a summit of historic importance."<sup>375</sup> Although largely a regionally autonomous operation, the role of the United States in Condor's founding and execution cannot be overlooked. Even though no North American delegate was present at the convention, the operation's founding document was, in Dinges' words, a "thinly veiled reference to the expected interaction with the American CIA and FBI." It read:

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Kimberly Stanton, "The Transformation of a Political Regime: Chile's 1925 Constitution," paper delivered at the Latin American Studies Association meeting, Guadalajara, Mexico, 17-19 April 1997, especially 1.

<sup>373</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 132.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>375</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 116-117.

“We recommend the utilization of liaison resources outside the countries of the System, *especially those that are outside the continent*, to obtain information on Subversion” (capitalized in the original; emphasis added). Years later, Contreras would categorically state that both the CIA and the FBI were aware of Condor’s data bank, “contributed to it,” and “sought information from it.”<sup>376</sup> The United States undeniably played an important logistical role, providing technology, money, and military training at the School of the Americas, and offered consultation to Contreras and other Condor signatories on multiple occasions.<sup>377</sup> Since scholarship on Condor has focused almost entirely on the North American role, I will examine the ways in which South American militaries cooperated with each other after November 1975.

At the November meeting, each group shared information on the leftist threat posed to them by citizens and foreigners, as well as the measures they had already taken to counter the threat. According to Dinges, “The bottom line was that domestically the leftist organizations had been decimated in every country but Argentina,” the last to fall to military rule, and that “security agencies’ main concern was now outside their own borders.”<sup>378</sup> In short, to effectively rid South America of communism, Condor leaders were convinced they needed to organize collectively. Under its auspices, local security forces would kidnap dissidents, interrogate them, and transfer them to secret detention centers in their country of origin. Even dissidents who were refugees with legal

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<sup>376</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>377</sup> Dinges’, Kornbluh’s, and McSherry’s respective accounts all discuss the North American role in depth.

<sup>378</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 120.

residency, some under the protection of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), were not safe.<sup>379</sup>

The first summit identified three means of collaboration. First a central data bank was established “to which all countries would contribute intelligence.”<sup>380</sup> Although located in the headquarters’ Coordinating Center in Chile, it would be accessible to all members via computer. Inspired by the Interpol system of international police communication, the data bank was designed to contain “in one place the best information from each country, and from countries outside the system, about ‘people...organizations and other activities, directly or indirectly connected with subversion.’”<sup>381</sup> Second, Condor designed an information center (called Condortel) with special communication channels, cryptography capability, telephones with scrambling mechanisms, and message systems. Third, in addition to virtual technological communication, Condor leaders agreed to hold “permanent working meetings” where they could report and share intelligence every several months.<sup>382</sup>

In a demonstration of its blatant disregard for international law and the safety of exile, Point 5c of Condor’s November 28, 1975 charter advocated “rapid and immediate contact when an individual was expelled from a country or when a suspect traveled in order to alert the Intelligence Services” of Condor countries, and Point 5g recommended the installation of intelligence operatives in each country’s embassy to better monitor the movement of the exile community.<sup>383</sup> As political scientist Martin Edwin Andersen

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<sup>379</sup> Armony, *Argentina, the United States, and the Anti-Communist Crusade in Central America, 1977-1984* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1997), especially 26.

<sup>380</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 121.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 95-96.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid., 96.

describes, Operation Condor gave these countries' security forces "an almost continent-wide hunting license."<sup>384</sup>

Although late November 1975 marks Condor's founding, as we have seen, operations began unofficially at least two years prior with cross-border military collaboration in rounding up and interrogating Chileans and exiles after the September 1973 coup, and with the targeted assassination of Prats and his wife in September 1974. Nonetheless, the first meeting was decisive for both national and regional reasons. First, it occurred at a crucial moment; Argentina was the only signatory government not under military rule at a time when the civilian government was ineffectual. Second, for the dictatorships already in power—Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Paraguay—Condor provided access to information about many of the exiles they had, in Pinochet's word, so "generously" banished.<sup>385</sup> Third, Condor was pivotal because it solidified, expanded, and institutionalized such military collaboration. Selective assassination used first on Prats would become standardized after Condor's inception. Especially after the Argentine coup, Southern Cone dictatorships operated without restraint.

### **Targeted Assassinations Against Prominent Leftists Exiles**

Condor is infamous for several high-profile assassination plots, most of which also involved torture to acquire intelligence about other leftist leaders. In addition to the murders of Prats and his wife, Condor operations targeted the Argentine Communist Amílcar Santucho and the Chilean MIRista Jorge Fuentes in Asunción, Paraguay in May 1975, and Bernardo Leighton, an exiled Chilean Christian Democrat and a former Vice

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<sup>384</sup> Andersen, *Dossier Secreto*, 228.

<sup>385</sup> Wright and Oñate, "Chilean Political Exile" (2012), 10.

President, and his wife Anita Fresno in Rome in October 1975. Although the latter attack proved unsuccessful, it left Fresno permanently disabled. Other known victims included: Andrés Pascal Allende, the head of a Chilean leftist solidarity group, in Malloco, Chile in October 1974; Roberto Santucho, an underground ERP leader, and an exiled Chilean MIRista Edgardo Enríquez, both eliminated in Buenos Aires several days after Argentina's coup. Finally, Condor's reach extended to Washington, D.C. when Orlando Letelier and his assistant Ronni Moffitt were killed in a car bombing in Sheridan Circle in September 1976.

Additional targets (some assassination victims and some the victims of assassination attempts) were alleged to have been carried out during Pinochet's 1998 trial in Spain, though questions still remain. The list of notable political leaders suspected of being Condor targets is astonishing in its diversity: Chilean Socialist Party leader Carlos Altamirano, who lived out most of his exile in Paris; João Goulart, former Brazilian president deposed by the military in 1964, who sought exile in Montevideo, Uruguay; Edward Koch, U.S. congressman and later Mayor of New York; former Bolivian president Juan José Torres; and Uruguayan deputies Héctor Gutiérrez Ruiz and Zelmar Michelini.<sup>386</sup>

A comparative analysis of the assassination attempts against Leighton and Fresno, Letelier and Moffitt, and Santucho and Enríquez reveals the diversity of Condor's targets and its reach. These three cases alone demonstrate that exiles in Europe, South America and North America were well within Condor's grasp. The targeted assassinations underline Condor's *modus operandi*: the high degree of impunity with which it operated,

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<sup>386</sup> See Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 1, 112-113 and 131-134; Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*; and McSherry, *Predatory States*, 5 and 246.

effectively independent of its target's location or date, and the support its founders received from sympathetic right-wing militants, governments, and operators in dozens of nations across the world.

Leighton and his wife fled Chile in December 1973 and settled in Rome. As Stern described, Leighton was “highly respected...; constituted the moral heart of Chile's founding generation of Christian Democrats; a person popular for his lack of pretension and his gift for building bridges; and a leader who had...immediately rejected the coup.” Still active in exile, within Europe he was a key figure in the leftist solidarity movement against Pinochet.<sup>387</sup> According to documents found in the Paraguayan Archives of Terror, Leighton was one of Pinochet's top targets after he came to power.<sup>388</sup>

On October 6, 1975, an assassination attempt was carried out against Leighton and Fresno. As McSherry related, “they left the couple for dead after gunning them down in the street. The couple was severely wounded, but survived.” Responsibility for the attempt was not uncovered until twenty years later, in Townley's testimony in the 1995 Letelier trial (discussed below). DINA “contracted” several neofascist organizations in Italy, including the Ordine Nuovo and Avanguardia Nazionale, a terrorist organization of neofascist and known Condor henchman Stefano delle Chiaie, to carry out the executions.<sup>389</sup> Given the timeline of the attack, Brazil's involvement in the event is also possible.<sup>390</sup> This assassination attempt, carried out on another continent, speaks to the dispersed nature of Chile's exile community and the junta militar's linkages with right-wing paramilitary organizations abroad.

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<sup>387</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 101.

<sup>388</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 88.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 and 42-43.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

Condor's most audacious attack occurred in September 1976 in Washington, D.C. against one of Allende's cabinet ministers. Imprisoned shortly after the coup, Letelier had been living in the U.S. capital since his release, where he worked with a liberal think tank, the Institute for Policy Studies, and remained an advocate for the return to democracy in Chile. Letelier had recently appeared on one television panel accusing the Chilean military "of instituting a reign of terror." He added that the coup had brought about "...widespread negative publicity for the U.S. government which resulted in further anti-Agency [CIA] propaganda' in the United States and abroad."<sup>391</sup>

Like Leighton, Letelier was an early target of the junta. "Letelier was the most typical victim—targeted as a dangerous democrat rather than a violent terrorist, a man who worked against Pinochet not in secret but in public corridors of power in the United States and Europe."<sup>392</sup> In July 1976, DINA operations chief Pedro Espinoza sought out Townley and the Chilean Armando Fernández Larios to plan the assassination. Townley was a member of the Chilean right-wing party Patria y Libertad, and had connections with extremist right-wing Cuban exiles in the U.S. One of Condor's top operators abroad, he was also involved in the assassination plots against Leighton, Prats, Altamirano, and others. Fernández Larios, also suspected of playing a role in Prats' murder, conducted surveillance of Letelier prior to the assassination. He had been trained by the CIA at the School of the Americas (class of 1970), and participated in the Caravan of Death. He was described by witnesses as "a particularly savage and sadistic torturer," and "a psychopath

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<sup>391</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 152.

<sup>392</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 15.

and the biggest murderer in Chile.” Both men reached out to several reactionary members of the Cuban exile community in south Florida to help carry out the attack.<sup>393</sup>

On September 21, 1976, Letelier and Moffitt were killed in a car bomb explosion in Sheridan Circle on Embassy Row. DINA and the CIA both alleged that leftist forces had committed the attack “to embarrass the Pinochet regime,” and denied the Chilean junta’s involvement.<sup>394</sup> The Letelier assassination also marks a turning point in the United States’ role in Condor, an issue to be discussed in the Epilogue.

Yet Condor’s “transnational arm” did not mean that leftists at home were spared. Several months after the attempt against Leighton, the Argentine military’s formal seizure of power gave it virtually unlimited powers in rooting out subversion at home as well. One of the first transnational attacks carried out by DINA in collaboration with one of Argentina’s top secret intelligence services, the 601 Intelligence Battalion, came against a group of leftist guerrillas who went underground in Buenos Aires after the Argentine coup. Santucho and Enríquez were two of their principal targets. Days after the coup, on March 29 Santucho held a secret meeting of his central committee and several exiled Chilean guerrilla sympathizers, including Enríquez. For two days, Enríquez and Santucho debated what actions the group should take following the coup. Santucho, like other militants, “saw the coup as an opportunity,” to seize power, but Enríquez advocated a “strategic retreat,” similar to the path taken by the MIR after the Chilean coup.<sup>395</sup>

As the group took a midday siesta, shooting broke out in the walled garden surrounding the house. Approximately a dozen military men attacked the compound, “apparently unaware that there was a superior guerrilla force inside.” ERP leaders “easily

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<sup>393</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 88 and 153-155.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>395</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 141.



held off the attackers,” allowing their comrades to leave. Santucho and Enríquez were the first to flee, Enríquez was forced to hide in an irrigation ditch for two days. Twelve guerrilla leaders, however, were killed in the shootout, including the ERP intelligence chief. “The guerrillas’ underground network was fatally compromised.” Although Enríquez escaped, he was seized on April 10 with a Brazilian woman, Regina Marcondes, when leaving another safe house. According to the Chilean truth commission, utilizing the new Condor telex system, Battalion Intelligence 601 had notified DINA of their capture and sent the prisoners to Chile, where they were interrogated, tortured, and then murdered.<sup>396</sup> Though Santucho had escaped, he, too, was killed alongside other top ERP leaders in a shootout in mid-July.

Raids on safe houses targeting guerrilla leadership, rather than individuals, were common in Chile and Argentina. Whereas exiled politicians Leighton, Prats, and Letelier, were well known, visible, and could be individually targeted, Condor’s use of force was as much strategic as it was symbolic.

The Malloco Raid, which took place in October 1974 on a vegetable farm several miles west of Santiago where Andrés Pascal Allende and other MIR leaders had been in hiding since the coup, was comparable to the ERP attack. On the night of October 15, a DINA squad attacked the farmhouse, resulting in a “fierce gun battle.” Dogoberto Pérez, the MIR military chief, was killed and Pascal and five other MIR leaders “retreated on foot through fields at the back.” To cover their escape, they set an arsenal in an outbuilding on fire, causing an enormous explosion that severely wounded the leaders. After remaining underground for several weeks, Pascal, his wife, and a North America priest rode a motorcycle to a hiding place in a monastery in the Santiago foothills; a few

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<sup>396</sup> Ibid., 141-142.

days later, they were smuggled into the Costa Rican embassy and granted asylum. The neutralization of their leadership, however, was “a near-mortal wound to MIR’s operations within Chile.”<sup>397</sup>

Although Operation Condor launched its most visible, public attacks against high-profile figures, well-known politicians and guerrilla leaders were by no means the only targets or victims of this multilateral partnership. In total, more than two hundred people were disappeared or killed by Condor. This includes 132 Uruguayans (127 assassinated in Argentina, three in Chile, and two in Peru) 119 Chileans, seventy-two Bolivians (thirty-six in Argentina and thirty-six in Chile) fifty-one Paraguayans (all in Argentina) sixteen Brazilians (nine in Argentina and seven in Chile) and at least twelve Argentines (in Brazil).<sup>398</sup> These numbers may appear relatively small for an operation that required an unprecedented degree of regional collaboration, money, and violence. But these figures also testify to Condor’s staggering success and impunity. Moreover, it is important to emphasize the palpable fear that these assassinations engendered within the exile community. Fear dissuades and disincentives action. I now examine how the military governments, with the aid of the media, trumpeted their operations, in ways expressly designed to inspire fear among at home and abroad.

### **Media Complicity**

Condor had three main purposes: to forestall the left’s ability to regroup in exile; to sow fear in the transnational exile community; and to frame the violence as a result of left wing subversion so that they could argue that they were “saving” their countries from

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<sup>397</sup> Ibid., 113-115.

<sup>398</sup> As cited in McSherry, “Tracking the Origins,” 39. Based on her archival work in the Paraguayan Archives of Terror, McSherry considers these figures “underestimates.”

terrorism.<sup>399</sup> As Stern perceptively notes, while “the myth of imminent war propagated since 1973 had been the anchor of legitimacy for dictatorial control backed by secret police in the mid-1970s,” several years later “it had moved to self-fulfilling prophecy.”<sup>400</sup> The media would play an instrumental role in “fulfilling” this message. Newspapers and journals sympathetic to the dictatorships presented a unified message, as they reprinted each other’s stories and propaganda.

Even though guerrilla leadership had been virtually annihilated in Argentina within months of the coup, the junta maintained that an iron fist was necessary to counter what remained “just beneath the surface.”<sup>401</sup> As the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* explained in reference to the Argentine military’s actions, “The disdain for human beings and the insolence with which the [Argentine] terrorists keep acting... show to what degree Chile would today be immersed in a bloodbath if the armed forces had not taken the direction of the country into their hands.”<sup>402</sup> In addition to providing an explanation for the growing death toll abroad, the “image of crazed terrorists—especially a cannibalistic Left capable of devouring its own to gain total power—provided a cover story.”<sup>403</sup> The most sensational of these fabricated stories was Operation Colombo or The Case of the 119.

By July 1975, 119 MIRistas had been disappeared, 115 of them named in habeas corpus petitions. On July 12, Chile’s three main newspapers, *La Tercera*, *La Segunda*,

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<sup>399</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 106-108.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>402</sup> *El Mercurio*, 25 July 1975, *passim*. Two other right-wing Chilean newspapers, *La Tercera*, 16 July 1975 and *La Segunda*, 24 July 1975, published similar condemnations of leftist violence in justification of the military’s repression.

<sup>403</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 108. Jakšić supports this argument of international pressure. Interview with author, 14 Jan. 2014.

and *El Mercurio*, all reported the discovery of two dead MIRistas, Luis Alberto Guendelman Wisniak and Jaime Eugenio Robotham Bravo, supposedly found in a car in Argentina. A message had been left next to their corpses: “Discharged by the MIR. Black Brigade.” The government also “discovered” information reporting that many Chilean leftists who it claimed had moved to Argentina for guerrilla training and “organized simulated detentions by supposed Chilean security personnel—a cruel cover story in which the leftists were allegedly shown to have deceived their own relatives.”<sup>404</sup> Over the following two weeks, the Chilean and Argentine media conspired to report similar cases of uncovered bodies with tags claiming leftist responsibility. Argentina’s newspaper *Lea* reported sixty Chilean extremists “killed by their own comrades in struggle.” A Brazilian newspaper, *Novo O Dia*, cited an additional fifty-nine intra-left deaths between July 24 and 25.<sup>405</sup> As Stern wryly describes, the MIRistas in these Operation Colombo cover stories presumably died “as a result of their own crazed mentality[:] intra-Left cannibalism killed off sixty; another fifty-nine died in shoot-outs with Argentine security forces.”<sup>406</sup> Fascinatingly, an addendum to the Valech Report that was excluded at publication questioned the authenticity of both *Lea* and *Novo O Dia*, noting that “both publications only circulated a single edition, did not come into existence before Operation Colombo,...and...were both financed by the Chilean state.”<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 106-8.

<sup>405</sup> “Identificados 60 Miristas asesinados: ejecutados por sus propios camaradas,” *El Mercurio* 23 July 1975; “Extremistas chilenos perecen en Argentina,” *El Mercurio* 31 Aug. 1975, 7; Almir H. de Lara (ed.), “Terroristas chilenos na interior da Argentina,” *Novo O Dia* 24-25 July 1975 (Curitiba, Brazil). All three articles were accessed in the MMDH: CEDOC Archive.

<sup>406</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 109.

<sup>407</sup> Tribunal de Ética y Disciplina del Consejo Metropolitano del Colegio de Periodistas, “Fallo definitivo desaparecidos en Operación Colombo, caso de los 119,” in *Informativos* (Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital, March 2006), 140, accessed 14 Jan. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.

Operation Colombo, as this two-week press cover-up came to be known, sought to defuse growing international human rights pressure against Pinochet and DINA by claiming that the violence was actually attributable to the Left. Years later, secret DINA files were found in the Buenos Aires office and the home of Arancibia Clavel, a DINA agent ultimately convicted of playing a major role in Prats' murder, which included lists of Colombo's 119 disappeared Chileans. The documents included a report discussing Colombo's orchestration proving that the 119 *desaparecidos* were actually the responsibility of DINA and the Triple A, who had collaborated to create false stories and fictitious identities for their victims.<sup>408</sup> The unpublished Valech addendum also cites the collaboration of Argentine and Brazilian intelligence services, "under the mark of Operation Condor."<sup>409</sup>

Colombo was not the only time that a slavish media played an instrumental role in manipulating public opinion. As Stern describes:

Killer ambushes against prominent Chileans on foreign soil were sensational events. Part of their purpose, no doubt, was to provoke fear. The junta made no effort to bury the news. The killing of Prats and...Cuthbert, for example, was front-page news with strong imagery. The most dramatic picture, on the front page of *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, presented the body and head of Prats, bloody and mutilated yet recognizable, in the foreground. Nearby, the mangled wreckage of the couple's car demonstrated the dramatic force of the bomb.<sup>410</sup>

Utilizing the media in this way was part and parcel of the Southern Cone militaries' shifting target and changing message during 1975-1976. As Robben elaborates, "The military were aware that this sweeping enemy definition implied a considerable adjustment of public opinion which still viewed war as the confrontation of

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<sup>408</sup> McSherry, *Predatory States*, 89.

<sup>409</sup> Tribunal de Ética, "Fallo definitivo," 140.

<sup>410</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 107.

armed combatants.”<sup>411</sup> In the following sections, I examine the effectiveness of the militaries’ campaign against the region’s guerrilla groups in 1975, and then analyze how Condor expanded to target not just militants following the coup, a strategy that would precipitate an exodus of political refugees out of Argentina.

### **A Decimated Militant Left**

By 1974 and 1975 the situation confronting leftist guerrilla movements was “stark” in Chile, Uruguay, and Bolivia. In Chile by 1975, PS and MIR leadership had been captured, executed, or forced into exile. The Chilean Communist Party faced the same fate the following year. Against all odds, the MIR continued their underground campaign against Pinochet, both from within Chile and in exile. Perhaps the most publicized example of this is Operación Retorno (Operation Return). As late as 1978, the MIR planned “to slip across the Argentine border to mount a military campaign more well prepared than adventure fantasies of the early MIR.”<sup>412</sup> Despite the major amount of planning and organization that went into launching Operation Return, DINA obtained intelligence about the attack, allegedly through a French Condor operative, and killed the militants.<sup>413</sup> Even though pockets of the MIR and other leftist groups continued to exist in Venezuela, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Colombia (the four remaining democratic states in late 1976), by 1975-1976, DINA had eliminated any possibility that the exiled left could launch a successful attack from outside of the country.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>411</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 186.

<sup>412</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 202.

<sup>413</sup> Marie-Monique Robin, “L’exportation de la Torture,” *L’Humanité* 30 (Aug. 2003).

<sup>414</sup> Wright and Oñate, “Chilean Political Exile” (2012), 152; and Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 92.

With the exception of the Bolivian ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army), the Uruguayan and Bolivian guerrilla movements fared even worse than the MIR. The Uruguayan Tupamaros “ceased to exist” in May 1974 after the Uruguayan police discovered their safe houses as they were preparing to launch an ambitious counteroffensive prison break and kidnappings. In Bolivia, the ELN had reorganized by late 1974 and expanded their membership to mining unions, peasant organizations, and other supporters of the recently assassinated former president Juan José Torres (whose death is often attributed to Condor). But President Hugo Banzer, fearing an “international threat,” after the uprising, began to seek out intelligence on “terrorist activity beyond Bolivia’s borders” and the ELN would have to act with greater caution.<sup>415</sup> The guerrillas who had resisted for years, forming underground and on-the-streets resistance movements, now sought exile in hundreds of countries around the world, and spent millions of dollars. Despite these exceptional cases of reorganization, Condor proved remarkably successful in paralyzing the militant left.

Through 1975, Argentine guerrilla groups had fared better than their regional counterparts and, in the face of increased paramilitary activity, their numbers had actually grown between 1973 and 1975.<sup>416</sup> The military and the guerrillas were growing simultaneously, but disproportionately, encouraging each other’s growth until the military seized power and those guerrillas who were not eliminated were driven abroad. The left’s incremental growth is the one exception to otherwise unqualified military success. It also gave the military a justification for repression. “In the international mood of the times...urban guerrilla warfare was embraced as the tit-for-tat killings with the

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<sup>415</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 84.

<sup>416</sup> Armony, “Producing and Exporting,” 315.

right-wing death squads increased at an eerie pace.”<sup>417</sup> As historian Greg Grandin extrapolates, “The more a state engages in surgical, almost microscopic surveillance of its citizens—which, one would think, would limit the amount of actual violence that is needed to maintain control—the more likely it is to perpetuate indiscriminate, scattershot mass terror.”<sup>418</sup> This is a description of the paradox of military-guerrilla relations in the Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996), a conflict even bloodier than Argentina’s Guerra Sucia, but it pertains to the latter as well. In both cases, violence is perpetrated by the right and the left, as each justifies its own use of brutality as a defensive and necessary response to the other’s.

Just as Pinochet inflated his domestic leftist threat to explain the military’s “counteroffensive,” the Argentine military also capitalized on the left’s growth to defend its use of repression. Through its surveillance of the MIR and its “own network abroad,” DINA’s November 1974 bulletin reported the presence of a 40,000-strong urban guerrilla force and 400,000 sympathizers in Argentina. Contreras supplied these numbers to the Argentine military, which later adopted these figures as their official estimates.<sup>419</sup> Without question these numbers were a gross exaggeration of leftist strength, but they intimate the militaries’ concern that indigenous guerrillas could swim in a sea of supportive exiles and civilians.

A more realistic estimate of guerrilla strength in late 1975 is roughly 5,000 active militants, primarily from working-class neighborhoods, factories, and universities. The PRT-ERP had connections in over 400 “of the most important,” factories in Buenos Aires

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<sup>417</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 87.

<sup>418</sup> Grandin, book jacket blurb, *Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in Guatemala*, by Kirsten Weld (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

<sup>419</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 55.



province, “had established a presence,” in Tucumán, Jujuy, and Santiago del Estero, was “one of the major forces” among Córdoba’s proletariat, and was organizing cells in Rosario’s metal and meat-packing industries and Patagonia’s oil sector. Moreover, it had successfully organized secondary and university students, peasants, white-collar workers, and teachers. Even given the militaries’ overinflated estimates, guerrilla organizations were not inconsiderable on the eve of the coup and admittedly the military had legitimate cause for concern.<sup>420</sup>

But the combination of the coup and Condor’s inception gave the military resources and latitude, which it had never had before. “When the generals took power in March 1976, the military threat from leftist guerrillas had been effectively broken, their operational capacity limited to random, if sometimes spectacular, acts of terrorism.... At no time [after the coup] did the insurgents pose a real threat to the state.”<sup>421</sup> The junta’s rise to power changed the guerrillas’ situation in several key respects. On the one hand, it forced groups underground or into exile, and diminished the possibility that the military would restore civilian rule in the near future or that there would be any leftist leaders remaining able to launch a successful insurgency. Indeed, by the end of 1976, more than 4,000 people had been disappeared into the military network of secret torture camps. Another 1,000 people were killed in military actions in which bodies were left behind and could not be identified.”<sup>422</sup>

The year following the coup saw “a rapid downfall” in numbers and activity. By mid-1976, the PRT-ERP “had been completely subdued.”<sup>423</sup> Not only was the ERP

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<sup>420</sup> Armony, “Producing and Exporting,” 316.

<sup>421</sup> Andersen, *Dossier Secreto*, 12.

<sup>422</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 205.

<sup>423</sup> Armony, “Producing and Exporting,” 316.

“eliminated as a guerrilla force,” but the “Montoneros were fleeing the country.”<sup>424</sup> By the end of the year, the Montoneros had lost 80 percent of their combatants and much of their leadership within the Southern Cone.<sup>425</sup> After Santucho’s capture in July 1976 and the assassination of several other key leftist leaders that summer, “Argentine guerrillas reemerged in other countries—either as political exiles or combatants.”<sup>426</sup>

ERP had “ceased to function” in the Southern Cone after mid-1977, but the Montoneros lasted until late 1979, albeit a shadow of their former selves. In December 1979, the Montoneros launched a last gasp “strategic counteroffensive” in Argentina that was easily crushed by the regime.<sup>427</sup> In response, the military “hunted down” and murdered over 500 of the guerrillas’ combatants, including their commander Horacio Mendizábal. As one scholar notes: “...[t]he dreadful toll taken on the faithful comrades back home had split the exile organization, leaving only a shell called the Movimiento Peronista Montonero.”<sup>428</sup>

Up until the coup, guerrilla combatants and leftist activists were Condor’s principal enemy. Since the guerrilla insurgency was by and large neutralized within the first year, the military turned its attention to ideologues and sympathizers. As General Adcel Vilas, the Bahía Blanca province army commander (one of the primary destinations for Chilean exiles in Argentina after September 1973, and the COMACHI headquarters), noted in August 1976: “The fight against subversion in subzone 51 [Bahía

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<sup>424</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 205.

<sup>425</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 159.

<sup>426</sup> Armony, “Producing and Exporting,” 316. For more on the Chilean exile experience in Europe, see, for example, Fernando Montupil I., ed., *Exilio, derechos humanos y democracia: el exilio Chileno en Europa* (Brussels and Santiago: Casa de América Latina and Servicios Gráficos Caupolicán, 1993); and Kay, *Chileans in Exile*.

<sup>427</sup> Andersen, *Dossier Secreto*, 287.

<sup>428</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 160-161.

Blanca] has been carried on until now against the visible head, the subversive delinquent, but not against the ideologue who generates, forms, and molds this new class of delinquents.”<sup>429</sup> General Domingo Bussi, one of Videla’s army officers, echoed this statement on a national level in late 1975: “On those ideologues who instruct and encourage delinquency...corrupting and encouraging corruption, justifying, facilitating, or favoring subversion in all aspects—on them, sooner or later, we will make the power of our arms and the force of our cause fault, regardless of how deeply they have burrowed.”<sup>430</sup>

Not surprisingly, this shift in targets precipitated changes within the exile community. The following section focuses on Argentina, where the largest number of transnational leftists remained, because it was the last country in the Southern Cone to establish military rule. But there is little doubt that what transpired there was comparable to what other exiles experienced throughout the continent.

### **In Search of Safe Haven, Again**

The fear felt by exiles upon learning of attacks on their top leaders, guerrillas, and countrymen across the world was palpable. As Dinges describes, “an entire generation of political exiles [was] forced to look over their shoulder wherever they were in the world.”<sup>431</sup> Individual testimonies reveal the profound impact that Condor activities had on the exile community—in South America and abroad. As Sanhueza describes:

During the six months that I was there [Argentina], the harassment of Chileans wasn’t very strong yet. At this time, the Chileans weren’t very important within

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<sup>429</sup> Robben, *Political Violence*, 186.

<sup>430</sup> Hernán López Echagüe, *El enigma del General Bussi* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1991), 189-190.

<sup>431</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 229.

the Argentine political panorama. After the [March 1976] coup, yes. They were killing the Uruguayans especially. I was greatly impacted by the death of some members of Congress who were exiled, who were murdered in cold blood by the Uruguayan military acting in Buenos Aires.<sup>432</sup>

The high-profile assassination sent an unmistakable message to the exile community. As Dinges describes, “Even more so than killing a leftist bogeyman like [Carlos] Altamirano, the death of a revered figure like Leighton would strike terror in the hearts of exiles everywhere and demonstrate not only DINA’s international power but its utter ruthlessness.”<sup>433</sup> For the exile community in the United States, the Letelier assassination evoked a similar response. Jakšić, who had just relocated to the U.S. capital, Letelier’s assassination was especially disquieting:

In the United States, the memories of repression continued to burden me while new anxieties were added. Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean ambassador to the United States, was assassinated in Washington barely a week after my arrival. The DINA acquired an almost mythical proportion in my eyes. Clearly, Chileans were not safe, even in the United States.<sup>434</sup>

If high-profile assassinations did not send enough of a message, direct targeting of everyday activists and ideologues did. In early April 1976, for example, a squad of Chilean, Uruguayan, and Argentine security forces raided a Buenos Aires church office where UNHCR officials kept paperwork documenting the Chilean, Argentine, and Uruguayan exile community, and “carted off UNHCR records stored there.” Two days later, twenty-four Chilean and Uruguayan refugees, whose addresses were in the stolen files, “were arrested, tortured, and interrogated by officers from their own countries.”<sup>435</sup>

Between July and October 1976, Condor’s harassment of foreign leftist groups in Argentina “reached its greatest intensity.” The interrogation, detention, disappearance,

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<sup>432</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 67.

<sup>433</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 131.

<sup>434</sup> Jakšić, “In Search of Safe Haven,” 25.

<sup>435</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 143-144.

and murder of civilian non-combatants significantly increased with the widespread use of tactics previously reserved for suspected militants.

Indeed, no one—regardless of nationality, location, or age—could be sure of his or her safety. When the junta came to power, Carla Rutila Artés, “one of the littlest victims of the ‘dirty war’,” was living with her mother, the Argentine Graciela Rutila Artés, in Oruro, Bolivia. Her father, the Uruguayan Enrique Lucas López, was a member of the Bolivian MIR. One week after the coup the Argentine military raided Rutila’s home in Oruro, “wrenching the nine-month-old Carla from her crib.” Carla’s mother was “beaten mercilessly and forced to watch as the invaders held the infant, stripped naked, by the heels and whipped her.” Rutila was then sent to La Paz, where she was interrogated and tortured by the Bolivian Departamento de Orden Político: she was subjected to electric torture, beaten with clubs and whips, burned with cigarettes, and “nearly drowned in soapy water.” In July, the Argentine Federal Police came to La Paz to bring Rutila back to Argentina. Although Carla had been placed in an orphanage in April, she was reunited with her mother in August in Buenos Aires, only to be orphaned for a second time when Rutila was killed several months later. Within weeks of his wife’s death, Lucas López was arrested in Cochabamba, Bolivia and “tortured to death” alongside the secretary of the populist Bolivian president Juan José Torres. Like hundreds of other children, Carla was placed in the hands of Eduardo Ruffo, the second-in-command to SIDE (Secretaria de Informaciones del Estado—Ministry of State Information) chief Otto Paladino. Carla was given a “phony birth certificate and a new

identity, that of Gina Amanda Ruffo,” in October 1977. “[O]fficially, Carla... did not exist for eight years.”<sup>436</sup>

Three months after the coup, SIDE converted a battered automobile repair shop, Automotores Orletti, into its headquarters and one of an estimated 300 detention centers in the country. Of the hundreds of prisoners who passed through Orletti, it was infamous because only “a handful” walked out alive. One of these rare survivors, José Luis Bertazzo, “a nineteen-year-old bank clerk who by all accounts had no connections with guerrilla activity,” spent almost two months in detention after being arrested on August 23, 1976. Suggestive of the almost indiscriminate way in which the militaries regarded leftists independent of nationality or militancy, Bertazzo was put in the same room as two of the MIR’s leaders, Patricio Biedma and another he knew only as “Mauro,” and treated to the same type of interrogation and torture as they.<sup>437</sup>

Bertazzo testified that he was able to identify Chileans, Uruguayans, Paraguayans, and Bolivians among the prisoners. These exiles told him, “they were being interrogated by security officers from their own countries.” In fact, the number of foreign military operators in Argentina significantly increased around the time of the coup. In March 1976, a team of Uruguayan SID (Servicio de Información y Defensa—Information and Defense Service) officials also “began operating in Argentina [and]...resulted in the largest group of disappearances carried out by Operation Condor. Indeed, more Uruguayans disappeared and were assassinated in Argentina—135—than in Uruguay itself as a result of security police operations.” The vast majority were not MLN-T

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<sup>436</sup> Andersen, *Dossier Secreto*, 225-226. In the same month as Carla was issued her new identity, a small group of women seeking the children of their own missing children formed the Las Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo (Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo), an influential advocacy group that remains in existence to this day.

<sup>437</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 206-210.

guerrillas, but political refugees driven into exile after the Uruguayan military seized power.<sup>438</sup>

Gerardo Gatti Acuña, a Uruguayan labor leader, was one of those who did not survive his detention in Orletti. A founder of Uruguay's largest labor group, the leftist Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (National Workers Confederation—CNT), Gatti Acuña went into exile in Argentina after “a valiant but unsuccessful,” CNT-led effort to “paralyze the country with a general strike.” In Argentina, Gatti Acuña helped to organize the underground Resistencia Obrero-Estudiantil (Worker-Student Resistance—ROE). Between May and October 1976, “at least sixty” ROE affiliates were seized and detained in Buenos Aires, including Gatti who was arrested on June 8. Five days later, unidentified Uruguayan army personnel broke into the Buenos Aires apartment of Washington Pérez, an Uruguayan union leader. He was taken to “an unidentified building, where it was explained that his captors wanted him to serve as a contact between them and the ROE.” The Uruguayan soldiers brought Pérez into a room “where Gatti lay in agony on a bed. He had been so badly tortured with electric shock around the eyes that he was nearly blind.” The Uruguayan kidnappers demanded that Pérez contact the Uruguayan resistance group and offer them Gatti and nine other ROE activists in exchange for \$2 million. “The money, they suggested, could be obtained from various human rights groups and Uruguay ‘solidarity’ committees in Europe.” Pérez was kidnapped five times alone during the negotiations. After finding that the ROE could not meet the ransom, he fled to Sweden. Gatti remains a *desaparecido*.<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>438</sup> Ibid., 210-211.

<sup>439</sup> Andersen, *Dossier Secreto*, 230-231.

When Argentina became too unsafe, many leftists, like Pérez, were forced to seek exile elsewhere. For some, it was their first experience seeking safe haven abroad, but for many, this was their second, third, or even fourth attempt at finding safety.

Although the exile exodus from Argentina first began after Perón's death, "the flow of exiles significantly widened" after the coup.<sup>440</sup> As a result of the heightened repression, "the number of those who went into exile increased notoriously...greatly add[ing] to the Argentinean diaspora both in Latin America and on other continents, particularly in Europe."<sup>441</sup> Contrary to earlier refugee diasporas, which were "composed of small groups of persecuted individuals," the increased political violence that began in 1974 "dramatically transformed this trend by causing thousands of people to flee abroad." Although the military allegedly targeted only subversives, this later diaspora included "friends and relatives of the detained or 'disappeared' people; activists opposing the government; leftist intellectuals; teachers and university students professionals in the social sciences; journalists; and people connected to the world of culture and the arts."<sup>442</sup> As Armony surmises, "From 1977 on, Argentine paramilitary groups stalked, kidnapped, and assassinated Argentine political refugees throughout Latin America and Europe." Indeed, the Argentine military sent "hit teams," to "track down exiled dissidents" in Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium, among others.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Yankelevich, "Exiles and the Argentine Diaspora: Issues and Problems," in *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion in the Americas*, 198-216, especially 199.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.; Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 205; and Noé Jitrik, *Las armas y las razones: ensayos sobre el Peronismo, el exilio y la literatura* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1984).

<sup>442</sup> Yankelevich, "Exiles and the Argentine Diaspora," 199-200.

<sup>443</sup> Armony, *Argentina*, 28-29.



Argentine nationals were not the only ones targeted by the new regime. As Roniger and Sznajder explain, “Equally, if not more, vulnerable was the situation of Latin American refugees who had settled in Argentina and were left without legal protection and could fall prey to repression.”<sup>444</sup> One report estimated that there were approximately 100,000 Latin Americans living in Argentina in 1976; only 300 of these had been granted formal refugee asylum and another 1,100 had been accepted as “*de facto* refugees” by the UNHCR. After the coup, the UNHCR moved 5,500 of these refugees out of Argentina.<sup>445</sup> As Yankelevich notes, it is challenging, if not impossible, to quantify with certainty the size of this migration due to the large number of people who fled illegally as formal exit strategies became more dangerous.<sup>446</sup>

In addition, hundreds of thousands of Argentines fled their homeland. Yankelevich estimates that between 300,000 and 500,000 left for political, economic, or personal reasons between 1960 and 1980.<sup>447</sup> According to a 2003 report, 334,126 Argentineans left the country between 1975 and 1984 alone—a staggering figure which “represents about half of all nationals [world-wide] who emigrated between 1950 and 2000.”<sup>448</sup> Arriving at more precise data is hampered by foreign embassies’ traditionally unreliable documentation of individuals’ nationality during this period of hasty migrations. For instance, the Argentine embassy’s immigration records of Chile-to-Argentina movement from September 1973 to 1975 reveal that the documentation of

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<sup>444</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 209.

<sup>445</sup> Iain Guest, *Behind the Disappearances: Argentina’s Dirty War Against Human Rights and the United Nations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), especially 63-64 and 464.

<sup>446</sup> For an excellent study of the Argentine diaspora in South America, North America, and Europe during the 1970s, see Yankelevich, “Exiles and the Argentine Diaspora.”

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.*; and Alfredo Lattes, Pablo Comelatto, and Cecilia Levit, “Migración internacional y dinámica demográfica en la Argentina durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX,” *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 17, no. 50 (2003): 69-109.

citizenship was rather arbitrary: while some officers were diligent in accurately recording an exile's nationality, others simply wrote down their most recent country of residency or travel. In addition, many exiles lacked official identification cards so they had the prerogative to choose their own nationality for the purpose of embassy records. The result was that various immigration lists composed by different officers in the same file would identify an individual as "Chilean" in one list, "Uruguayan" in a second, and "Argentine" in a third.<sup>449</sup>

Although some of the region's military regimes agreed to take in refugees, for compelling reasons this was not an attractive alternative: "These [right-wing] regimes actively discouraged Chileans from settling or, if they tolerated exiles, closely watched them and restricted their political activities."<sup>450</sup> In Europe and North America in the late 1970s and 1980s, "natural political affinities," influenced the migratory flows: the USSR and its Eastern European supporters "felt a special obligation toward members of the Communist Party, as did the government of Cuba." The same governments also welcomed Chilean Socialists and MIRistas. The Socialist Party and Unidad Popular both established new headquarters in Berlin, while the Chilean Communist Party settled in Moscow and the MIR relocated to Paris and Havana. Christian Democrats tended to migrate to nations "where their coreligionists were powerful," including West Germany, Venezuela, and Italy (where Leighton resettled).<sup>451</sup>

Indeed, some leftist leaders pragmatically elected to go into exile after the Argentine coup in order to gain international support for their plight. In March 1976, for example, Santucho urged his guerrilla organization's artists, writers, and union activists

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<sup>449</sup> See Archivos del SIPBA and Archivos de la Embajada Argentina.

<sup>450</sup> Wright and Oñate, *Flight from Chile*, 92.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-94.

“...to go into exile,” where they would “carry out a laudable task of organizing protests against human rights violations and propagandizing the Argentine people’s struggle.”<sup>452</sup> Montonero exiles, among them the celebrated poet Juan Gelman, “used their literary connections in Europe” with such prominent exile writers as Julio Cortázar “to mobilize opinion against the *proceso* [Argentine junta].”<sup>453</sup> Activists from across the world organized solidarity concerts, events, and rallies in support of the Chilean people, condemning the junta. Indeed, today in Santiago, Chile a museum exists to exhibit the 2,650 pieces of art donated to Chile by artists from across the world.<sup>454</sup> Many of the 500 paintings, drawings, video recordings, sculptures, tapestries, and photographs donated between 1971 and 1973 laud Allende, while those donated after the coup condemn Pinochet and military repression, or portray the socialist president as a martyr.<sup>455</sup> The generosity of the international art community in this regard speaks to the profound level of external awareness of the dictatorship attributable in part to the formidable presence and solidarity work of the Chilean exile community. Santiago’s Museo de la Memoria houses an equally impressive digital collection of hundreds of posters, stickers, and fliers from Denmark, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Paris, Madrid, Barcelona, Milan, Germany, Norway, Iraq, Cuba, the United States, Canada, Panama, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and elsewhere.<sup>456</sup> As Figures 3:1-3:22 illustrate, visually arresting, polemical

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<sup>452</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 188.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

<sup>454</sup> See MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/gsd/cgi-bin/library.cgi?l=es>.

<sup>455</sup> The Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende was opened 1971-1973, and reopened in September 1991. The art work it houses, now on public display (symbolically placed) in the former headquarters of DINA, was hidden for safekeeping in the basement of a liberal Santiago university during the dictatorship. See <http://www.mssa.cl>.

<sup>456</sup> See MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/gsd/cgi-bin/library.cgi?l=es>.

poster art from Latin American, European, Middle Eastern and North American solidarity committees drew global attention to the repression.



Figure 3:1  
Symposium in Solidarity with Chilean Exiles and Their “Right to Return,”  
Concert hall in Amsterdam. Netherlands, 1986<sup>457</sup>

<sup>457</sup> Comisión Pro-Retorno Holanda (Holland’s Commission for Return), “Simposio internacional sobre el retorno de los exiliados chilenos,” *Iconografía* (Originally printed in Amsterdam, 21 Nov. 1986; republished in Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 11 Jan. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:2  
Solidarity with the People Under Dictatorship in South America  
Denmark<sup>458</sup>

<sup>458</sup> Comité de Solidaridad Salvador Allende de Dinamarca (Salvador Allende Solidarity Committee of Denmark), "Solidaridad con los países en dictaduras de América Latina," Iconografía. (Originally printed in Denmark; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:3  
Unity and Struggle for Democracy in Chile  
Denmark<sup>459</sup>

<sup>459</sup> Comité Salvador Allende—Dinamarca (Salvador Allende Committee—Denmark), “Unidad y lucha por la democracia,” *Iconografía* (Originally printed in Denmark; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:4  
The Right to Live in My Country  
Amsterdam, 1980s<sup>460</sup>

<sup>460</sup> Comité Pro-Retorno de Exiliados (Committee for Exiles' Right to Return), "El derecho de vivir en mi tierra," Iconografía (Originally printed in Amsterdam, 1980s; republished in Santiago, Chile: MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 11 Jan. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:5  
International Youth *Encuentro* in Support of Chile  
Milan, 1977<sup>461</sup>

<sup>461</sup> Brigada Muralista Salvador Allende—Milán (Salvador Allende Muralist Brigade—Milan), “Encuentro por Chile,” *Iconografía*. (Originally printed in Milan, 1977; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.





Figure 3:6  
Freedom for Luis Corvalán and the Other Political Prisoners in Chile  
United States<sup>462</sup>

<sup>462</sup> Communist Party U.S.A., "Free Luis Corvalán—Libertad a Luis Corvalán," Iconografía. (Originally printed in Washington, D.C.; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Nacional), accessed 10 Jan. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:7  
Drawing of a Fist Raised in the Style of the *Muralista* Brigades  
Copenhagen<sup>463</sup>

<sup>463</sup> Comité Salvador Allende de Solidaridad con Chile de Copenhague (Copenhagen's Salvador Allende Committee of Solidarity with Chile), "Dibujo de un puño levantado al estilo de las brigadas muralistas," Iconografía (Originally printed in Copenhagen; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:8  
A French University Campaign in Solidarity with the Chilean Cause  
France<sup>464</sup>

<sup>464</sup> Université Populaire du Cercle Laïque (Popular University of Cercle Laïque), “Chile, La Solidaridad–Testimonio,” *Iconografía* (Originally printed in France; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Nacional), accessed 30 Mar. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:9  
Meeting of Italian and Chilean Children  
Italy, 1976<sup>465</sup>

<sup>465</sup> Díaz Caro Víctor, "Incontri Bambini Italiani-Cileni," *Iconografia* (Originally printed in Italy, 1976; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Nacional), accessed 30 Mar. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



Figure 3:10  
 Solidarity Concert in Norway in Support of Chile  
 Norway, 1988<sup>466</sup>

<sup>466</sup> Embajada de Noruega (Norwegian Embassy), "Concierto Solidario," Iconografía. (Originally printed in Norway, 9 Sept. 1988; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 30 Mar. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.

# Soirée de solidarité

*À l'initiative des Organisations Clichôises :*  
UL, CGT, SNI, SNES, PCF, PS, UJCF, UJFE, JS  
et la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme

le combat de la résistance chilienne  
est le nôtre



**Jeudi 17 Janvier 1974 à 20 h. 30**

**THEATRE RUTEBEUF**

*16, allées Léon-Gambetta - CLICHY*

avec

- ♦ KILAPAYUN, Groupe musical et vocal Chilien
- ♦ Le Théâtre de l'Île-de-France

Participation aux frais 6 F

Figure 3:11

Night of Solidarity: Théâtre Rutebeuf Presents an Act of Solidarity with Chile and the Chilean Musical Group Quilapayún  
Clichy, France, 1974<sup>467</sup>

<sup>467</sup> Théâtre Rutebeuf and la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, "Soirée de Solidarité (Night of Solidarity)," (Originally printed in France, 1974; republished by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 23 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.

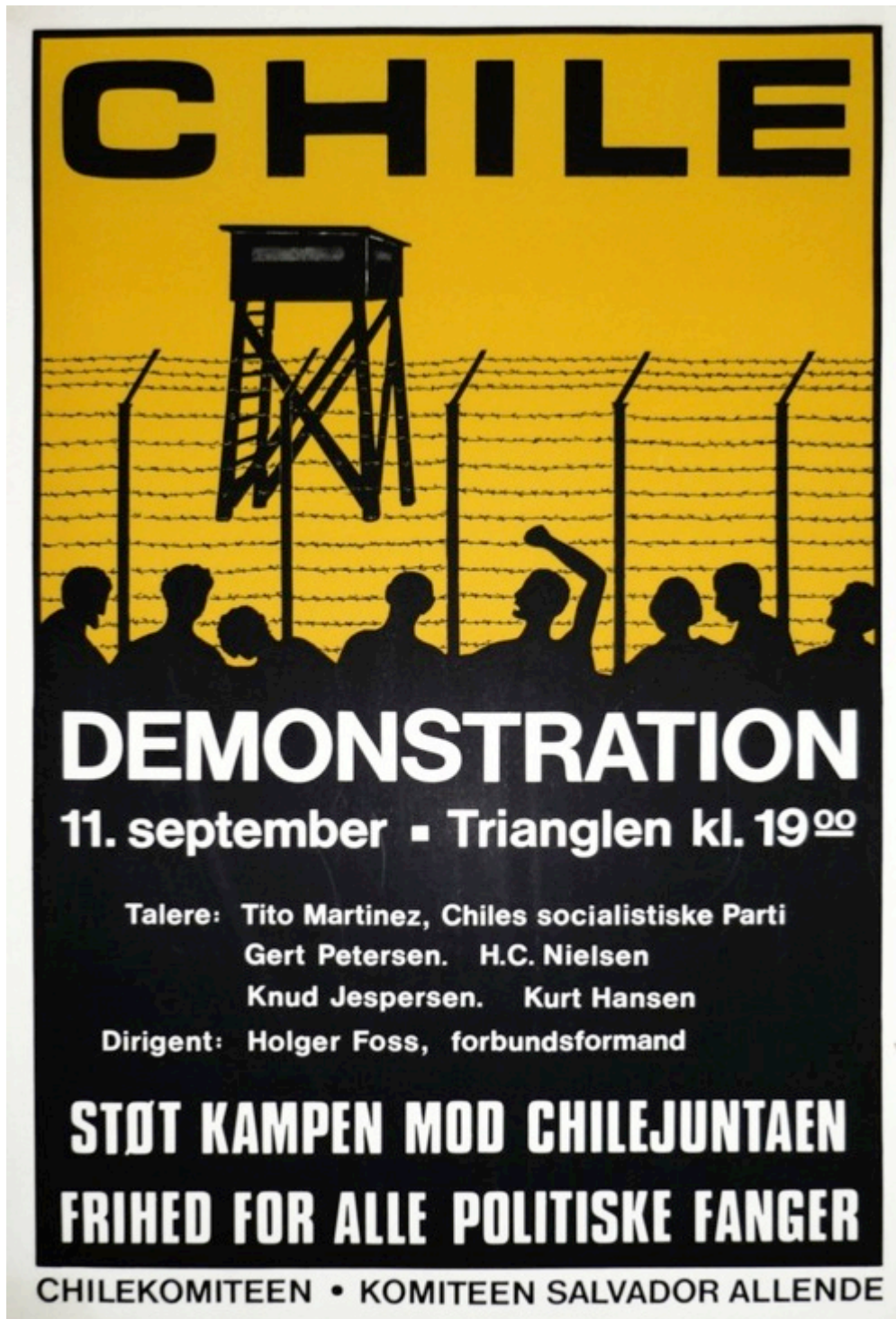
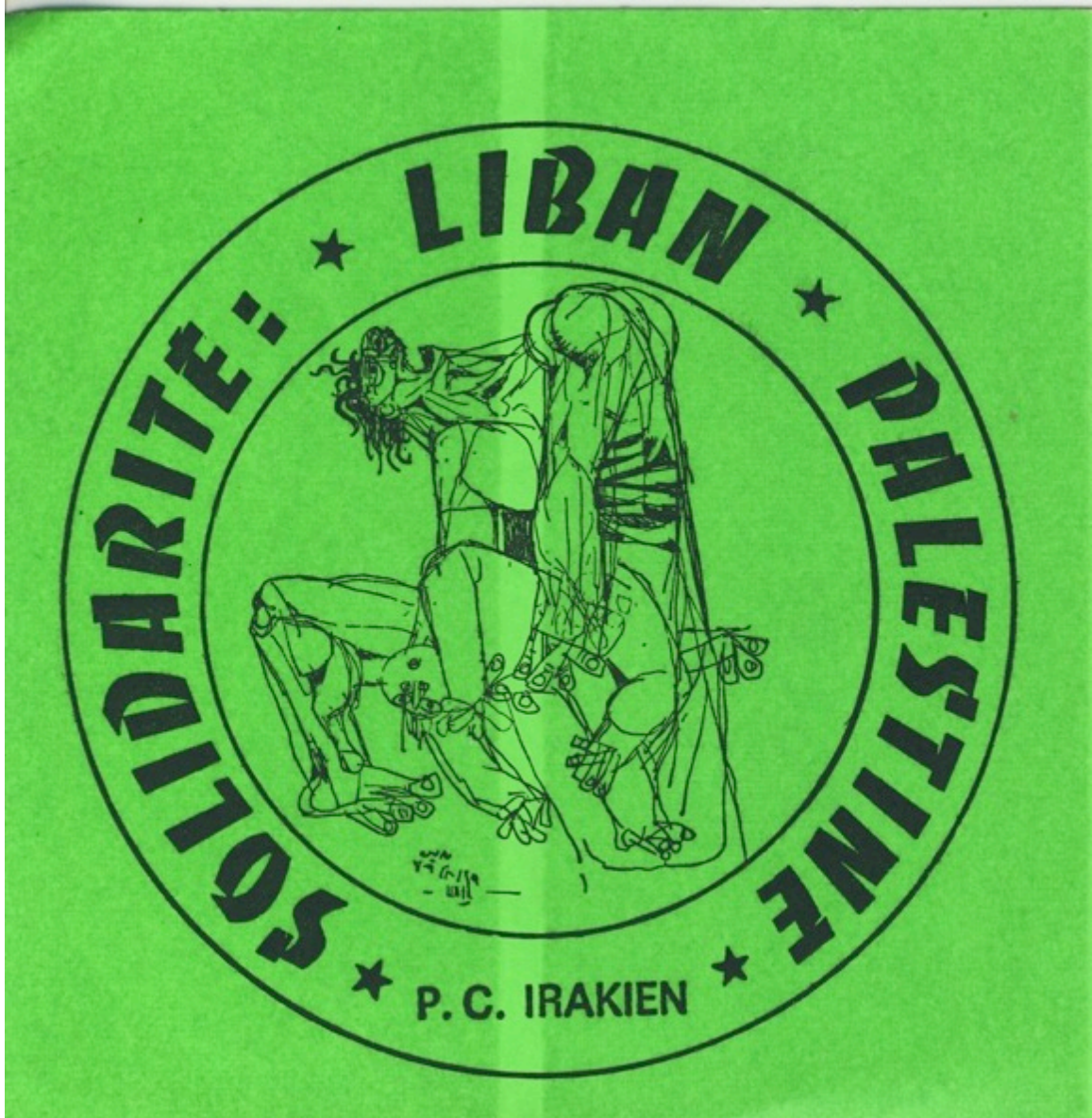


Figure 3:12  
Drawing of a Chilean Concentration Camp



Copenhagen<sup>468</sup>

Figure 3:13

Iraqi Communist Party Campaign in Solidarity with the Chilean “Right to Return”  
Iraq<sup>469</sup>

<sup>468</sup> Comité Salvador Allende de Solidaridad con Chile de Copenhague, “Dibujo de un campo de concentración,” Iconografía (Originally printed in Copenhagen; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.

<sup>469</sup> Partido Comunista Iraquí (Iraqi Communist Party), “Solidaridad: Líbano, Palestina,” Iconografía (Originally printed in Palestine, republished by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Nacional), accessed 10 Jan. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.



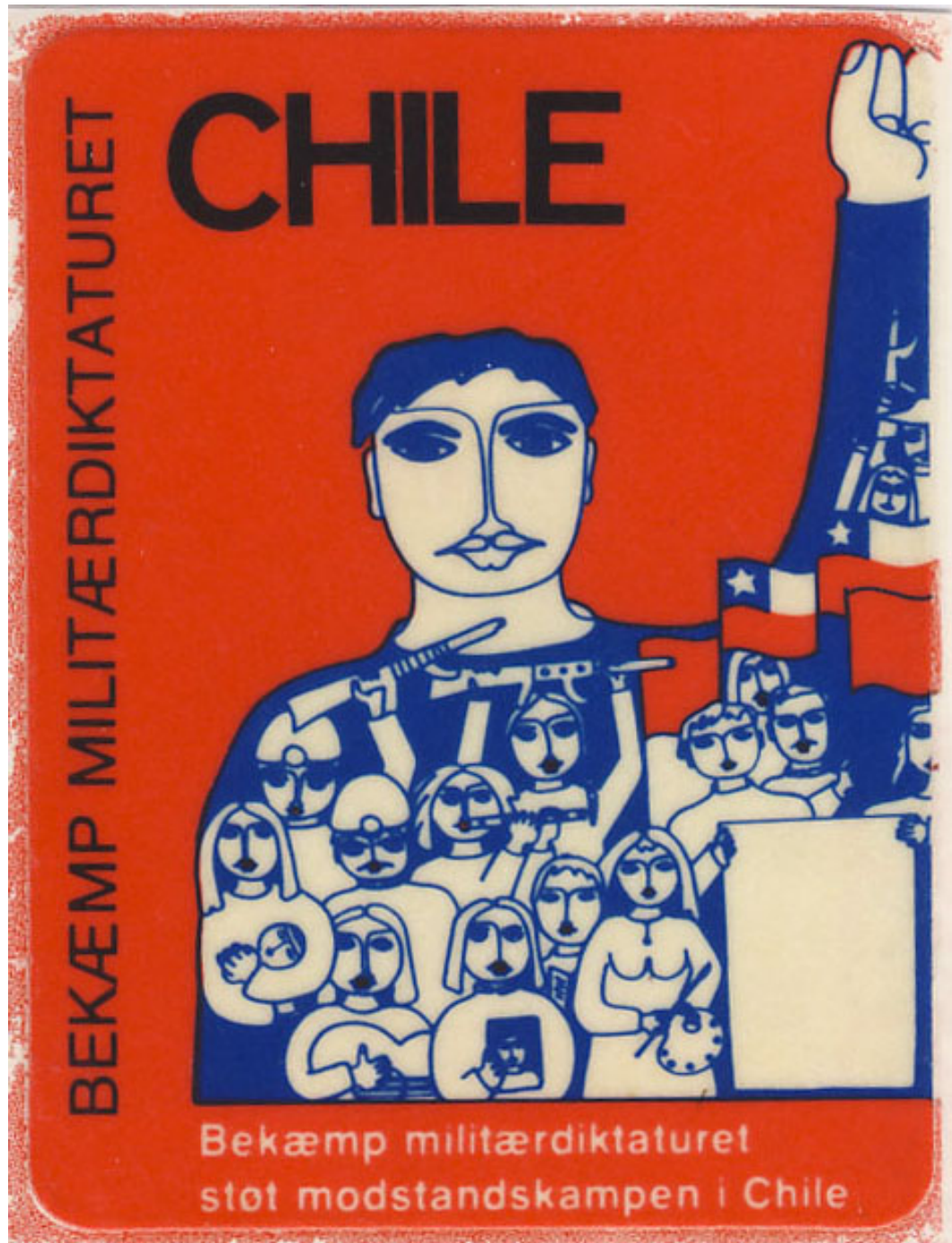


Figure 3:14

Fight Against the Military Dictatorship and Support the Chilean Resistance Movement  
Denmark<sup>470</sup>

<sup>470</sup> Embajada de Dinamarca (Danish Embassy), "Autoadhesivo. Lucha contra la dictadura militar y apoyo a la resistencia en Chile," Autoadhesiva (sticker) (Originally printed in Denmark; republished by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital, accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>).

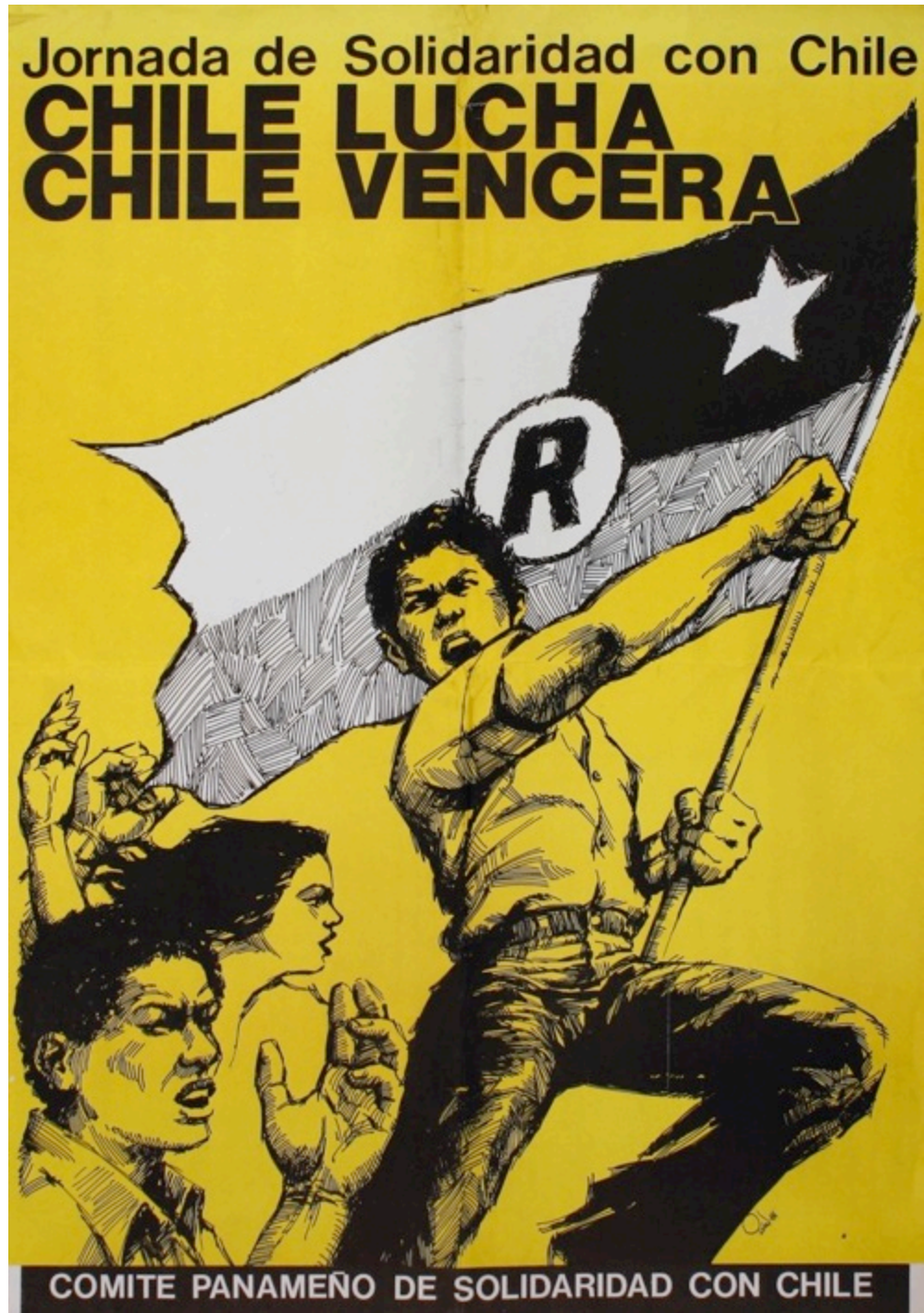


Figure 3:15  
Panamanian Committee in Solidarity with Chile  
Panama, 1981<sup>471</sup>

<sup>471</sup> Comité Panameño de Solidaridad con Chile (Panamanian Committee of Solidarity with Chile), “Jornada de solidaridad con Chile,” *Iconografía* (Originally printed in Panama, 1981; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital and Fundación de Documentación y Archivo de la Vicaría



Figure 3:16  
Activity in Solidarity with Chile at the Centre Georges Pompidou  
France, 1983<sup>472</sup>

de la Solidaridad), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.

<sup>472</sup> Association d'action solidaire—Centre Georges Pompidou (Organization of Solidarity Action—Georges Pompidou Center), “Actividad de solidaridad con Chile realizada en el Centre Georges Pompidou,” *Iconografía* (Originally printed in Paris, 1983; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Nacional), accessed 20 Apr. 2014,



Figure 3:17  
International Isolation of the Chilean Junta: Repression Provoked by the Junta Militar  
Denmark<sup>473</sup>

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<http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>

<sup>473</sup> Comité de Solidaridad Salvador Allende de Dinamarca, "Aislamiento internacional de la Junta," Iconografía (Originally printed in Denmark; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Nacional), accessed 20 Apr. 2014, <http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/>.

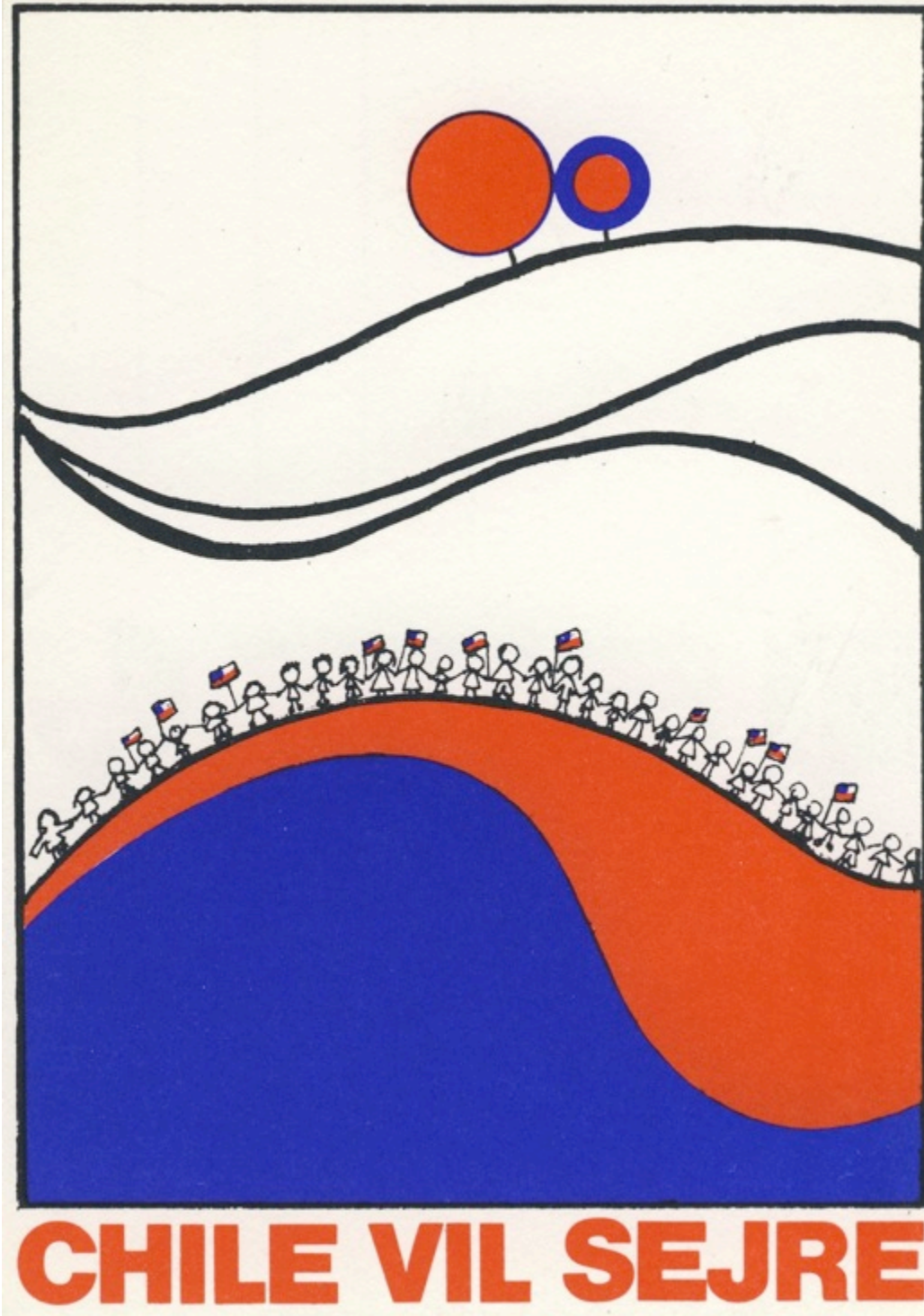


Figure 3:18

Chile will Prevail: Drawing of People Holding Hands with the Chilean Flag  
Denmark, 1972<sup>474</sup>

<sup>474</sup> Embajada de Dinamarca, "Chile will overcome," Postcard, (Originally printed in Denmark, 1972; reprinted by MMDH: CEDOC Biblioteca Digital), accessed 23 Apr. 2014, [www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/](http://www.bibliotecamuseodelamemoria.cl/).

Work donated to the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA):



Figure 3:19  
Untitled  
Spain, 1971<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> Equipo crónica, “Sin título,” oil on canvas, 201 x 201 cm (Originally printed in Spain, 1971; reprinted in Chile: MSSA), accessed 21 Apr. 2014, [www.mssa.cl](http://www.mssa.cl).



Figure 3:20  
Un Petit Avatar  
France, 1973<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> Iván Messac, “Un petit avatar,” acrylic on canvas, 147 x 114 cm (Originally published in France, 1973; reprinted in Chile: MSSA), accessed 21 Apr. 2014, [www.mssa.cl](http://www.mssa.cl).



Figure 3:21  
Operation Return  
Spain, 1970<sup>477</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> José Guinovart, “Operación Retorno (Operation Return),” painted wood relief, 220 x 185 cm, (Originally printed in Spain; reprinted in Chile: MSSA, 1970), accessed 21 Apr. 2014, [www.mssa.cl](http://www.mssa.cl).



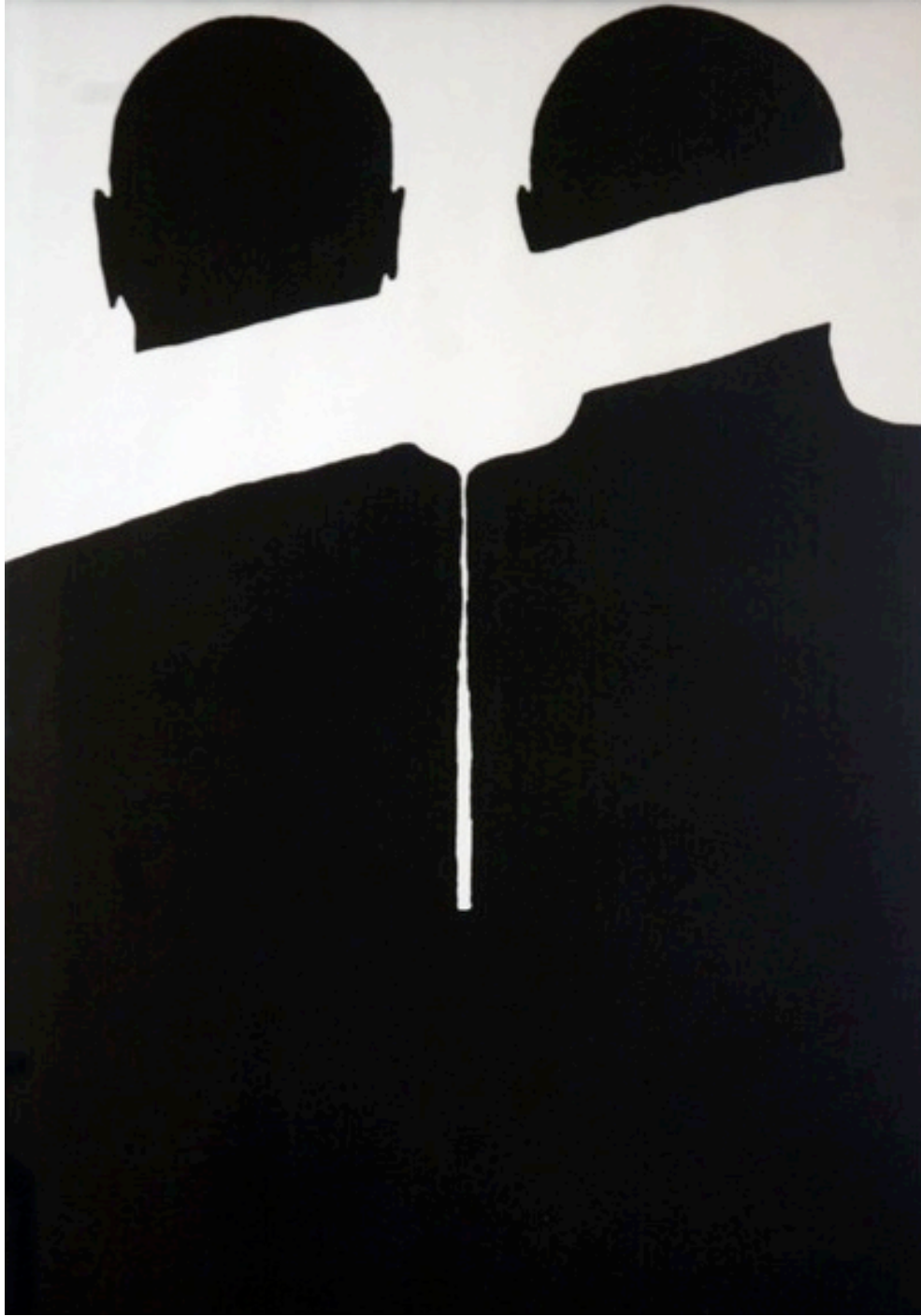


Figure 3:22  
The Constant Threat  
Chile, 1973<sup>478</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Eduardo Vilches, “La constante amenaza (The Constant Threat),” silkscreen, 109.7 x 75.3 cm (Chile: MSSA, 1973), accessed 21 Apr. 2014, [www.mssa.cl](http://www.mssa.cl).

These prints and posters capture two significant features of the South American diaspora: first, the Chilean left's relocation abroad brought their plight to an international audience. At the same time as Southern Cone militaries were banding together under Condor, so, too, were leftist refugees forging a new transnational support network. Second, this leftist reformation (and expansion) had significant ramifications for their compatriots left behind in the Southern Cone. As a result of international criticism of the Chilean dictatorship, the Argentine generals placed special emphasis on subversive support networks precisely "to avoid the international protests and pressures that Pinochet's government had faced after the coup in Chile." To this end, the Argentine junta conducted the Dirty War "through small, local operations," and a "decentralized apparatus."<sup>479</sup> Although Videla sought to assure "both domestic and foreign opinion of his government's good intentions," the junta also received international condemnation, though to a lesser degree than Pinochet.

Indeed, although Argentine exiles initially found that Europeans "applauded the military for throwing out the 'fascist' Peronists," by late June 1976, *Le Monde* issued a manifesto, signed by many of Europe's "most prominent Social Democrats," denouncing the junta's repression. Soon after, the UN passed a resolution condemning Argentina for violating international refugee laws. Across Europe but especially in Paris, "hundreds of protesters...constantly surrounded," the Argentine embassy, and there were "frequent" public petitions from French intellectuals demanding the release of Argentine leftists from prison.<sup>480</sup> The 1985 film "Tangos, l'exil de Gardel," by a noted Argentine leftist filmmaker Fernando Solanas, emphasizes the thousand-strong protests that took place in

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<sup>479</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 133.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

the streets of Paris in solidarity with the Argentine exile community during the Dirty War.<sup>481</sup> Examples like this remind us that exiles were not just passive victims; many remained active abroad and were successful in enlisting international support for their cause. I would argue that this groundswell of opposition contributed to putting the militaries on the defensive. Whether this had a significant impact on the repression itself is difficult to discern, because by 1977 the left had been effectively eliminated as a threat in Chile and it was a shell of its former self in Argentina. Indeed, “escalating international criticism for [the Argentina junta’s] human rights record,” was one of “many factors [that] weakened military rule.”<sup>482</sup>

But as these testimonies make clear, the nature of exile profoundly changed during this period, especially after the Argentine “military” domino had fallen. As noted, both the right and the left had long embraced the “right” of political asylum. Although the safety that exile could realistically provide for refugees waned after Allende’s overthrow, it was a dead letter after the Argentine coup. To be sure, individuals continued to make use of exile because they had few other realistic options. But they did so with few illusions.

## Conclusions

The period after the Chilean coup and Perón’s death was characterized by the consolidation of political power by Southern Cone military regimes. Even before Operation Condor became a reality, these militaries operated with impunity in targeting

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<sup>481</sup> Fernando Solanas, dir., “Tangos, l'exil de Gardel” (New York: New Yorker Video, 1985), Film.

<sup>482</sup> Susana Kaiser, *Postmemories of Terror: A New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the "Dirty War"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 5.

leftists within their borders and abroad. Through their collaborative efforts, military dictatorships had the ability to eliminate the left's leadership in exile and instill fear in the exile community as a whole. Their actions ultimately demonstrated the end to the sanctity of exile and precipitated a further wave of migrations as asylees, especially in Argentina, recognized their vulnerability and sought refuge elsewhere. In sum, Operation Condor profoundly altered civilian-military and Chilean-Argentine relations and shattered the illusion of a safe haven in exile.

But Condor also bears several noteworthy similarities to the period before November 1975, an issue that will be addressed in greater detail in the conclusions. As the assassinations of Prats (September 1974), Leighton (October 1975), and Letelier (September 1976), the Malloco Raid (October 1974), and the Buenos Aires safe house invasion that killed Enríquez and Santucho (March 1976) demonstrate, pre- and post-Condor operations are comparable in location target, methods and audacity. Militaries were not averse to operating abroad well before November 1975.

Even though the left was defeated in the dirty wars of the 1970s, they were never passive victims. Though they never had the firepower, organization, and technical and logistical support which Southern Cone militaries could boast, leftist guerrillas, especially in Argentina, continued to commit kidnappings, bombings, and assassinations, while a displaced transnational exile community consistently reconstituted itself, forging ties with human rights organizations and leftist groups in their new homes.

Indeed, I would argue that a multifaceted "transnationality" came to define civilian-military, paramilitary-military, and left-right relations during this era. Most accounts of Condor focus exclusively on right-wing cross-border collaboration; however,

guerrillas and their sympathizers also made use of international support networks. The ripple effects of the Prats' killings or the Leighton assassination attempt on the South American and European exile communities were profound. Conversely, the little-recognized impact of exile solidarity movements internationally on Southern Cone militaries demonstrates how committed leftist militants were despite being uprooted time and again.

Condor, a right-wing transnational organization, cannot be studied in isolation. It must be understood alongside its leftist transnational counterpart. Each repeatedly influenced and fueled responses from the other.

## Epilogue and Conclusions

The Letelier bombing in Sheridan Circle prompted a media firestorm. One report called it “the most egregious act of foreign-inspired terrorism ever committed in the U.S. capital.”<sup>483</sup> As the press pointed fingers at Pinochet and DINA, relations between the United States and Condor signatories worsened, in part because several months prior DINA had targeted U.S. Representative Ed Koch.<sup>484</sup> It was one thing to murder a Chilean diplomat; it was another to assassinate a congressman. International criticism forced Condor leaders to abort assassination schemes already underway in Paris, Lisbon, London, and Madrid.<sup>485</sup> Although Southern Cone governments continued to share intelligence for several more years, by the end of 1976, Condor’s operations outside of Latin America “were dismantled entirely.”<sup>486</sup> As Dinges notes, the audacity of the crime “was aggravated by the fact that it was organized and carried out not by an enemy of the United States but by a government that was a firm ally, and by a security force trained and with intimate ties to the U.S. military and to the CIA.”<sup>487</sup>

Until the Letelier assassination, Condor leaders had effectively received a green light—if not direct support—from sympathetic governments that turned a blind eye to the killings. But as the scope of the targeted assassinations became public knowledge throughout the United States and Western Europe, they were widely perceived as a direct

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<sup>483</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 191.

<sup>484</sup> Although responsibility for the unsuccessful plot against Koch has not been determined with absolute certainty, most North American accounts placed the blame for the July 1976 attack on DINA and two Uruguayan military officers. According to a CIA official in Montevideo, the congressman “had angered” the Uruguayan military government by spearheading an amendment in the Congress to cut off North American military aid to Uruguay.. Like the Letelier assassination several months later, the CIA viewed these attacks on U.S. soil as unacceptable. See Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 16; McSherry, *Predatory States*; and Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*.

<sup>485</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 191.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-193.

affront to national sovereignty, and could no longer be condoned by these regions' governments.<sup>488</sup>

Similar to the United States' reaction to the Letelier plot, European intelligence services responded with indignation to attacks set to take place within their own borders. When a CIA officer informed French and Portuguese services that assassinations were being planned in their cities, these former Condor allies "did not dither or hesitate or debate the diplomatic implications;" they went to their Chilean, Argentine, and Uruguayan contacts and "told them bluntly to stop the operations."<sup>489</sup> After a second failed attempt at killing Altamirano in Madrid and exiled Uruguayan senator Wilson Ferreira in London, the six Condor security forces assembled in Buenos Aires in October 1976 to assess the damage. This would be the final meeting at which all original signatories were present. Although another meeting was scheduled in Asunción for early 1977, it was cancelled after Paraguay dropped out of the operation. There would be no more successful Condor assassinations outside of Latin America after December 1976.<sup>490</sup>

Though scholars have highlighted loss of international support as the chief factor that precipitated Condor's dissolution, internal Southern Cone disputes also played a part in the operation's demise. As noted, Argentina and Chile have shared a thorny history, and their cooperation against Communist subversion marked a rare period of collaboration. But Condor cooperation was not so much a definitive break with the past as it was a pausing of past antagonism. By early 1977, the two nations "were on the verge of war" over ownership of three islands in the Beagle Channel, a passage in Tierra del

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<sup>488</sup> Ibid., 221-223.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid., 221-222.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid, 224.

Fuego.<sup>491</sup> International arbitration gave the disputed land to Chile in February, and though Argentina rejected the decision, it decided not to protest because it was hosting the World Cup soccer championship matches in May and June, “which would certainly be cancelled in the event of fighting.” Instead, the Argentine junta turned its efforts toward constructing airports, television networks, and stadiums. After the World Cup, Argentine hard-liners again geared up for battle with Chile, spending around \$13 billion on armaments “in the biggest military buildup in the country’s history,” but ultimately stood down as cooler heads prevailed.<sup>492</sup>

On August 13, 1977, the international “shadow cast over Chile’s military” forced Pinochet to formally dissolve DINA.<sup>493</sup> Yet on the same day that Pinochet issued the order to disband the intelligence service, a second decree established CNI (Centro Nacional de Información—National Center for Information). Although CNI was not granted the same powers of arrest and detention and would report to the Ministry of Interior instead of directly to Pinochet, Contreras remained in place as director, “meaning that this change in the structure of the secret police was in name only.”<sup>494</sup> From August to November 1977, CNI orchestrated a series of bombings, robberies, kidnappings, and murders, all of which were blamed on “extremists.” Despite growing criticism from abroad, Contreras continued to claim that leftists remained a threat to domestic security.<sup>495</sup>

In early November, a group of high-ranking military officers demanded that Pinochet remove Contreras from his post, arguing that the nation’s international image on

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<sup>491</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 164.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>493</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 171-173.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid.



human rights “would never improve as long as he remained.” Following their suggestion, on November 4, Pinochet demoted Contreras to brigadier general at the Army Engineering School, and appointed General Odlanier Mena, a known DINA critic, as the new CNI director. A November 9 report noted Pinochet’s realization that “as long as the leadership of the CNI remains basically the same as its predecessor organization, DINA, many critics of the Chilean government will insist that no real change has taken place.”<sup>496</sup> One source compared Contreras, once the most feared individual in Chile, to “a cuckolded husband who is the last to realize his wife was being unfaithful.”<sup>497</sup>

Despite Contreras’ demotion, CNI was “qualitatively, if not quantitatively, as repressive as its predecessor.” The numbers of political killings decreased from 1978 to 1980, but as organized protests against the junta escalated, so too did CNI’s use of repression. In the truth commissions that followed the return to democracy, CNI agents would be charged with several of the dictatorship’s worst atrocities, including the killing of trade union leader Tucapel Jiménez in February 1985 and the decapitation murders of three professors in March 1985. One hundred and sixty political murders have been documented for the 1978-1985 period, “most of...[which] were attributed to the CNI.”<sup>498</sup> Although selective political violence continued until Pinochet left power in 1989, the degree of repression never approached what had transpired during the 1973-1976 period.<sup>499</sup>

In Argentina, SIPBA was formally dissolved on January 1, 1977 and restructured as the Dirección General de Informaciones (General Directorate of Information—DGI).

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<sup>496</sup> Ibid.

<sup>497</sup> CIA, [deleted title], 9 Nov 1977. As cited in Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 172.

<sup>498</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 173.

<sup>499</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 224.

Several years later, the Argentine intelligence service returned to its original name, DIPBA. DIPBA lived on until April 30, 1998, when the Ministry of Security and Justice dissolved the intelligence service for good.<sup>500</sup>

Regional military cooperation outlived Condor. In early November 1977, the infamous Orletti interrogation center in Buenos Aires, where SIDE conducted many of its torture sessions, had to be shut down after two prisoners escaped. The Orletti Taskforce 18 team had just started another covert operation with Bolivia, and that prison would add several Bolivian captives to the Uruguayan prisoners already detained there. The publicizing of Orletti's location, in the middle of a quiet neighborhood, provoked criticism from international human rights groups and Argentines alike. SIDE continued to share information about members of their exile communities with Condor signatories until the transition to democracy. But after the Letelier assassination, intelligence sharing and assassination plots were scaled back and limited to targets in Latin America.<sup>501</sup>

Although economic and political instability would continue to plague Argentina for the next several years, by 1980 the military "had so thoroughly uprooted the guerrillas and their supporters that even isolated acts of terrorism seldom disturbed the peace anymore."<sup>502</sup> International condemnation of the junta, albeit never to the same degree as Pinochet received, also encouraged the military to reign in its use of force. Argentina's generals returned the country to civilian rule in 1983 and Pinochet would step down seven years later.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> "La DIPBA: antecedentes, denominaciones y jerarquías."

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., 223-225.

<sup>502</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 179.

<sup>503</sup> Other Condor signatories transitioned to democracy during this period as well: Uruguay and Brazil in 1985 and Paraguay in 1989.

The damage done in human terms by these dictatorships was considerable. For Argentina, the number of recorded deaths and disappearances is near 9,000; for Chile, it is slightly over 40,000. The Argentine *Nunca Más* report cites 8,961 documented *desaparecidos* between 1976-1983 and an additional 1,300 victims seen alive in clandestine detention centers. Most sources believe the actual figure is much higher.<sup>504</sup> But whatever the true number may be, political scientist Daniel Lutzky is correct in saying that the Dirty War was “the most terrible repression ever known in Argentina in its entire history.”<sup>505</sup> In Chile, the Valech Report puts the total number of deaths, disappearances, kidnappings, torture and abuse that occurred between September 11, 1973 and 1990 at 40,018.<sup>506</sup> Both countries’ truth commissions have since recognized that these figures are likely to grow as more testimonies and police records are uncovered.

But, as noted, assassination was not the only way the militaries dispensed with opposition at home. According to a 2003 study, 334,126 Argentines fled the country from 1975-1984, a staggering figure that speaks to the size of the exile community that had

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<sup>504</sup> CONADEP, *Nunca Más*, Capítulo II (Víctimas-Advertencia). Although the nearly 9,000 figure cited by CONADEP is the official number adopted by many sources, most accounts set the death toll much higher, between 20,000 and 30,000. Estimates “have ranged widely,” from the “rather conservative” 6,000 by the Organization of American States (OAS) Human Rights Commission to Amnesty International’s 20,000. The São Paulo-based Commission for the Defense of Human Rights in the Southern Cone estimated the total at 7,500, two-thirds of which happened in the Dirty War’s first two years. General Ramón Camps, former police chief of Buenos Aires Province, admitted to “disappearing” 5,000 on his own. See David Vidal, “Relatives of Missing Latins Press Drive for Accounting; 30,000 Reported Missing,” *The New York Times* 5 Jan. 1979; and Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 147.

<sup>505</sup> Lutzky and Claudia Hilb, eds., *La nueva izquierda Argentina: 1960-1980* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1984), especially 74.

<sup>506</sup> Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos, “Nómina de personas reconocidas como víctimas,” in *Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura (Informe Valech)*, Sergio Valech, et. al. (29 Nov. 2004, updated in Aug. 2011), 4-13, accessed 10 Dec. 2013, [http://www.memoriaviva.com/Tortura/Informe\\_Valech.pdf](http://www.memoriaviva.com/Tortura/Informe_Valech.pdf).

relocated there.<sup>507</sup> Estimates of the number of Chileans who fled during the Pinochet dictatorship for political, economic, and personal reasons range significantly—from several hundred thousands to nearly two million—but most accounts cite the figure of approximately 700,000.<sup>508</sup>

Beyond the sheer numbers of the diaspora and the disappeared, in what ways did Condor precipitate change? In the next section, I go beyond the traditional narrative of victimization to consider how individuals and groups challenge and alter our perceptions of Condor, paying particular attention to how the status, power, and mobility of each of the key actors in this study were transformed by Operation Condor.

## **Conclusions**

Although scholars have dwelled on the role that the U.S. played in Operation Condor, my thesis has focused on the origins of Southern Cone military collaboration, how the creation of Condor amplified those collaborative partnerships, and the impact this had on the transnational left in Argentina and Chile.

Prior to the September 1973 coup, Chile by and large had been ruled by democratically elected governments and experienced political stability relative to its regional neighbors. Pinochet's violent overthrow of Allende flagrantly disrupted this tradition of civilian administration. The junta utilized several tactics to justify its methods. First, overt repression was employed to eradicate the "subversive threat" within Chilean borders. Starting on the day of the coup, the junta rounded up thousands of suspected Allende sympathizers and leftist militants, raided homes, and conducted mass

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<sup>507</sup> Yankelevich, "Exiles and the Argentine Diaspora," 200.

<sup>508</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 230; and Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 93.

executions in Santiago's main sports arenas. It also dissolved Congress, banned political parties and labor unions, enforced strict censorship, burned texts it considered subversive, and established a curfew and martial law. From September 11, 1973 through 1989, there was never any real question of who was in charge or to what lengths the junta would go to remain in control.

The second strategy was a more covert form of repression: as the rivers and streets of Santiago filled with a mounting number of corpses, Pinochet cultivated a state of terror and fear. With the support of Brazilian, Uruguayan, and Bolivian military, Pinochet established a network of secret interrogation centers and concentration camps across Chile. At the peak of repression in 1974, over 10,000 Chileans were detained at these sites.<sup>509</sup>

The psychological effects of such repression were profound. Most citizens, especially in Santiago, knew what was happening, but were powerless to resist. However, several leftist political parties such as the PC and PS, and armed guerrilla groups like the MIR, were exceptions. As Chapters Two and Three illustrate, these militant groups successfully formed transnational coalitions to fight the dictatorships from bases throughout the Southern Cone. These groups are typically ignored in Condor, Dirty War, and dictatorship histories because they were more active in the months and years preceding the conflicts' respective inception dates, but they were significant to the evolution of contemporary politics and civilian-military relations.

The third and perhaps most important strategy utilized by Pinochet to maintain control was to deal an overwhelming blow to the left—both inside and outside of the country. Even as the junta appeared to have obliterated its opposition domestically,

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<sup>509</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 64.

Pinochet maintained that a powerful group of subversives “lurked just beneath the surface” and needed to be subdued.<sup>510</sup> By fabricating elaborate assassination plots against the junta leaders and blaming these murders on the Popular Unity coalition and militants, the junta justified its repressive methods. When its actions precipitated a response from militant leftists, it only served to corroborate junta claims of the existence of a Marxist threat. In short, by inciting the left to act out, Pinochet lent credence to his claim that the military could not responsibly return the reins of government to civilians.

Moreover, as my thesis documents, the military insisted that the leftist threat was not confined to Chile. Pinochet harped on the danger posed by an international community of leftists in exile to justify the need for extreme measures at home *and* abroad. In this sense, Pinochet’s domestic policies cannot be disentangled from his international ambitions. His actions at home were based on an external threat, and the strategic relations he formed abroad were grounded in his relentless determination to excise the Marxist threat within Chile.

In sum, Operation Condor and the multinational military collaboration that preceded it coincided with Pinochet’s most repressive years in power. This partnership not only contributed in no small measure to disrupting the nation’s longstanding democratic tradition, but it also helped facilitate and prolong the junta’s reign of terror. Repression at home and abroad achieved the goal of eliminating both moderate and militant leftists.

While Chilean domestic politics during the Condor years marked an abrupt change in orientation, the same was not the case for Argentina. Although Argentina’s international relations (especially with Chile and other Condor signatories) were altered

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<sup>510</sup> Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 52-53.

during the 1970s, the state's domestic politics and civilian-military relations remained effectively the same. The military continued to recycle moralizing rhetoric to justify the coup, and explained their rationale for staying in power as a necessary stopgap against leftist unrest. Throughout 1974 and 1975, violence on the right and the left continued unabated. It has been said that the creation of Operation Condor coincided with the end of Peronism, but even that proved untrue. Despite Perón's death in July 1974 and Isabel's overthrow in March 1976, the Peronist party has demonstrated remarkable staying power. The last two presidents of the nation, Nelson Kirchner and his wife, María Fernández de Kirchner, were (and are) Peronists.

So what did the Dirty War change? Why have we clung to the 1976-1983 timeframe when the violence clearly began years, if not decades, prior to Isabel Perón's ousting? Indeed, the "most intense repression" took place within the first year of the "war;" in fact, violence significantly decreased from 1977-1979 because the left had been essentially exterminated within Argentina.<sup>511</sup> I posit several reasons for the scholarship's and the international community's emphasis on the 1976-1983 period. First, these dates fit within the regional and the Cold War context, and therefore lend themselves easily to transnational and comparative world histories, especially those written by North Americans and Europeans more familiar with their own histories than Latin America's. Analyzed within this context, these dates require less explanation as well as less local and domestic examination. They cast Latin America actors as little more than proxies for Washington and Moscow.

Second, the March 1976 inception date is particularly problematic. At first glance, this date appears logical because it coincides with the Argentine military's seizure of

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<sup>511</sup> Dávila, *Dictatorship in South America*, 118.

power. But, as Lewis and Robben document, this was not the start of violence. By emphasizing this date, scholars focus on the most straightforward period, when the military was clearly the perpetrator and civilians clearly the victim. This lends itself readily to historical accounts, to the truth commissions, and offers simplistic tropes of victim and violator. To begin a discussion earlier—in 1973, 1974, or 1975, for example—complicates this picture considerably and raises questions about who and where to place the blame. *Nunca Más* would read very differently if it had begun investigating the violence waged after Perón's death in July 1974, for example. Considering the left's growth prior to its eventual decimation in the late 1970s, the narrative would not have been as straightforward.

Yet it is undeniable that the degree of violence changed dramatically after the coup. Although interrogation, surveillance, torture and disappearances all had been employed selectively by the military prior to the Dirty War, what transpired afterwards, especially the twin emphases on torture and disappearances, was something never before experienced in Argentina. In their minds the militaries were responding to an existential threat to national security and viewed their actions as justifiable. Indeed, my thesis illustrates that the regional dictatorships acted on their fear of Communism more than on United States direction. The coalescence of the transnational left in Allende's Chile had profound implications for Southern Cone governments even before Operation Condor was set in motion.

The transnational left that found a home in Allende's Chile would face a tumultuous odyssey from 1970 until Condor's dissolution in 1977. Pinochet's rise to power forced massive relocations to Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, Europe, and



elsewhere. In the case of Argentina, many members of the transnational left forged ties with sympathetic leftists, and some, but not all, remained politically active. By and large, Argentina acted as a safe haven for exiles prior to Perón's death in July 1974. After this point, however, they were targeted by a government that, only several months prior, had offered them refuge. Right-wing paramilitary organizations such as the AAA acted aggressively, putting Argentine leftist activists and exiles sympathetic to their cause at risk. By 1976, the left had been decimated, and the vast majority of the guerrilla forces had been killed, forced underground, or made to relocate abroad.

Since Condor began less than four months before the Argentine military initiated the Dirty War, it is impossible to tease out how much credit it "deserves" for eliminating leftist subversion there. Yet there is little doubt that the unprecedented nature of the collaboration among the Southern Cone dictatorships contributed to the "success" of the Guerra Sucia.

Leftist exiles who were fortunate enough to escape reconstituted themselves into like-minded collectivities abroad. Years spent in exile gave them ample opportunity to reflect on their national and political identities. As Sznajder and Roniger note, on a theoretical level, the exile experience represents "an ongoing tension" inherent in an individual's identification with his or her homeland and political affiliations:

There is a latent but distinct dimension of collective identity submerged in citizenship, necessarily recognized while in exile. Accordingly, it has been abroad that many of the displaced nationals discovered, rediscovered, or rather invented the 'collective soul' of their countries in primordial or spiritual terms. Whereas some migrants and sojourners became transnational and deterritorialized, many others sought to reconstruct their bonds of solidarity in terms of the home collective identity.<sup>512</sup>

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<sup>512</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, 4.

The uncertain and tenuous character of political exile and the sense of displacement the refugees experienced, all the while living under constant fear, took a severe psychological toll. This was one of Condor's most powerful legacies. Its reach abroad and the ways in which it acted with impunity to eliminate high profile targets as far away as Rome and as near as Paraguay meant that no refugee was beyond its grasp.

But I have attempted to move beyond the study of exile as an individual, emotional experience. For most political refugees, exile had personal, economic, and psychological ramifications.<sup>513</sup> Furthermore, individuals responded to the political violence in diverse ways, and were at different times victims, instigators, and perpetrators of violence.

As this thesis demonstrates, the transnational left underwent a radical evolution from 1970 to 1977. After first coalescing in Chile from 1970 to 1973—a space that had allowed them to prosper under the umbrella of Allende's socialist politics, establish ties to Chilean leftists, and publically and privately criticize their own country's dictatorship from afar—the fall of the Chilean domino again forced their relocation. As Pinochet, the Caravan of Death, and DINA worked quickly to eradicate the leftist presence from within their borders, many of these leftists sought political asylum. Many relocated to Argentina. Although most scholars have focused on the inactivity and fearfulness of these exiles in their new home, what occurred was far more complicated. From September 1973 through Perón's death in July 1974, the exile community gained strength openly collaborating with Argentine leftists, Peronist workers, and an increasingly vocal student movement. COMACHI was a major transnational leftist actor that brought together individuals and groups from nearly every Latin American nation, in solidarity with the Chilean cause.

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<sup>513</sup> Jakšić, Interview by author.

The military did begin to track COMACHI's relationship to national organizations before Perón's death, but, for the most part, it did not act on the information it collected until July 1974. COMACHI took to the streets of Buenos Aires and La Plata, campaigned in Argentine universities, and publically organized alongside labor unions, women's groups, and professors. Up until the coup, a sizeable portion of the exile community was politically active.

But Isabelita's rise to power, under the manipulative guidance of AAA Director López Rega, significantly weakened the left. Although pockets of armed leftist resistance remained in Argentina through 1976, increasing paramilitary and military repression forced the majority of leftist ideologues and sympathizers to flee the country and seek haven elsewhere.

While some members of the transnational left stayed within Latin America (Venezuela and Mexico received the most refugees during the Dirty War), the majority of exiles recognized the limited potential for security in a region dominated by dictatorships, and instead chose to relocate to the United States or Europe. Although the activity and solidarity campaigns of leftists in Europe and the U.S. following Videla's rise to power is beyond the scope of this project, it is important to underscore that the battle between South American exiles and dictatorships also played out in the streets of Paris, Stockholm, Brussels, and Madrid. Exile was more than an individual experience for these refugees; it was also a collective one, as they formed solidarity networks and campaigned to pressure western governments to withdraw support for Southern Cone military regimes. In short, although these refugees were victimized, they were not just passive victims.

Since so much of the scholarly literature on Condor has focused on the United States' role in the operation, I have instead emphasized the other principal actors. But there is little doubt that the U.S. played a pivotal role in assisting the South American militaries in their successful dismantling of leftist opposition. I contend that the attention given to the U.S. role in the literature, especially by North American scholars and journalists, invariably casts Washington as Condor's principal orchestrator. This has obscured the critical role played by militaries in the Southern Cone. Regional collaboration existed before Condor and it would continue after its demise.

Still, the U.S. role was significant in several respects. It is undeniable that the United States provided crucial economic and technological support to Condor signatories. Its military had trained South American military leaders at the School of the Americas and at the Southern Zone Command in Panama since the inception of the Cold War, it provided technological assistance to develop the Condor telex system, it shared contacts and intelligence, and it supplied millions of dollars to signatories in their anti-communist crusade. In early April 1976, for example, the U.S. Congress approved Kissinger's request to provide 50 million dollars in "security assistance" to the Argentine junta. At the end of the same year, Congress offered an additional 30 million dollars in military aid, and Kissinger recommended that Congress increase the "aid package" to \$63,500,000 the following year.<sup>514</sup> While it denounced authoritarian regimes rhetorically,

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<sup>514</sup> Carlos Osorio, "Press Release: Argentine Military Believed U.S. Gave Go-Ahead for Dirty War: New State Department Documents Show Conflict between Washington and U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires over Signals to the Military Dictatorship at Height of Repression in 1976," National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 73, II (Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, CIA classified documents released Aug. 2002); and National Security Archive, "On 30th Anniversary of Argentine Coup: New Declassified Details on Repression and US Support for Military Dictatorship," (Washington, D.C., 23 March 2006), accessed 18 Mar. 2014, gwu.edu.

the Carter administration continued to supply assistance, training, and weapons to the Videla regime during the Dirty War. In 1977 and 1978 alone the U.S. sold over 120 million dollars worth of military spare parts to Argentina, and in 1977 the Department of Defense received \$700,000 in funding to train 217 Argentine military officers.<sup>515</sup> When military aid to Argentina was officially halted in September 1987 under section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, the United States had spent \$1,115,000 on training Argentine troops since 1976.<sup>516</sup> It is highly unlikely that Condor could have carried out as many high-profile assassinations as it did without North American funding.

In addition to economic and military assistance, equipment, intelligence and training, the United States played an equally significant consulting role. While there is little trace of Kissinger's visits to South America during this period, there is ample documentation of Southern Cone military leaders traveling to Washington, either to lobby for additional support from Congress or to consult with the Secretary of State and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.<sup>517</sup> Dinges in particular notes several occasions in which Contreras consulted with Kissinger.<sup>518</sup>

But funding and consulting should not be construed as orchestration. Southern Cone military regimes and the United States did not share the same objectives. Nor was Condor an asymmetrical partnership. Indeed, no North American delegation, official or otherwise, was present at Condor's creation in late November 1975. This does not

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<sup>515</sup> Guest, *Behind the Disappearances*, 166.

<sup>516</sup> Wolfgang S. Heinz, and Hugo Frühling, *Determinants of Gross Human Rights Violations by State and State Sponsored Actors in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina: 1960 – 1990* (Germany: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1999), especially 695.

<sup>517</sup> Kissinger was Ford's Secretary of State (September 22, 1973-January 20, 1977) as well as National Security Advisor (January 20, 1969-November 3, 1975). Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (New York: Summit Books, 1983).

<sup>518</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 25. McSherry and Kornbluh cite similar meetings.

preclude the possibility that the United States knew about the meeting and simply abstained from attending, but it shows that South American militaries were autonomously committed to collaborating with each other to defeat the left. Even critics like Ernesto López admitted, “The [Argentine] military are not instruments of the Pentagon, nor of the Oligarchy, nor of the State, regardless of how it is constituted.... The military are social and political actors and not instruments.”<sup>519</sup> In addition, as Lewis notes with regard to the United States’ impact on the Dirty War, “military aid and training could not have had an effect [on the Argentine military] unless it had corresponded to local military demands.”<sup>520</sup>

Even after the United States began to offer aid and technological assistance to Condor, assassination targets remained the same: the location, individual profile, and methods did not vary before and after November 1975. The Letelier assassination marks a third illustration of South American autonomy. According to Dinges, when the CIA caught wind of the plan to target Letelier within their borders, they demanded that the Chilean government immediately halt the operation.<sup>521</sup> Though the U.S. was powerless to stop the plot, DINA paid the price for ignoring the CIA and executing a public figure in such a prominent place as Sheridan Circle. The international outcry in response to the attack forced Pinochet to dissolve DINA and Contreras was removed from his post several months later. The U.S. continued to “keep tabs” on Condor after September 1976, but it scaled back its aid.<sup>522</sup> In further demonstration of the fallout from the case, there

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<sup>519</sup> Ernesto López, *Seguridad nacional y sedición militar* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Legasa, 1987), 14, 16, 68, and 70-71.

<sup>520</sup> Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 136.

<sup>521</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 6-7.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

were no more (known) Condor assassinations outside of Latin America after December 1976.<sup>523</sup>

Many scholars have read Condor's decline as the result of declining U.S. support. But a stronger case could be made that Condor and the Dirty War had already accomplished their objectives. As noted, by 1976 the guerrilla threat within the Southern Cone had been eradicated. Even after Washington drastically scaled back its funding and assistance, South American militaries continued to share information and target known leftist leaders within their borders. Paraguay, for example, continued to track other Condor nations' enemies living within its borders after 1976. On March 29, 1977, the Paraguayan intelligence service captured two Uruguayans and three Argentines "on suspicion of subversive activity against their home countries," promptly notified the Uruguayan and Argentine intelligence chiefs, and participated alongside them in interrogating their citizens in Asunción. On May 16, two Argentine SIDE officials took the five suspects (the Argentines as well as the Uruguayans) to Argentina, where they were soon disappeared.<sup>524</sup> In addition, as late as June 1980, an Argentine 601 Battalion squad traveled to Peru to find a group of Montoneros. Peruvian officers assisted the Argentine force in the attack, and they successfully captured all of the suspects in a house raid. The captives were "savagely tortured inside a Peruvian military installation" and then transported to Bolivia with the intention of transporting them back to Argentina. This was the last transnational operation that clearly bears the telltale mark of Condor.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> Ibid., 218-219 and 222; and Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 171-173.

<sup>524</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 225.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid., 228.

Still, Condor signatories continued to utilize the telex communication system after this date.<sup>526</sup>

Condor also undermined the sanctity of political asylum throughout the region. With some exceptions, up until the 1970s political refugees on the right and the left enjoyed the protection that asylum offered, no matter the ideological orientation of their new home. Even the most reprehensible heads of state knew they could find safe haven in neighboring Latin American countries when they were pushed out of power. Ironically, during the mid-1970s, just as the need to find places to flee was increasing exponentially, the right of asylum came under attack. With the advent of each new dictatorship, a newly reconstituted population of leftists was forced to uproot itself and reestablish itself elsewhere. This process created diasporic leftist communities that gained new membership in each country of resettlement, yet which never truly found a permanent home until the end of the Cold War. In addition to fundamentally altering one of Latin America's most respected historic institutions, Condor also led to profound personal loss and hardship, the separation of families, and, for many, an unshakable sense of displacement and anxiety.

One of the most overlooked aspects of Condor was a fundamental change in the relationship between the Chilean and Argentine militaries. As noted, the two nations have shared a prickly past, warring over boundary disputes, trade relations, national identities, natural resources, and politics. The sudden turnaround after 1973, the military collaboration, and the leadership role they shared in the region up until the early 1980s was as surprising as it was unprecedented. Of course, the quick evolution of this relationship in late 1973-1974 speaks less to the states' intent to remedy past disputes and

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<sup>526</sup> Ibid., 225; and Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 172.



more to their need to confront a shared enemy. Argentine-Chilean collaboration before and during Condor is testament to the military's wariness of Communism and the transnational left. In their minds, since the enemy was international in scope, the solution would need to be as well. I am confident that the recently opened Paraguayan archives will offer comparable evidence for that nation's involvement prior to November 1975, as well as the collaboration of Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay.

Interviews conducted by several exile scholars have already confirmed the participation of these last three nations' military officers in Pinochet's initial rounding up and interrogation of subversives following the Chilean coup. But if this pre-1975 right-wing collaboration were the case, then what difference did the formal creation of Condor make? Certainly high-profile targeted assassinations were a principal goal from the outset. As noted, the assassination plots against Prats, Santucho, Fuentes, and Leighton were all pre-Condor and bore no marked difference from later plots.

Yet Condor scholars have clung to this date for two important reasons. Except for the United States, it brought together all of the principals in one location and it reflected a previously unimagined degree of transnational military coordination and integration. In addition, the November 1975 meeting led to the establishment of several key strategic enhancements that facilitated Condor's successes: the data bank, the "Condortel" telex system, and the committed support of each nation's local police and intelligence services to a war that extended far beyond their national borders. The United States—namely the CIA, the FBI, and Henry Kissinger—offered crucial support and guidance in this regard.

Moreover, the dictatorships' relationship with its exiled citizens as well as the security and activity of the transnational left in Argentina and Chile were altered in

several respects. Before November 1975, the Argentine military predominately confined itself to policing large-scale university protests, rare household raids, targeted surveillance, and the carefully recorded documentation of leftist activities. After Condor's inception, the Chilean and Argentine militaries utilized the intelligence they had collected since Allende's overthrow, if not earlier, to move aggressively against these activists with impunity. In this sense, November 1975 marks a radical shift in what the militaries were not only capable of, but willing to do.

Condor's inception was significant for three other reasons. First, although assassination plots against public leaders in exile did not significantly change, the ways in which the media and militaries publicized their actions did. The increasingly harrowing and bloody accounts of murder in the streets of global metropolitan centers sent a clear message to the exile community that no one was safe. Second, as Condor successfully eradicated the opposition's key leaders in exile, they began to focus on attacking, interrogating, and instilling fear among grassroots activists. From 1975-1977, Condor's targets were diversified to include ideologues, students, and professionals, as well as guerrillas. Third, Operation Condor also destroyed any remaining hope that the left had of finding safety within Argentina. As we have seen, under a nominally democratic regime, a vocal, activist, transnational coalition of exiles and Argentine nationals organized in solidarity to protest the region's military dictatorships. When the last domino fell, exiles had little choice but to relocate far away from the Southern Cone. This meant much greater dispersal abroad and correspondingly less of an opportunity to continue the fight to overturn military rule in the region. A case in point was COMACHI, which had such success in promoting solidarity between transnational exiles and

Argentine leftists. Although the date of COMACHI's dissolution is difficult to determine with precision, it disappears from SIPBA records in late 1975. Whether this is a result of COMACHI's eradication or its relocation abroad, it is apparent that there is a shift in focus to armed militant groups who were gaining strength within Argentina during this period. But, whether as a result of the resettlement of COMACHI affiliates abroad or not, what is certain is that the transnational left did indeed re-form itself in Europe and elsewhere.

November 1975 also remains important for its symbolism. It represented a calculated, systematic, and institutionalized disregard for exile and the existence of a war without borders that extended well beyond the Southern Cone. Condor's operationalization also speaks to the regimes' fervent conviction that they were on the "right" side of history. At its core, the operation represented a flagrant and violent disregard for democracy, the principle of political asylum, and human rights. Whether the threat its signatories fought to eradicate was more real or imagined, its regional campaign inspired fear among exile communities and clearly sent the message that no corner of the world could escape the dictatorships' long arms.

This thesis has sought to reconsider how the Cold War played out in Latin America. Too many histories, even the most recent, have been dominated by the perception of U.S.-USSR proxy wars. Cold War ideologies and politics influenced Latin America, but there were factors on the ground that also impacted the intense cycle of dictatorship and revolution that defined regional politics during this period. United States- and Soviet-centric accounts minimize the complexity of this dynamic and deprive South American actors of agency. By incorporating South American voices and archival

documents, as well as North American primary and secondary scholarship, I show how Latin American leaders and grassroots movements also directly and indirectly affected North American foreign policy.

A final issue that this thesis implicitly problematizes is the elusive question of blame. Specifically, how much blame should the left shoulder for the atrocities it committed during this period? On the one hand, I have sought to move beyond the truth commissions' simplistic identification of culpability, acknowledging hundreds of killings by the left (especially in Argentina). More importantly, by altering the traditional chronology and examining in succession the coalescence of the left in Chile, Pinochet's disproportionate military "response," a re-forming of the transnational left in Argentina, and then the Argentine militaries' brutal repression, we can better understand what transpired across the region between 1970 and 1977.

Ultimately, I do not seek to undermine the findings of the various truth commissions. The numbers of casualties speak for themselves and make clear that the atrocities the military dictatorships perpetrated were considerably greater than the damage inflicted by the left. But by focusing on what happened to the transnational left, I have tried to complicate what up to now has been a rather monochromatic narrative to illustrate how civilians became agents of change, often in the face of brutal repression.

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