THE NATIONAL STADIUM: SOCIAL VIOLENCE AND SPECTACULAR POWER IN CHILE 1968 – 1976

by

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Abstract

The Chilean Commission for Truth and Reconciliation noted that, "it is absolutely essential that we understand the crisis of 1973...in order to understand how the subsequent human rights violations we were charged to investigate came about."¹ This thesis is one attempt to take that admonition seriously. The human body's role in the creation and maintenance of modern social reality is a complex issue; however, the careful examination of a society in crisis will illuminate some of the body's elemental connections with the broader social sphere. To trace these connections, I examine the manner in which open political conflict dismantles, on material and representational planes, the overt manifestations of civil society, in essence making it subjectively unreal. As civil strife intensifies, there is less shared representational and material space. The absence of a broad consensus about the constituent elements of social reality is, in fact, the absence of social reality itself.

It is my contention that the erosion of the multiple material and ideological elements that constituted Chilean social reality that occurred during President Salvador Allende's government was not halted by the Junta that seized power on September 11, 1973. The civil conflict that was literally deconstructing Chilean's lived realities was reconfigured on a mythic plane by the Junta and the resulting social reality was then militarily imposed on the subject population. The Junta's version of reality, was radically different from the

experienced reality of the subject population. The Junta used excessive violence as a means to bring external reality into correspondence with its precepts. The Junta's violence generated further discourses that doubled back in defence of their initial premises.

The late 1960s and early 70s was a period of intense civil unrest in Chile. Public manifestations of social strife were brought to an abrupt end by a violent military coup. The Chilean military Junta used torture and disappearance as a means of maintaining political control of the country and its citizenry. Political violence is an intriguing phenomena because it usually involves behaviour that is unrelated to the actor's espoused ideological goals. The physical human body serves to bridge the disparity between act and purpose. There are innumerable, trans-cultural instances where actual human bodies, rather than their representations, are mobilised as a means of attesting to the veracity of non-material ideas. The literal physicality of the human body is used as an analogical device in order to imbue ideas with a material form.

In order to install its version of reality, the military creates two geographically contiguous but radically different landscapes. The first presents an experiential image of social peace while the second is filled with bestial violence. Both of which are dependent upon and defined by the other. The National Stadium functions as an icon and a manifestation of the Junta's mythological construction of reality, while for the subject population it is the clearest symbol of the repressive nature of the military regime and the fearful and disconcerting social reality they are forced to endure. The Stadium was a
means by which the Junta brought into material reality their vision of social reality, for example it served to make visible the presumed, but unseen, terrorists that threatened the nation. By literally making materially real, through the application of violence, what was, in fact, wholly imaginary, the Stadium served to demetaphorise the Junta’s discourse. It is through that demetaphorisation that the subject population glimpsed the covert apparatus of repression that became generalised throughout the Junta’s reign.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSTRACT</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table of Contents | v |

List of Figures | vii |

Acknowledgement | viii |

Adventures in Unknown Spaces | 1 |

CHAPTER 1

"You Say You Want A Revolution"
Popular Culture, Violence and the Via Chilena

Staring into a Broken Mirror: Latin and American Popular Culture | 15 |

'Revolution' as an Aesthetic Element in Popular Culture: The World's Youth in Revolt | 25 |

The Institutionalisation of 'Revolution' In Chile | 40 |

'We All Want To Change The World' | 47 |

The Via Chilena is not One Road But Many | 52 |

Windows onto Fractured Landscapes | 66 |

Mediating the Revolution | 71 |

Things Fall Apart | 79 |

Bodies In Space and Meanings Out of Time | 86 |
# Table of Contents

## CHAPTER 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living In the Shadow Of the Stadium</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situating the National Stadium: Spectacular Violence in the Temple of Sport</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spectacular Atrocity and Its Uses</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasting The Abstract Spectacle</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Power Of Pain</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstructing The Nation</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stadium As An Icon Of The Nation's Unity</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Kind Of War Story</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.</td>
<td>The Battle For Moneda September 11, 1973</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.</td>
<td>The National Stadium in 1940</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.</td>
<td>Young Communists in the Stadium</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4.</td>
<td>The Public Image of the Prisoners in the National Stadium</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5.</td>
<td>The Telephone</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6.</td>
<td>Working In the Quirofano</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7.</td>
<td>The Engagement of Chile</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8.</td>
<td>The Stadium as Icon</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Adventures in Unknown Spaces

All societies live by fictions taken as real. What distinguishes cultures of terror is that the epistemological, ontological and otherwise philosophical problem of representation -- reality and illusion, certainty and doubt -- becomes infinitely more than a "merely" philosophical problem of epistemology, hermeneutics and deconstruction. It becomes a high powered medium of domination.¹

My first trip to Chile was during the twilight of the military regime in the summer of 1988. When I arrived there, I knew little about the country beyond some very vague notion that it had an authoritarian military government which may or may not have done some bad things some time ago. I was going there ostensibly to work on yet another a seismic crew operating in yet another desert. The Atacama Desert was spectacular. Snow-dappled and perfectly conical volcanoes, as if plucked from a child's picture book, dominated the eastern horizon, while the high desert skies were clearer than Waterford crystal. At night, the stars glittered like carelessly scattered diamonds on a swath of cool black velvet; on the first evening I spent in Toconao, I immediately understood why there were so many observatories placed on the nearby mountains. The physical beauty of the place, however, paled in comparison with the generosity of the people I met there.

Unlike my previous experiences in the physical deserts of Saudi and Yemen, or the mental deserts of northern England and southern Alberta, I was not the object of excessive rural paranoia. Or at least, I didn't appear to be. The crew was primarily Chilean, with a sprinkling of Argentineans, Bolivians, Brazilians, one Canadian and an Englishman I had worked with

before. I left profoundly impressed by all the people I had met there and deeply interested in the country's recent history.

Separated both geographically and linguistically from the political currents raging beneath the surface of an apparently placid country, I was a little disconcerted when I finally recognised their shadowy presence. My confused ignorance quickly gave way to ignorant confusion (a state of being I'm not sure that I'll ever escape). In an attempt to improve my understanding of Spanish, and thus the vast majority of the conversations occurring around me as well as the instructions of my boss, I had taken to poring over the national newspapers during the evenings. One night I read a report of a Carabinero who had been shot by terrorists while sitting in his car at some traffic lights. I quizzed my supervisor, in mangled Spanish, about the terrorists. He responded, nonchalantly, that while there were a number of Chilean terrorist groups, he doubted that any of them were actually involved in the incident. He went on to say that he thought that the shooting was a kind of governmental publicity stunt. Unenlightened by this answer, I rudely pushed the point—what possible benefit could any government gain from the execution of one of its most visible representatives? Instead of launching into an extended exegesis that I probably would not understand about the brutal theatricality of the Pinochet government, he responded by telling me that similar things happen on a fairly regular basis, particularly when the Junta is feeling a little pressured, and that in order to gain public support they create the occasional terrorist incident. He went on to say, as I would surely discover, that sometime in the next three or four days the culprits would undoubtedly be discovered, perpetrating another terrorist atrocity, and would die in the ensuing battle with the police. Familiar with cynicism, although not at the level necessary to support this idea, I asked that if what he said was
true, why would anyone join the police force when there was a possibility of being killed by their own government?

His response was a simple one but one whose implications -- political, social and otherwise -- were profound. People still join the Carabineros, he said, because they don't believe that the government will do that to them. He said this with the same confidence in its truth value that another person might reserve for the less contentious proposition that the Taj Mahal is in India. It was, as far as he was concerned, a fact of life and one that must be cognitively accommodated in the same manner as the concept of gravity. If there is a difference between belief and knowledge, then it rests in the proposition that belief requires mental act of will, of faith.

When I discussed the shooting with another co-worker, the notion that the killing was carried out by agents of the state for political purposes, was dismissed with the same degree of confidence that it had been originally proposed. The difference between the two men's beliefs was not wholly a product of their respective political affiliations, but rather the result of the representational crisis engendered by the Allende regime, and restructured, exacerbated and deepened by the Junta. The previously taken-for-granted distinctions between fact and fantasy, reality and illusion, certainty and doubt, had been undermined to such an extent that it was possible for each explanation to be true.

At first glance, the notion that "All societies live by fictions taken as real" is an intensely nihilistic one. It denies the existence of transcendental values and forces the reader to recognise that all social structures, particularly those that appear as immutable 'facts of life,' are actually contingent and exquisitely changeable. Unlike pure and applied science, whose language of abstract formulas accurately describes material
phenomenon, human geography focuses on the relationship between humans and their environments. The examination of this relationship is fraught with difficulties because, ultimately, the examiner cannot be separated from the examined. Each of the supposedly distinct elements are suffused with traces of that which they are trying to exclude. This means that the boundaries between different categories are not just porous but rather always in the process of breaking down. Power is the ability to make the boundaries between categories seem as inviolable as the cognitive process of categorisation itself. Power acts in space as well as time to generate new categories, new boundaries, new distinctions between object and subject; it creates new meanings and possible interpretations of locations just as it excludes others. Terror, horror and fear, unleashed by acts of unrestrained and bestial power, undermine the very boundaries that they were intended to enforce. Ironically, the point at which power appears to have greatest influence is where the 'fiction taken as real' is in the greatest danger of unravelling.

Cultures of terror exist in an "epistemic murk" caused by the clash of imposed distinctions and their subsequent realities, and the subjectively experienced disintegration of the values that the violence is intended to ensure. Torture, the hardest of hard-edged power tactics, is the act in which these two disparate elements are simultaneously fused and sundered. The torturer enacts the apogee of the state's power to define another's reality, while the victim becomes the mouthpiece of the state's discourse. A mouth through which the state represents the truth of its power to itself. This truth is

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then carried beyond the walls of the torture chamber and imposed on the population as a whole. And it is that truth which is then read by the Junta as a validation of the distinctions that provoked the torture in the first place. The mere fact that the government feels compelled to torture, however, highlights the fragility of the state's legitimacy as well as an act that undermines the credibility of the state's claims. The military Junta in Chile exploited the representational instability in part caused by its actions, and the conflicts that preceded it, to protect and maintain its control of the country.

Nothing in life ever really begins. The instant and obvious corollary to that notion is that nothing ever really ends. We impose starting points on particular historical trajectories so that we may discern meaningful conclusions. As historians have known for centuries, there is no single occasion whose conception cannot be traced back one step further than the most recent attempt. Any attempt to uncover a definitive moment from which later events spring is doomed to failure. Even what appears on the surface as the most momentous of events is a product of the conditions that preceded it.

In the absence of an unambiguous, *a priori*, origin for what follows, I have chosen to begin in the middle.

On September 11, 1973 Chile's elected, and avowedly Marxist, President Salvador Allende Gossens died in the final moments of a pitched battle at the Chilean presidential palace in the centre of Santiago. On that day, the actions of the Chilean Army, Navy and Air Force put a violent end to the longest standing democratic tradition in Latin America. Neither the coup, nor the actions of the military government that followed, were inevitable. The coup, in the most overt sense, was the culmination of many weeks of covert planning and careful manoeuvring of specific people within the military
hierarchy. The coup was also the product of the political, social and economic conflicts that appeared to be the precursors to a civil war.

The crisis that precipitated the coup was a struggle between two mutually exclusive, ideological propositions regarding the appropriate disposition of the entirety of the nation's socio-economic resources. The battle between the contending visions played itself out in material and representative spaces of Chilean cities, towns and rural areas. In the beginning the conflict was primarily ideological, with left-wing adherents successfully challenging a number of broadly accepted ideas that shored up the capitalist organisation of society. As socialist ideas entered praxis, the material constitution of the country began to change. Private capital, in the form of land, buildings, stock and heavy machinery, was shifted into the public sphere. Furthermore, as the physical manifestation of left-wing ideas became widespread, the spaces in which the previously existing capitalist status quo still held sway, shrank. To stem the rapid, if erratic, destruction of capitalist reality, the Chilean adherents of the right created an elaborate fiction of a government in the thrall of a threatening international communist conspiracy, whose activities were inimical to the nature of the Chilean 'national identity.' The relative capacity of each of these groups to define the ultimate form of Chilean social organisation depended on their abilities to legitimise their respective claims. In this regard, the right had the greatest advantage as they represented themselves as defending a pre-existing social order, whose contours were known and whose strategies of representation, however contradictory, were readily understood. The left-wing, on the other hand, offered hope for a hazily defined future, whose local manifestations were embattled and riven with internal strife.
The Junta's proclaimed project was to create a Chile that was free of political demagoguery and foreign ideologies. It was to be a nation whose citizens, in the absence of the interpretative and social distortions caused by alien ideas, would be at liberty to fulfil their personal and economic potential. The Junta's government would foster a country, which, having been hampered by decades of financial mismanagement and political skulduggery, would be able to take its rightful place at the forefront of the chorus of nations. On a material level this project entailed a severe rearrangement of the nation's economy and the concurrent retrenchment of private property rights. On the ideological level, the Junta promoted a form of individualism that was imbued with a non-reciprocal nationalism. At a social level, this individualism was reinforced through the fear caused by the activities of state security agents and the uncertainty that resulted from the Junta's denial of involvement.

People, on the whole, exist in fabulous worlds. Some of the stories we tell ourselves seem to take on a life of their own. They leap from the mind and take up residence in the shared mental terrain that is society. These fictions can be as ornate as a nation's entire judicial system or as minimalist as the colour code of a boot boy's shoe laces, but in the last analysis, both are no less made up. These stories help shape our subjective existences and we consistently return the favour by subtly altering theirs. The stories, however, do not hover around us, waiting for the ideal moment to alight in consciousness, nor do they fill some alternate or ethereal plane that is somehow beyond the constraints of time and space; rather they are bound around us so tightly that it is often difficult to definitively separate ourselves from them. They cover all the different material aspects of existence with a shroud of fragmented images, myths, colours and thousands of potential,
actual or merely possible narratives. The fictions that we take to be real fill the spaces, both actual and intellectual, of our lives.

While the social world may only exist as a species of consensual hallucination, there are elements of it that transcend each individual's subjective existence, and the shapes of these are defined by the action of power. Just as people are born into specific economic structures over which they have no control, people are born into locations whose meanings and shapes are pre-determined. These meanings, however, are the contingent result of particular alignments of power and knowledge that are constantly being renegotiated by the people that inhabit them, albeit on a less than equal footing. The existence of these constellations denies the presumed neutrality of the notions that space is either a vast container of physical objects or that space is simply the measurable distance between physical objects, because it is the distinctions generated and maintained by power that endow the sacristy of a church with a greater spiritual weight than a factory floor.

Time and space, in their most universal incarnations, are the axes of all people's lives, however neither are experienced in a universally uniform manner. Human geographers, having largely dismissed the sterile equations favoured by spatial science as unrewarding and fundamentally unenlightening, have begun to examine the ways in which the spaces of people's lives are constructed. At best, this thesis is a leap into the epistemic murk of a terror-filled culture. A leap undertaken with the intent of illuminating the dark passages through which reality and illusion become indistinguishable, and some of the social effects of this obfuscation. It is an attempt to apply some of the different theories regarding the nature of power and its spatial corollaries, currently popular within some branches of the
discipline of human geography, to concrete events as a means to better comprehend the history in question rather than the theories themselves.

This thesis was inspired by the work of numerous Chileans who attempted to protect their compatriots from the Junta's repressive practices. While I accept the notion that the shape of 'free will' is socially constructed, I can think of no better refutation of pessimistic implications of that idea, than the actions of women and men who refused to accept the necessity of the violence that surrounded them, who despite the danger their activities brought to themselves and their families, continued to challenge the Junta's version of events, and who attempted to restore the boundary between reality and illusion.

In order to show the different ways the human body can attest to the veracity of different ideological positions, I begin with a discussion of popular culture. By tracing the contours of the very North American discourse of rock music, I am simultaneously demonstrating the growth of an almost global web of specific forms of cultural expression; however, while the forms are similar, and in the case of the Beatles, identical, they become embedded in different situated systems of representation. I then turn my attention to the concomitant expansion of the youth based counterculture and focus on the development of a discourse of revolution and revolutionary violence. This leads to a discussion of the manner in which the idea of revolution is manifested in Chilean political discourse.

The election of Allende marks an intensification of a growing dispute between two sectors of the country's population. Underpinning all the different forms and strategies of broadly left-wing political discourse, is a profound desire to transform the existing configuration of social life. While this is a characteristic that engenders the affinity between art and left-wing
politics, it can also lead to acrimonious divisions within the left-wing communities regarding the most appropriate means of achieving their goals, and in many cases what those goals are. The conservationist orientation of right-wing political discourse constitutes the base of its resilience and attraction. Right-wing political discourse can be as doctrinaire as the most abstract Marxism; however, as an explicitly reactive formation it has greater defensive capacities because it will shift its focus and demands to respond to local threats. As the conflict between these two different conceptions regarding the disposition of Chile’s socio-economic assets deepens, human bodies are mobilised to attest to the validity of each of the competing constructs. Throughout the contest of the different social bloc’s the material and ideological elements of Chilean social reality are physically and mentally unmade.

By examining both the activities and pronouncements of both left- and right-wing actors I show how this essentially dialectic relationship serves to deconstruct reality, in essence making it unreal. To counter the growing unreality of social life, bodies are again mobilised. The first chapter concludes with a discussion of the death of Arturo Araya Peters, in order to show how, in the context of an increasingly unreal social world, the attribute of absolute reality of the body, particularly wounded or in this case, dead ones, can be verbally appropriated and attached to one or other of the competing constructs in an effort prove its veracity.

In chapter two, I examine the manner in which the National Stadium becomes a symbol of the Junta’s repressive activities. Through this discussion I explore a number of themes relating to the social role as well as the effects of extreme violence and the human body’s capacity to feel pain. I begin with a brief description of the National Stadium’s history in which I pay
particular attention to its use by the Junta to incarcerate, interrogate and evaluate people the Junta claimed were terrorists. I then examine the complementary aspects of sovereign power and spectacular atrocity as a means of elaborating specific types of official truths. Through this discussion I begin to evaluate the split social sphere fostered by the Junta's repressive activities. I follow this with an explanation of the Junta's rather idiosyncratic construction of social reality and through this I show the widening gap between the Junta's propositions and the lived experience of the subject population. At this point, I turn my attention to the manner in which torture generates both official truths, the means by which these truths were communicated to their intended audience and the Junta's power. To conclude, I return again to a brief consideration of the National Stadium and show the means by which it both concretised the Junta's discourse and provided the subject population with material image of the Junta's covert repressive activities.
Chapter 1

“You Say You Want a Revolution” Popular Culture, Violence and the *Via Chilena*
At just before 9 am, on the Friday morning of June 29, 1973, six tanks and other armoured vehicles, along with one hundred troops, of the Second Armoured Battalion, under the command of Colonel Roberto Souper positioned themselves around the Plaza de la Constitución in front of La Moneda in downtown Santiago and began firing on the presidential palace and the surrounding office buildings. Shortly thereafter one of the tanks broke away from the main body and rammed through the front doors of the Defence Ministry in order to free an army Captain that was being held there on charges of treason. The response of the government was immediate. After visiting several units to ensure their loyalty Chief of Staff General Carlos Prats went into the city where he met General Augusto Pinochet at the head of the Buin regiment and Prats took charge and led it into the centre of the city to attack the putchists. Salvador Allende Gossens, Chile's president and nominal leader of the Unidad Popular (UP) made a number of broadcasts on Radio Corporación from both his official residence and from within the beleaguered building. During one of his broadcasts he said, "I call on the people to take over the factories,...to be alert, to pour into the centre of the city...If the time comes, the people will have arms." The effects of Allende's speeches during the two hour confrontation were remarkable. Allende's working class supporters seized 244 factories, effectively doubling the number of worker-controlled enterprises. These actions betrayed a much higher level of co-operation between the Communist party and adherents of other left-wing parties, than had previously occurred or had been expected.

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However, the UP's working class supporters were conspicuous during the battle through their absence.

At the conclusion of the battle 22 people, both civilians and soldiers were dead, and a further 34 were injured. The insurrectionist officers were placed under arrest. Allende called for a concentration in the city centre to demonstrate the workers' support for his government. From the palace balcony the president addressed the large crowd that gathered, where he denounced the "fascists, traitors and cowards" who had planned the abortive coup. He further claimed that the right wing paramilitary group *Patria y Libertad* (Fatherland and Freedom) had a substantial role in this attempt upon the government. This accusation was borne out by the subsequent reports that Pablo Rodríguez, the head of *Patria y Libertad*, and four others had sought asylum in the Ecuadorian Embassy. Rodríguez issued a statement that acknowledged that they had tried to overthrow the government "together with a heroic unit of our army."\(^4\)

Souper's unsuccessful attack on the government occurred a scant two months before the military coup that brought the Unidad Popular's tenure to its bloody conclusion. These events that did not occur in a vacuum. Rather the protagonists were fully entwined with a number of cultural themes, ideals and practices that were specific to their particular spaces and times. This chapter aims to elucidate a number of interrelated concepts. At the most general level, I am concerned with showing how different ideas linked with violence, particularly its transformative capacity, that were woven through Euro-American history, manifested themselves in Chilean popular culture in

the pre-coup period. More specifically I wish to demonstrate the ways in which the human body serves to link the realm of the ideal with that of the material. What is most important here is to show the means by which bodies of ideas and human bodies are interconnected, and how the attributes of the second are appropriated by the first and vice versa. It is through this discussion that I show how social violence generates meaning in Chilean popular culture. It is precisely the conjunction of the political, economic and cultural aspects of Chilean society during this period that form the context in which violence, understood as an inherently meaningless set of behaviours undertaken with the express purpose of causing pain, becomes intelligible and indeed almost necessary. In doing so I am recasting the human being as the essential centre of the constellation of ideas, organisations and technologies that constitutes Chilean popular culture.

Staring into a Broken Mirror: Latin and American Popular Culture

The existence of popular cultures\(^5\) predates the industrial revolution; however, in the post-World War Two period the world has experienced a rapid expansion of its reach and effects. While the extent and breadth of these effects is a source of many ongoing academic debates, it is important to recognise that popular culture is not globally homogenous. That is, what constitutes popular culture in one place at one time, may not in another. For the purpose of this thesis, I use the terms 'popular culture' and 'culture,' interchangeably. I do this because I do not accept the essentialist premises

\(^5\) In the sense of locally-produced entertainments for the consumption of the large numbers of low income workers. During the industrial revolution, many of these entertainments were generated on an increasingly organised profit-making basis, for example, the creation of professional sports and music hall.
that presuppose the existence, in some temporally distant era, of an authentic, or unmediated relationship between subject and object. What distinguishes cultures of the late 20th century from their ancient forebears, is not the fact that subject's existence is filtered through different representational discourses but rather there are now far more of them, and they are literally global rather than local with pretensions to universality. The dramatic increase in representational discourses has entailed the folding in of narratives and forms that, in the past, were generally considered as elements of traditional definitions of culture. Culture is an entirely imagined structure of signs that consistently incorporates old forms and new ones.

In order to clarify the nature of both popular culture in general, and Chilean popular culture in particular, I will first posit an abstract definition of popular culture overall which will be followed by a general historical discussion of the post-war proliferation of popular culture forms. Into this partial history I will interleave a discussion of the particularly Chilean elements of its own popular culture. It should be noted that although popular culture and the culture industries draw extensively from past narratives, symbols, institutions and icons for both their local and generic legitimacy and intelligibility, in this chapter I will be discussing the popular culture of the temporally circumscribed period that stretches from the end of WWII to the coup of September 11, 1973.

For the last 40 years global popular culture has shared at least three characteristics, all of which ultimately blend into one another: The first is that all popular cultural artefacts are texts which may be understood in many different ways. The second is that these texts are physically produced as commodities within an industrial framework. Third, that the bulk of the texts'
consumers are shaped and constrained by the behavioural exigencies of the industrial mode of production.\textsuperscript{6}

The discourse of popular culture is a primary site of subjectivity construction for the members of all but the most isolated of societies. In the case of popular culture and the remainder of this thesis, I'm using the term 'discourse' to indicate those "forms of knowledge, ways of constituting the meaning of the world, which take a material form, have an institutional location and play a key role in the constitution of individuals as subjects."\textsuperscript{7} As Glenn and Weedon point out, "Discourses can only be effective if they are able to constitute individuals as \textit{subjects}, defined positively or negatively in relation to the norms which they privilege."\textsuperscript{8} The distinction between identity and subjectivity is that the first implies the conscious construction of the individual self while the latter incorporates the "unconscious and subconscious dimensions of the self, and implies contradictions, process and change."\textsuperscript{9} The terrain of popular culture, then, encompasses a realm of inter-subjective beliefs, ideals, emotions and acts that entail strategies of representation and physical manifestation. All of which circle back upon


\textsuperscript{7} Glenn Jordan and Chris Weedon. \textit{Cultural Politics: Class, Gender, Race and the Postmodern World}. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1995), 14


themselves to legitimate their initial elaborations and generate further discursive elements.

Many authors\(^{10}\) argue that the most decisive element of popular culture in Latin America is the extremely inequitable distribution of wealth that characterises Latin American societies. Those authors assert that the social gap, in terms of different groups' relative access to the pre-determined modes of high culture and means of social power, excludes the poor from participating in, and reproducing the, hegemonic but sterile forms of national culture. According to the authors that favour this view, popular culture is then an array of often incongruent practices that seek to satisfy the basic needs of relatively poor people's material existence. The authors who propound this position often denigrate the culture of the middle and upper classes, asserting that at its base it is merely an impoverished reproduction of the elite's mode of living. In doing so, the writers are misconstruing the sheer physicality of working people's employment as an indication of the robust vitality of their cultural forms. Gabriel Salazar provides an excellent example of this misconception when he states boldly that "any creative cultural force had to be the exclusive monopoly of the 'bajo pueblo.' (low citizens)"\(^{11}\) The different, often communitarian, practices of the poor that are engendered by their shared economic predicament are then read by the authors that prefer


the essentialist position\textsuperscript{12} as a form of 'authentic,' or true expression of the
'national character.' The attempts to identify and isolate popular culture's characteristics via the presumption of the continuance of pre-capitalist relationships between socially and economically marginalised people simply inverts the standard high/low culture opposition. This formulation of popular culture re-enacts the capitalist construction of value by asserting that attributes whose manifestations are limited are more precious than those that enjoy a wider distribution. In this form poor people are identified as the repository of an ill-defined and static folk heritage. This 'true' popular culture is then favourably compared to what is presented as the elite class's slavish imitation of often European or North American practices and norms. Although, arguably, appropriate to describe Chilean society during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the assertion that the 'true' nature of the nation can only be located in a select group of the nation's inhabitants -- whose behaviour and beliefs are little more than a manifestation of a natural phenomenon -- reveals the essentialist premise that underpins the idea that popular culture devolves from poor peoples authentic relations with one another within the constricting framework of capitalism. This is an essentialism which ultimately limits its heuristic potential for analysing the latter half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. This position, furthermore, entails adherence to the peculiar notion that popular culture need not enjoy widespread acceptance and materialisation to be popular.

There is, however, more to life than money and structural economic imperatives. The simple consumption of material commodities is not the totality of popular culture, and although material goods may carry some of its

\textsuperscript{12} See footnote 8
vast denotative and connotative capacity, it is the consumption of the products of the culture industries that forms the core of the discourse of popular culture. Reducing popular culture to something that is little more than aesthecized market statistics is limiting, and excludes any discussion of the profound importance of the culture industries. Adorno and Horkheimer's influential and challenging essay *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception*, holds that the culture industries were built as a means of stimulating and generating new markets through the creation of new needs. As the scope and form of these needs were spawned through the logic of capital rather than innate human desires, these needs were, by definition, false. The culture industries produce culture as a profit-making commodity. The cultural commodity is by necessity standardised. In this view the products of the culture industries were, in essence, no different from those of the car industry, in which the piston head of one '56 Buick was interchangeable with any other of the same year's model. It is both standardisation and the profit motive that proves that the products of the culture industries serve hegemonic interests by generating among the masses a befuddling false consciousness. By belittling the North American popular culture, which to Adorno was little more than the endless repetition of base images and sentimental narratives projected into the public's imagination, Adorno was unable to credit the audience with the capacity for critical reception of the texts with which they were presented.

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It is tempting at a very basic level to distinguish between the institutions, practices and significations that are directed toward the material reproduction of a society and the individual, commonly called the sphere of the economic, and the realm of the political which refers to those systems, institutions and practices that constitute the differential distribution of powers between and within communities. As noted above, however, the discourse of popular culture is inextricably bound up with each of these as it entails representations of both desirable and undesirable political as well as economic ideals and practices. In addition, also as noted above, the culture industries themselves are embedded in the economic and political structures of a nation.

Two considerations follow from the relative inability to extract the cultural moment from the overall construction of social totality. The first is that popular culture is a constitutive element of capitalist modernity and therefore reflects the giddy dynamism of that particular form of social organisation. At a base level this means that popular culture, both the material and ideological, is made up of artefacts produced by people who are not necessarily their ultimate consumers, and that generally these cultural artefacts are created within the confines of capitalist enterprise. Second, that each nation's popular culture will be reflexively bound, in its institutional and ideological manifestation, to both local histories and events elsewhere, which means that while its texts may be generic, the meanings generated will be responsive to site-specific constraints. Taken together, these considerations then point to an expansive register of social life, a locus in which personal biography, familial particularities, local histories, political ideals and consumerism cut across one another in a variety of ways, some of which are more predictable...
than others. It is a social site in which meaning is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated, and is intrinsically linked to mass media.

Since their inception, all the different forms of mass media have sought to represent, to their respective audiences, aspects of both subjective and material life. As the forms of the media multiplied, people's access to the images, sounds and stories that are channelled through these media has increased. Already opened by growing literacy rates, relatively inexpensive newspapers and the cinema, the global proliferation of the instruments of one-way broadcast communication has expanded exponentially the potential and actual audiences, engaging in experiences that are both public, (in the sense that the text is available to many people) and private (in the sense that each individual is likely to bring a subtly different critical capacity to bear on their understanding of the text). The various formal and informal rules governing these different systems of signification are less important than the relative simultaneity of the experiences they offer their audience. The synchrony of event creates a mass community in which the intrinsic diversity of each members' dispositions are both strengthened and undermined. It is within this community of shared signs, symbols, images, sounds and stories that popular culture finds its base. The elaboration of the different industries associated with the historic growth of the media themselves are a vital indication of the relative sophistication and reach of capitalist industrial society, and therefore the importance of the media as a means of reflecting the life worlds of those within its purview. In this sense the media play an important role in the meaningful organisation of experience but do not

14 It is precisely this aspect of popular culture that ensures it is, by its nature, an intersubjective aspect of life.
supplant the subjective, existential means of creating people's value structures. The media, in a reflexive relationship, shapes people's understanding of their day-to-day experiences and simultaneously the routines, subjective conditions and histories of these people will affect their appreciation of the media's representation of those experiences.

The existence of the mass audience, however, points to the downside of the media's role in the creation and maintenance of the discourse of popular culture. Foremost is the ambiguity of the cultural artefact that is produced within the structures of mass production. On one hand, its status as a viable commodity is determined, in a recursive circle that is almost infinite in its reflexivity, by the manner and degree to which the audience finds it concurs with their own experience, including that of other mass produced cultural artefacts. On the other hand, as a commodity, the cultural artefact will erase the power relations that are inherent in its production and in doing so, legitimate and naturalise the systematic exploitation that makes its production, and that of other commoditie possible. The ideological significance of the cultural commodity has been long debated; however, the most important aspect of the cultural commodity's ideological power is derived from the multiplicity of different messages it is possible to obtain from the majority of its texts. The polysemy of the artefact derives from the need to appeal to the broadest audience, and it is precisely this need that ensures that popular culture incorporates representations of many contradictory ideas, images and narratives. Simply because the cultural commodity must resonate with the experiences of a broad cross-section of people, it must include elements of contemporary social and political debates. Without doubt, popular culture serves to protect and maintain hegemony, as well as racist or gender stereotypes, but often the very same cultural texts can
empower resistance, provide the impetus for new constructions of society and innovative responses to shared problems.

The discourse of popular culture is a contested intellectual terrain, particularly when it is used with reference to Latin American political processes. In fact the term's very contestability is indicative of both its social range and central importance in structuring the processes of daily life. In order to hone the general discussion of the structure of popular culture above, I refer to the work of Lawrence Grossberg, who defines popular culture as "cultural practices and formations whose primary effects are affective." Grossberg refines this description by offering further definitions of key related concepts which tie popular culture with ideology and the multiple planes of 'reality,' that are material, spatial, emotional, sociological and political. Grossberg uses the term "affect" to delineate the variations of a subject's emotional state—not in this case a particular emotion but rather the unstable preconscious grounds upon which individual passions manifest themselves—that are "always dispersed into the entire context of daily life." Grossberg goes on to state that "the affective plane is organised according to maps which direct peoples investments in and into the world." These maps link ideology, understood here in its broadest sense as those configurations of conscious and unconscious beliefs, practices, technologies and utterances that represent lived reality for people, to the field of popular culture, which

15 Lawrence Grossberg. We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 398.

16 Lawrence Grossberg. We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 81.

17 Lawrence Grossberg. We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 82.
then constitutes a broad horizon of meaning, both potential and actual. The maps of meaning point to two distinct elements of this complex series of reflexive relations: The first is that they are illustrative of the subject's search for, and acquisition of, relatively stable sites of identity, which then serve as an anchor for further affective investments that in turn reconstitute the initial subject. The second is that the maps will, by necessity, connect the subject to a larger social groupings--affective communities--which are then affixed within the larger domain of society as whole which, for its part provides the context for events and constitutes the limits of the event's possible effects. It is these forms of subconscious social affiliation that enables the 'reality' conferring effects of violence as they mediate between the ideal and the material.

The discourse of popular culture is the central terrain on which the negotiation of meaning in everyday life--those routine aspects of existence that are fully entwined with the multifarious systems of domination and subordination--is played out. All power relations are marked with ellipses, aporias and even contradictions which thus construct the openings that allow for the re-creation of constrained practices and texts. This means that while popular culture is, by necessity, riven by lines of class, ethnicity, gender and space it is by no means limited to the repressive role so often attributed to it by authors like Adorno.

'Revolution' as an Aesthetic Element in Popular Culture: The World's Youth In Revolt

During the Second World War the U.S. economy was transformed into the indisputable international capitalist powerhouse. Less important in financial terms than the manufacturing and agricultural sectors, but
increasingly influential on international communities, were the U.S.'s culture industries such as movies, television and music. Coincidentally, but by no means unrelated to the technological developments that occurred during the Second World War, during the post-War period many areas of the world experienced a relative boom in population growth. In this respect Chile was no exception, between 1945 and 1970 Chile's population more than doubled, rising from 4 to 8.5 million. By the beginning of the 1960s\textsuperscript{18} the growth of young people with disposable incomes in North America and, to a lesser extent Europe, had lead to the creation of a large, and expanding market for youth-oriented cultural products especially involving music and the associated fashions popularised through movies, radio and television. The reach and influence of these cultural products transcended the boundaries of the English-speaking world and became features of very different pop cultural discourses. While Chilean youth lacked the overall purchasing power of their North American and European compatriots, they responded to and appropriated for their own ends different elements of the rapidly expanding youth culture.

The U.S. Supreme Courts decision in \textit{Brown v. Board of Education} (1954), struck down the legal justifications for racial segregation in the southern U.S., and was an important manifestation of the global urge toward social reform that accompanied the termination of the Second World War\textsuperscript{19} which led directly to the consolidation of the inchoate Black Civil Rights

\textsuperscript{18} One study carried out in 1959 in the U.S. found that teenagers were on average spending $555 dollars a year on goods not provided by their parents. See George Lipsitz, \textit{Who'll Stop the Rain: Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crises} in \textit{The Sixties: From Memory to History}. David Farber (ed.), (USA: North Carolina Press, 1994), 212.

\textsuperscript{19} Other important examples of this urge can be found in the creation of the United Nations, the rapid decolonisation of the less developed countries and the Chinese Revolution.
movement. The Civil Rights movement directly affected all U.S. citizens as it struck at the centre of commonly held beliefs about the nature of the nation and its political institutions. When rock music was added to this cultural uncertainty the necessary elements for the formation of the discursive field that became known as the 'counterculture' were in place. Sam Philips, the owner of Sun Studios in Memphis, concretely joined the two components and the concatenation's marketability in the apocryphal statement, "If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel...I could make a billion dollars."²⁰ Philips began working with a 19–year-old Elvis Presley in July 1954. Two years later Elvis appeared on the Ed Sullivan Show on September 9, 1956. This show captured 82.6%²¹ of the viewing audience thereby confirming and consolidating the reach and popularity of the new art form as well as raising corporate interest in the product. What made Presley so important, and helps account for his almost instantaneous, and continuing, popularity was that the music he and his band made superseded previously existing orthodoxies regulating the boundaries of what music could be. In doing so Presley's music called into question the entire construction of people's lives. The most measurable aspects of the growing importance of popular music as a central element in the expanding forms of youth culture can be seen in the dramatic rise in music industry revenues between 1955 and 1959. Between 1959 and 1964 revenues plateaued. The Beatles' arrival in North America in 1964 kick-started the stagnating industry. By the end of


the decade, 80% of the music recorded in the $2 billion industry was rock and roll of some description. The effect of Presley's music in the larger cultural sphere is harder to quantify: however, in his music the orthodox social categories, were not blurred but eradicated, opening a door onto a radically different ideological landscape. Presley's overt sexuality also challenged the very authority that had defined the constrained limits of acceptable sexual display. Commenting on Elvis's television debut, rockabilly singer Butch Hancock said, "It was the dance that was so strong it took an entire civilisation to forget it. And ten seconds to remember it."

The role of music in the nexus of fashion, grooming, language and occasionally political views, cumulatively known as the popular culture subcatagory youth culture, was central. Through the early '60s a small collection of artists in the East Village area of New York created the directly political voice of pop music in the form of folk rock. If Elvis gave a voice to the unfettered desires of youth and the space to let them move, then the folk rockers gave the voice a language and some goals. Phil Ochs, initially one of the leading lights of the New York scene, pointed to the connections between music, political change and the primary representation of youth in revolt in his despairing comment that, "If there is any hope for a revolution in America it lies in getting Elvis Presley to become Che Guevara." Ochs was explicitly

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22 The importance of music vis a vis other forms of popular culture can be seen in those industries' gross returns for this year; sports events generated $600 million while the movie industry garnered $1.6 billion. All figures from George Lipsitz, Who'll Stop the Rain: Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crises in The Sixties: From Memory to History. David Farber (ed.). (USA: North Carolina Press, 1994), 212.


24 This comment can be heard on Phil Ochs' live album Gunfight at Carnegie Hall, A & M records, 1971.
recognising that within the shift of cultural limits that Presley's music ushered in and exemplified, lay an opportunity to create a radically different world. It is obvious that popular music was merely one means among many through which young people sought to create meaning in their lives; however it is reasonable to assume that the record's contents reflected at least some elements of particular groups' common experience and that the political messages whether overt, covert or simply imagined, bolstered or intensified some people's ideological commitments. It is easy to overstate the case and without doubt, the sheer number of young people in the U.S. at this time and their regional specificities is an often ignored explanation for the diverse range of musical styles commercially offered. While this is an important factor in the growth of music industry, it does not help to account for the massive popularity of the songs, bands and records that the fans felt to be both politically charged and enjoyable. Political popular music was an oxymoron at the beginning of the decade and a distinct industry by its end.

The wave of social activism that began with the Civil Rights movement, became more generalised through an array of different localised struggles, and became more radicalised through the often violent resistance to change offered by many authorities. Throughout this process the media in the U.S. served to commoditise rebellion and in doing so helped shape an embrasive aesthetic\(^{25}\) cultural discourse of "revolution" that served to legitimise, as revolutionary, many less significant activities, such as imbibing proscribed drugs. This aesthetic construct emphasised the intrinsic value of

rejecting previously held beliefs, the usefulness of an intense examination of abiding social mores, the urgent need for radical reform and an unquestioning belief that the proposed social goals, however hazily defined, could be achieved in the immediate future. These central propositions were seen to be the basis for the subsequent elaboration of beliefs and behaviours. The anteriority of these premises leads to the surprising variety of countercultural concerns and the different strategies adopted by social activists to achieve their goals. Central to many of the debates in the counterculture was a concern with the social aspects of violence, either implicitly (in the widespread emphasis on 'peace' and 'love' which couched the issue in the form of rejection because violence was perceived to be the prerogative of the hegemonic powers of the 'Establishment'); or explicitly, in the Civil Rights movement's adherence to a program of non-violent political change. The discourse of revolution incorporated a melange of different and sometimes contradictory, ideological and mythological elements, one strand of which, although primarily rhetorical, formed a coherent framework in which political violence was seen as legitimate and on occasion, desirable.

The most direct evidence of the role of popular music in the organisation of some people's political commitments can be found in the proclamations of the U.S. based revolutionary group, 'Weatherman.'\textsuperscript{26} \textit{New Left Notes}, June 18, 1969\textsuperscript{27} published the first clear declaration of Weatherman's revolutionary goals ("the destruction of U.S. imperialism and

\textsuperscript{26} Who, contrary to popular opinion, were very clear that they wished to be referred to as a singular entity.

the achievement of a classless world,"\textsuperscript{28} and the group's strategy, ("the creation of a mass revolutionary movement...a movement with a full willingness to participate in the violent and illegal struggle")\textsuperscript{29} under a title which explicitly connected the anti-authoritarian stance enunciated in the 1962 Bob Dylan song, "Subterranean Homesick Blues", symbolically to a radical political project with the line, "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." The fact that primarily middle class, university educated white youth adopted ideologies and behaviours that members of the pre-war generations found shocking, repugnant and, to some extent, threatening lent the counterculture a greater cultural profile than it otherwise might have had. Certainly the revolutionary rhetoric common in U.S. youth culture throughout the 1960s very rarely manifested itself in overtly violent attacks on members of the Establishment; however, in adopting this language young people sought to expand the terms of reference through which they could understand their own experience, as well as a means to comprehend the experiences of people beyond the U.S..

The overt causes of the countercultures antagonism to the established social and political orthodoxy were the Cuban Revolution, along with the subsequent covert activity of the U.S. government, the Vietnam War and the increasing strength of the Civil Rights movement. The U.S. counterculture


grew to incorporate a dazzling variety of local, national and international causes; however, underlying many of the ideals, proposals and desires was a demand for increased participation in determining the structures governing their own and other people's lives. This current is what links the civic unrest that exploded during the '60s and early '70s in North and South America. During this period however, North America was, largely, enjoying unprecedented wealth and growth in most sectors of the economy and could afford to offer some cultural space\textsuperscript{30} to the demands of the youth. While the assertion that the presence, through news reports, music and movies of the North American counterculture in Chile directly affected, in terms of goals and desires, the Chileans who sought to change their society, would be questionable, it seems likely that it did offer to them a broad style, rather than a program, which many embraced. Local concerns and restraints structured the terms and the discourse of the Chilean counterculture; however it is impossible to look at the Chilean case without recognising that many of the same political and social themes that characterised the discourse of youth countercultures elsewhere, such as France, England, Germany as well as the U.S., kept appearing in Chile. Unlike other western nations, the relative rigidity of Chile's socio-economic and cultural structures, including the different historical trajectories of the nation's political parties, and local political thought in general, tended to exacerbate the idealist's movement towards immoderate ideological positions. Unlike members of Weatherman whose revolutionary activity was practically limited to breaking store windows

\textsuperscript{30} 'Cultural Space' in this context refers to the primarily representational terrain of a nation's shared ideologies and symbols.
during the Democratic convention in 1968, the Chilean ideologues, of both left and right, pursued more extreme strategies to further their political goals.

Reflecting the official division of global politics into two competing social systems fostered by the Cold War, political violence was ideologically justified through the adherence to the propositions of different Marxist theorists of revolution such as Lenin, Trotsky, Mao and Castro. The ideologues commitment to revolutionary violence was strengthened by a broad acceptance and uncritical application by Althusserian theories by left-wing academics and intellectuals. Alongside the conscious creation of a structure in which violence was seen as a viable method of achieving a political objective, there arose a more mythic discourse which ascribed to both the revolutionary and political violence heroically redemptive as well as transformative qualities. Liberation theology, then a relatively new strain of

31 To be fair, a number of Weatherman did continue to become more violent in pursuit of their goals; however they received little public support and constituted no threat to the governmental stability of the U.S.

32 George Protopapas, who was working in Chile throughout the '60s, argued that;

In Chile, fidelity to Marx was gauged by one's fidelity to Althusser...he was considered in Chile the high priest of the Marxist cult and ideology. The great weakness of Marxism in Chile, from a theoretical and a practical point of view, stemmed in great part from the importance that Chileans of the left, influenced by the works of Althusser, ascribed to Marxism as a scientific interpretation of reality... The interpretation of Althusser of Marxism as scientific, was accepted naively, uncritically, dogmatically. The social sciences were put on the same level as physical sciences. The logical consequence that followed was that a systematic scientific interpretation of social reality, if it is really as scientific as the interpretation of physical phenomena, became the only plausible, acceptable, conclusive interpretation...In other words, Marxism was scientific and infallible; therefore Communism was the only political system true to reality, scientific and consequently in the name of science had to be imposed on all the people of Chile...In Chile...this uncritical acceptance of the stance of Althusser led to dogmatism, imposition of one interpretation of social reality, Manichaeeism and one definite option. Those who did not accept the supposed scientific evidence of Marxism and Communism as the only plausible political system were looked upon as being outside of history, obdurately old fashioned, and closed to all that science and progress meant. See George Protopapas. Chile: Allende and After. (Huntingdon: Our Sunday Visitor Inc, 1975), Pp 17-19.
Catholic social doctrine, propounded the notion that society as a whole had a religious responsibility to meet all of its members minimum material needs. Liberation theologists held that if these needs were not met then ability of the poor to follow God's dictates, and thus the ultimate disposition of their souls, would be compromised. Colluding with the egalitarian impulses that underpinned the tenets of Liberation theology that had been making inroads into some wings of the Latin American Catholic church, Marxist revolutionary theory became gilded with a religious aura. The ideological and mythic strands of violent revolution were brought together in the person and found their expression in the images and the endlessly retold, and recreated narrative of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara.

The central tenet of Guevara's revolutionary strategy was the creation of the foco. *Foquismo* was conceived as new form of revolutionary strategy that rejected the traditional forms, which pitted either a gradually radicalised urban proletariat against an entrenched bourgeoisie or a rural mass peasant uprising. Instead *foquismo* stressed the idea of a small band of constantly moving guerrillas whose activities would call forth the repressive apparatus of the state, which in turn, would radicalise the subjects of that repression who would then form further focos. The relative merits of *foquismo* as a revolutionary strategy are rather less important than the manner in which the foco is itself conceived. Fredric Jameson points out that:

> The guerrilla foco...is in and of itself a figure for the transformed, revolutionary society to come. Its revolutionary militants are not simply "soldiers" to whose specialized role and function one would then have to "add" supplementary roles in the revolutionary division of labour, such as political commissars and the political vanguard of the party itself, both explicitly rejected here. Rather in them is [sic] abolished all such pre-
Revolutionary divisions and categories. This conception of a newly emergent revolutionary "space" -- situated outside the "real" political, social and geographical world of country and city, and of the historical social classes, yet at one and the same time a figure or small scale image and prefiguration of the revolutionary transformation of that real world -- may be designated as a properly utopian space, a Hegelian "inverted world," an autonomous revolutionary sphere, in which the fallen real world over against it is itself set right and transformed into a new socialist society.\textsuperscript{33}

The conception of the foco as an 'utopian space' in which the 'fallen' world is reformed by the revolutionaries' activities has important ramifications in the popular image of revolutionaries and thus their perceived value. The first is the attribution of, by their less active contemporaries, of mythic virtues to the revolutionaries. The asceticism, self-sacrifice and risk required of the revolutionary not only resonated with a widespread disillusionment with, and alienation from, the modern world,\textsuperscript{34} but also imbued the guerrillero's with ecclesiastic attributes to the extent that in 1968 Edwardo Galeano called Guevara the "Christ of the Rio Plata." Drawing on the long-standing religious ideal of the Warrior Priest, a medieval combination of violence, Biblical learning and asceticism whose eschatological crusade involved punishing those who defied God, Camilo Torres, a Colombian priest, said "The guerrillero was the saint of the revolution, superior to other men not only


\textsuperscript{34} The sense of alienation was largely limited to left wing intellectuals within the industrialised nations, epitomised in one of the slogans commonly used in the May 1968 riots in Paris "Down with a world where the guarantee that we won't die of starvation has been purchased with the guarantee that we will die of boredom" Quoted in Greil Marcus. Lipstick Traces: A Secret History Of The Twentieth Century. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 31.
because of his personal worth and his revolutionary conscience but also because of his charity and his willingness to take on himself the sufferings of the oppressed."

Guevara, in his "Message To The Tricontinental", in April 1967 and the earlier "Socialism and Man in Cuba", April 1965, made explicit this connection between guerrilla activity and the religious realm when he described himself as acting in "the sacred cause of redeeming humanity." In the framework proposed by Guevara, the revolutionary battle is one of cosmic importance for the "destiny of humanity is at stake." In this formulation the superhuman opposition against which the revolutionaries must struggle is "the enemy of mankind: the United States of America." By shifting the terms by which revolutionary violence and its effects could be judged from the prosaic material level into a symbolic register, Guevara gilds violence with a mythic legitimacy and casts the revolutionary as a heroic Christ figure whose sufferings signify both his and his cause's moral purity.

What is important to note here is the tautological nature of the mythic framework in which 'revolution' is embedded, revolution is seen as its own justification; revolution is good because it's opposite, oppression, is bad and thus because oppression is bad, revolution is good. The circularity of the


37 Message To The Tricontinental by Ernesto Guevara in Che: Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara. P. 182

38 Ibid., 182.
argument and its movement away from the material level signals that as a cultural category revolution has become thoroughly aestheticised. By which I mean, following Terry Eagleton, that the construct revolution had slipped free of the material conditions of its initial elaboration, and in bending its telos into its premises has become autonomous, self-referential, self-regulating and existing entirely for itself. Analogous to a piece of art whose simple being is its ultimate purpose, revolution (both the term and the set of behaviours and beliefs that the word referred to), was aestheticised in the sense that its simple existence was its own justification. This meant that a huge variety of beliefs, behaviours and commodities could be, and were situated within the purview of the term, regardless of their actual or potential contribution to a violent overturning of the prevailing political, economic or cultural disposition of any given society.

A further indication that the term revolution, as used by Latin American, North American and European activists throughout this period, had mythic connotations is the manner in which these activists deployed it as the solution to any particular social problem regardless of context and applicability. As befits a self-sustaining popular cultural category, the fact that it appears in geographically, socially and economically different situations is not in itself remarkable. What is interesting, however, are the shared characteristics of the different revolutionaries and their proposed revolutions. Virtually all of the different violent--either solely rhetorically or in material reality--revolutionary organisations drew most of their active members from

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40 At least in the ideal world. I am fully cognizant of the fact that one of the primary functions of art in the modern world is to hang on the wall and become more expensive.
the upper middle or upper classes. The class position of the revolutionary is important because it implies that the individual has acquired an increased amount of what Bourdieu describes as 'cultural capital.' This in turn implies an increased capacity to manipulate different ideas within the cultural sphere. This goes some way to explain the attraction of Guevara's explicit volunteerism, which presupposes the ability to choose between a variety of life options as well as capacity to intellectually defend and refine one's choices. While there were distinct ideological differences between the different revolutionary groups, "the presence of Carlos Marighela's Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla in the Hideouts of the Baader-Meinhof, the Weathermen, or the Red Brigades implied more than the need to learn the basics of terror; it also implied a brotherhood of aims." 

A further important aspect of the foco is the explicit connection of the human being to the political ideal. According to Guevara the revolutionary is to 'embody' the revolution and in doing so the body becomes the primary means by which the strength as well as the validity of the political ideal can be viewed and measured. Subjectively, the most direct means of weighing the veracity of the different political propositions were their effects on the body of the revolutionary. In a typically circular fashion, ideological strength was equated to physical capacity. Once again drawing on Christian ideals of

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41 For a further discussion of the class make-up of revolutionary groups in these disparate areas see Michael Radu. Introduction: Revolution and Revolutionaries, in Michael Radu (ed.), Violence and the Latin American Revolutionaries. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988), Pp1-12.


ascetism, voluntarily undertaken bodily privation is thus read as the literal truth of the socialist ideal. One of the most explicit declarations of this position can be found in the second of the three contributions to revolutionary movement that Guevara felt the Cuban revolution had brought to light, where he held that "one need not wait for all conditions favourable to revolution to be present; the insurrection can create them."44 What Guevara means in this statement is that, contrary to traditional Marxist formulations of revolution, the new revolutionary no longer needs to wait for the 'objective' preconditions to exist before embarking on his or her course of social transformation, the mere presence of the revolutionary ideal and the actions it inspires is sufficient to earn the title of revolution. Thus, for Guevara, the revolution resides not in the material manifestation of the changes sought by the revolutionaries, but in the revolutionaries themselves. In this way the band of soldiers that make up the foco literally are the revolution.

By breaking down the commonly held distinctions between individuals and their political goals, foquismo, with its emphasis on shared beliefs and the ability of its members to transform any space they occupied into a revolutionary one by virtue of the fact that they were in it, meant that as an element of popular culture, foquismo could be endlessly reproduced in any space in which people who shared similar, broadly left-wing political views, gathered.

The Institutionalisation of Revolution in Chile

Eduardo Frei's Partido Democrata Cristiano (PDC) launched during the 1964 election campaign the "Revolution in Liberty," in an attempt to yoke the term 'revolution' to a more circumscribed political project than that envisioned by the Socialist and Communist coalition Frente de Accion Popular (FRAP), helmed by Salvadore Allende. The "Revolution in Liberty" was a project, platform and slogan that reflected the Christian Democratic Party's basic philosophical precept that every community's problems could be solved through the mobilisation of all its different social resources. The PDC sought to achieve this mobilisation and co-ordination through the creation of different semi-autonomous organisations and encouraged the formation of a wide variety of interest groups. The disparate organisations then provided meeting places for local residents to meet others with similar concerns, fostering local development as well as creating a means by which local interests, traditionally under-represented in the Congress, could express their goals to their official representative. The Christian Democratic mobilisation of people marked a striking change in Chilean political discourse. The Christian Democrats' platform of Promoción Popular (People's Development), was, after some debate and delay in Congress, ratified. On July 19, 1968 when the legal recognition of the neighbourhood committees was granted Frei claimed that "more than 2700 such committees had been set up, in addition to 85,000 mothers' centers."45 This popular mobilisation indicated not only the significant shift leftwards in Chilean political debate that had occurred in the wake of the Cuban Revolution but also, in addition to the extensive networks

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of different party organisations that had been built up over the previous century, the widespread insertion of the politics of revolution into the daily life of many Chileans.

Alongside the changes in the horizon of party political debate taking place during this period there were also concomitant changes in the discourse of popular culture. In contrast to the North American entertainment industry, and in part as a consequence of the pre-eminence of its products in the local market, the Chilean music industry was relatively small and poorly organised. There were few good recording studios, fewer experienced sound engineers and the most widely distributed musical products were those either recorded by Latin American subsidiaries of the large U.S. record companies or small local independent labels. Unlike the U.S. companies, that throughout this period were slowly moving to integrate production, promotion and distribution operations into the company, the Chilean market for recorded music was too small to sustain large-scale operations. Cheap transistor radios were most people's primary access to both national and international music, however due to the relative lack of local product, music of other nations dominated the airwaves. Local music was predominantly enjoyed in a live setting, usually in small clubs called Peñas, many of which enjoyed extensive links to, and often shared personnel with small theatre groups. The intimacy of these venues fostered face to face contact between individuals with common interests and political ideas and thus served to both refine and strengthen people's personal political commitments. Peña de la Parra was the most influential one during the 1960's and early '70's. It was opened by Violeta Parra in 1965, which became a focal point of the Nueva Canción Chilena.
Fletcher of Saltoun, an 18th century Scottish philosopher "observed that he did not care to know who wrote the laws of a country; rather, he wanted know those who wrote its songs, for they were the real opinion molders." As an artefact, a piece of music, particularly popular music, is unique in the multivariate register that constitutes the discursive space of popular culture due to music's combination of sensual, affective and intellectual planes. Traditionally, music has been viewed as the most abstract of the arts because it bears the least verisimilitude to the natural world. The structure and meaning of its tones, notes and timbre are entirely socially determined and must be learned. The sum of these different elements are consciously directed toward evoking a response, however fleeting, within the listener. The correspondence between the intellect and affect is still incompletely understood. It is important, however, to recognise that although a song is unlikely to contain an intellectually coherent, well reasoned discussion of whatever social issue it is addressing, a good song, much like any worthwhile piece of art, will contain an affective truth that, once appercieved by the listener is less susceptible to the predations of reason.

Working to articulate emotion and intellect, the means by which music approaches and generates these 'truths' is entirely artificial and dependent on listeners' shared cultural background. Music is therefore an effective


47 For a less positive recognition of that fact see the documentary film "Hearts of Hate," in particular the discussion Eric Burdi, a leading Neo-Nazi record label owner and promoter, has with a Neo-Nazi band, where he describes the advantages that accrue over time for the Neo-Nazi movement in general with the listeners' continual exposure to the lyrics of one particular chorus. Peter Raymont, *Hearts of Hate: The Battle for Young Minds* (Toronto: Investigative Productions Inc., in association with the CTV Television network and the participation of Telefilm Canada, Ontario Film Development Corporation and Rogers Telefund, 1994).
means of distributing a variety of ideas to those of who share a common cultural background as well as imbuing them with a degree of emotional, if not literal, truth.

Musically, the work of Victor Jara, Rolando Alarcon, Hector Pavez, Patricio Mann and, of course Violeta Parra concentrated on traditional instrumentation and arrangements. The songs were often sparse, featuring a lone voice and an acoustic guitar, occasionally joined by a tambourine or other percussive instrument to add a rhythmic counterpoint to the guitar's melody. Lyrically, aside from the songs that were direct denunciations of the social injustice arising within capitalist society, the songs of the Nueva Canción Chilena focused on the pleasures, struggles and expectations of working people. Many of the songs also portrayed the need to confront systemic inequity as a unified and cohesive group usually through the narrative reiteration of historic confrontations between workers and the authorities, either fictitious or actual, and commonly sung in the first person to increase the listeners' identification with the lyrics' protagonist. The relative simplicity of the songs' arrangements meant that the songs themselves were easily reproducible in the homes of the audience. This was an important factor in the popularity of the genre, not merely because it concretely realised the ideals of self-sufficiency and self-reliance, but also because it meant that in a time when pre-recorded tapes and records were still relatively expensive, the audience could re-affirm or re-experience the commitments that the music incorporated. Nueva Canción Chilena self-consciously sought its

48 See Victor Jara's rendition of Pablo Neruda's "Asi Como Hoy Matan Negros"

49 For an excellent example of this technique see Victor Jara's "Plegaria a un Trabajador"
structure in music written and played in the agricultural communities of the 19th century as an attempt to define and recreate an authentically Chilean form of popular music.

This return to the folkloric past is indicative of some of the broader political issues of the day, particularly the reaction against the perceived dominance of the U.S. in both the industrial and cultural life of the country, the overt political expression of which was the PDC's 'Chileanisation' program of the copper industry. Contemporary with the University and theatre reform movements, whose broad goals it also shared, the Nueva Canción movement also sought to generate a discourse of national identity that emphasised the dignity of labour and labourers, and pointed to a shared interest in the rearrangement of the social and economic order of society. For many of the artists involved, Nueva Canción was not solely an attempt to create cultural commodities which could challenge the market place pre-eminence of U.S. and European products, but rather a living refutation of the individualistic ideas and capitalist values that the Chilean audience felt many of these products shared. Admirably reflecting the tenor of the political affiliations of the audience and performers, the Peña de la Parra's decoration included one of the most famous pictorial expressions of Latin American solidarity, 'América Despierta.' Which was a large bipartite silk-screen that depicts the South American continent as a "restless interlock of hopes and agonies, symbols of the old jostling symbols of the new, a continent caught between the fires of fascism and revolution."50

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As one element of a much broader, albeit discontinuous, project of cultural renewal the *Nueva Canción Chilena* was often criticised by those unsympathetic with its boldly stated political purposes. President Frei's May 21, 1968 address to the nation concluded with a condemnation of the people who sing "poetic songs in praise of violence" and noted that they hailed from the "privileged groups...intellectual dilettantes who have nothing to do with the suffering of the people."\(^{51}\)

The youthful political activism that rolled up and down the length of Chile during the '60s\(^{52}\) show that while many of the preoccupations of the intellectual left-wing were shared by both Chilean and U.S. youth activists; the pre-eminence of U.S. cultural products in the discourse of Chilean popular culture provided the Chileans with a vivid array of examples of the U.S. imperialism they were rejecting. While the youths' political actions-- the occupations of universities and anti-Vietnam War marches-- could have occurred in California, Paris or London, there were actions that were particularly Latin American in scope and style. The occupation of the Santiago Cathedral, August 11, 1968, by 80 priests, monks and seminarians along with 200 laypersons explicitly links the mythic elements of the


\(^{52}\) Along with the violent activities and proclamations of the MIR, there were also the (in)famous demonstrations in support of the Viet Cong, 4 August 1967, organised by the Young Communists and the Marxist-oriented Young Church. This march was followed on 11 August 1967 by the seizure and 10-day occupation of the Catholic University. The occupiers', sharing many of the same tenets of the U.S.-based S.D.S., concrete goals were the democratisation of the University system by increasing the populations' access to education. This desire was accompanied by the demands that academics make their work more obviously socially useful. There were also innumerable folklore and drama festivals such as the Festival de Teatro Universitario y Obrero de la Universidad Católica, 1968 during which it was decided that theatre "for the masses and by the masses" could wrench theatre from its bourgeois roots make it means of political education. See Catherine M. Boyle. *Chilean Theater, 1973-1985: Marginality, Power, Selfhood.* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992), Pp. 23-43.
revolutionary aesthetic with the themes of the *Nueva CanCIÓN Chilena*. On either side of the crucifix the protesters mounted large pictures of Che Guevara and Camillo Torres. The protesters sang:

‘Pop spirituals’ in which Christ returning to earth as a member of the working class, would lead strikes and say ‘shit’ to the bosses; they explained from the pulpit that they were protesting against three infamous crimes committed by Rome: the Pope’s agreement to hold a Eucharistic Congress in Bogota, “capital of a class-state tied to imperialism”, the Vatican’s ban on the contraceptive pill, and the erection of a votive sanctuary at Maipu, seen as “a symbol of primitive bigotry”.

Taken as a whole the event was a seamless fusion of the religious, political and social symbologies into a statement rejecting the status quo. The politico-religious rhetoric, however, was not the only element. Present also was a rhetoric of the body, one that emanated from within the profound privacy of the human form and found its most forceful expression when combined with other like-minded people. In occupying the Cathedral the priests and laypersons, however temporarily, created a space and a time in which their ideas regarding the way the world should be organised held sway. The occupiers created their own time by extracting the space of the Cathedral from the system of hegemonic ideas that had determined the Cathedral’s appropriate location within the urban environment. Furthermore, the occupiers were yoking the weight of the Cathedral’s mythic value as the pinnacle of the Chilean church’s hierarchy, and thus its increased spiritual importance, to their own particular ideas. For a few short hours, in the circumscribed space of the Cathedral, their ideas were materially manifest.

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The occupation, through the action of human bodies responding to an idea, brought into reality a society that had previously only existed in the imagination. The mobilisation of human bodies in defence of, or to prove the veracity of, ideas by giving them a material form, would, throughout Allende's government, become one of the primary means of either attacking or supporting the political program of the UP.

"We All Want To Change The World"

On September 4, 1970 when Chileans went to the polls; 36.2% (1,070,334) of them voted for Salvadore Allende Gossens, the leader of the Unidad Popular (UP), a six party coalition which included the Communist party of Chile (PC), the Socialist party (PS), Movimiento de Acción Popular Unida (MAPU) and other left-leaning political groups. It was a result that catapulted Chile onto the front pages of newspapers and into the lead stories of television and radio news around the world. The sudden insertion of the country into the flat light of the international media's glare lent events there a significance that surpassed Chile's global strategic, economic or cultural importance. The election of an avowedly Marxist president, by the most stable democracy in a continent which to many outside observers seemed governed by a constantly changing assortment of brutal military dictators, was the result of a combination of various different forces and events, some

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54 The PDC received 27.8% (821,801) votes, while the Conservative candidate Jorge Alessandri received 34.9% (1,031,159). See Brian Loveman. Chile: The Legacy Of Hispanic Capitalism. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 295.

55 MAPU was an offshoot of the Christian Democrats which was lead by Agronomist Jaques Chonchol who had developed the most important elements of the Christian Democrats' land reform program.
wholly Chilean and some the result of the nation's imbrication in the flows of international capital and information.

The course of Allende's government and its eventual violent demise, has been described from any number of perspectives. Some prefer to use an analytical frame that draws heavily from 'Cold War' rhetoric and its endless parade of shadowy Russian subversives, whose capacity for evil is only matched by the corruption of certain high ranking Chileans.⁵⁶ Others offer a strident left-wing denouncement of the forces of fascism that perverted and undermined Chilean democratic traditions.⁵⁷ Still others can be found occupying virtually all points in between. There is, however, one thing that almost all of these descriptions agree on, that in the closing months of Allende's regime the polarisation of the society was so extensive that it was almost impossible to imagine any reconciliation between the two camps. In this section I am tracing the breakdown of the disciplinary apparatus that enables and legitimizes the processes of parliamentary democracy. Although some discussion of events at the governmental level will be necessary, I am more concerned how this dissolution of the expected and generalised norms underpinning the public sphere manifested itself in the daily lives of Chileans of all political stripes. I place particular emphasis on the Chilean media, its

⁵⁶See for example Suzanne Labin. Chile: The Crime of Resistance. (London: Foreign Affairs Publishing Co., 1982), 10-30. It should be noted that virtually any page of this vituperative text is a set piece of right-wing rhetoric whose self-congratulatory smugness is only overshadowed by her almost physical fear of left wing ideas.

⁵⁷See Edward Boorstein. Allende's Chile: An Inside View. (New York: International Publishers, 1977), P.ix of the Preface where he states; "During the Popular Unity government, the Chilean revolutionaries struggled with flawless courage and often great skill and flexibility against powerful enemies—the experienced Chilean oligarchy and the rich, cunning U.S. imperialists who stood behind it. To defeat the UP government, the imperialists were forced to make an enormous and painstaking effort, to deploy a wide range of weapons, including their ultimate one--fascism."
representations and analysis of different events, as well as showing, as the crisis deepened, the manner in which Chileans, inevitably, mobilised human bodies to stabilise and manifest their support for or opposition to, the government. By tracing the means by which the external modes of substantiating the concrete existence of a relatively stable consensual cultural artefact, known as the public sphere or society, are broken down, I am simultaneously showing the increasing need of its inhabitants to deploy their bodies as a means of bracing and making real the attributes of the preferred construct.

If the first casualty in war is the truth, then the first step towards conflict is the arrogant assumption of being the 'truth's' sole possessor. Elaine Scarry shows that:

In the dispute that leads to war, a belief on each side that has "cultural reality" for that side's population is exposed as a "cultural fiction": that is, by being continually called into question, it begins to become recognizable to its own population as an "invented structure" rather than existing as it did in peacetime as one that (though on reflection invented) could be unselfconsciously entered into as though it were a naturally occurring "given" of the world. As the dispute intensifies and endures, the exposed "cultural fiction" may seem in danger of eroding further into a "cultural fraud," in danger of eroding from something that is uncomfortably recognisable as "made" into something potentially identifiable as "unreal," "untrue," "illegitimate," "arbitrary." The more the process of derealisation continues, the more desperately will each side work to recertify and verbally reaffirm the legitimacy and reality of its cultural constructs. Although at distance human beings take pride in being the single species that relentlessly recreates the world, generates fictions, and builds culture, to arrive at the recognition that one has unselfconsciously been dwelling in the midst of one's
own creation by witnessing the derealization of the made thing is a terrifying and self-repudiating process.\textsuperscript{58}

As this dialectic process reaches a crisis point, human beings generally resort to real bodies rather than the metaphorical ones that constitute both the base image of democratic institutions and the ideals that sustain them,\textsuperscript{59} in order to prove the veracity of their claims. Scarry adduces a wide range of cross-cultural behaviours to back her claim that in the often problematic transition between something that is 'made up' (has no independently verifiable form of existence, it is not directly experienceable by somebody else), and something 'made real' that transition often requires the atavistic use of bodies. This is to say that, "The body tends to be brought forward in its most extreme and absolute form only on behalf of a cultural artefact or symbolic fragment or made thing... that is without any other basis in material reality: that is, it is only brought forward when there is a crisis of substantiation."\textsuperscript{60} The central crisis of the UP government was its inability on a political level, an economic level and a social level to bring into existence, in an unqualified manner any one aspect of its, and its followers', particular idea of the new Chilean nation. Furthermore, it appears that at least one reason for that failure was the UP's inability to categorically state of what the new nation would consist.


\textsuperscript{59} Particularly telling in reference to this point is the implicit barbarism of the central cliché of democratic political theory, 'the show of hands.' Let us not also forget the sustained body metaphors used to described the different aspects of the modern nation state: the body politic, the organs of state, head of state, etc. All of which are usually organised either explicitly or implicitly as a hierarchy with all of the different higher/lower bodily functions analogysed.

Rod Aya argues that when thinking about revolutions and collective violence, it is important to distinguish between the intentions of the actors involved, the outcomes of the actions taken to achieve the goal and the situations in which this occurs. Aya defines "The revolutionary situation itself [as] one of 'multiple sovereignty',..., in which two or more sets of power holders each strive to govern a territory previously ruled by a single regime." Although Aya is referring most explicitly to violent confrontations between the supposed rulers and their also supposed oppressed challengers, he implicitly recognises that the contending social duality is primarily ideological. It is a condition in which different social constructs share the same territorial space and seek, through the actions of their sympathisers, to exchange the existing duality for a unitary social discourse. The UP occupied a significant portion of the apparatus of the state and had official control over many of the state's sites of direct and indirect access to the population, such as the Carabineros, armed forces, healthcare institutions, for example, While there may have been a number of lower ranking officers in the Army whose actions served the governments' interests, that supported the UP's project rather than merely obeying the orders of the Executive. There were, however, many cases in the field of law enforcement and the Judiciary where most of the individual actors were opposed to the government and would carry out their normal functions in a manner that in many other places would be called treasonable. The Judiciary as a group actively sought to undermine the authority of the Allende government by dismissing the charges against persons accused of activities, even violence, in support of opposition groups. Simultaneously, each level of the court system would routinely uphold sentences and decisions against pro-government actors regardless of the previous decisions in similar cases, and on many occasions acted contrary to established jurisprudential procedure.

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62 It should be stressed that the 'unitary social discourse' sought is primarily a hegemony detailing the basic constitution, the primary myths and values, of a given society rather than a necessarily unified, stratified hierarchy that allows for little or no change in the future or the existence of social dissent.

63 There is an important distinction to made here, particularly in regards to the State's institutions, for example, While there may have been a number of lower ranking officers in the Army whose actions served the governments' interests, that supported the UP's project rather than merely obeying the orders of the Executive. There were, however, many cases in the field of law enforcement and the Judiciary where most of the individual actors were opposed to the government and would carry out their normal functions in a manner that in many other places would be called treasonable. The Judiciary as a group actively sought to undermine the authority of the Allende government by dismissing the charges against persons accused of activities, even violence, in support of opposition groups. Simultaneously, each level of the court system would routinely uphold sentences and decisions against pro-government actors regardless of the previous decisions in similar cases, and on many occasions acted contrary to established jurisprudential procedure.
and housing; however, due to both the inherited tradition of respect for, if not total submission to, the rule of law and the institutional forms of Chilean democracy, they were not able to translate this into the necessary validity required to quell the oppositions' claims. The fact that the UP did not do so is an indication of the government's commitment to legality, the principles that the legal system embodies, as well as the implicit recognition that if the new Chile required massive bloodletting to achieve its creation, it might not be worth having.64

The Via Chilena Not One Road But Many

In this section I will show the extent of the apparently measurable support, or opposition to Allende's 'Via Chilena' to socialism. In doing so I will briefly present the structure of Chilean voting behaviours and question the extent of the government's legitimate65 capacity for the transformation of Chilean society. At the outset of the Allende government, there was a relatively high tolerance for competing political positions both within the

64 There are two points to be made here: it is relatively clear that Allende was more or less dedicated to constitutionalism, the UP may have harried the opposition media and failed to adhere strictly to either letter or spirit of the laws but Allende, when questioned if elections would be held in 1976, said that "It is stupid to think that way. They will be continue to be held. There is nothing we Chileans like more than elections. If the next one goes against us, then we will put out our candles and leave." The commitment to political pluralism was not necessarily shared by all of Allende's associates in the Socialist Party. Carlos Altamirano the secretary general of the PS, responded differently to the same question, by stating archly that, "Perhaps there will be elections in 1976." The PC were forthcoming regarding their ultimate objectives as an element of the UP government which they saw as means of creating the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' The PC were, however, more moderate then the PS and would concede the importance of maintaining constitutional political practices, and recognised that their behaviour in Chile would effect the viability of the struggle elsewhere, particularly in France and Italy where the national Communist parties were enjoying significant support of the electorate. See Robert J. Alexander. The Tragedy Of Chile. ( Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978). Pp. 131-144.

65 By which I mean permissible under the existing legislation that regulated government action and fell within the Chilean population's expectations.
institutions of government and among the population at large. Through a
discussion of the Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario (Movement of the
Revolutionary Left), and Allende's relationship with them, I am tracing the
sedimentation of political violence in Chilean social reality and the dogmatic
intransigence that is both a result and a cause of it. The constitution of these
aspects of Chilean political thought and practice illustrate one aspect of the
differing realities whose existence Scarry and Aya assert are necessary for
the onset of war.66

Mark Falcoff argues persuasively that while both the Chilean economy
and social life needed an overhaul by 1970, it was by no means clear that the
vote for Allende was an absolute mandate for the radical change his platform
suggested. Falcoff adduces a number of reasons for this, primarily the dual
nature of the economic structure in which roughly one half of the population
had a relatively high degree of economic security, which derived from their
ability to advance their interests at the polls and the subsequent functional
representation in the governmental bureaucracy which ensured the existence
of entitlement programs and tax breaks. The other half, left outside this magic
circle was subject to "all the vices of capitalism, but beneficiaries of few or
none of its virtues."67 Drawing on the work of Markos Mamalakis and others,
Falcoff details the analytical limitations of standard Marxist theories, such as
'rising expectations' and 'increasing immiseration,' for explaining Allende's
electoral victory, and shows that even amongst groups such as low income
pobladores there was no necessary connection between poverty and political

66 See page 36 above.

Publishers, 1989), 21
affiliation. Falcoff also goes on to show that while the absolute numbers of voters grew through population increase and the enfranchisement of previously excluded groups the relative support for each of the three main ideological tendencies stayed constant with none far outstripping the other. Falcoff's own political commitments, which lead him to assert that Castro's government in Cuba was "the indirect consequence of a successful guerrilla movement," falls to take into account the overall effect that the Cuban revolution had on political discourse in Latin America. As Thomas Wright points out, the revolution in Cuba had shifted the political discourse of all of Latin America leftwards during the '60s and thus adherence of even the conservative candidates during the 1970 campaign to platforms that would have been inconceivable in the 1940s and 50s.

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68 Falcoff provides a compelling breakdown of Chile's occupational structure, drawn from census data, showing that the public service sector and white collar industries total numbers made up 46% of the economically active population who effectively received 50% of all available income. While 34.8% of the industrial workforce was found in artisanal workshops employing four people or less, while 24% of working Chileans were classified, or at least classified themselves, as self-employed. The practical upshot of the above on a political level was that while the middle class tended to support the PDC, there were significant sections of them that supported the UP, while the working class tended to be divided along occupational lines, with the self-employed on the whole identifying with the right wing. For further discussion see Mark Falcoff. Modern Chile: 1970-1989 A Critical History. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 8-24.

69 Between the 1950 and 1970 women (1952) and illiterates (1970) were enfranchised. Other important changes included the introduction of the secret ballot in rural areas (1958), legislation that marked an end to rural landowners control over the voting choices of their labourers, and compulsory voter registration in 1962.


71 One obvious and early sign of this was the passing of an Agrarian Reform Act in 1962 by the conservative President Alessandri. See Thomas Wright. Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), Pp 41-61.
The intensification of left-wing political discourse in Chile over this period was not limited to the institutional level of party politics. In 1965 the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* (MIR) was formed by Oscar Waiss, Miguel Enriquez, Bautista von Showen and Luciano Cruz, among others. Waiss, Cruz, Showen and Enriquez had been expelled from the Socialist Party the previous year for their advocacy of armed struggle and their rejection of electoral politics.\(^{72}\) Other actively revolutionary groups also sprang up in the wake of the left-wing's defeat in the 1964 election, including *Spartaco* and the *Partido Comunista Revolucionario*, much to the chagrin of the more institutionally oriented Communist party, that insisted upon the use of constitutional means to achieve revolutionary aims. MIR argued that "armed revolutionary actions and [the] militant mobilisation of the masses," were the only hope for changing the dominant social relations of Chile. In an interview published in *Punto Final*, Miguel Enriquez, whose father was later elected the rector of the University of Concepción, discussed the difference between the MIR and the Communists "[The communists believe] that it is necessary to perfect the regime in order to generate the forces which will destroy it. The MIR, on the other hand believes that it is necessary...to implant immediately the bases for the construction of socialism. For them [the communists] one should not struggle directly against capitalism. For us the fundamental thing is to use *violence* to propel the working class in the city and the countryside."\(^{73}\) By 1969, MIR's leaders had gone underground to


pursue their dream of destroying capitalism with violence. The MIR's revolutionary campaign in the late '60s consisted of a series of up to 18 bank and supermarket robberies, the proceeds of which were divided between the inhabitants of various shanty towns and the organisation itself.

The relationship between the UP and the MIR is murky and contradictory. An agreement was reached between them which resulted in a three-month cessation of hostilities before the election in 1970, even though the MIR openly stated that "The program of the UP is a reformist program...it is not a program leading toward socialism, far from it ...this program could have been presented by reformists of the Right." After, however, the assassination of General Rene Schneider in October 1970 by a CIA-backed right wing paramilitary group which had hoped to provoke a coup-- thereby preventing Allende's inauguration as Chile's president-- the MIR put their substantial intelligence gathering capacity at the disposal of the president elect. In return and shortly after becoming president, Allende pardoned a number of imprisoned MIRistas. The president's non-military bodyguards, the GAP (Grupo de los Amigos Personales), also contained MIRistas and his nephew served on MIR's national executive. Within the UP itself, many members of the PS supported the MIR while the PC was actively in conflict with it. Between the MIR and the PC there was a brief attempt to put aside ideological differences after a series of political debates that culminated in the death of a young MIR student, Arnoldo Rios at the Universidad de Concepción on December 2, 1970 (a killing that the Allende government

74 Quoted in Ricardo Israel Zipper. Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 90. (emphasis added) It is important to recognise the disdain in the term 'reformist'.
described as a “political problem rather than a criminal one”\textsuperscript{75}. However, by the end of 1972 the supporters of the two groups were once again engaging in a vehemently muscular debate. The MIR eventually condescended to offer their support to a number of PS candidates in the congressional elections in March 1973, but it is difficult to determine what affect this had on the voters. It is important to note that while there is little doubt that \textit{MIRistas} were organised, disciplined and committed, they had little support in a number of significant grassroots organisations; for example, in the national election of the CUT executive MIR won only 1.8\% of the vote.

The significance of the MIR lies less in its activities as a revolutionary vanguard, although it was certainly energetic during the UP regime, but rather in its role as the image of violent insurgence. Cordes argues that terrorist communications are primarily a form of “autopropaganda,” which means that the primary audience for their acts is their own supporters rather than the groups or ideals they claim to be acting in support of.\textsuperscript{76} There are two important aspects to this notion that need to be addressed. First, there is tacit recognition of the insecurity of the revolutionaries’ initial claims, an insecurity that derives from the absence of the means to verify the existence of the type of world they are trying to create. (A fact that is further indicated by their existence as a group dedicated to social transformation.) Second, it illustrates the mythic/discursive aspects of the MIR’s revolutionary project.

Shortly after the victory of the UP the MIR announced “that the defence of the


triumph lies on the level of mass mobilisation more than on possible institutional supports. We shall try to displace the center of decision making from the Moneda and the corridors of Congress to the mobilised mass fronts." This is a statement that clearly illustrates that members of MIR preferred to view themselves in a messianic role, although they would deny the term's religious connotations, leading the UP towards a true revolution. That is to say, a revolution that fit more closely with their preferred construct. The fact that MIR's self-assigned position as leaders in the grand process of social transformation was almost entirely dependent on the government's forbearance of their activities did not shake the MIRista's belief in the organisation's capacity to enact the necessary changes in social life. Paradoxically, bolstering the MIRista's confidence, the opposition media focused on the MIR's actions, and most importantly their often extravagant proclamations; for example: "We must be above bourgeois legality. It is necessary to dissolve Parliament, take over the industries and fundos without paying compensation." The MIR's claims of creating 'poder popular' (popular power), a secondary power structure that would theoretically replace the existing forms of national government, were trumpeted in the media as a means of frightening non-aligned sectors of the population and


79 One perfect example would be the MIR's popular assembly in the Universidad de Concepcion in 1972. The assembly was touted as one of the primary bases of poder popular and an important manifestation as well as a source of power parallel to that of the state. Three thousand people listened to more than six hours of speeches many of which proclaimed the assembly to be a 'truly' democratic institution and which ultimately decided little of concrete value. The assembly was generously covered in the opposition media as a further example of the UP's flagrant disregard for law and order due to the government's failure to curb the activities of the insurrectionists.
had the effect of goading the MIR into further posturing. MIR's vehement assertion of the inevitable confrontation with the bourgeoisie literally brought that confrontation into being. MIR were capable of combat in the realm of representation, and, with the tacit backing of the state seized spaces within which their particular version of reality was the defining characteristic, they were; however, extremely ill-prepared for the physical battle when it materialised.

Having briefly examined the MIR and its relationship with Allende, I will now turn to look at the composition of the ruling coalition and the different ideological conflicts that existed between its members and some of the opposition. The purpose of this analysis is to show both how fractured the UP was and the difficulties that arose out that ideological fragmentation in the implementation of its program. Conversely, this discussion also illustrates the speed with which right-wing political adherents were putting aside party political differences in order to create a unified opposition to the Allende government. This was an act which aided the decomposition of the governing coalition.

If Falcoff is right in asserting that what Chileans wanted is unclear, then the fact that Allende's coalition was less than prepared to take up the power they had been offered takes on a whole new level of significance. "We did not expect to win the election, ...We weren't really prepared and some of our kids feel frustrated," Allende's Minister for the Interior Jose Toha told an

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80 Punto Final, MIR's official newspaper was well produced and the MIR was capable of periodically mobilising large groups of people as at the Universidad noted above, which helped create an image of support and power.

81 Quoted in Mary Helen Spooner. Soldiers In A Narrow Land: The Pinochet Regime In Chile. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 27.
army intelligence official after the discovery of an MIR training camp in southern Chile in 1971. Toha may have been a little disingenuous, given the familial connection Allende enjoyed with the MIR; the internal make up, however, of the UP ensured that ideological differences between the constituent elements would only serve to hamper decision-making and ultimately limit the efficacy of the governing coalition. The suspicion that the constituent elements felt toward their counterparts in the UP alliance ultimately created the bureaucratic situation in which "a middle level functionary would not implement a policy instruction from his administrative superior (even when the latter was a member of another left-wing party) before checking it out with his own party." Allende recognised early on that his continued popularity (and thus his only hopes for a clear mandate for widespread and thorough going social change), lay in altering the institutional and textual elements of the discourse of Chilean popular culture. It is, however, apparent that the government was also unprepared and ill-equipped to carry out such a large scale struggle.

From the very beginning of Allende's presidency there were extreme contradictions within the platform he had been elected to enact. The precise nature of that platform was unclear. Even his most baldly stated campaign promises held innumerable definitional problems such as his promise to nationalise the 'Commanding Heights' of the economy. This promise provoked numerous debates within the Chilean Senate and UP as his Ministers struggled to define the attributes of companies that occupied the 'Commanding Heights.' Although Chilean Presidents enjoyed a wide range of

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82 Ricardo Israel Zipper. Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 72.
discretionary powers, unilateral expropriation was not one of the constitutionally protected Presidential powers. The material and social resources were also not unlimited. Ricardo Israel Zipper notes that the UP’s lack of a congressional majority meant, in the absence of a successful constitutional plebiscite that granted the president the extraordinary powers of; the dissolution of Congress and its replacement with an Assembly of the People, the right to deprive citizens of private property without compensation via expropriation and the reconfiguration of the legal system along socialist principles, that Allende had to first focus on programs designed to garner the support of a broad cross-section of the population by offering them economic, political and social incentives to support the UP government, rather then the more direct methods of establishing a socialist state.\(^8^3\) These policies sought to nationalise the largest economic organisations operating in the country, ‘the commanding heights,’ implement a redistribution of economic wealth downward through a number of economic measures; (primarily fixed prices coupled with across the board wage increases); improving the supply of consumer goods while hampering access to luxury items; accelerate the agrarian reform; increase worker participation in industry; decrease unemployment and expand public education. The UP’s aggressive pursuit of these goals during the first year of its administration met with a high degree of economic and social success: the GNP grew by 8.3%, industrial production increased by 12.9%, inflation decreased from 34.9% in Dec. 1970 to 22.3% in Dec. 1971, and the share of total income going to wage and salary earners increased from 53.7% to 58.6% with a vastly increased share being

distributed indirectly to the poorest sections of the population through pensions, health care and welfare services in general. The UP had posited a relatively uncomplicated correlation between the economy and culture and assumed that given the success of their initiatives during their first year, their political support would blossom. The national municipal elections in April 1971, which although an important indicator of national temperament had no tangible effect on Congressional activities, showed that support for Allende had grown to just above 50%. Notwithstanding the economic situation\textsuperscript{84} that enabled the UP to carry out their plans, also significant was the lack of organised resistance either within Congress or in Chilean society in general for most of the first year. The economic results of their second and third years in government, however, would not replicate the success of their first, if anything quite the opposite.

During 1971 the position of the Christian Democrats (PDC) towards the UP became increasingly antagonistic and was moving toward conciliation with the staunchly oppositional National Party (NP). At the institutional level of government, the UP found its initiatives blocked by an unprecedented coalition of the PDC and Alessandri's conservative NP; meanwhile, the UP's executive actions were consistently challenged by the Comptroller-General as well as the entire juridical apparatus, and the members of the executive cabinet were constantly under threat of impeachment. As the opposition to

\textsuperscript{84} During the final years of Frei's Christian Democratic government the world price of copper had been particularly high, primarily due to the ongoing war in Vietnam. This meant that despite the economic problems faced by the PDC they had still managed to maintain the country's balance of trade deficits and had stocked the treasury with a large reserve of foreign currency. Using this reserve the UP spent freely to support their economic and social programs. Furthermore, during the first year of Allende's government the capital flight that accompanied his election went relatively unnoticed, partially because of a reduction in savings and because the economic sanctions of U.S. had yet to become effective.
Allende's government solidified at an institutional level, the different social actors were elaborating an ideology of resistance. One of the primary elements of this discourse was questioning the 'legality' of the government's actions rather than the actions themselves. The congressional blockade of all Allende's proposed acts meant that he often resorted to using his wide ranging executive powers to achieve his goals. The opposition sought to undermine his support by claiming these actions were not strictly legal, thereby maintaining support for government as a social institution while attacking the people exercising power. Particularly important in this respect was Allende's interference with the judiciary; for example, his overturning court rulings by releasing MIR activists from gaol. As his term progressed the questions of legality were superceded by simple assertions of illegitimacy and questions regarding the relative importance of the institutions of representational democracy, private property rights and the apparatus that ensured their continued existence.

Exacerbating Allende's problems of the opposition's growing strength was the struggle raging between the Communist Party (PC) and the Socialist Party (PS), the two major parties of the UP's six party coalition. While both wings agreed that the primary enemy of the revolution consisted of "foreign capital, the industrial monopoly bourgeoisie, and the agrarian oligarchy," Allende along with the PC, the Radical Party and small elements of the PS felt that a broad alliance could be created with the middle classes, gaining their trust and support by showing the UP's program could serve their economic interests. In this manner the class struggle could alter the class

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85 Ricardo Israel Zipper. Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 70.
content of the state while its structure remained essentially the same. Through its "accumulation of positions within the state the working class could advance in a process which would culminate with its establishment as a dominant class." 86 Meanwhile, within the UP, the PS and the majority of MAPU held firm to the beliefs that the presidential office was primarily a means of developing the class consciousness of the oppressed sectors and thus stressed the need to create new institutions of popular power, including that of an autonomous armed force. Concomitantly, the PS rejected, as utopian, the notion that an accord could be reached with the democratic sectors, arguing that the middle class as whole "had become a satellite of international capitalism." 87 Beyond the ranks of the PS, and officially external to the UP, these ideas were shared by the increasingly active MIR. The actions of the government show that it oscillated between the two positions, never firmly committing to one or the other. This pusillanimous attitude can be seen in the UP's handling of the Cordones Industriales as well as its erratic enforcement of that cornerstone of international capitalism, private property laws, as can be best demonstrated in a brief discussion of the UP's approach to agrarian reform.

The UP inherited an agrarian reform policy from the previous Christian Democratic government--Law 16.640 passed in 1967--which had clearly laid out the criteria for the landowners' expropriation and ultimate recompense. One provision, Article 171, stated that, in the event of a labour dispute, the

86 Ricardo Israel Zipper. Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 70.

87 Ricardo Israel Zipper. Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 70.
President of the Republic was empowered to appoint an intervenor to oversee the operation until the conflict was settled. Initially intended as a means of mitigating the economic effects of a strike or a lockout, Article 171 also provided the government with a method of circumventing the often time-consuming and expensive official procedures of depriving landowners of their property. By March 1972 there had been over 1,700 rural land seizures by campesinos, half of which took place on farms smaller than the 80 Basic Irrigated Hectares (BIH) stipulated by Law 16.640 as the smallest expropriable holdings. The Ministry for the Interior directly controlled the activities of the Carabineros and was unwilling to repress the campesinos. The Ministry, on behalf of the President, often restrained the Carabineros from enacting court orders to oust illegal squatters. Commonly, the government claimed that these seizures were the result of labour disputes and sent a government employee as an intervenor. The 'illegal' land seizures were officially abhorred by the government; however, the implications of the government’s refusal to enforce the landowners rights were not lost on the campesinos or the activists in the MIR’s rural wing. Rod Aya notes that the primary influences on people’s participation in potentially revolutionary activities are the "capability to act in concert, thanks to their assets, organisation, and know-how; and that they had an opportunity to get away with it, thanks to coalition partners, the collapse of central authority or both."88 There were distinct advantages for the campesinos and the UP to this mode of occasionally violent expropriation; first of all, enacting a toma meant that the landowner was unable to remove his capital equipment and stock from

the land expropriated by the government; secondly, as a party to a labour
dispute the landowner had no right to reserve a section of land for his or her
own use, and thirdly it meant that farms that fell below the size stipulations of
Law 16.640 could be seized regardless of that law. In response to the
controversy aroused by these seizures the government adopted the position
that the only way of avoiding this kind of conflict was to speed the pace of
reform. The sincerity of this stance was undermined by PS and MAPU's
active and public organisation and support for further land seizures. Often the
landowners, backed by the local courts who commonly declared the
expropriations illegal regardless of the means used, formed vigilante groups
who staged violent 'retomas' and in doing so created, in some areas, actions
and counter-actions that were tantamount to a civil war.

Windows Onto Fractured Spaces

Pursuing the ideas of Scarry, this section focuses on the dialectic
relation between the opposing forces and the intensification of the
competition between the conservative coalition and the increasingly
fragmented left-wing. In particular I will be looking at the manner in which the
physical control of certain spaces became the pre-eminent means by which
supporters of the UP and those who opposed it asserted the validity of their
construction of reality. The left-wing version of was intrinsically future-
oriented, in the sense that it was perceived to be something to be created,
while the right-wing version was essentially defensive and past-oriented, in
the sense that political actions were asserting the validity of a previously
existing reality. These primary characteristics of the pro- and anti-government
views highlight the competitive nature of the conflict between them. The
nature of the conflict meant that both parties increasingly relied on the opposition's constructions to define the attributes of their own.

What is striking in the Chilean process of political polarisation is its spatial nature. The activities of both the pro-and anti-governmental groups: occupations of State buildings or factories, demonstrations, strikes, lock-outs, the creation of community vigilante groups and *Cordones Industriales* as well as the construction of individual fenced encampments (*campamentos*, and interestingly enough also called *territorios libres*) in the midst of the city on vacant lots, were centred on the access to, and designed to control specific areas and locations within the city and countryside. It is important to stress that these spaces did not merely represent certain ideas about the appropriate make-up of the nation—they were the concrete enactment of those ideas. This meant that for the government's supporters the campamentos or seized factories were literally revolutionary space. Conversely, the material manifestation of the revolution, in admittedly circumscribed areas, helped define the remaining areas in which the opposition still held sway. The spaces that the opposition controlled were seen as embattled redoubts and zones of freedom in an increasingly controlled hostile environment.

The creation of revolutionary space tore the area from its previously determined time and meanings, in some cases wrenching it from the field of private property rights and reconstituting it in the area of social property, as in the factories and farms confiscated by the government. At other time it was enough to merely dominate the public throughway momentarily with an organised group whose bodies had been mobilised, in that particular space, to illustrate the veracity and the sheer physicality of their shared idea. Once again, due to the contestable nature of the vision propounded and created
by the collection of people within that space, they undermined the apparent reality of the construct that opposed them.

One of the hallmarks of revolutionary space was that it was filled with 'struggle' (luchar), an explicitly conflictual formulation that on a material level could be experienced by entering or leaving one the self-declared "territorios libres," whose boundaries were defined by and against the pre-existent structures of the bourgeois capitalist state. One example of this kind of site-specific revolutionary space was the campamento, Che Guevara, situated in the Santiago suburb of San Pablo. Within the confines of the campamento a different form of social organisation existed. Internal order was maintained by the application of a disciplinary code which bore little resemblance to that prevalent beyond its fences. Conflicts between different members were settled through assemblies called people's courts; the most common offenses were called "political errors" or "lack of discipline" and the most common sanctions were public humiliation, cleaning latrines, and in extreme cases expulsion from the camp.89 The campamento was a physical manifestation of the participant’s ideas, a realisation that declaimed, contrary to the world outside its perimeter, that the status quo could be radically changed. Its existence proved the ficticious, or constructed, nature of the capitalist world it defined itself against.

The struggle implicit in revolutionary space was not solely confined to distinguishing those within the compound, and those beyond its fences (either metaphoric or actual), there were internal or subjective elements as well. At one level there was a desire to overcome the constraining standards

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of behaviour and feelings inherited from the pre-existent society, which were compounded by the fleeting belief that it was actually possible. As Marco Antonio de la Parra, a student during the Allende regime, recalled later:

People believed that paradise was just around the corner. There was an explosion of passion, a drunken binge of ideas, and a constant demand for political definitions. We all thought we were at the Sorbonne; we expected to find Che Guevara in the next cafe. But there was also a sense of violence, a feeling that it would all come crashing down. We suffered the calamitous impact of a utopian time. ⁹⁰

The perceived imminence of this new society is just one of the factors that explains the appeal of the different ideologies and the subsequent behaviour of the adherents. The suddenly opened sense of options corresponded to the increasing 'unreality' of the taken for-granted structures of daily life. The term struggle also implicitly recognises its dialectical nature because the content and structure of the conflict, is defined by its relation to its oppositional social counterpart. The material and ideological terrain upon which the new society was to be erected already contained an array of strategies and structures through which its members experienced its reality. The new society therefore required the creation of alternate means to bring the new world into a shareable and experiential form. These alternate representational strategies would adopt some of the pre-existing schemes, twisting them to serve their interests while discarding others.

As I noted earlier, the term revolution was a term whose content was less fixed than its mythic structure; however, the insertion of revolutionary spaces into the sphere of the public imagination, on both material and

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ideological levels had the effect of bringing into existence the defensive spaces of reaction, and in doing so reduced the options for compromise available between the competing groups.

Basically, the struggle of the pro-socialist groups concerned the ability to define the meanings of Chilean times and spaces. The *Brigada Ramona Parra* sought through their mural painting to transform an element of the capitalist state--walls, which were the material representations of the discourse of private property rights--into a site of support for the socialist cause. *Brigada Ramona Parra* were graphically calling attention to both the repressive action of the city's walls, and what they represented, as well as their liberatory potential, by bringing some aspect of the struggle into the daily perambulations of the city's inhabitants.91 People felt that their often mundane activities were now part of something, a process, that transcended their own particular interests; in the *campamentos* one's home life was an element in the creation of a socialist state, and in the intervened factories one's repetitive job was part of the struggle for production, a means of proving that the bourgeois reactionaries were wrong about socialism. Estela Ortiz, who worked creating experimental educational programs during the Allende years, stated that, "We gave our all to the U.P. We lived each moment intensely and worked terribly hard; we felt an immense responsibility. We were the generation that thought we had the world in our hands; we were

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91 The *Brigada* often chose specific walls that could highlight the taken-for-grantedness of private property. They were not averse to straightforward political confrontation either, and their murals appeared on walls in view of the opposing groups meeting places and party headquarters. See David Kunzle, *Art of the New Chile: Mural, Poster, and Comic Book in a "Revolutionary Process."* In H. Millon and L. Nochlin, (eds.) *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics.* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976).
building a new country." Of course, interest and belief in the grand project waxed and waned in people's consciousness with their circumstances, location and recent events.

*Luchar* (to struggle), does not imply a specific outcome of the activity and it was a central element of both pro- and anti-government discourse. As a means of detracting from the more positive implications of the left's use of the term, the right focused on the ideas and activities of the more radical groups in order to frighten non-aligned sectors of the population and bring the government's claims into disrepute. In this way the MIR's violent rhetoric colonised the representational spaces of the right; however, this movement into ideological space of the right, while undermining the 'realness' of the right's preferred construction of social reality, generally focused the right's attention on the physical harm the MIR had planned for them. The inability of either side to relinquish key aspects of their preferred constructions of society, which were mutually exclusive, lead to a rapid contraction in the public debating ground on which any kind of political compromise could be built. The contraction of the shared ideological space mirrored the escalating street battles and strikes that were occurring along the length of the country.

**Mediating the Revolution**

In this section I examine both the productive institutions which create the texts of popular culture, as well as the manner in which those texts represent reality within the competitive context of Chile during the Allende administration.

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Benedict Anderson asserts that the nation is an "imagined community" which shares certain overarching ideological characteristics; the promulgation, support and maintenance of which are primarily the province of the organs of mass media. As noted earlier, the media have an impact on a mass audience. Any nation's media industry, taken as a whole, shapes the very foundations, regardless of how unstable, of the writhing conglomeration of symbols, myths and icons that constitute that nation's social reality. They do this through the constant and continuous re-iteration of those truths that the community they serve consistently views as self-evident. In this form, the extent to which these ideas remain unquestioned and unchallenged is an index of their 'reality.' In effect, the different media create an informational 'white-noise' in which individuals pick out the scales that resonate most strongly with their subjective experience. Broadly speaking it is possible to say that if a nation's media outlets incorporate a high number of congruent presumptions about the basic nature of society, then it would be reasonable to assume that the majority of the nation's inhabitants are relatively content with the status quo. In the Chilean context, however, it is possible to see this process being reversed, wherein the media's reality conferring capacities were turned back on themselves and each element served to strengthen and exacerbate existing partisan beliefs, constricting the levels of social reality rather than amplifying them.

One indication of the emphasis both pro- and anti-government forces placed upon the media industries as a means of reaffirming and creating the necessary ideological elements in the discourse of popular culture, can be

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seen in the struggle surrounding the UP's attempted acquisition of ex-

president Jorge Alessandri's Paper and Carton Manufacturing Company,

commonly known as La Papelera. In the UP's platform, the paper and pulp

sector of the economy was designated as one destined for nationalisation;

however, the Statute of Democratic Guarantees, signed by Allende as

perquisite to gaining the presidency, specifically stated that his government

had to ensure free access to the supplies and materials which were

necessary to ensure the functioning of a free press. The Paper and Carton

Manufacturing Company was both the largest producer and the only

privately-owned source of newsprint in Chile. In August 1971, with the aim

of gaining 51% of the company's stock, the government announced that it

would buy shares from anyone who wished to sell. Simultaneously, the

government announced a price increase in the cost of raw materials while

refusing to raise the price for the finished goods, an action that Paul Sigmund

called "a patent effort to bankrupt the company." Bankruptcy and

governmental control was foiled through the creation of a National Freedom

Fund by stockholders who enjoyed the financial largesse of the CIA. The

National Freedom Fund offered to buy shares from those who wished to sell

at marginally higher rate than that offered by the UP. In the UP's action there

is a hint both of the pursuit of economic and social dominance but also, more

importantly, of a tacit recognition that what was being mediated through the

newspapers and other media formats was not just support for or attacks upon


94 The state in the guise of the Corporacion de Fomento Fabril (CORFO), had the controlling
interest in the other two smaller paper producing companies. See Robert J. Alexander. The

95 Paul E. Sigmund. The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976.
the government, but a whole complex verbalisation of different elements of Chilean life, not only as it was but as it could be. In this way it was a recognition that the very nature of Chilean existence was contested and contentious. This meant that occupying the subjectivity of a Chilean was no longer something that one could unselfconsciously slip into. It was an identity that required the constant and conscious evaluation of political and social events, and gradually became centred upon the individual's support for or opposition to the UP. The very concept of one's identity came under intense scrutiny as the day-to-day expectations of some were dashed against the instability of a society apparently in crisis, while others enjoyed a sudden expansion in their social and material conditions.

The structure of the different cultural industries in Chile favoured the opposition forces, although the UP's anti-imperialist stance did appeal to many of the opposition supporters and helped them develop their own discourse of Chilenidad, (Chileaness). By the end of the 1960s a number of different Euro-American cultural products were being sought out and consumed in Chile and Latin America as a whole. Chile's most popular television channel imported roughly 50% of its programming from the U.S., including shows such as F.B.I., Mission Impossible and The Wonderful World of Disney, and "until June 1972 eighty percent of the films shown in the cinemas...came from the U.S."96 The Chilean literacy rate, in 1970, according to comparative development surveys, was around 90%.97

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national dailies enjoyed a combined circulation of "853,000; among an adult population of five million, counting several readers per newspaper, one may conclude that most Chileans read at least one newspaper." 98 These figures can be broken down further to gain some insight into the predisposition's of the readership. The average distribution of the five national left-wing newspapers combined was put at around 312,000. Over this period there were six right-wing national newspapers with a combined daily distribution of about 541,000. There were also regional press chains, consisting of smaller community newspapers; however, the strongest of these were under the opposition's control. In the north these newspapers were the property of the vehemently conservative El Mercurio, while in the south the Sociedad Periodística del Sur was owned by a consortium with a profoundly Christian Democrat outlook. In the area of weekly magazines the dominance of the opposition was even more marked: "no left-wing magazine even came close to the circulation of the main opposition magazines, Vea and Ercilla. The opposition enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the field of women's magazines, with Eva, Paula and Vanidades." 99 The structure of the pro-government media followed standard capitalist lines and relied on sensational depictions of crime, sex, sport and scandal to boost circulation. The popular press of left and right were different in degree but not in kind. Among the left-wing press, some (particularly Puro Chile and Clarin) were identified with the gutter


press (in Chile, the *prensa roja*) that concentrated solely on crimes and scandals.\(^{100}\)

The activities of the different media had the effect of removing compromise from Chilean political existence, and instituting as the central characteristic of the nation's political life the notion of extreme social conflict. The media in this case helped give a verbal form and content to the opposing structures that were wearing each other away. The different strategies of the pro- and anti-UP media reflect this dialectic delineation of ideological position.

Throughout the UP period, government campaigns tended to focus on individuals, criticising them on both a personal and a professional basis, often attributing to them invidious behaviours or characteristics. For example, Robert Moss notes that in 1971 a small group of pro-Allende employees released a message to *La Nación* attacking *El Mercurio*'s "managers and senior editors, quoting figures for their salaries."\(^{101}\) The opposition, however, tended to attack the government's actions, questioning their legitimacy and ultimate purposes; they also tended to hold back from directly attacking either the institutions of the state or their elected representatives.\(^{102}\) Furthermore the opposition could use a two pronged attack on the activities of the government, calling its use of the police to break up demonstrations an

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\(^{100}\) Ricardo Israel Zipper. *Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile*. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 123.


abuse of power and the suppression of free speech; or, in the absence of police activity the government would be accused of creating social anarchy. Zipper notes that a study of the front pages of the opposition newspapers between January and September 1972 reveals "436 articles giving an image of economic chaos, 268 suggesting a situation of social anarchy, and 325 accusing the government of attacking legality."\footnote{Ricardo Israel Zipper. \textit{Politics and Ideology in Allende's Chile}. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1989), 125.}

At the beginning of the UP period there were 155 licensed radio stations in Chile, of which 115 were owned and operated by the opposition. Radio receivers were far more prevalent in the home and workplace than televisions during the late '60s and early '70s due to both relative scarcity and expense. The government loosely controlled the programming of the single national television network and kept a relatively watchful eye on the activities of the other two Santiago based stations. The cultural reform movements of the previous decade had met with varying degrees of success;\footnote{Catherine Boyle notes that by 1968 the majority of different University sponsored, independent and amateur drama groups had accepted the idea that, "Theater was...an instrument for the promotion of social change and almost without exception works were chosen for their relation to political and ideological atmosphere." She goes on to say that many audiences slowly became indifferent to to the increasingly didactic and often cliched works presented to them. See Catherine M. Boyle. \textit{Chilean Theater, 1973-1985: Marginality, Power, Selfhood}. (London: Associated University Press, 1992), 33. For further discussion of the theater during the Allende period see Ibid. Pp 32-50.} however, the products linked with \textit{Nueva Canción Chilena} were amongst the most popular of local musical releases. Reflecting both its commercial and propaganda potential, the UP in 1971 passed a law whereby "radio stations had to devote 40 percent of air time, spread out equally over the entire day, either to music interpreted by Chileans (25 percent) or Chilean folklore (15
percent).\textsuperscript{105} There were many who still preferred Tom Jones or the Beatles to the music linked inextricably to the UP government's project, and it's questionable to what degree the law was enforced. Comparable to the murals of the \textit{Brigada Ramona Parra}, music was a means of creating, and to some extent controlling, certain spaces and times, filling a locale and an activity with sound, thereby eliminating any competing verbal discourse. One example of this occurred during a demonstration celebrating the third anniversary of Allende's election on September 4, wherein a crowd of over 100,000 (250,000 if you believe the left-wing press or just over 10,000 if you believe the right), sang "This government is mine, I defend it all the way. And though I may die of hunger, they'll never take it away."\textsuperscript{106}

While the comparative importance of any one of these media cannot be easily determined, it is important to recognise that, in Chile, the programming quality was sufficient to ensure the existence of what Falcoff describes as a society with an "unusually high degree of political awareness and critical intelligence which were brought to bear in the discussion of economic and social issues."\textsuperscript{107} A compelling example can be seen in the best selling and influential book of cultural criticism, \textit{"Como Leer a Pato Donald"} by A. Mattelart and A. Dorfman which, when released in Chile in


\textsuperscript{106} David F. Cusack. \textit{Revolution and Reaction: The Internal Dynamics of Conflict and Confrontation in Chile}. Monograph Series In World Affairs, Volume 14, Book 3. (Denver: University Of Denver, 1977) 75.

1972, sold in excess of one million copies.\textsuperscript{108} "Como Leer a Pato Donald" focused on the different normative messages and implicit imperialism, and in some cases quite explicit forms of social control, that could be found in the Disney comic books published throughout the world. The book’s elucidation of the processes by which imperialism insinuates itself into the fabric of daily life, and its widespread distribution, is one further indication of the degree to which the structures, patterns and routines of Chilean's daily lives were being consciously examined.

**Things Fall Apart**

In this section I examine the effects of the general strikes of October 1972 and July 1973. These events bring three distinct aspects of social life--economic structures, political ideals and personal behaviour--into alignment. I focus on these two major strikes in order to show how these disparate elements find their expression through individual human bodies acting in concert. In doing so I am also examine some of the subjective aspects of living in what Marco Antonio de la Parra called the 'calamitous impact of a utopian time.'\textsuperscript{109}

The October Strike in 1972 indicated the strength of the cross-party, cross-class, cross-gender oppositional alliance that had formed during the previous two years. It consisted of a massive coordinated series of strikes, beginning with the trucking industry in southern Chile which quickly brought virtually all economic activity to a standstill. Professional offices of all types,

\textsuperscript{108} It should be remembered that prior to the UP government, and subsequent to its downfall, publishing runs of new books in Chile were often lower than 20,000 issues.

large and small stores, many small workshops and medium sized factories, banks and even most forms of public transit ceased operating during the strike. The first strike lasted from October 10 to November 5 and only ended when a new cabinet that included the military's Chief of Staff, General Carlos Prats as the Minister for the Interior, was created. The October Strike was marked by high levels of civil disturbance. By October 20, a mere 10 days after the strike began, a state of emergency had been declared in 21 provinces. The impact of the October stoppage was felt at virtually all levels of the society. By October 12, many staple food products were unavailable from the few shops that were still open, while petrol and fuel oil were, in many places, impossible to find. To combat the effects of the strike, the government used police and military forces to seize vehicles where possible, requisitioned factories closed by their owners, took responsibility for ensuring the national distribution of necessary goods through a complex network of volunteers and trade union activists, and even sent riot police into the centre of Santiago to physically open the closed stores, an act that provoked further rioting. Furthermore, the government closed virtually all the opposition radio stations that refused to broadcast state-approved programming, and temporarily closed many opposition newspapers. At its height the strike involved "100 percent of transport, 97 percent of commerce, 80 percent of the professions, and 85 percent of peasant co-operatives." The strike exacerbated the already existing shortages of many necessary and desirable consumer goods, and led to the creation of the Cordones


111 The extent of shortages and their proximate causes will be dealt with below.
Industriales\textsuperscript{112} as a localised attempt by pro-socialist workers to ensure industry received its necessary supplies.

Adopting the tactics more commonly associated with pro-government supporters, the opposition\textsuperscript{113} created an almost complete inversion of the common western socialist narrative of stalwart workers rising up against capitalist inequity only to be either co-opted through underhanded deals between leading protagonists,\textsuperscript{114} or simply physically repressed by the government lackeys of capital.\textsuperscript{115} Refusing to countenance the violence necessary to effectively repress the strikers, the coercive apparatus of the state was quickly directed toward activities designed to minimise the conflict between the competing social blocs. In an attempt to quash the strike Allende had its leaders, along with 150 others, arrested, whom he characterised as

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{112} The Cordones Industriales, in essence organised the productive capacities of different socially owned industries within specific areas by creating a central committee who task was to liaise with existing union and shopfloor organs, neighbourhood committees, (such as the JAP's) to ensure that each industry continued to receive necessary raw materials and that the workers could get food during the strike. The Cordones were a creative and in many cases an effective response to the strike of the capitalist class. As a locally-based trans-company organisation the Cordones became increasingly important in the remaining months of Allende's presidency. They did, however, create yet another web of semi official political and social relations in the already byzantine political hierarchies of the Chilean factories, wherein workers with different political affiliations would belong to different unions, each of which would be represented on the shop floor and the decision making structures.

\textsuperscript{113} The creation and maintenance of Gremialismo, in essence a corporatist Catholic doctrine adopted by many white-collar workers as a means of furthering their legitimate interests, which often involved alliances with large and small capitalists, is an exceedingly important factor in comprehending the gestation of the October strike. However, that history is beyond the scope of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{114} For example Orwell's factual account of how the International Brigade and the Anarchists were betrayed by the Communists during the Spanish Civil War, in \textit{Homage To Catalonia}.

\textsuperscript{115} Miners strike in northern Chile circa 1932, when over 100 people were gunned down by the army.
\end{flushleft}
"fascists and neo-fascists."\textsuperscript{116} The incarceration of the strike's leaders dismayed even the prison warders destined to watch over them, and who released a statement saying, "that they are employed to guard bandits not trade unionists."\textsuperscript{117} Opposition supporters saw the actions of the government as a blatant attack on their fundamental rights and an indication of the kind of police state they felt the UP was trying to create in Chile. As an act of omission, rather than one of commission, striking is a passive activity. The government's actions against the strikers heightened the opposition's fears because it trapped the UP in a performative contradiction, wherein they upheld their supporters right to seize factories and farms while labelling the opposition's activities as "seditious" and "criminal."\textsuperscript{118} Siding once again with the opposition, the Supreme Court upheld the truck drivers' right to strike and demanded that they be released from gaol.

The strike marked an escalation in the conflict between the two competing social realities. The strike stripped Chilean social life of many of its tacit material supports. This was precisely what the strikers had intended to do. However by exposing the frailty of the existing social order, they caused a retrenchment in the conflicting beliefs while simultaneously undermining the practices by which those beliefs were manifested. This retrenchment consisted of an increasingly shrill insistence of the validity of both parties constructs. As noted earlier, Scarry calls this dialectical erosion of contending constructs the process of "derealisation." As the common material forms of


verification slipped away, the different texts of the media became an increasingly important forum for the verbal affirmation of each side's claims. The verbalisation of reality mediated through the texts of popular culture meant that the media formed one of the most important "battlegrounds in Chile's attempted revolution."\footnote{Robert Moss. The Santiago Model-2: Polarisation of Politics. (London: The Institute for the Study of Conflict Ltd. January, 1973), 1.}

As the contending constructs became more verbal they became increasingly disembodied; by which I mean they had to be consciously enacted. And this constant demand for manifestation led to the increasing unreality of people's daily lives. This unreality was characterised by the breakdown of all the different representative structures that provide the basis of all people's ontological security.\footnote{A term taken from Giddens which refers the perception and expectations that given a particular circumstance that action X will bring Y result. For a more extensive discussion of this see Anthony Giddens. Social Theory and Modern Sociology. (California: Stanford University Press, 1987), 177-179.} The economic instability, particularly rapidly rising inflation and the concomitant growth of the black market, coupled with the occasionally abusive behaviour of the JAPs,\footnote{Juntas de Abastecimientos y Precios (neighbourhood food supply and pricing committees), were officially created by the Directorate of Commerce and Industry (DIRINCO) on March 29 1972 and published in the Diario Official on the April 4 1972. Their actual creation preceded their official invocation; the JAPs were active in the poorer poblaciones by late 1971. In their ideal form they were a mechanism for the government to ensure that its mandated prices were being kept as well a means by which the state distribution agency could maintain supplies to the poor and party faithful. As the official prices for many goods was far below both the rate of inflation and what was realisable on the black market, the interests of the shopkeepers and JAPs were not merely in conflict, but mutually exclusive. The members of the JAP were empowered with the right to monitor the activities of the official storekeepers and were an essential element in the creation of a state-controlled food distribution organisation. The UP maintained that the creation of the JAPs was necessary to ensure equal access to increasingly rare goods and services, the opposition claimed that they were only one more means of shoring up the UP's envisaged tyrannical rule by denying its opposition access to vital foodstuffs. There seems to be little doubt that JAP's could be used to further either political goals or to conduct personal vendettas through a locally powerful organ of the state. (See Labin 69-71. O'Brien et al. 167-170.)} shortages

\footnote{The Santiago Model-2: Polarisation of Politics. (London: The Institute for the Study of Conflict Ltd. January, 1973), 1.}\footnote{A term taken from Giddens which refers the perception and expectations that given a particular circumstance that action X will bring Y result. For a more extensive discussion of this see Anthony Giddens. Social Theory and Modern Sociology. (California: Stanford University Press, 1987), 177-179.}\footnote{Juntas de Abastecimientos y Precios (neighbourhood food supply and pricing committees), were officially created by the Directorate of Commerce and Industry (DIRINCO) on March 29 1972 and published in the Diario Official on the April 4 1972. Their actual creation preceded their official invocation; the JAPs were active in the poorer poblaciones by late 1971. In their ideal form they were a mechanism for the government to ensure that its mandated prices were being kept as well a means by which the state distribution agency could maintain supplies to the poor and party faithful. As the official prices for many goods was far below both the rate of inflation and what was realisable on the black market, the interests of the shopkeepers and JAPs were not merely in conflict, but mutually exclusive. The members of the JAP were empowered with the right to monitor the activities of the official storekeepers and were an essential element in the creation of a state-controlled food distribution organisation. The UP maintained that the creation of the JAPs was necessary to ensure equal access to increasingly rare goods and services, the opposition claimed that they were only one more means of shoring up the UP's envisaged tyrannical rule by denying its opposition access to vital foodstuffs. There seems to be little doubt that JAP's could be used to further either political goals or to conduct personal vendettas through a locally powerful organ of the state. (See Labin 69-71. O'Brien et al. 167-170.)}
and escalating strikes, created an atmosphere in which it appeared that some of the central elements of being a Chilean, --such as a commitment to democratic political processes and their necessary elements of compromise-- were not only being undermined but destroyed.

One of the primary causes of the increased instability in both the overall construction of Chilean's ontological security and the subsequent perception of living in an increasingly unreal world devolved from the chaotic state of the national economy. Towards the end of 1971 people began to notice occasional shortages in commonly purchased foods such as tea or oil and in other consumables such as toothpaste, cigarettes, toilet paper and meat. In a reciprocal process that helps illustrate the manner in which the media articulated and maintained particular forms of reality while undermining others, the shortages were often exacerbated by alarmist reports in the opposition press which claimed that stores were about to run out of certain necessary items. These reports spurred people to buy up and hoard available supplies thereby creating the shortage initially claimed imminent in the press. Many of the shortages were also the result of acts of economic sabotage such as wilful hoarding by shopkeepers and distributors. All of this was compounded by agricultural underproduction that was the result of the government's fixed-price policy. Most sectors of the national economy experienced a serious decline in production during the final two years of Allende's government. The many weaknesses of the UP's economic policy were exacerbated by the social unrest and the US embargo on machinery, spare parts and loans. The UP's economic policy assumed that capital investment would be maintained and that the growing area of socially-owned
industry and agriculture would be profitable regardless of their controlled
prices and mandatory wage increases. The government’s fiscal policy
consisted of little more than printing more money for the apparent costs and
shortfalls in the public sector. The financial problems arising from this were
compounded by the decline in the global price of copper (a product that
made up over half of the nation’s export earnings) and widespread tax
evasion. Taken together, these different factors created massive inflation.
Shortages and fixed prices encouraged the growth of a black market that
would eventually suck up 35% of the nation’s earnings. One important aspect
of the black market was the growth in smuggling—a television with an official
set price $15 US in Chile could be sold illegally in Bolivia or Peru for over
$35—depriving the government of export duties. Furthermore, the radical
decline in the value of money created another level of social and symbolic
insecurity.\footnote{At a sociological or even economic level money is a difficult and complex phenomena. It
is, however, one of the primary means of representing value within a given society. Usually this
representational aspect is perceived as limited to a strict form of exchange which implies that
money is an impartial means of representing the actual worth of X or Y. A brief glimpse at any
nation’s coins and notes will soon illustrate the fraudulent nature of that notion. Money
consistently bears important symbols of the state that guarantees its validity and thus its utility
and transferability. In 1971, in order to commemorate the nationalisation of the copper
industry, the Allende government produced 500 escudo notes inscribed upon which was the
idealised face of a copper miner. In 1970 the largest denomination available was 100 escudos.} As a means of representing value, and by extension the
strength and validity of the state that issues and guarantees it, money is an
influential and often overlooked communicative structure. Money is pivotal to
modern industrialisation because it is a means by which disparate activities
can be translated into one another. Inflation led to the creation of bills with
larger denominations. The constantly declining relative worth of these bills,
led not only to a search for a more stable means of storing wealth, but it
served to show the State, through its symbols, as weak and increasingly insubstantial. Inflation also led to further strikes, as workers keen to protect their standards of living pressed for wage increases beyond the rate of inflation. The copper miner's strike at *El Teniente* in 1973 was an important example of this, as it ultimately cost the government an estimated $220 million in lost production. Economic activity was further disrupted by constant civil disturbances in the form of riots and street occupations. Industries were consistently losing work hours to enable people to queue for basic foods, if and when available. In many worker-controlled industries there were standing orders to attend different political meetings.

**Bodies in Space and Meanings Out of Time**

At no point during the process of derealisation did Chile slip into a state of generalised social anarchy although the different mechanisms of disciplining the population were gradually losing their grip. This was due in part, to the increasing absence of the social norms that the different disciplinary discourses generated and policed. The absence of those norms was due to the intense competition between those norms struggling to establish their hegemony and those fighting to maintain their status. The profound sense of uncertainty that the social instability generated was heightened by each side's fear of the other. This fear was intensified by each side's inability to trust the announcements of their opponents. The disorienting world engendered by the breakdown in the traditional modes of verification meant that people were more susceptible to rumour. Capitalising on this, some opposition groups would call middle-class households and claim to be terrorists threatening the occupants, or act as local vigilante defence committee members and warned the householders of imminent
terrorist activity in their neighbourhood. In other areas, opposition forces pretending to represent the UP conducted spurious house-to-house questionnaires that asked homeowners if they were prepared to share their houses with the poor. Sergio Arellano Iturriaga, at the time a young Christian Democrat activist, said, "You had to be there to understand it, the psychosis and panic of the moment. In our hearts we were at war... Incredible things were being said; political leaders were threatening violence and calling for mass mobilization. No one knew how many weapons there were, so it seemed as if one were facing a vast, invisible army." ¹²³

War, as political violence, is a logical conundrum. If we posit a conflict between two people and two ideas, X and Y, who hold $a$ and $b$ repectively to be true ($X_a$ and $Y_b$), then the simple removal of one or other of the contestants will extinguish the absent contestant's particular claim. The absence of contention will therefore enforce the validity of the remaining ideal. The problem that arises from this is that at virtually no point in human history has there occurred a war that involved the absolute extermination of one of the combatants. In the face of that fact, we must accept that defeat must occur at an ideological level rather than a material one. An important corollary of this is that the material realm is a reflection of the ideological one; it is shaped by specific notions and its concrete physicality helps reinforce and maintain those ideas. ¹²⁴


¹²⁴ This can be found in the explicitly gendered construction of suburban houses and their physical delineation of masculine and feminine spaces.
Political violence differs from interpersonal violence in one crucial respect: the former involves groups of people whose actions are undertaken in order to further specific political ideas while the latter may have political effects and targets, it does not require a specific political aspect. More often than not political violence involves two wholly unrelated elements; the first is the set of ideals\textsuperscript{125} shared by the group, while the second is the actions performed in the service of those ideas. The human body is what articulates the ideal with the material. Unlike the Guevarist notion, in which the proposed end is an internal event, violence will achieve its political purpose only when enough of the opposition's constructed reality, both materially and ideologically, has been destroyed. Violence, through its destruction of human beings and the material manifestations of their lived realities (their houses, streets, schools, etc), literally deconstructs the opposition's reality until the opposition relinquishes the validity of their claims. Until that point is reached; however, each of the contending groups are forced to exist within a disorienting dual reality, in which the absence of an unassailable hegemony is keenly felt.

In Allende's Chile the opposing groups clashed at the ideological, the political, the juridical, the economic and the physical levels. The levels of social violence began to escalate because, as Scarry maintains, the:

\begin{quote}
the dispute leads relentlessly to war not only because war is an extension and intensification of dispute but because it is a correction and reversal of it. That is, the injuring not only provides a means of choosing between disputants but also provides, by its massive opening of human bodies, a way of reconnecting the derealized and
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{125} There are important exceptions to this, Nazism, as an ideology explicitly incorporated violence as both a means and an end.
disembodied beliefs with the force and power of the material world.\textsuperscript{126}

When other means of verifying the concrete existence of social constructs are exhausted, humans will use their bodies in order to attest to the strength and validity of those contested beliefs. Throughout the contest, however, the reality conferring-capacity of the body maintains a dual aspect as each side superimposes their claims upon it. The verbal assertions of ownership point to the heightened need for a means of connecting the disembodied ideas with the force and apparent 'truth' of material reality.

The failed coup attempt on the June 29, 1973 commonly known as the 'tancazo,' indicated the final destruction of any last strategies of representing the nation to its constituent elements. Chile, as an ideological construct, consisted of two very different and mutually exclusive discourses. The armed forces, whose introduction into the cabinet in November 1972 had for a time quelled the claims of the opposition and served as a guarantor of the March Congressional elections (themselves a prominent means of Chilean self-conceptualisation), had broken fundamentally with its constitutional role. Despite the fact that the vast majority of the troops did not rise against the UP on June 29, the action initiated by Colonel Souper and \textit{Patria y Libertad} activists severed any remaining identification the majority of the armed forces harboured with their duty towards the Executive. Shortly after the 'tancazo,' there were movements within the different branches of the armed forces to eliminate from the upper echelons all those generals who still held the constitutionalist position espoused by Rene Schnieder.\textsuperscript{127}


\textsuperscript{127} As mentioned before Rene Schnieder was the Chilean Army's Chief of Staff who was killed in an attempt to provoke a pre-emptive coup before Allende had been inaugurated. The
The assassination of Allende's naval aide-de-camp Commander Arturo Araya Peters on the night of July 26, 1973, indicates the extent to which the social life in Chile had become unreal. Apparently responding to a nearby explosion, Araya came out onto his balcony where he was shot and killed by a person or persons armed with machine guns. The response of the different political groups was as predictable as it was swift. Allende's press office released a statement describing the action as "a typical fascist action of Patria y Libertad." The congressional opposition issued a statement condemning the killing and accused the government of using "the death and pain of others" to vent its "characteristic hatreds and ill will." Robert Thieme, leader of Patria y Libertad, (who was in hiding having returned from his brief exile and had, only ten days previously announced the beginning of an armed offensive to overthrow the government), also issued a statement asserting that "Marxist-Leninists" were in fact responsible.

Allende created a special investigative committee, headed by an air force general, which detained two suspects. The first gave himself up just one day after the shooting and claimed to belong to a leftist group which was planning to kidnap the commander. The second person, arrested a few days

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primary reason he was made a target was his fierce objection to any change in the military's subordinate role. As head of the military hierarchy he could, to some extent, count on the loyalty of the officer corps to the institutional make up of the armed forces and thus follow his commands. The fact that his immediate successor General Carlos Prats hewed so closely to the constitutionalist position is further evidence that bodies lend a material weight to the ideological position associated with them. Carlos Prats was forced to step down as Chief of Staff by a series of events that culminated in his being told in no uncertain terms that few officers would follow orders that he issued. See Paul E. Sigmund. The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), Pp. 227-231. A section that carefully maps the changes in the upper ranks of the Chilean armed forces which enabled the coup of September 11, 1973.

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later, was an active member of *Patria y Libertad*. The opposition press tried to impute the killing to Cuba:

On Monday 30 July 1973, the Christian democrat newspaper, *La Prensa* published a communiqué by the commission investigating the crime. The headline proclaimed "Official Communiqué by the intelligence service: three foreigners attempted to be taken out in a Cuban airline plane." But the inside pages included the official text of the declaration, which said precisely the opposite of the headline. It was expected that most readers would be attracted by a headline but few would read the lengthy official document.\(^{129}\)

When the general published the findings of the investigation, charging the *Patria y Libertad* member as being "the material author"\(^ {130}\) of the killing, the Supreme Court criticised him for "having failed to discharge his obligations."\(^ {131}\) The fact of Araya’s death, in the midst of the disintegrating structures of social representation and the differential disciplines that enable them, was the sole facet of the entire event that the public could agree on. Each side in the dispute claimed his death,\(^ {132}\) and the reality of his death


\(^{132}\) To this day there is no clear evidence showing who actually killed Arturo Araya. In Pinochet’s *The Crucial Day*, he implies that Allende’s bodyguards killed him while Allende’s final speech of 11 September refers to his death ‘reaffirming’ the armed forces tradition of respecting the constitution. Further evidence that bodies, particularly dead ones, were held to be truthful evidence of the validity of particular constructions of social reality can be seen in the Junta’s *Libro Blanco Del Cambio de Gobierno en Chile*, where it lists the people who were killed in political violence of the preceding three years. This list, which claims to represent the ‘costo social’ (a term used to ridicule left-wing discourse through the list’s presentation of bodies rather than abstract figures) of the Allende government, includes both the soldiers who were killed during the suppression of the ‘Tancazo’ as well as Arturo Araya.
proven by presence of his body, as evidence of the truth of their claims. These verbal appropriations further illustrate the relative lack of the necessary consensus upon which social truths are based. The net effect was that the structure of Chilean's lives had become distanced from those that proceeded through them. As one airline agent noted a year later, "Life had become unbearable. You couldn't walk to work without worrying if the windows would be smashed or the streets barricaded."133

The colloquial, most often diminutive and insulting terms used to refer to the opposing social and political groups in Chile commonly mobilised images of human bodies or body parts in an attempt to imbue the group's implicit political ideology with the incontrovertible truth of the body itself. Amongst the pro-socialist groups, one of the most common pejorative term for members of the opposition was 'Momio' or 'Mummy.' Not to be confused for the endearing English term for mother, in the Chilean case the term explicitly conjures the vision of people so set in their views, they may as well be embalmed. Aside from the distinctly visual nature of the metaphor, which relies for its strength on a passing familiarity of certain monster movies of both the '30s and '50s as well as the burial practices of different ancient societies, it deploys an image of a dead human body in service of a concrete political proposition. Bound up in creating the term's effect is the idea that, although dead, the 'Momio' is still animate and vengeful.

The last two months of the Allende regime were marked by escalating social violence, a renewed general strike led once again by the truck drivers, exacerbated extreme food shortages and forced a form of de facto rationing.

On August 30 1973, the new Minister for the Interior, Carlos Briones, stated that there had been more than 500 separate terrorist acts and 8 related deaths since the general strike had begun on July 26 including the destruction of high tension towers and an oil pipeline. There was a widespread acceptance of inevitability of a violent confrontation between the different groups. The Report of the Chilean Commission on Truth and Reconciliation states that expressions like "'It's us or them'; 'Kill or be killed'; 'The cancer has to be rooted out';" became commonplace at this time, reflecting both sides' recognition that large scale violent conflict was imminent and to some extent, preferable to the tension. Osvaldo Puccio Huidobro, a young MIRista, later recalled, admirably reflecting the eschatological messianism of the MIR, "I wanted a coup; I thought it would bring matters to a head. I imagined myself as a leader in a liberated zone, fighting a revolutionary war in which the forces of good would sweep away the forces of evil forever." One active socialist later recalled his mixed feelings, upon learning that his feverish preparation to combat a reported coup attempt, had been unnecessary because the first report had been a false alarm. He felt "al mismo tiempo dos cosas: alivio al ver que el peligro ya no existía y desilusión porque yo había decidido jugarmela y la posibilidad no llegó." (He felt two things simultaneously, relieved because the danger didn't exist and

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disappointed because having made the decision to fight the opportunity didn't come.)

Simultaneously, among the opposition there had been a growing resentment of, and desire to do away with, the traditional modes of political representation, an *El Mercurio* editorial espousing this position stated that:

[political authority] can not be allowed to remain in the hands of sectarian, viscous (sic) men, burglars of the exchequer, demagogues, or imbeciles...This election can not be left up to the ignorant, brutal masses, given over to exhausting physical labour and with no general interest in public affairs, people ignorant of the very problems the government will have to deal with...If this work of salvation [the overthrow of the government] is to be achieved, we shall have to abandon party politics, the electoral masquerade, put an end to poisonous lying propaganda, and entrust a small number of chosen officers with the task of ending political anarchy.  

The use of derogatory and prejudicial images of working people was not unusual, although their presence does emphasise the sheer physicality of the dispute. August 22, 1973 saw the simultaneous resignation of Carlos Prats and the congressional passing of a resolution asserting that the Allende government was guilty of habitual violations of both legal system and rules of government, and called for the president to "put an immediate end to all the de facto situations that violate the constitution and the law." This


combination provided both a legal pretext and the institutional capacity to carry out the coup that followed on September 11, 1973.
Figure I
The Battle For Moneda September 11, 1973.\textsuperscript{139}

Chapter 2

Living in the Shadow of the Stadium
On March 12, 1990 the day after becoming Chile's first elected president in over 17 years, Patricio Aylwin Azocar gave his inaugural speech to 75,000 people gathered in the National Stadium. During this speech he announced his intention to create a commission to investigate the human rights violations carried out by the previous government. Aylwin talked of a 'new beginning.' "From this site, which for many of our countrymen was a place of imprisonment and torture, we declare to all Chileans and the world that watches us, 'Never again. No more violence and hatred among brothers.'" In an attempt to 'purge' the site of its negative connotations, the political meeting took on a carnival-like air. A group of female relatives of disappeared prisoners danced and sang. The electronic scoreboard flashed the names of hundreds of the military regime's victims. Roberto Bravo, a concert pianist played a song written by Victor Jara who had been murdered in the Chile stadium shortly after the coup. The show culminated when a "child presented a visibly moved President Aylwin with a small box made by the families of the victims, containing symbols, such as a sprig of wheat, representing the 'new Chile.'"1 The horrors that Aylwin referred to had occurred during the eight weeks following the coup of September 11, 1973 that the National Stadium had been used as a detention centre. The National Stadium was only one of many stadia up and down the country to be used as a site of internment, and yet it remains fixed in the Chilean public imagination as one of the primary symbols of the military government's repression.

The question this chapter seeks to answer is why and how the National Stadium, rather than any of the many other semi-secret detention centres

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1 All details and quotes can be found in the Malcom Coad, "Chile: New President Patricio Aylwin to Purge the Past," Manchester Guardian, 14 March 1990, 7.
used by the Junta, became the primary image of the Junta's repression. The answer to that question is by no means straightforward. It requires the extensive examination of a number of different, and occasionally contradictory, discourses. Simply put, the National Stadium as a detention centre subsumed, concretised, memorialised and spectacularised both the politico-religious discourse of the Junta and the radically different discourse of the subject population simultaneously. It is as a concrete representation and container of the juxtaposed discourses that the National Stadium garners its authority as a symbol of repression. A symbol by its nature is a metaphor; it is something that 'stands for' or represents the thing in question. However, the Junta's activities in the National Stadium, demetaphorised\(^2\) the relationship between symbol and event, in effect fusing the two in a ritualistic relationship that created its meanings within multiple registers. It is this fusion that sponsors the impressive sweep of meanings attached to, and generated in, the Stadium. The repressive violence that characterised the 17 years of military rule was not an unfortunate by-product of the government's will to direct the population in the achievement of certain goals or the aberrant excess of a few isolated individuals, but rather a central element of the Junta's power. It is precisely because the National Stadium served as one of the Junta's sites for generating its power, and thus served to introduce the subject population to the systemic repression that followed, that the different characteristics of the uncertain social reality created by the Junta were able to double back and attach themselves to the one clear sign available to the population.

\(^2\) 'Demetaphorisation' refers to the process of making materially real what had only existed as an idea.
It is important to recognise that while events are experienced in a momentary fashion, they can only be put into a larger context in retrospect. At the time of the coup and the National Stadium's use as an internment site, few Chileans thought that the military Junta would rule the country for 17 years. Only as the Junta expanded and strengthened its covert repressive apparatus did the National Stadium begin to garner its status as a symbol of that repression.

In order to trace the different paths by which the National Stadium became an important symbol of the Junta's repression, I follow a number of disparate analytical trajectories. The first, and most important, arc is a brief discussion of the social position of the Stadium that includes a description of the Junta's violent treatment of those imprisoned there. This is followed by a meditation on the connections between violence, Christian theology, juridical procedures, the Junta's power and spectacular atrocity. I then turn to an analysis of the Junta's mythic construction of social reality, sketching the ideological framework that required both torture and its denial in order to create the image of a particular social disposition, which the Junta took as a validation of their initial premises. In discussing the duality of the Junta's ideology, I show both the material and intellectual dimensions of the split subjectivity that is formed through its processes. Subsequently, I examine the structure of torture, paying particular attention to the means by which the power generated through the creation of pain is transmitted to its intended audience. At this point I return to a consideration of the National Stadium as a site of internment and show how the Stadium serves to bridge the material and metaphorical gap between the discourse of the subject population and that of the Junta.
Situating the National Stadium: Spectacular Violence in the Temple of Sport

"Have you heard of the new bus route?"
"No, where does it run?"
"From the Stadium to the cemetery"³

Even the blackest of gallows humour requires a high degree of shared knowledge in order to sustain its comedic intent and value. The joke quoted above shows that citizens of Santiago could be expected to know what the National Stadium was and that the new military government might be committing atrocities inside its perimeters. The joke itself says little about the speaker and respondent or the ways in which it was vocalised. Was it whispered surreptitiously on the street as another busload of prisoners passed by, or was it told, in a much more elaborate form and evincing gales of salacious laughter, over an after dinner brandy? Is it a condemnation of the Junta or an assertion that the Junta are acting in the public's best interest? Ultimately, these questions are unanswerable and, in all probability, the joke served both interests, along with many others, equally well. In an attempt to put the potential meanings of this joke into context, in this section I examine the history of the Stadium and some of the events that took place there.

The National Stadium has, from its very inception, occupied a conflictual space in the Chilean public imagination. After an intense parliamentary debate during the late winter of 1934, Chilean president Arturo Alessandri Palma designated a commission to study "todo lo relacionado con la construccion de un estadio moderno en la capital."⁴ (Everything related to


⁴ Carolina Aranguiz, "La Historia de Un Elefante Blanco," in La Pluma, 22 February 1990, a weekly news magazine that is free with La Epoca, Santiago.
the construction of a modern stadium in the capital.) Almost two years later the commission handed its report to the president and in January 1936, Ley 5799 provided 3 million pesos for the stadium's construction. The report specified an ideal location close to the boundaries of three of the larger primarily middle class municipalities of Santiago, Providencia and Nuñoa. Architect Ricardo Muller, who was working for the firm Salinas y Fabres, created a design that was based on the stadium built by Albert Speer for the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, and work began in February 1937. The National Stadium was situated in 25 hectares of playing fields, including a velodrome for bicycle racing, but the vast majority of which was given over to soccer pitches.

The National Stadium's official opening was a massive exercise in civic pomp and ceremony. The front page of the Las Ultimas Noticias proclaimed that the "Inauguration of the Stadium will be an event of national importance," and that its construction was a realisation of "una de las mas caras aspiraciones del deporte Chileno." (One of the most cherished aspirations of Chilean sports.) "Exclamado Señor" Arturo Alessandri presided over the ceremony that involved a parade that included delegations from many of the different sports clubs and schools in the capital including that of the Escuela Militar. The carefully orchestrated ceremonies were interrupted by some disgruntled members of public who loudly broadcast their feelings about the

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5 For further details of Muller's other buildings and the influence of German Architecture on Chile's built environment see Osvaldo Caceres Gonzalez, La Arquitectura de Chile Independiente, Santiago de Chile: Editorial, 1974, 82.

6 "Inauguracion del Estadio sera un Acontecimiento Nacional" Las Ultimas Noticias, Santiago de Chile, 3 December 1938.

7 Las Ultimas Noticias, Santiago de Chile, 3 December 1938.
president and his public works. The following day *El Mercurio* reported that "en efecto habría sido ingratitude extraordinaria, casi monstruosa, que para los hombres que en el gobierno han alentado la construcción de este templo del deporte no hubiese habido acogida que la de unas manifestaciones hostiles." (The effect was one of, almost monstrous, and extraordinary ungratefulness for the men in the government that have facilitated the construction of this temple of sport who could not have accepted the adverse demonstrations.)

![Figure 2](image)

**The National Stadium in 1940**

In 1959 it was announced that the soccer world championship was to be held in Chile, an event that fostered the introduction of a national television network and led to a massive upgrade of the existing Stadium's structures. The progress of the refurbishment was reported in a breathless style by *El Estadio* magazine. When construction had finished, the velodrome had been given a new track and the seating had been replaced, while the holding

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capacity of the stadium had been raised to 75,000 people. After a last minute
goal against Yugoslavia by Chilean Eladio Rojas in a battle for third place in
the World Cup, "Otras mas apasionados llegaron a decir que el recinto
debería desde entonces llamarse 'Estadio Rojas'" (More impassioned others
came to the conclusion that the place should, in the future, be called 'Stadium
Rojas.') Along with soccer games and other athletic competitions, the stadium
was also used for political rallies, on December 2, 1971 at the conclusion of
his three week tour of Chile, Fidel Castro addressed a capacity audience for
almost two-and-half-hours, calling on Chileans to "Defendere esta revolución
chilena y el gobierno popular" (You will defend this Chilean Revolution and the
popular government), and noting that in the activities of the middle class,
"Pudimos ver el fascismo en accion." (We can see fascism in action.) On
September 9, 1972, the Young Communists filled the stadium for their
seventh congress, a three day event featuring not only the speeches of
representatives from places as distant as Cuba, Vietnam and Moscow but
also performances by Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun.

Shortly after the coup (probably on September 12 but no later than the morning of the 13, each source differs on the exact date), the armed forces secured the perimeter of the stadium and its surrounding grounds and quickly began transporting in, official and commandeered vehicles, prisoners to be held there. After dismounting, the prisoners would form into groups of twenty and stand spread-eagled facing a wall for several hours, and often in this position the prisoners would be kicked, punched or beaten with rifle butts. Following this the prisoners would proceed to reception where their identification card would be taken from them and they would receive an initial classification which delineated in which section of the Stadium they would be

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14 In Edict No.26, 13 September 1973 the Junta listed the actions the military had been involved in up to 4:00pm September 12, This edict was published in _El Mercurio_, 13 September 1973. This list details the primary battles like that for Moneda and different factories however it includes only a veiled reference to the different stadia used as detention centres, in its assertion of the military's "Detention of numerous foreign extremists" See Robert J. Alexander. _The Tragedy Of Chile_. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 333. For the complete list of military actions.
housed. According to the testimony of military doctor Augusto Shuster, the prisoners were split into five different categories:

*En primer lugar, los extremistas 'elementos fanáticos, desequilibrados, altamente peligrosos por su agresividad', 'generalmente no son inteligentes', 'son irrecuperables'.

El segundo grupo estaba compuesto por 'activistas de alta peligrosidad e inteligencia que son tecnecamente dotados y ejercen una influencia enloquecedora sobre sus grupos de trabajos'.

El tercer grupo compuesto por activistas ideológicos 'quienes, mientras reflejan características de los grupos antes descritos, odian la violencia directa, prefiriendo ejercerla a través de terceros'.

El cuarto grupo integrado por los militantes de los partidos de la UP, los cuales, estrictamente, llevaron a cabo todas las ordenes de sus líderes, efectuando su proselitismo sin mucho entusiasmo. 'Aun cuando no son inmediatamente recuperables, es posible que con el tiempo puedan apaciguarse.'

El quinto grupo 'es aquel de los simpatizantes de la UP que, sin ninguna peligrosidad y, con más razón que el grupo mayoritario, pueden ser ganados, la gran masa de estos simpatizantes son grupos defraudados y halagados con promesas que nunca fueron cumplidas'.

(In the first place there were the extremists, 'unbalanced fanatical elements who were aggressive and highly dangerous', 'they are generally unintelligent and irretrievable.'

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15 Quoted in *La Verdadera Historia Del Estadio Nacional*, a pamphlet that combines eyewitness accounts and other testimonies documenting the military's activities in the stadium that was published and distributed by the Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos de Chile (AFEP) 1987. All the important details were corroborated, or expanded on in Sergio Villegas, *El Estadio: Once de Septiembre en el País del Eden*. (Buenos Aires: Emision, 1974). And in much more bombastically in Rodrigo Rojas, *Jamás de Rodillas: Acusación de un Prisonero de la Junta Fascista de Chile*. (Moscu: Editorial de Prensa Novosti, 1974).
The second group was composed of 'intelligent and highly dangerous activists who were technically gifted and who exercised a maddening influence over their work groups.'

The third group was composed of ideological activists, 'who, while reflecting characteristics of the groups above, hated direct violence, preferring to act through third parties.'

The fourth group was made up of the militants of the parties of the UP, who carried out all the orders of their leaders, but they proselytised with little enthusiasm.

'Even though these people are not immediately recoverable it is possible that with time they could be pacified.'

The fifth group was 'that of the non-dangerous sympathisers of the UP who reasonably make up the vast majority that can be won back, as most of these sympathisers were defrauded and flattered with false promises'.

In the context of the Junta's discourse, the National Stadium functioned as a means of separating the extremists from the general population and making the perfidious enemies of the nation visible. Order of the day No. 5, broadcast and published on September 11, 1973, proclaiming the Junta as the country's new government and detailing the military's reasons for usurping the government of Salvador Allende, also announced, through the declaration of a state of internal conflict, that the entire civilian judicial system was subordinate to that of the military. The later imposition of laws that criminalised membership in political parties that only weeks previously had been the government, provided the flimsy legal pretext by which people could be detained and, ultimately, forced the detainees into one or another of the categories listed above. The spatial arrangement of prisoners simultaneously enabled the Junta to elaborate fictitious distinctions between different types of almost equally fictitious extremists and in doing so, verified the validity of the assumptions upon which the distinctions were based. After their formal induction into the hands of the Junta, the prisoners were then assigned to the care of a subordinate who led them into the Stadium proper and to their assigned space, and appropriate treatment. Commonly the initial beatings
were not accompanied by any kind of interrogation but served to 'soften' (Ablandar) the prisoners, preparing them for the interrogation and torture that inevitably followed.

Although virtually everyone who entered the Stadium was mistreated in some fashion, particularly during their interviews with line commanders in the Servicio de Inteligencia Militar (SIM), not all suffered equally. Many were simply beaten erratically, tortured in an almost cursory fashion and then left cold, hungry, insufficiently clothed and denied access to the outside world. Officially they were being held to determine the extent of their crimes and depth of their guilt; however, these silent spectators fulfilled the far more important role of audience/guarantor\(^{16}\) of the Junta's power and truths it generated. Within the first 10 days of its use of the National Stadium, the Junta claimed to be processing between 300-500 prisoners a day while the number of prisoners being held in the Stadium only fell below 7000 towards the end of October.\(^{17}\) The real function of this constantly changing crowd was to be frightened by what was happening to those less fortunate and to carry that fearful knowledge back to their homes and neighbours. During the night up to 150 prisoners would be locked in the dressing rooms measuring 25 metres squared. Once all the dressing rooms were full, prisoners were held in the different passageways leading to the stands and, in some cases, in the uppermost walkways. The nights were punctuated by the loud reports of

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\(^{16}\) A role that is described fully below.

\(^{17}\) The dates and numbers are largely indeterminate due to the relative impossibility to discover any source of reliable information regarding prisoners of the regime during this period. Those that favour the left inevitably pad the numbers, while those presented by the Junta must be treated with caution. The official data from the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation refers only to deaths.
discharging weapons, and occasionally troops would rush into the dressing rooms rousing all present with threats and beatings. At 7:30 am the doors would be unlocked and prisoners would be escorted by armed guards to the bleachers where they would spend most of the day "tomando el sol." (Sunbathing) During the day different prisoners would be called upon to present themselves at the "Disco Negro" (Black Disc) that hung above the cinder track from whence they were marched off, "Los que allí eran llamados regresaban destrozados o simplemente no regresaban mas." (Those who were called there returned destroyed or simply didn't come back at all.)

When chosen for 'intensive treatment' the prisoners would be marched to the Velodrome. There they would be forced to wait their turn in the stands, passageways and track, listening to "los alaridos de hombres y mujeres que estaban en plena sesión de interrogatorios y torturas." (The shrieks of men and women who were completely submerged in interrogation and torture sessions.) Upon being called into the 'sala de tratamientos intensivos' (Intensive Care Unit) the prisoners would:

\begin{quote}
reciben con una patada en el plexo solar. Los obligan de golpe a sentarse. Los hacen correr en círculo por la sala con la cabeza gacha y cubierta por la frazada para estrellarse con violencia y de improviso contra la muralla que en ese sitio es balones de pierdra.

Ponen vendas elásticas en los ojos, conectan los electrodos en los genitales y comienzan las descargas eléctricas de la 'picana'. Conectan electrodos en las sienes y los oídos; golpean los riñones, el cuello, la nuca, pero de preferencia no bajan el castigo del plexo solar y
\end{quote}
(...would be kicked in the solar plexus. The force of the blow would make them sit. They were made to run bowed and with their head covered with a blanket around the room, so that they would crash violently into the stone walls.

They put elasticated blindfolds on the prisoners, they connected electrodes to their genitals and began shocking them with a 'picana.' They placed electrodes on their temples and ears and beat their kidneys, neck and shoulders but they didn't stop punishing the solar plexus and used wet cushions to hit the victims. A doctor showed them where they should hit.)

After the first or second interrogation most of the victims were returned to the Stadium and were eventually granted "conditional freedom;" however, if the interrogators were unsatisfied with the victims’ answers, they would be called back to Velodrome again and again. Some died during their tortures, some passed away due the internal injuries sustained and some were simply executed. Again, given the fact that the Junta burnt the electoral rolls, the presence of a large number of non-nationals without visas in the country at the time and that for various reasons, some who passed through the Stadium decided not to return home, it is impossible to calculate precisely how many people actually died at the hands of the Stadium guards. It should be noted that during the eight weeks it was used, the Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos de Chile (AFEP) asserts no less than 20,000 people passed through its gates.

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18 La Verdadera Historia Del Estadio Nacional, Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos de Chile (AFEP) 1987.

19 Ian Roxborough, Philip O’Brien, and Jackie Roddick, Chile: The State and Revolution. (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1977), 243. The term meant that victim was required to be at home every night and that the victim was required to voluntarily report to the authorities should it become known that the State wished to re-interrogate them.
The National Stadium, unlike many of the other secret detention/torture sites that were subsequently created by the Junta, was a public location. The Stadium structure dominated the local skyline, towering above the middle-class single family homes of Providencia and the more modest ones of Nuñoa. The National Stadium, as whole, constituted the largest open recreational space within the three bordering municipalities and its use was not limited to solely sporting events. The National Stadium was one of the city's better known and well-used landmarks. Avenida Grecia, one of Santiago's major thoroughfares, formed the northern boundary of the National Stadium and made the Stadium easily accessible from other parts of the city. The playing fields that surround the Stadium, combined with the army guards posted along the perimeter, effectively denied any public access to the events occurring inside. By using such a landmark as a detention centre but denying any independent access\textsuperscript{20} to the interior, the Junta created a spectacular event whose content was indeterminate and yet whose import was immediately apparent. In the most literal sense, closing the Stadium to the public asserted the material capacity of the Junta to redefine the boundaries of what was and was not permitted. By restricting outside access to the Stadium, the Junta was attempting to define itself as the sole source of reliable information and, in doing so, was laying the basis of the split social sphere that would characterise the remaining years of the regime. The social dissonance is admirably displayed in the joke quoted at the head of this section that shows that the Junta's activities inside the Stadium were only

\textsuperscript{20} The Junta's constitutive document, Decreto Ley #5, held that the country was in a state of war which entailed the subordination of the civilian Judiciary to the military court system, which in practice meant that many arrests were unplanned and unrecorded, and that no one other than military or militarily approved observers, could enter the Stadium.
unknown to the public in the official sense. In effect, the subject population knew the truth about what was happening, all they lacked were the facts.

The distinction between truth and fact was deliberately blurred by the Junta in order to increase the different fears of the subject population and to obscure the source of those fears. The presence of heavily armed soldiers in the cities, towns and villages throughout Chile bolstered the Junta's claims that the country was in the midst of a war and were coupled with reports in the

media that celebrated military actions. These media reports were a primary
carrier of the Junta's discourse that validated the Junta's truths while
attempting to invalidate the experience of the subject population. On
September 17, 1973, the national newspaper La Tercera carried a story
detailing the manner in which the military subdued an 'extremist' group in
Chillan, a city some 300 kilometres south of Santiago:

An impressive amount of weapons and explosives
was found yesterday while searching the home of
Ricardo Lagos, former mayor of Chillan, who died
with his wife and a family member while resisting
the police action. The information was released by
the commander of the military base in Chillan,
through the provincial military and police radio
network. The forcible entry and search took place
at noon, and led to a violent confrontation when
Ricardo Lagos, 42, his wife Sonia Ojeda, 32, and
Carlos Lagos, 21, tried to impede the search of the
house using firearms. Inside the house were found
two Mauser .762 rifles, two Czech .22 calibre rifles,
two radio transmitters and receivers, a large
amount of .762 and .22 calibre ammunition, twenty
hand grenades, twenty explosives rockets, and a
box of explosives with their detonators and
respective fuses.

According to an eyewitness, however, the family died in a more prosaic and
sad manner. The eyewitness states that:

On September 16, at 11 a.m., the police came to
the house with a search warrant. They immediately
started to destroy the furniture and rob things from
the house. Then they started hassling and insulting
Sonia. Ricardo reacted sharply, and was beaten.
They were taken out to the patio and shot dead.
Sonia put her arms around her husband, and their
son did too. Sonia was pregnant, and after the
shots one of the policemen came close and saw
her belly was moving. After they'd killed them they
wrapped the bodies up in cloth, and tried to bury them in one of the holes they'd dug outside of town.22

The discrepancy between the two reports has serious social ramifications as P. Bule points out:

Since there are no longer various sources of information from which to choose, one can only evaluate the apparent probability that information is true...This monopolistic control of information is successful precisely because of the pluralistic nature of the mass media in the past. Previously, the individual believed the truth he himself discovered from the versions presented to him, the most dependable criterion being that consensus he might find among the differing media. Now uniformity of information inevitably creates consensus in every case. The reader finds it difficult to deny the truth of information repeated in the same form everywhere.23

Relying on the fact that, beyond the immediate surviving family, friends and neighbours of the victims, people would have no access to a representation of the Lagos family's deaths that differed from the official story, the Junta attempted to create a social reality that accurately reflected their fears of a covert army, poised to destroy the nation. Of course, the preceding three

22 Both quotes were cited in Jinny Arancibia, Marcelo Charlin and Peter Landstreet. One Decade of Repression in Chile: A Preliminary Analysis. In Arch R.M. Ritter (ed.), Latin America and the Caribbean: Geopolitics, Development and Culture Conference Proceedings. (Ottawa: Carleton University in association with CALACS/ACELAC and OCPLAS, 1984), 34-35.

23 P. Bule. (A pseudonym for a group of social scientists who were residing in Chile when this essay was published. The pseudonym was used in order to evade persecution.) Elements For A Critical Analysis of the Present Cultural System. In Frederico G. Gil, Ricardo Lagos E., and Henry A. Landsberger, (eds.) Chile At The Turning Point: Lessons of the Socialist Years, 1970-1973. (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979), 385.
years of revolutionary rhetoric and activism encouraged the subject population's belief in this underground force.

To some extent, the Junta's belief in an insurgent army reflects rational strategic planning. Their perceived enemy had, over the previous months, publicly boasted about meeting with conscripts and non-commissioned officers with the purpose of convincing them to support the UP, as well as loudly declaiming that their supporters would willingly fight to protect Allende's government. From a purely military standpoint, it would have been foolish to ignore such proclamations only to discover their validity at a later date. It seems, however, that the Junta's fear was such that they persisted to hold this belief in spite of all the evidence to the contrary. As one renowned telephone conversation between a regional commander and a Santiago general in the immediate aftermath of the coup highlights:

General Arellano: “How many casualties?”
Commander Jana: “My General, the garrison is without incident.”
Arellano: “What are you talking about? How many casualties?”
Jana, bewildered: “There are none....”

24 On August 7, 1973 the Chilean Navy released a communique stating that 22 persons were under arrest for plotting to take a cruiser and destroyer out of the harbour while the majority of the crew were on shore leave. "The commander of the second naval zone based in Talcahuano claimed August 9 to have detected and halted attempts by 'civilians of the extreme left' to infiltrate naval units in the local shipyards." The MIR, who had begun an active propaganda campaign in July, calling on members of the armed forces to disobey orders, claimed responsibility for the plot a week later. On August 15 the Navy presented two lawsuits against the MIR referring to its members as "irresponsible adventurers seeking only to cause chaos by attacking Chile's basic institutions." On August 24 it was reported that the Navy had requested that the Congressional immunity enjoyed by Carlos Allimirano, leader of the Socialist party, and Oscar Garretón, leader of MAPU, be revoked as both legislators bore the "intellectual" responsibility for the leftist plans to subvert the Navy. All quotes can be found in Lester A. Sorbel, (ed.) Chile And Allende. (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1974), 134. On September 9, Allimirano gave a speech in which he openly admitted to conspiring with members of the Army and Navy.
Arellano, angrily: "Don’t you realise we are at war?"\(^{25}\)

On September 19, 1973, the *New York Times* noted that:

Outside one of the main centers where prisoners are being detained in Santiago, a large sports stadium, a crowd of more than 300 people has gathered to try and obtain information about friends and relatives held inside. Many were nearly hysterical with anxiety, weeping and pleading with guards to take food or blankets to a relative, or begging to be told if a family member was being held there.\(^{26}\)

The anxiety of the detainee's relatives was exacerbated by the enigma posed by their loved one's (apparent) arrest. Even at this early stage of the regime, the Junta used its control over information and space to disorient and terrify members of the subject population. The uncertainty caused by the arrest/abduction of a child, husband, wife or lover could only be alleviated by the return of the victim from the space of repression. The following cases reported in President Aylwin's *Commission for Truth and Reconciliation*, help illustrate the fundamental importance of this return:

On October 2, 1973, Mauricio Segundo CAYUAN CANIUQUEO, 22, a worker, and Carlos Humberto GARRIDO OCAREZ, 19, a fruit and vegetable street vendor, were killed after being arrested in public that same day. Their families were told that these prisoners had been taken to the National Stadium, but there they were told there was no record of their arrest. Later their bullet ridden bodies appeared at the Medical Legal Institute.


Carlos Garrido's death certificate states that the cause of his death was a "series of many perforating bullet wounds to the head, thorax, abdomen, and appendages." The time of death is given as October 2 at 11:30 p.m. Cayuan's death certificate was similar. The Commission has come to the conviction that the deaths of Mauricio Segundo Cayuan Caniuqueo and Carlos Humberto Garrido Ocarez were human rights violations since it was established that they were arrested by government agents and the circumstances of their death indicate that armed agents were involved.27

On September 14, 1973, Guillermo del Carmen BUSTAMANTE SOTELO, 39, a farm worker who was the president of the union at El Gomero farm, and Juan de Dios SALINAS SALINAS, 29, a farm worker were arrested in the sector of Isla de Maipo by police officers assigned to the police headquarters there. They were seen by witnesses at the Isla de Maipo station, and their relatives were told that they had been transferred to the National Stadium. They have remained disappeared since that time. 28

The deaths of Cayuan and Garrido illustrate two aspects of the entrance and return from the space of repression—the first is the manner in which the Junta used the Stadium to deflect their relatives' attention and the second is the manner of their emergence from it. The two men's deaths, although reprehensible and unpunished, were reported and became part of the knowledge shared by the subject population. The publication of the men's death certificates, and access to their bodies, helped to remove any doubts


harboured by their relatives about the nature of the men's existence. While the men's deaths were a display of the Junta's ability to act with impunity, emphasising the implicit corollary that the subject population was unable to do so, they also entitled the remaining relatives to grieve for their dead. The case of Bustamente and Salinas is more socially disorienting as the men entered the space of repression and simply never returned. It is important to note, that in the above cases, the Junta deployed the image of the Stadium as a means of localising the space of repression that had swallowed each of these men. For those not directly affected by the Junta's repression, the verbal circumscription of those activities bolstered their commitment to both a just world theory and a belief that the communist threat to life and liberty was being contained. The use of the Stadium in this manner had the additional benefit of giving the local officials the ability to publicly deny their complicity in the Junta's repressive actions. Grief, in this context, is a small consolation; however, when compared to the suffering engendered by disappearance, which leaves the victims' families deprived of their loved ones and unable to grieve their death, grief is one of the few left.

During the coup and the following weeks, the spaces of repression were simultaneously sporadic and general. There were no locations specifically constructed for holding, interrogating and in some cases executing political prisoners, which meant that these spaces were created on an ad hoc basis. On September 11, for example, the Ministry of Defence building opposite La Moneda was used to house prisoners even as the

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29 This idea will be discussed fully below.

30 Disappearance and its effects will be dealt with more fully below.
presidential palace was being bombed. In the countryside, soldiers under the
direction of security personnel would commonly take their prisoners to an
isolated spot where the bodies could be disposed of easily, and kill them.
Arrested along with her husband in her home on September 17, 1973, Blanca
Ester Valderas Garrido reports that they, along with some other men, were
taken from the local police station's cells at one-thirty in the morning:

Two cars came from Osorno, either dark green or
black, I couldn't tell. There were masked men in
them, wearing black masks with vampire teeth,
with their eyes hidden...We left Entre Ríos by the
road to Osorno, but they switched onto a road
called La Poza that goes to the outlet of the Rio
Bueno. We got to the suspension bridge over the
river; they had exchanged their machine guns for
rifles.

There were five of us and about twelve of
them, one on either side of each of us, plus one or
two leaders...We got out of the car, and they took
us to the bridge. They hit and kicked the men and
cursed them. They made us kneel down on the
bridge, facing the river, about five or six meters
apart. They put me at one end and my husband at
the other, with the other three men in the middle.31

Blanca survived because in a panic caused by a jammed cartridge, the soldier
assigned to execute her struck her with his rifle and she fell off the bridge. The
others were not so lucky.

Unlike many of their continental compatriots, Chileans had little or no
experience of military coups and authoritarian military governments.
Furthermore, as a nation that historically had suffered only a few minor
interruptions in the smooth development of their democratic governmental

York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 4-5.
institutions, the population was generally disposed to trust the State. In contrast to the relative chaos of the Allende government, the military government promised order and social peace. Initially, many Chileans willingly presented themselves to the authorities for questioning, confident that their innocence was sufficient to ensure their speedy release. One victim's relative testified to the strength of that trust, "I was 24, and I was taking classes at the university. I took him to report to the authorities myself." Another relative told the commission that, "My brother reported voluntarily. Later we found his remains buried in the quarry." The disparity between expectations and outcomes, as evidenced above and engendered by the Junta's repression, was a further indication of the disorientation caused by the split social sphere.

By the middle of November the last prisoners held in the Stadium had either been released or transferred to public prisons like Tres Alamos to await their trials. In that brief period the National Stadium served a number of related functions. At a material level the Stadium served as a means of separating the extremist enemies of the state from the citizens and a manifestation of the Junta's power. In a social sense the Stadium introduced the subject population to the disorienting world that is caused by the presence of an increasingly systematicized apparatus of repression. At the official level,

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32 In 1891 there was a brief civil war caused by a split between the Senate and President Balmaceda. This was followed in the early 1930's when a successive number of civilian and military governments struggled to respond to the crisis caused by the precipitous decline of the nitrate market and the Great Depression.


the Stadium affirmed the presence of an internal enemy and the means by which that enemy could be combated. The transfer of prisoners marked the moment at which the Junta's war against the extremists began to go underground, creating both the social image of law and order and a structured geography of pain. For the majority of the subject population the memory of the Stadium as a detention centre began to recede as they went about their daily business. However, as terror became institutionalised, the image of the Stadium began to accrue importance as a symbol of the consistently disavowed truth of the Junta's regime.

Spectacular Atrocity and Its Uses

As a stop-gap measure, the use of the Stadium to house prisoners was an inspired choice; however, the Stadium and its attendant crowds soon garnered too much national attention and international approbrium. In this section, I trace the characteristics and contours of the systemic space of repression that gradually became an intrinsic element of Chilean social geography. Like a fart in an elevator, it was a space that remained simultaneously unacknowledged and omnipresent.

Referring explicitly to the period between September 11 and January 1 1974--albeit with the caveat that such a boundary is relatively arbitrary -- the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation states that, "During these months mistreatment and torture were an almost universal feature of detentions, although they varied in nature and intensity. Beating and humiliation were common when people were being arrested, while they were being driven somewhere, at police stations and upon arrival at the place of detention.
Torture was also usual during interrogation. The Commission goes on to note that:

Torture methods were extremely varied. An almost universal technique was violent and continued beating until blood flowed and bones were broken. Another form was to make detention conditions so harsh that they themselves constituted torture, for example keeping prisoners lying face down on the ground or keeping them standing rigid for many hours; keeping them many hours or days naked under constant light, or the opposite, unable to see because of blindfolds or hoods, or tied to up; keeping them in cubicles so narrow—sometimes made just for this purpose—that they were unable move; holding them in solitary confinement along with one or more of these conditions; denying them food or water, or clothing, or sanitary facilities. It was also common to hang prisoners up by their arms with their feet off the ground for long periods of time. They might be held under water, foul smelling substances, or excrement to the brink of suffocation. There are many accusations of sexual degradation and rape. A common practice was a simulated firing squad. In some places, torturers used highly developed tortures, such as the Pau de Arra [a torture practice in which a person is hung, head hanging down, by a pole or stick placed beneath the legs and arms], dogs, and mistreating prisoners in front of their relatives or vice versa.

This list, like that taken from the Stadium, highlights the characteristics of Chilean torture practices that would remain monotonously constant throughout

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the Junta's reign: isolation both physical and existential, abusive conditions, beatings, electrocution, hanging, sexual assaults, near suffocation and the abuse of relatives in the presence of victims. In the immediate aftermath of the coup, beyond an affiliation with UP government, there was no identifiable pattern in the Junta's selection of victims, whether or not torture would be used and if so, which techniques would be applied. By the time the Dirreción Inteligencia Nacional (DINA)\textsuperscript{37} was officially created, the repressive activities of the Junta that initially had been erratic and ad hoc became more systematic.

The Commission for Truth and Reconciliation notes that by January 1, 1974 the basic structures of the Junta's repressive apparatus had been created. The extent of its reach ensured that "By mid -1975, just two years into the Pinochet regime, 1 in 125 adult Chileans had been detained for more than one day."\textsuperscript{38} This meant that while torture was still a generalised feature of the Junta's juridical processes, the disappearance of the victim after arrest reflected a "pattern of prior planning and centralized co-ordination."\textsuperscript{39} At this time, most of those arrested were held incommunicado while they were tortured, questioned and then released. The less fortunate either died under torture, were executed following a short military court-martial, got shot while

\textsuperscript{37} The Direccion Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate). Decree Ley 521, 14 June 1974 formalised the existence of a unified state security force, whose primary task was the apprehension and interrogation of the State's enemies.

\textsuperscript{38} Amado Padila and Lillian Comas-Diaz, A State of Fear; Brutal Dictatorships Crush Minds as well as Bodies, as the People of Chile Would Tell You If They Were Free to Speak, Psychology Today. Vol. 20, 1986, 60.

'trying to escape' or simply vanished. The marks of torture left on the bodies of
the Junta's victims attested to the regime's flagrantly immoral activities and
functioned as an unmistakable threat to those contemplating resisting the new
government. The excessive violence of the coup itself frightened and shocked
both Chileans and international observers alike. The absence of widespread
armed resistance indicated the military weakness of the left-wing forces,
although the Junta preferred to view it as evidence that the nation was
embroiled in a covert and undeclared war.

Violence is both one of the most mundane of human activities and one
of the most profound. On a subjective level violence is an action, or series of
acts, whose purpose is to physically transform the immediate environment,
commonly from a threatening one to an environment in which danger has
been rendered inert. Existentially, violence for the perpetrator and the
subject, assuming that subject is sentient, creates sensations so extreme that
they minimise and occasionally supplant the contents of consciousness.
Violence, undertaken as a collective or as representative of an identifiable
group, intensifies these experiences exponentially, to the point at which the
individual consciousness is entirely focused on the sensations of the moment.
In this sense, violence drastically reduces the scope of the experienced world
to such an extent that it is possible for the individual consciousness to merge
with the violent events' claims upon the body. It is the peculiarly double aspect
of violence, as both an act of will and one that serves to reduce the
implications of that agency on the consciousness, that makes it so potent
discursively. In his book on the violence of football supporters in the U.K., Bill
Buford notes that the experience of collective violence is one in which:
Consciousness ceases: the moments of survival, of animal intensity, of violence, when there is no multiplicity, no potential for different levels of thought: there is only one—the present in its absoluteness...Violence is one of the most intensely lived experiences and, for those capable of giving themselves over to it, is one of the most intense pleasures...An experience of absolute completeness.  

This 'completeness' is one that overwhelms the split subject beloved of Descartes as well as subsequent Enlightenment philosophers. Furthermore it points to a means of reintegrating the fractured subject posited by postmodern social theorists.  

The capacity of violence to overwhelm the subject points to its sources in human animality, an origin that it shares with human sexuality and subsequently winds itself around and through it. Furthermore this root gives rise to its characteristic discursive formations: metonymy, inversion and reversal. As a primal element of humanity, the verbal description of violence falters over inadequate language; to overcome this humans commonly deploy the tropes mentioned above. The loss of self-consciousness through violence ensures its appearance in all manner of religious rituals from Dionysian revels to Christian mortification. David Garland notes that, "Rituals do not just 'express' emotions - they arouse them and organize their content; they provide a kind of didactic theatre through which the onlooker [and participant] is taught what to feel, how to react, which sentiments are called for in that situation." The seemingly mystical aspects of the experience of violence

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and the pain it causes, help draw it close to the creation and maintenance of law. The ancient Judean connection between religion and law meant that as the precursory ideology of the modern Christian church developed, it was suffused with images of violence. Timothy Gorringe notes in his book *God's Just Vengeance* that 'Satisfaction theory,' a complex array of specific theological propositions regarding the nature of sin and the means by which atonement or expiation can be made, emphasised the need for bloodshed to redress the mystic imbalance caused by the initial transgression. Gorringe goes on to argue that:

Satisfaction theory, finding expression both in art and liturgy, as well as intellectual discourse, has functioned in the way that Malinowski described myth. Myth he said, is 'a narrative resurrection of a primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements ... it expresses, enhances and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of men.' So construed, myth is the bearer of cultural meaning and just so has satisfaction theory functioned.44

Less important here is the content of the specific theological aspects of satisfaction theory,45 but rather the notion that satisfaction theory "provided

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45 The initial formulations of satisfaction theory predate the birth of Christ and largely focus on the types of punishment that should be meted out or undertaken, for example, what animal should be sacrificed for what kind of sin, rather than any debate regarding the necessity for atonement. The debates within Christian theology, on the other hand, pivot around the crucifixion of Christ and whether or not Christ's death was sufficient enough to purge the world of the need for blood atonement.
one of the subtlest and most profound justifications ... for retributive punishments in general." Satisfaction theory is so potent, according to Gorringe, because it "addressed the need for order both in society and in the human soul; it addressed the sense of justice and the need to express moral outrage; it gave voice to the experience that suffering might sometimes be redemptive."

Retribution, in one form or another, has been an intrinsic part of western penal practice since before the Middle Ages. René Girard claims that the development of judicial systems was sponsored by the social need to codify and standardise punishments in order to prevent the dissolution of society into bands of small family groups constantly seeking revenge for real or imagined transgressions. Along with the power to punish, the ability to define which actions are classified as punishable has long been the prerogative of the state. Often the state would insist that the redemptive suffering needed to redress the mythic imbalance caused by the crime was that of the accused. The prisoner’s punishment was less a means to redress the suffering of the crime’s victim but rather served to alleviate the state’s injury caused by the transgression of its law. In the past, many punishments were remarkable for their spectacular nature.

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In his book, *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault traces the change in penal practices from spectacular violence enacted in order to annul the offender's crimes, to the unspectacular modes of individual restraint that constitute the central element of modern penal practice. In doing so, Foucault argues that a substantive change had occurred in the very constitution of social existence and regulation. The change in types of punishment reflects the shift from sovereign power to that of disciplinary power. Disciplinary power differs from that of sovereign power in so far as it ultimately involves the individual as a willing accomplice in his own constraint. Disciplinary power achieves this through the generation of differentiating discourses that include, as part of their elaboration, normative prescriptions. Surveillance is a crucial aspect of both the creation of disciplinary discourse and its eventual constitution of the subject. Disciplinary power spreads out through physical and discursive space, distinguishing differences between subjects and generating new groupings around similarities in ever increasing detail. The normative weight implicit in the disciplinary formation is brought to bear on the individual by means of surveillance. Using Jeremy Bentham's idea of the Panopticon, a type of prison wherein prisoners' good behaviour is maintained by their inability to determine whether or not they are being watched, Foucault argues that, over time, people internalise disciplinary discourses. At this point beliefs and behaviours, as well as the very structures by which humans can examine themselves, become one facet or another of different disciplinary technologies.

David Garland, in his book *Punishment and Modern Society* notes that:

it is not 'crime' or even criminological knowledge about crime which most affects policy decisions,
but rather the ways in which the crime problem is officially perceived and the political positions to which these perceptions give rise...the specific forms of policing, trial and punishment, the severity of sanctions and the frequency of their use, institutional regimes and frameworks of condemnation are all fixed by social convention and tradition rather than the contours of criminality.⁴⁹

Penality⁵⁰—by virtue of the fact that, in all modern societies its delineation is the province of the State, and is a central element of the State's capacity to ensure the subject population's compliance—will reflect the concerns of the State and the ways that it understands itself. In order to secure its authority, by which I mean the normative weight of its pronouncements, the State, even an authoritarian one, must respond to, reflect and generate fictions that resonate and correspond to existing beliefs about the nature of right and wrong. While these beliefs must share widespread support, their expression, in the form of institutions, practices and discourses, is always changing. The changes to penality are subtle and must occur over a long period of time, so as not to disturb their sacred or transcendental aura.

Clifford Geertz notes that:

at the political centre of any complexly organised society...there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in fact governing. No matter how democratically the members of the elite are chosen...they justify their


⁵⁰ A term I have adopted from Garland which, as he states, refers to "the complex of laws, processes, discourses and institutions involved in this sphere." See David Garland. Punishment and Modern Society: A Study In Social Theory. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 10 and Pp 193-249
existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and opportunities that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented. It is these—crowns and coronations, limousines and conferences—that mark the centre as centre and give what goes on there its aura of being not merely important but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built.\(^5\)

What Geertz is describing here is the manner in which power both arrogantly situates itself at the centre of social life and, simultaneously, generates actions, rituals and beliefs that serve to naturalise that position. Characteristically, power relations seek to become (and are), part of the unquestioned structures of belief and behaviour in everyday life. By insinuating themselves into, and in part, creating the structures necessary for social co-existence, power attaches itself to the desiccated realm of the sacred that still exists in modern society.\(^5\)

Spectacular cruelty, as Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* admirably shows, has long been an intrinsic part of the political rituals that belonged to,


\(^5\) Emile Durkheim, Friedrich Nietzsche, Max Weber and more recently, David Garland and Ernst Gellner have all asserted that while modern industrial society is not obviously organised along the distinctive lines of the Sacred/Profane dichotomy, supposedly present in 'primitive' societies; the emotive attachment that many of its members feel toward the ideological construct of the 'nation-state,' and/or the characteristics that its members ascribe to it, are means by which individuals perceive themselves as belonging to and participating in an existence that transcends their own subjective mortality. This transcendence need not be particularly religious, although in many cases theological concerns will have influenced the social construction of particular ideologies. For a further discussion of the role of the sacred within modern society see David Garland. *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study In Social Theory*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 213-277. Timothy Gorringe. *God's Just Vengeance: Crime, Violence and the Rhetoric of Salvation*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Pp. 1-58.
“even in minor cases the ceremonies by which power is manifested.”

Foucault’s analysis of the spectacular nature of sovereign power clarifies many of the characteristics of that power enjoyed by the Junta, which:

was the effect, in the rites of punishment, of a certain mechanism of power: a power that not only did not hesitate to exert itself directly on bodies, but was exalted and strengthened by its visible manifestations; of a power that asserted itself as an armed power whose functions of maintaining order were not entirely unconnected with the functions of war; of a power that presented rules and obligations as personal bonds, a breach of which constituted an offence and called for vengeance; a power for which disobedience was an act of hostility, the first sign of rebellion, which was not in principle different from civil war; of a power that had to demonstrate not why it enforced its laws but who were its enemies, and what unleashing of force threatened them; of a power which,..., sought a renewal of its effect in the spectacle of its individual manifestations; of a power that was recharged in the ritual display of its reality as ‘super-power’

Virtually all the different elements of this description of sovereign power found a concrete expression in Chile. Jacobo Timerman notes, for example, that the general who was appointed Rector of the Universidad de Chile chose to arrive on his first day by parachute, as if deployed in battle. The enemy was given the name, 'extremist' or 'Marxist,' although what exactly constituted one was

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never made clear. The 'extremist' was an amorphous entity and the term was applied as equally to leaders of MIR as to a labour leader holding a strike meeting. Opposed to the 'extremist' existed the 'citizen' one of whose duties within the mandated hierarchy was to denounce extremists whose activities were contrary to the "social order, morality, persons or property," of the country. Armed resistance to Chile's new rulers declined quickly and the Junta's war against the internal enemy became covert; the terrain upon which it was fought was effectively hidden and yet enmeshed in the structures and spaces of people's daily lives. Arrests were often carried out by large groups of armed men and trucks effectively to denote the radical dissymmetry between the arrestors and the arrestee, as well as the impunity with which the Junta could act.

While the connections between the sovereign's power and that of the Junta are profound, what is missing from Foucault's discussion is the expansive reach of the surveillant eye. Unlike Foucault's sovereign, the Junta had at their disposal the far-reaching surveillant capacity of a modern nation-state. The ability to monitor vast numbers of people in minute detail, and more importantly, the pervasive belief of the subject population in that ability meant that the reach of the Junta's power was unparalleled. As one activist ruefully noted:

The myth of the omnipresent security apparatus became so great that no one wanted to take risks," recalled Carlos Galvez, a long-time Socialist labour organiser and telephone company accountant. "You would confide only in people you were...

absolutely sure of, and even then there was a seed of doubt."\textsuperscript{57}

The policy of arresting people on the basis of a denouncement meant that the surveillant eye of the state expanded to include virtually every person an individual might see on any given day. Thus some of the ritual displays by which this power manifested itself were absences. In comparison to the intense social and political paroxysms of the previous years, Chilean social life was marked by the absence of political demonstrations. The nighttime curfew meant that Santiago's vibrant cafes and restaurants were vacant by 10:30 p.m. every night. The murals created by the pro-and anti-UP groups were quickly scrubbed from the walls that held them. The most telling absence, and in one sense whose effects are hardest to quantify, is the absolute absence of those individuals the Junta saw fit to subtract from the complex equation of the country's life.

In the context of sovereign power, excessive violence is never accidental or the aberrant actions of isolated individuals. It is the strategic display of the sovereign's absolute capacity to redress the balance disturbed by the individuals' transgressive actions. As the central element of the sovereign's power, until the beginning of the 19th century at least, the punishment of transgressors needed to be as spectacular as possible so that the onlookers might remember the weight of the sovereign's law in his apparent absence. The punishment needed to be public because it made visible the truth of the crime, a truth that had been determined in private through the judicial procedures of the courts or investigation (a truth that belonged solely to the regime that had defined the offence), as well as

ensuring that the public could participate "in the enactment of the truth to which they, too, were both party and subject." Spectacular punishments had their own grisly poetics. Foucault notes that often, in a ritual that draws upon ancient notions of a magical reality, the punishments of the condemned mimicked and reproduced the crimes committed by the accused upon the body of the offender as a means of redressing the crime. Spectacular re-enactments of the crimes attested to both the reality of the crime and the justice of its redress. The poetics of punishment were not limited to the execution of the condemned at or near the site of the original crime. Foucault asserts that as means of increasing the 'decipherability' of the true extent of the sovereign's power:

There was the use of 'symbolic' torture in which the forms of the execution referred to the nature of the crime: the tongues of blasphemers were pierced, the impure were burnt, the right hand of murderers was cut off; sometimes the condemned man was made to carry the instrument of his crime - thus Damiens was made to hold in his guilty right hand the famous dagger with which he had committed the crime, hand and dagger being smeared with sulphur and burnt together.

The spectacular repetition of the crime helped define a "continuum of decipherable relations between torture as a public spectacle, the crime itself, and the public that guaranteed the propriety of violent restitution and the inalienability of the social and moral tenets offended by the transgression."


It is through the public's usually tacit but occasionally overt involvement with the spectacle that binds them and the sovereign in a dialogue mediated through the spectacle's iconic centre. As Graziano asserts:

In this direct sense and in the more pertinent implied ones, the masses were the spectacle's guarantors and were therefore the guarantors of its efficacy and truth; that responsibility was distributed among them as a corporate whole. The public's collective body; united by and meaningful in relation to the body being brutalized, constituted the agency by which the macabre display was transformed into a ceremonial strengthening of the institutions in which all were now participating. The public endowed the torture/execution victims with a political worth beyond (but based in) the shock, the immediacy, of their agony and their howls, beyond their transient value as the centerpieces of a brutal circus, because the public's engaged presence and its cohesion as a group, as an audience, as a body of guarantors, generated the illusion (an illusion accepted as reality) that it shared in the State's power and truth because it shared in the spectacle that manifested them.61

As the philosophies of penality changed and the shift toward the generation of disciplinary power occurred, spectacular punishments were no longer necessary and, to some extent, undermined the smooth creation of disciplinary discourses. In the formation of subjects for discipline to work upon and within, punishment was no longer directed at the physical body of the transgressor but rather at the prisoner's being. The law's retributive weight fell upon "not so much a real body capable of feeling pain as to a juridical subject,

the possessor of, among other rights, the right to exist." Foucault notes that the state's movement away from violent punitive rites helped shift the public's attention from the supposedly sanitised form of retribution, in which state executions were carried out "not as glorification if its strength, but as an element of itself that it is obliged to tolerate, that it finds difficult to account for," towards the process by which the extent of guilt, the truth of the offence is elaborated. While it would be conciliatory for many to believe this particular notion, to do so would fly in the face of experience which shows that a public demand for spectacular violence is still very much present in the west. Local news broadcasts in Texas, 1997, regularly devote a portion of the newscast, particularly at the beginning of each month, to listing the prisoners, and the details of their crimes, who are scheduled for execution during the oncoming month. Usually this is followed by weekly updates. The public's participation in judicial execution is not limited to this mediated version although it is usually restricted to a symbolic role, either via the presence of state representatives or through the means of incorporating self-selected individuals, in many cases members of the victims family, from the general public, to view the execution.


64 The near riot that followed the indictment of the pre-pubescent killers of toddler James Bulger in Liverpool 1992, is an example of the public, momentarily refusing to accept the official forms of punishment, or to countenance the idea that the young offenders may be deemed by the English justice system to be too young to form the requisite intent to kill.

65 The local government official fulfils two related functions; firstly as an element of the system that defined the nature of the crime, adduced the truth of its events, determined the guilt of the offender and delineated the type of punishment suitable; the secondly as a public servant, a person appointed by the public to represent it and its interests within the state apparatus.
The very existence of the space specially created and specifically designed to enable a group of people to watch an execution occur in a separate room, illustrates the continuing importance of the public's guarantor role in the rites of punishment.

It is obvious that spectacular punishment did not decline as a result of the satiation of the different needs which led to its existence in the first place but rather that social pressures displaced it onto a new terrain and reconfigured it within different, preferably metaphorical narratives. Violence is still necessary; it still fulfils particular socially coded roles in the maintenance of the idea of justice. However contemporary society prefers it to occur beyond their immediate field of sight. What Graziano calls the abstract spectacle;

Differs from spectacles staged in public view in that the rituals of torture, the doing and undoing of the crime on the victim's body, the cries of agony attesting to the generation of power and the restoration of truth, were all brought to bear without direct public witness and therefore engage their participant-observer audience not through graphic displays of atrocity but rather through representation of an absence (indexed by the desaparecidos) whose presence was at once insisted and denied. The eerie, overwhelming silence of the victims--tortured but absent--was paralleled by that of the audience, terrorized by having "witnessed" that the Junta at once staged and denied.66

Graziano asserts that this abstract spectacle of atrocity was "enacted behind the closed doors of the detention centres, was projected to its audience, its

guarantors, as representation, 'with all the same imprecision of dreams but also with the same potency.'

Broadcasting the Abstract Spectacle

As the Junta consolidated their hold on the reins of government, passing more laws in their first six months in power than the UP managed during their three year tenure, the activities of the Junta's repressive apparatus became increasingly covert. In order to validate their claims of restoring public order and display a level of proficiency in combating the threat posed by bands of armed extremists the Junta's public deployment of military forces was visibly reduced. Hamstrung by the conflicting requirements of their ideology, that is the unquestioned need to eliminate a dangerous internal enemy on the one hand, and the desire to reform the nation on the other, creating a Chile that bore a closer resemblance to their ideals of an efficient social order, the Junta developed less overtly spectacular means to display the truth of the ongoing war. These truths were presented to the subject population through a series of consistently unstable representations, from fallacious news reports such as those mentioned above, to the eerie silence and absences caused by disappearance. Simultaneously undermining the truth effects of these representations and bolstering their validity, depending upon the subject position of the recipient, was a chain of official denial. The strength of this denial was such that it denied its own existence. Most potently played out in the grotesque theatre of torture, this double disavowal of agency spread through Chilean social reality. In this section I trace the means

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by which the Junta projected the spectacular atrocities carried out in the secret detention centres to their intended audience. To begin I analyse the Junta's mythic construction of the nation and its enemies. I will then examine the torturer's vernacular, in particular the communicative metaphors used to describe both chamber and actions.

Many levels of official denial were necessary to create the stage for the effective creation of the abstract spectacle. This denial was the Junta's primary means of reorganising reality to conform with their own mythical version as well as signalling that that was precisely what they were doing. Flying in the face of all evidence to the contrary, Pinochet stated in December 1985, "I do not tolerate arbitrariness, or injustices, or abuses of power." At the local sub-official level the pretence served a number of related purposes, not the least of which was increasing the sufferings of the population. The wife of a desaparecido told the commission that, "They told me to bring lunch for my husband. I left and fixed him rice and a fried egg. When I got back to the police station he laughed and said "lady you're crazy. Nobody is being held here." The inherent contradiction between what was said and what was being done projected the subject population into a disorienting and discomforting world, a world that was simultaneously horrendously violent and apparently peaceful.

Unlike earlier manifestations of sovereign power, the abstract spectacle required a shift away from gross displays of military might toward the creation

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of concrete metaphors and metonymy, as the violence central to the
generation of the Junta's power secreted itself behind closed doors. It is the
chains of denial that stretched from the highest official level to that of the
lowest that makes the abstract spectacle possible and effective. As Graziano
points out:

Official denial of responsibility for "dirty war"
abductions functioned as a performative speech
act that transformed arrests into "disappearances."
If all the factors (the abduction, the torture, the
execution) remained constant but were
accompanied by the government's affirmation of
responsibility (X is in cell number 5; Y has been
executed) rather than by denial, there would have
been an arrest and a barbarous flaunting of power,
but not a "disappearance." A "disappearance"
ocurs when the acts of abduction, torture and
execution are complemented by the speech act of
denial.\textsuperscript{70}

Through a circular regeneration and celebration of its capacity, the Junta's
power creates the stage, writes the script, casts the actors, recruits the
audience and then denies any involvement, preferring to view the whole
through its own mythic myopia as a manifestation of the natural order.

The junta's program of 'National Reconstruction' recreated the spaces
of Chilean social reality in an attempt to force it into correspondence with the
Junta's ideal formation. The mythic logic that characterised the military's
political thought demanded the appearance of a particular kind of public order
while simultaneously generating subterranean spaces of terror. The difference
between the Junta's discourse regarding its defence of 'western Christian
civilisation' and its ruthless repressive activities is not one originating in cynical

\textsuperscript{70} Frank Graziano. \textit{Divine Violence: Spectacle, Psychosexuality and Radical Christianity in the
hypocrisy but an intrinsic part of the Junta’s mode of viewing the world. In his book on the military government in Argentina during this period, Divine Violence, Frank Graziano asserts that:

Once politico-religious myths were instituted in the Junta agenda as though they were real, however, they left behind tests of verisimilitude, became real in a mythological register militarily imposed on a subject population, generated further mythological constructs and symbolic actions doubling back in affirmation of and defence of their reality.71

The political mythology mobilised by the Junta to justify the coup and their right to rule Chile was a particular amalgam of the National Security Doctrine (NSD) which was promulgated and refined by the military organisations of a number of different Western nations, along with aspects of geopolitics, messianic Christianity, conservative elements of Catholic social doctrines and technocratic neo-liberalism. Initially elaborated by the French military, in part as a result of their experience in Algeria and Vietnam, the NSD was premised on the existence of a resolute internal enemy, and advocated a number of different military counter-insurgency techniques. In the period following the conclusion of World War II, Latin American military organisations became incorporated, through a series of treaties, pacts, exercises and officer training programs, in a system of hemispheric defence led by the USA. By the 1960s however, the primary progenitors of the more refined versions of the NSD felt that less developed nations were particularly susceptible to infiltration by an implacably expansionist communist bloc.72 This strategic premise,


72 W.W. Rostow in his 1962 essay “Guerrilla Warfare in Underdeveloped Areas” originally printed in the Marine Corps Gazette, argues vehemently that “disciplined cadres of conspirators” are uniquely placed within these ‘modernising’ areas whose “weak transitional
emphasised by the American adherence to the Domino theory and US participation in the wars in Korea and Vietnam, helped to cast the less developed world in the role as being at the forefront of the battle between east and west.\textsuperscript{73} The military organisations of the Southern Cone embraced this role, as it meshed well with their own geopolitical discourse that emphasised "the destiny of Chile as a great nation."\textsuperscript{74} Furthermore the combination of the geopolitical ideology and apocalyptic millenarianism provided both an interpretation of the events leading up to the coup, and a broad outline of the role for the military in the reconstruction of Chile.

The strict adherence to the non-deliberative nature of these premises also generated a number of interlinked precepts and normative dispositions. Within this framework, the nation is not merely an administrative territory but a transcendent God-given entity to which all are subordinate. The nation is the possessor of a soul, and an entity whose welfare the supreme being is active in promoting. Conceived of in this manner, the metasocial essence of the nation is the product of its divinely ordained hierarchical natural order, which

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73 Constable and Valenzuela note that "Between 1950 and 1979, nearly seven thousand Chilean officers were sent for advanced instruction at the U.S. military run School of the Americas, in Panama, or at other American bases, where national-security concepts were taught." Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), 47.

74 P. Bule. Elements For A Critical Analysis of the Present Cultural System. In Frederico G. Gil, Ricardo Lagos E., and Henry A. Landsberger, (eds.) Chile At The Turning Point: Lessons of the Socialist Years, 1970-1973. (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979), 365. See also Order of the day No. 5, which states that "Anarchy, stifling of liberties, moral and economic chaos, and, as far as the government is concerned, absolute irresponsibility and incapacity have led the country to ruin, preventing it from occupying its proper place among the leading nations of the continent." Reprinted in Loveman and Davies eds. The Politics of Antipolitics. (Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 239.
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constitutes and is expressed through national unity. Communism, and to some extent any form of social conflict, is then seen literally as a diabolical antithesis to the inherently Christian nature of the nation. Often communism is described as a parasite that must be destroyed. Pinochet emphasised his adherence to these ideas when he stated, "I am a man fighting for a just cause: the fight between Christianity and spiritualism on one hand and Marxism and materialism on the other." The State is not conceived of as an arena in which to mediate conflicts arising from diverse interests but “as the embodiment of the nation itself and the national spirit, rising above particular interests.” When these ideas are combined with elements of apocalyptic millenarianism, the military then views itself as the ultimate guarantor of the nation’s continued existence, whose duty is to protect the nation’s essence from threats arising from internal conflicts and, if necessary, to re-establish national unity by force. In accepting its duty as protector of the nation, the military arrogates to itself the role of God’s scourge, subordinate to Him but duty-bound to reassert the validity of His order on earth.

Pinochet’s national address on October 11, 1973, amplifies all of the above themes. Pinochet states that the social and economic turmoil engendered by the previous government’s “moral corruption” and “licentiousness” had created a situation that “demands unifying the spirit of all Chileans in pursuit of a destiny of progress and common goals to reconstruct the country.” Citing the armed forces’ “noble mission” to “preserve fundamentally the sovereignty of the nation when it is threatened from within


and without, and to maintain internal order and the physical and moral safety of all citizens," the Junta consecrated its use of violence and cast itself in the Augustinian role as "the Just warrior who restrained sinners from evil, thus acting against their will but in their own best interest." The task of reconstruction would be a difficult one that involved a "constant battle to uproot evil from Chile," a battle in which "no one will go unpunished for the crimes they have attempted against the moral fabric of the country." Pinochet asserted that the nation has been saved from the "mercenaries of hatred" by the "hand of God," attributing the Junta with the part of God's scourge as well as imbuing the process of national reconstruction with an eschatological purpose. The battle "to defeat Marxism in the conscience of the people" ensured that "the state of internal war and martial law continue, and the population must become fully aware of them, for the success of our overtures of peace and harmony, which we will continue to make for the good of Chile and its people, will depend on their sense of responsibility." Those who questioned or "judge[d]" the Junta's actions "continue to do their country wrong. They forget that our soldiers are still fighting armed extremists who treacherously wound or kill in the dark." The Junta's struggle will end only when "when justice and social peace prevail," and "our democracy is reborn purified of the vices and evil habits that ended by destroying our institutions."


78 All quotes, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Account of the State of the Nation, September 11, 1973, which was broadcast on television and reproduced in the newspapers one month after the coup. Reprinted in Augusto Pinochet. The Crucial Day. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Renacimiento, 1982), Pp. 148-155.
Order of the Day No.5, issued by the Junta on September 11, 1973, listed the military's reasons for pursuing the violent overthrow of the Allende government. This document was the population's first introduction to the military's mode of enframing Chile and, fittingly, its presentation, like all that followed, forced them into the position of submissive and silenced spectator. Many of the adjudicating principles, the basis upon which a taxonomic grid aimed at distinguishing between 'extremists,' their different varieties, the form of their crimes, the extent of their guilt and their appropriate punishments, and 'citizens,' were refined and projected into the civilian legal system. Initially this was acheived by a flurry of Decree Laws, the most important of which was Decree Law # 3. Decree Law # 3 expanded the jurisdiction of military courts via the declaration of a State of Siege, subordinating the civilian legal system to that of the military, simultaneously creating a new category of treason and placing political crimes within the jurisdiction of military tribunals. Other laws that extended, strengthened and sharpened this grid included Decree Laws #12, issued on September 17, dissolving the CUT\textsuperscript{79}; #27 issued September 21 placed Congress in permanent recess; #77 issued on October 8, outlawed political parties with "Marxist or related tendencies."\textsuperscript{80} This Decree Law effectively made it a crime to belong to any of the political parties that only five weeks previously had been the duly elected government of the country. The other non-Marxist political parties which had been active in Chile before the

\textsuperscript{79}Central Unica de Trabajadores, a formal coalition of trade union representatives which was dominated by members of the Partido Comunista de Chile. The CUT also included representatives of some of the more extreme socialist groups as well as significant numbers of Christian Democrat supporters.

\textsuperscript{80} Americas Watch, \textit{Chile Since the Coup: Ten Years of Repression}. (Washington DC: Americas Watch Committee, 1983), 27.
coup were placed in indefinite suspension by Decree Laws #77, issued on October 11, and #436, issued on April 22, 1974. The Junta’s Declaration of Principles in March 1974 and the different Constitutional Acts that were adopted between December 1975 and September 1976, modified but did not fully replace the Constitution of 1925.\textsuperscript{81} On one level the Decree Laws and Transitory Acts simply formalised the Junta’s discursive juridical and disciplinary apparatus, legalistically delineating the extent and breadth of the Junta’s power and all the different aspects of life that fell under its jurisdiction. On another level, these laws introduced a number of unstable modifiers (complex bundles of aestheticized historical, geopolitical, and religious ideas), into the domain of praxis-oriented thought and then the material practices of the state. These unstable modifiers had the effect of making visible those who the state considered enemies, while simultaneously obscuring the process by which people were so judged. Furthermore these laws had the cumulative effect, and some had the direct intent, of making it a crime to question the presumptions that formed the basis of that judgement.

The most important of all the Decree Laws issued during this period was #521 of June 14, 1974, that formalised the existence of a single “military agency of a technical and professional nature answering directly to the governing Junta. Its mission is to be that of gathering all information from around the nation and from different fields of activity in order to produce the

\textsuperscript{81}The 1925 Constitution was finally replaced in 1980. The 1980 Constitution included provisions for the country’s return to a form of representational democracy in 1989, as well as definitively ensconcing the Military’s plans for social reorganisation within the reconfigured bases of juridical power. In effect inverting the standard ‘bottom-up’ procedure in which the material concerns and practices of peoples daily lives were transformed into policy through the mediation of local representatives, thereby significantly reconstructing the determination of those concerns and whose apparent realignment was deemed to conform to pre-existing standards of normality.
intelligence needed for policy formulation and planning and for the adoption of those measures required for the protection of national security and the development of the country,"\(^{82}\) the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA).

The primary components of this intelligence organisation came together in early October 1973, on the grounds of an Army Regiment base near San Antonio and Tejas Verdes. Colonel Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda,\(^{83}\) an ex-student of Pinochet's, became the military commander responsible for the coastal town of San Antonio's population on the day of the coup.\(^{84}\) On November 12, 1973, at a meeting of the Junta, top government officials and military leaders Contreras presented his plan for the creation of DINA. Contreras argued that it would be most efficient to co-ordinate the different activities of the military and civilian security forces\(^{85}\) through the creation of a

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\(^{82}\)Decree Law #521 Diario Oficial, (Santiago de Chile), June 14, 1974. Even at this level there was an attempt to obscure the source of the terror. Articles 9, 10 and 11 granting DINA the right to arrest suspects, search homes and detain people in places other than the official sites of incarceration, were kept secret through printing them in a Diario Oficial with a restricted circulation.

\(^{83}\)Contreras and DINA agents were given training and technical assistance by none other than retired US army general Vernon Walters, the deputy CIA director for foreign liaisons. See John Dinges and Saul Landau. Assassination on Embassy Row. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) Pp. 126, 155-56.

\(^{84}\)Mary Helen Spooner relates a tale regarding Contreras's mode government; "When San Antonio dock workers called a strike after the coup to protest the military's suspension of labour union activity, Contreras called four union leaders to his office for a meeting. The trade unionists' bodies were delivered to their families in coffins the following day." See Mary Helen Spooner. Soldiers in a Narrow Land: The Pinochet Regime in Chile. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 114. For further information about the creation of DINA see Ascanio Cavallo Castro, Manuel Salazar Salvo, Oscar Sepúlveda Pacheco. La Historia Oculta Del Regimen Militar. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Antartica S.A., 1989), Pp. 41-51. This chapter traces the meetings of the four service heads charged with overseeing each wing of the military's individual intelligence services, designed to prevent a duplication of effort, at which Contreras pitched his plan for a unified agency.

\(^{85}\)At the time of the coup there were three military intelligence agencies, one for each wing of the armed forces, SIFA (Air Force Intelligence Service), DINE (Army Intelligence Directorate), SIN (Naval Intelligence Service), and a fourth that served the Carabineros, DICAR (Police
separate centralised organisation whose (unstated) primary purpose was to pursue the covert war against communist subversion. Having secured the agreement of each branch of the armed forces, Contreras began recruiting. Initially drawing together in San Antonio between 400 and 500 men from the other security services, Contreras offered these men a "'privileged place' in a crusade aimed at the 'total extermination of Marxism' and promised them 'carte blanche' to carry out any orders they received." By the end of November the tasks of keeping track of the 'dangerous' people the Junta had arrested and detained had generated its own bureaucracy, the Secretaría Ejecutiva Nacional de Detenidos (SENDET). Spooner states that the "ostensible aim of SENDET, located in the Chilean Congress building, was to fix 'the norms in which prisoners would be interrogated, to determine their degree of danger, and to maintain a permanent co-ordination the intelligence services of the armed forces, of Carabineros, and of Investigaciones.' The Junta approved a decree law establishing SENDET at the end of 1973; one article of this decree made DINA a SENDET department." DINA's official role within SENDET was, ominously enough, to "determine the level of dangerousness" of each prisoner. The combination of DINA's broad and vaguely defined mission, its capacity to search, arrest and imprison people in private locations which derived from the secret articles of Decree Law 521, 

Intelligence Directorate). In addition to these agencies there was also the plain clothes police department Investigaciones.


and the subordination of the civilian judiciary via the states of exception, meant that:

DINA should be seen as an agency that enjoyed practically unlimited power...In practice the functioning of this agency was secret and above the law,...In fact, the DINA was shielded from any control: certainly from the judiciary, but also from other sections of the executive branch, from high level officials of the armed forces, and even from the junta. Although the DINA was formally under the authority of the junta, in practice it reported only to the president of the junta.\(^{89}\)

The official creation of DINA consolidated and centralised the intelligence activities of the different arms of the military, and in doing so formalised the existence of a countrywide submerged liminal space. The space of repression was liminal in two related senses. First, as one entered it, one exited the officially sanctified public realm thereby rendering one’s precise state of being indeterminate. One’s social absence signified one’s position as neither dead or alive, an enigma that could not be solved until one was reintroduced into the official realm. Second, this was a transformational space. A human being could be changed from a citizen to a terrorist and from that into a corpse with dizzying speed within its boundaries. Just as the timeline of legal ‘due process’ was compressed, insofar as the period between accusation, investigation, conviction, trial and punishment might only be a few minutes, within this sphere the subjective space of the victim was increasingly restricted through the application of blindfolds and the imprisonment in cells.

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that were specifically designed to ensure that bodies of average height could not be fully extended. The centralisation of security activities lent the space of repression a coherent shape created by particular informational circuits anchored in the sites of data production (the secret detention centres), and enabled its producers to standardise its repellent transformational procedures. Similar in many ways to Henri Lefebvre’s notion of the ‘cryptic’ space of pre-medieval Christianity,\textsuperscript{90} the inhabitants and activities of this subterranean “absolute space” like the frescoes of Lascaux, “were ...not to be seen, but merely to ‘be’-and so they might be known to ‘be’ there.”\textsuperscript{91}

In June 1974, Andrés Valenzuela Morales was a young air force conscript who was transferred to the command of colonel Edgar Ceballos, who led one of the Servicio de Inteligencia de la Fuerzas Aéreas de Chile (SIFA) "equipos de reacción" (reaction teams) that was housed at the Academia de Guerra de la Fuerza Aérea. Valenzuela was told that his job would be to guard political prisoners, and was given permission to grow his hair and dress in civilian clothes. Valenzuela described his initial, literal and metaphorical, descent into the subterranean space of repression to the journalist Mónica González:

\textit{Nos formaron y nos dijeron que lo que íbamos a ver teníamos que olvidarlo y al que hablaba algo...Hubo amenazas... Descendimos por el sector de la cocina, por una escalera de caracol con vértices y tubos. Tuve la impresión de ir en un submarino... Lo primero que vi fue mucha gente de pie, con los ojos vendados y esposas. Entre los detenidos había muchos oficiales y clases de la}


\textsuperscript{91} Henri Lefebvre. \textit{The Production of Space}. 254.
Fuerza Aérea, aún en uniforme de la FACH. El capitán Ferrada estaba entre los presos. Fue mi primer impacto. Venía de un regimiento donde tenía que saludar a medio mundo y pregunté al oficial si tenía que dirigirme a él como "capitán Ferrada". Todos se rieron y el oficial respondió: "No huevón, son prisioneros".

"Los prisioneros incomunicados se encontraban en el pasillo. Normalmente estaban vendados y esposados. Algunos tenían a sus espaldas un cartel: 'sin agua ni comida', 'de pie 48 horas'. Las piezas estaban a los lados del pasillo y eran habitadas por prisioneros de cierta antigüedad. Ese primer día vi a Victor Toro. Fue otro impacto. Lo había escuchado nombrar en la televisión, en los diarios. Era como estar sentado frente a un famoso. También vi a Arturo Villabela, dirigente del MIR".

"Un oficial me explicó que había que sentarse en la puerta de las piezas con el fusil e impedir que conversaran. La primera pieza que me tocó fue la número 2, en ella había una señora de edad y Carol Flores, de quien se me dijo era miembro del Partido Comunista.

(They put us in a group and told us that we should forget what we were going to see and not tell anyone else...Threats were made...we descended through a kitchen by a snail-like spiral stair case. It seemed to me as if we entered a submarine...The first thing I saw were people standing blindfolded and handcuffed. Among the detained there were a lot of Air Force officers of different ranks, still wearing their uniforms. Capitan Ferrada was among the prisoners. This was my first shock. I had come from a regiment where we had to salute almost half the world, and so I asked the shift commander whether I should address these men by their titles like 'Capitán Ferrada'? Everyone laughed and the shift commander answered, "No huevón, they're all prisoners."

92 Chilean colloquial expression which literally means "Big Balls," and can be used as an insult or compliment depending on circumstances. In this context it appears as a mild rebuke, akin to English terms like 'jerk' or 'twit'. The term here, however, does connote strong group identification as in its complementary usage it often refers to presumably masculine courage.
The prisoners being held incommunicado were found in the corridors. Normally they were blinfolded and handcuffed. Some had small signs on their backs detailing their ongoing punishment, 'No food or water,' or 'On foot for 48 hours'. The cells were at the sides of the corridors and held the prisoners that were elderly. On this first day I saw Victor Toro. This was another shock. I had heard his name on television and seen it in the papers. It was as if I were seated in front of someone famous. I also saw Arturo Villabela, one of the MIR's leaders.

The shift commander explained that I had to sit in the doorway of a cell with a rifle to ensure that the inmates couldn't talk. My first post was at the door of cell 2, which contained an elderly lady and Carol Flores, who I was told was a member of the Communist Party.

In an effort to terrify both prisoners and guards, the shift commanders warned them that if the Academy was attacked, in an attempt to rescue the prisoners, the lights would go off and the spotlights would be turned on. That first night the alarm sounded:

-Teniamos la orden que darse la alarma, todos los prisioneros tenían que tenderse con las manos en la nuca, desnudos o vestidos, heridos o moribundos. Y si el oficial daba la orden debíamos disparar contra los prisioneros. Yo estaba frente a una pieza donde había una señora de edad, la esposa del diputado comunista Jorge Montes y sus hijas. Todo quedó a oscuras. Había una gran tensión. El oficial de turno tomó una granada, le sacó el seguro y comenzó a pasearse por el pasillo granada en mano mientras decía: "Tranquilos, muchachos, si quieren recatar detenidos van a cagar, van a morir todos porque tiro la granada al pasillo". El prisionero Carol Flores, nos dijo que no asustáramos, porque eso pasaba todos los días.93

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(We had been given the order that should the alarm go off, the prisoners had lie down with their hands behind their heads whether clothed or not, injured or moribund. The shift commander had told us that if necessary we should be prepared to fire on the prisoners. I was at the doorway of the cell containing the elderly wife of the communist deputy Jorge Montes and her daughters. Everything remained dark. There was a lot of tension. The shift commander grabbed a grenade, removed the pin, and began walking up and down the corridors trying to calm the fears of the new recruits by saying, "Calm down boys, if they want to rescue the prisoners, they'll be up shit creek, they'll kill them all because I'll throw this grenade down the corridor." The prisoner, Carol Flores, told us not to be frightened because this happened everyday.)

Valenzuela worked for the intelligence service in number of different roles until 1984 when, miserably suicidal, he went to the press.  

It is important to recognise that the inherently spectacular and theatric poetics of this site of incarceration and terror, while perhaps consciously unintended, were not arbitrary. Growing out of the tension between the contradictory requirements of being secret and simultaneously being 'known,' the space of repression generated particular kinds of tropes that helped announce the covert presence of spectacular atrocity. The site of the first detention centre to which Valenzuela was assigned, beneath the air force's Academia de Guerra, is notable for both the manner in which it concretises the description of the activities of the security services as subterranean, and for the way it literally binds torture and humiliation to the broader discourse of an educational establishment. The connection between torture and education is bolstered through a brief consideration of the subjects studied at the

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94 Understandably there are only a handful of ex-security agents who are willing to discuss publicly the activities of the different intelligence agencies. The few who have come forward were threatened and many were found mysteriously murdered. There was an intense competition between the different security forces. DINA was the most protected and best supported. One of Valenzuela's comrades, Guillermo Bratti, was expelled from SIFA and eventually executed by its operatives because he considered joining DINA.
Academia de Guerra, and the practices that constitute the core of education per se. Institutional educational practices include the display of officially sanctioned knowledges through the pedagogy of the professor and subordinates the pupil to the teacher. In this context, the teacher represents and embodies the accumulated weight of the truth claims of the subject in question and reserves the right to examine as well as judge the pupil's grasp of those truths. As will be shown in more detail below, torture is a form of examination by which certain officially sanctioned truths can be verified. In effect torture 'recovers' the victim for the state by forcibly aligning the victim with the state's truth.

The educational institutions of a country are deeply entwined with the construction of the "imagined community" that constitutes the nation. Military academies, because they are both created and maintained by public funds as well as the military's unique position in the apparatus of state as the guarantor of national sovereignty, are a public manifestation of the community's desire for protection from predatory others. At one level, military academies announce to the community at large the desire for the constant improvement and continued honing of specifically martial knowledges through extensive training. The Junta's use of the war academies of the Air force, Army and Navy, and particularly the naval training ship, the Esmerelda, as sites of detention and torture denotes and projects the presumed educational

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95 See Doctor Augusto Schuster's description of the different specifications of Extremists in the Stadium.

96 In recognition of the important role of school in the formation of the nation, the Junta began immediately in September 1973, the middle of the Chilean school year, to alter the curricula of Chilean educational establishments. The Junta's curricula sought to eliminate politics from the classroom by emphasising the martial history of the nation and applied sciences.
elements of torture to the subject population by surreptitiously connecting the notion of education as the continuing instruction and correction of an undisciplined subject with that of the legitimate pursuit of vital military intelligence. Moreover, the use of the military academies—a place where warfare is undertaken as an abstract discipline and occasionally playfully re-enacted as a means of education—as a site of torture points to the scale upon which the Junta's war was being conducted, in which the victim's body is the terrain upon which the conflict is ultimately manifested.

Another prevalent metaphor by which the abstract spectacle of torture was transmitted to its intended audience was derived from the theatre. The events of Valenzuela's first night at the Academia are one example of the elaborate stagecraft used by the Junta to generate the perception of continued conflict. One of the common euphemisms for the torture chamber in Chile was "the blue-lit stage." Although explicitly referring to the space in which the spectacle will occur, it also implies both the idea that the spectacle is being created as a visual event, and the notion that while the actors may not be able see the audience through the glare of the footlights, they are nevertheless present. The alignment of the torture chamber with a stage calls attention to the dramatic theatricality of torture itself, wherein the mythic battle between 'Christianity and spiritualism' on one hand and 'Marxism and materialism' on the other, raging on the cosmic plane, is enacted on a much smaller scale on the body of the victim.

There were occasions when the theatrical tropes of the torturers were manifested beyond the circumscribed realm of the torture chamber. Most

often these spectacles were enacted with the express purpose of terrorising the subject population. Initially, as noted earlier, arrests were carried out with maximum display of force, involving numerous agents acting in the presence of witnesses, as a means indexing the extent of the violence that will follow after the prisoner arrives at the site of detention. As the repressive procedures became more refined, victims were either simply snatched from their homes at night or detained on the street during the day and whisked away. The authors of La historia oculta del regimen militar describe one such incident:

_El hombre se lanzó al paso del microbús Vivaceta-Matadero y fue impactado en la cabeza. Los curiosos se congregaron en la calle Nataniel, entre Coquimbo y Aconcagua, a una cuadra de la avenida Matta. Instantes después llegó una patrulla de Carabineros. El herido recobró el conocimiento. Miró a su alrededor y empezó a gritar: ¡Soy Carlos Contreras Maluje! ¡No dejen que me lleve la DINA! ¡Avisen a la farmacia Maluje en Concepción! Chirriaron a los frenos de un automóvil Fiat 125 celeste y cuatro sujetos bajaron precipitadamente. ¡Son ellos!...¡Que me no lleven!...¡Público!... ¡Carabineros!... ¡Ayúdenme! Unos de los sujetos mostró una credencial al teniente que comandaba a los carabineros. Los otros tres forcejearon con el caído. Uno tapó la boca. Lo arrojaron en la parte de atrás del vehículo y partieron raudos, perdiéndose hacia avenida Matta._

_Era el 3 de Noviembre de 1976._

(The man leapt from the step of the microbus Vivaceta-Matedero and hit his head. The curious onlookers congregated in Nataniel Street, between Coquimbo and Aconcagua, one block from...

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Matta Avenue. Seconds later a patrol of Carabineros arrived. When the wounded man regained consciousness, he looked around and began screaming, "I am Carlos Contreras Maluje! Don't let the DINA take me. Advise the Maluje pharmacy in Concepción!

The brakes of Fiat 125 Celeste, squealed as the car stopped and four men leaped out. "It's them!" screamed Carlos,... "Don't let them take me!"... "People!"... "Carabineros"... "Help me!"
One of the four men showed the Carabinero commander some identification while the other three struggled with the fallen man. One covered his mouth. They threw him into the cars trunk and screeched off becoming lost in the traffic toward Matta avenue. It was the 3 of November 1976.)

Carlos Contreras Maluje was then taken back to the secret detention centre known as "La Firma" (the Company) on Calle Dieciocho, a building that had previously housed the newspaper "El Clarín," where he was again tortured and finally executed. The security services' use of costumes and the public spectacle of the arrest heighten the dramatic theatricality of the event, and serves to warn the passers-by of the omnipresent weight of the "army of the shadows." It is also important to recognise the manner in which the name and location of the detention centre aid the covert announcement of the ongoing atrocities.

There were other occasions when the security services, having effectively removed what minimal terrorist threat there had existed, staged terrorist campaigns as means of vindicating the Junta's claims of fighting ongoing war. As Spooner reports:

In early 1977 the Chilean capital was rocked by a series of explosions...Some of the bombings

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99 DINA's private motto was "We will fight in the shadows so that our children can live in the sunlight." See Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), 90.
consisted of small explosives placed late at night in metal garbage dumpsters, producing tremendous reverberating blasts that caused little or no property damage but sparked public panic and fuelled fears of a new wave of left wing terrorism. But more than one Chilean official suspected the DINA: Germán Campos, formerly the carabineros' intelligence chief and now a general, was back in the capital as prefect after a posting in southern Chile...Campos ordered his carabineros to watch carefully for any signs that DINA agents were planting the bombs, and to make the arrests, pick up the shells and bomb fragments, and to note times, places and physical descriptions of people leaving the scene of an explosion. On April 27, 1977, he and Junta member César Mendoza, a carabinero general, were at a formal dinner held in at the Club de Carabineros to commemorate the institution's fiftieth anniversary...While dessert was being served, a senior carabinero official was called away for a message and returned a few minutes later looking pale. He whispered to General Mendoza that the capital was being rocked with bomb explosions. Campos, who was seated next to Mendoza, told his superior that he knew who was behind the bombings and that he would ratify the accusation at headquarters the following day if Mendoza wished.100

The bombings continued, including one that destroyed an electricity pylon, plunging part of the city into darkness. Eventually a meeting was called where Campos reiterated his charges and evidence, and Contreras responded by denying any DINA involvement and offering the ludicrous theory that "leftist extremists were indeed at large and had even disguised themselves as soldiers and security agents."101 It was a testament to the fear that DINA had

created that none of the generals present at the meeting were prepared to challenge their subordinate, Colonel Contreras' version of events. It is also important to recognise that the Junta's deployment of spectacular violence served to create a social reality that more closely corresponded with their apocalyptic ideology.

Although the torture chamber, through metaphor, was the primary means of broadcasting the truths generated through tortured bodies, there were occasions when implicit spectator became unwillingly enmeshed in the unseen spectacle. One of the torturer's most metaphorically communicative tortures was the practice that the security services called "El teléfono" (The Telephone), in which the victim would be tied to a chair and then beaten repeatedly on the ears. This intensely painful practice would often leave the victim either partially or wholly deaf.

Figure 5 The Telephone

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102 All drawings were done by victims of the security services and are reproduced in the frightening work of Maria Eugenia Rojas. La Represión Política en Chile: Los Hechos. (Santiago de Chile: IEPALA Editorial, 1988).
Perhaps unsatisfied with indirect relationship between the spectacle enacted in the torture chamber and the intended audience, one Chilean torturer decided to transcend the metaphor. The recipient of this unwanted introduction of the torture table into the home reported to the Commission that, "My sister was disappeared, and they phoned my house and played the song, *Late un corazón*-(Beating heart). You could hear the receding sound of a man whistling and a woman groaning in pain."103 In this one instance, it is possible to see a fusion of public (insofar as the torture is one aspect of the state that underwrites its existence) and private spheres. The torturer is mixing the pain of the relative with the presumed pleasures of the popular song as a means to both heighten the psychological discomfort of the physically unharmed sibling and materially attaching the act of torture with widely known element of popular culture, in effect broadcasting the victim's pain. Not only does this bestial act serve to frighten the sibling by making the explicit the connection between victim's pain and the potential pain of the call's recipient, it also demonstrates the pervasive access the torturer has to the private sphere, including that most private space, the interior of the body.

Aside from the purely theatrical tropes used by Chilean torturers to denote the presence of an unseen audience, they also used medical terms to extend the notion of torture as a performance. The two most common medical terms used to describe the torture chamber were 'Quirofano' and 'sala de tratamientos intensivos.' Torture and medicine share a number of common characteristics: both are focused on and purposefully seek to alter the body.

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and both commonly take place within buildings which have either been built or redesigned to serve the specific requirements of the activities and ultimately both practices involve degrees of pain. Ideally medicine is a discourse concerned with minimising the patient’s discomfort and any pain caused by a doctor’s actions is an inescapable by-product of healing. The patient’s subjective experience of the isolating and destructive aspects of pain is tempered by the presumed benevolence of his or her surroundings, in which the present discomfort is understood as a means of evading or escaping the debilitating effects of greater injury. The practices that constitute torture, however, have an entirely antithetical goal to that of medicine. Torture seeks to injure the body and to increase the victim’s discomfort to insupportable levels. The express purpose of the torturer is to use the frailty of the victim’s body, its sheer physicality, as a means of destroying the consciousness that inhabits it. Theatrically reversing the standard medical trajectory wherein an injured or diseased body is treated in order to minimise or reverse the effects of the disease or injury, thereby freeing the subjectivity which inhabits that body of those particular corporeal claims, the narrative trajectory of torture entails the ongoing destruction and disturbance of healthy tissues in an effort to maximise the effects of that destruction. This is done with the express purpose of exponentially expanding the corporeal claims on consciousness, in effect creating a body that is so bloated by pain that it overwhelms all other aspects of subjectivity. The torturer’s theatric deconstruction of medicine reaches its apogee, not in the injuries sustained by the victim or even the victim’s unintended death on the torture table, but in the willing participation of members of the medical profession who attend torture sessions, to advise torturers on means to further the victim’s pain and to ensure the continued survival, and thus continued pain, of the victim.
Working in the Quirofano

It is not just the theatric inversion of medical discourse that the euphemisms ‘Quirofano’ and ‘sala de tratamientos intensivos’ incorporate and simultaneously deconstruct. The term ‘Quirofano,’ as Graziano points out, refers to a specific type of operating theatre. A ‘Quirofano’ is an operating theatre that was constructed with the purpose of teaching medical students. Consequently a ‘Quirofano’ commonly has an arched glass ceiling through which the students can watch the progress of the instructor’s operation. The torturer’s use of the term to describe the torture chamber helps bind the detention centre and its activities into the series of discernible relationships that help constitute the abstract spectacle, as well as connecting the torturers to the politicised medical analogies that were often used by the Junta to describe their political objectives. Shortly after the coup, Pinochet offered this
reason for the inability to determine when the Junta was going to instigate new elections, "As soon as the nation recovers and overcomes the chaotic condition in which it was living, you may be sure that the Junta will turn over the government. Now as to the time you ask me to set, I reply, when a patient has to have an arm amputated, it is very difficult to foretell how long he will take to recover."104

The social presence of a power that was generated through torture, announced itself to the public through a variety of surreptitious means. The violence that lay at the centre of the spectacle simultaneously attested to the validity of the Junta's discourse by generating actions and discourses that verified their premises, and actively coerced the subject population to submit to the reality created by this violence. The denial that accompanied the violence meant that the subject population was forced into an uncertain, almost hallucinogenic, reality, wherein the bases of people's ontological security were consistently being torn away.

The Power of Pain

Language is a complex social event that entails a variety of subjective and objective elements that consist of a series of sounds and symbols shared by a community, whose meanings are relatively fixed but are never static. Language structures and organises the contents of consciousness, much of which are sense data inputs regarding the nature of the world exterior to the body. Language is the primary means by which individuals can share, albeit through representation, the events within their specific consciousness. It is

trite but nevertheless no less important to recognise that everything that exists outside of the individual physical body, from the smallest micro-organism to the most expansive building project is, in its experiential and shareable form, a spatial manifestation of the contents of consciousness that is mediated through representation. The subjective experience of one's own body may be subject to the same representational constraints as other aspects of conscious existence; however, it is the shivering physicality of the body, the absolute nature of extreme bodily sensations, that propagate the creation of the material means by which those sensations can be alleviated. When human bodies are relatively comfortable it is possible to imagine the consciousness within as cascading through multiple frames of meaning; however, when the sentience (the living flesh's reaction to stimuli), of the body (its autonomous nervous system), is used against the consciousness within, the subjective experience of those electro-chemical impulses can not be shunted off into the realm of representation. Human beings may experience the concept of pain in radically different ways, however, the brutality of pain's manifestation (the specific manner in which human nerve cells fire signals off to the brain), dominates the subjectivity submerged in it, regardless of nationality or political orientation. Representations garner their connotative and denotative authority through many different constellations of meaning. Following one path or unravelling one thread will inevitably lead to different but not unrelated elements and events, each of which will contain further aspects of a larger multifaceted social reality.

The single most important characteristic of physical pain is its absolute and domineering presence to those people experiencing it, and obversely, its total absence from those not experiencing it. This simple fact about the nature of sentience is compounded by physical pain's resolute resistance to linguistic
expression. As Elaine Scarry\textsuperscript{105} notes, "for the person in pain...[the experience] may come to be thought of as the most vibrant example of what it is 'to have certainty,' while for the other person it is so elusive that 'hearing about pain' may exist as the primary model of what it is 'to have doubt.'"\textsuperscript{106} This central opposition is precisely that, with the often unwitting collusion of language, which enables the processes by which pain's quality of 'incontestable reality' can be made visible and then be "appropriated away from the human body and presented as the attributes of something else."\textsuperscript{107}

This process, which Scarry calls "analogical verification"\textsuperscript{108} means that that the internal sensation of pain, its quality of certitude, of incontestable reality, is illegitimately lifted from the body experiencing it, made visible, and then transferred to contentious ideas or structures. As a "grotesque piece of compensatory drama, "torture first makes visible "the structure and enormity"\textsuperscript{109} of the pain contained within the victim's body:

\begin{quote}
It then goes on to deny, to falsify, the reality of the very thing that it has itself objectified by a perceptual shift which converts the vision of suffering into the wholly illusory but to the torturers and the regime they represent, wholly convincing spectacle of power. The physical pain is so incontestably real that it seems to confer its quality
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{105} The ideas relating to all these themes have been drawn, for the most part, from; Elaine Scarry. \textit{The Body In Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World}. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).


\textsuperscript{108} IBID., 14.

\textsuperscript{109} IBID. P. 28 and 27 respectively.
of "uncontestable reality" on the power that has brought it into being. It is, of course, precisely because the reality of that power is so highly contestable, the regime so unstable, that torture is being used.\(^{110}\)

Pain resists expression in language because it is an event within consciousness that has no direct referent in the world outside the body. It is for this reason that the rapidly exhausted direct descriptions of pain are complemented by the use of metaphors. Scarry contends that the language of pain has only generated two distinct metaphors. The first details the external agent of the pain, that is, the weapon creating it; the second describes the bodily damage that either potentially or actually accompanies the pain itself.\(^{111}\) Both the wound and weapon metaphors overlap and have benign as well as destructive uses, however it is weapon metaphor that is particularly potent in the creation of power. The weapon, as the agent of pain, has in western culture been viewed as possessing some of the characteristics of the pain that it creates. This is a fact that the Junta used for its own ends when they published picture after picture of different, supposedly seized arms caches, in order to intimate the damage to the nation planned by the extremist enemy. As the weapon is entirely separate from the body, it maintains a referential instability as a sign. This instability is harnessed by the regime, the power to create pain that inheres in the weapon along with the weapon's sheer physical

\(^{110}\) IBID., 27.

\(^{111}\) Almost any attempt to describe pain quickly collapses into one of these metaphor groups, or more commonly, into a mixture of them. For example, it is easy to imagine that someone with an injured forearm would describe it one of the following ways; 'It feels as if someone is beating my forearm with a hammer,' or 'It feels as if the bones are sticking through the skin.' Scarry cites an influential medical questionnaire designed by pain specialists that makes extensive use of these two metaphor groups as a means of determining the nature of the patient's experience and through these descriptors, a better diagnosis of their condition. See Scarry Pp. 7-14.
existence, are, when coupled with the victim's undeniable pain, then read by
the regime as the incontestable reality of its power. Along with verifying the
fact of the regime's power, the victim's pain will also attest to the validity and
truth of the Junta's view of reality. Pain can, in the context of torture, actively
destroy language, in the entirely subjective sense that it will displace all other
contents of an individual's consciousness. This means that, as the pain fills
the victim's sentience, it eliminates the internal representations of the world
outside of the victim's body. The elimination of the victim's internal subjective
world is then compounded by the simultaneous destruction of the linguistic
structures that link the internal representations to the very things beyond the
body to which they refer. Pain induced by torture theatrically reverses the
process by which humans minimise the claims of the body on the individual
consciousness, creating a subjective existence that solely consists of an
endless aversive present, in which the immediate demands of the body are so
extreme that nothing beyond those demands exists.

For purely analytical purposes, the structure of torture can be broken
down into two distinct elements; the first, as noted above, is the prolonged
generation of extreme pain, pain so extensive and demanding that it displaces
all other contents of consciousness, as one victim states; "I don't remember a
moment in which I decided to talk but I know that after awhile it seemed less
likely that my friends would be killed and therefore less urgent to lie. Indeed, I
found it quite impossible to lie for the shocks came with such frequency and
intensity that I could no longer think...Their disbelief was very hard to bear for
there seemed no escape from the white hot sea of pain in which I found
myself...How long it went on I don't know: perhaps an hour, perhaps
longer." The destruction of the victim's internal world is then dramatised
ritualistically in the second element of torture; the interrogation. While
interrogation provides the regime with a meretricious reason for torture—that of
gaining information—it is also another of the fundamental elements of the
transformation of the victim's pain into the Junta's power.

The interrogation confirms the Junta's power through a number of complementary means. Human discourse is the pre-eminent method that human beings use to share and participate in the world, and the primary component of discourse is language. At the superficial level, the interrogation mimics and inverts the common legal procedures of criminal investigation and judicial prosecution. At this level the torturers, reverting to a pre-medieval judicial standard, are simultaneously investigating an alleged crime, verifying its occurrence, determining the extent of the accused's guilt and punishing the offender. The interrogation, that is the specific questions posed by the torturers announce and declaim the validity of their mythologically constructed version of reality, and are posed as if they had some purchase upon the world beyond the detention centre.

An important Chilean example of the manner in which the power generated through torture can create actions that serve to verify its own precepts while simultaneously denying the validity of evidence that contradicts those precepts, can be seen in the Junta's fictional creation, Plan Z. Shortly


113 Lake Sagaris notes that torture "was a standard element of judicial process in Greece and Rome...In 1252, at the start of the Inquisition, Pope Innocent IV officially required the use of torture in trials of heresy." In Lake Sagaris. After The First Death: A Journey through Chile, Time, Mind. (Toronto: Somerville House Publishing, 1996), P. XXII.
after the coup the Junta announced that it had discovered in the drawer of a socialist senator a left-wing plan for a mass uprising during the September 18 celebrations. Plan Z, as published in the "Libro Blanco del Cambio de Gobierno de Chile," claimed that the left-wing felt that, "Será fundamental eliminar físicamente los Altos Mandos y a los Jefes de las Unidades de las fuerzas enemigas para debilitar y desmoralizar la reacción desleal." (It will be fundamental to physically eliminate the military high command and the regiment commanders of the enemy forces in order to debilitate and demoralise the disloyal reactionaries.) The plan proposed that the "beheading" of the high command and commanders of regional forces should occur during the September 18 military Parade and at an officers' luncheon scheduled for the same day. In an attempt to ensure the soldiers' obedience and heighten their fear of extremists, the concept of a communist-inspired massacre of the armed forces was publicised in military propaganda. One magazine, Los Cien Combates de una Batalla, contained a number of different fictional accounts of the coup's military operations. Many of which were replete with the familiar stereotypical military characters such as the bluff but good hearted drill sergeant, the nervous young new recruit and the dim but good natured strongman. This text also included a factual analysis of Plan Z that the authors introduced as:

114 Chile's traditional Independence Day falls on September 18, which is followed on the 19 by the Army day celebrations.


116 See the story titled Eran Ocho de Infantería. In Fuerzas Armadas Y Carabineros. Septiembre de 1973: Los Cien Combates de Una Batalla. (Santiago de Chile: Ejercito de Chile, Armada Nacional, Fuerza Area y el Cuerpo de Carabineros, 1973), Pp. 36-37. Another famous example of these stereotypes can be found in Erich Maria Remarque. All Quiet On The Western Front. Trans. A.W. Wheen. (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons,1929). This magazine was
al tenebroso plan gestado y organizado por connotados personeros del despuesto régimen marxista, para efectuar un asesinato en masa de los efectivos de las fuerzas armadas, comenzando por los más altos Jefes, es decir, los Oficiales de mayor graduación, familiares de estos; destacados dirigentes políticos y gremiales. También incluía esta larga lista de presuntas víctimas a Carabineros de alta graduación y familiares de los mismos.117

(A sinister plan developed and organized by known persons in the deposed Marxist government, to carry out a mass assassination of the armed forces, beginning with the high command, along with it is said officers of the highest rank, their families, notable politicians and gremiales. Also included in this long list of presumed victims were high ranking Carabineros and their families.)

This was followed by the story, Itinerario De Un Día Largo: Ficción Que Pudo Ser Realidad, which opens with a description of a fine spring morning, in which young boys, having spent the night enraptured by dreams of the great Chilean generals, are up early polishing their shoes and eagerly anticipating the Independence Day parade. Mothers are busy in kitchens preparing breakfast for happy families and "La risa es facil, la cara y los ojos son brillantes." (Smiling is easy and the face and eyes shine brightly.) In the meantime:

published primarily for the consumption of line troops and included articles to aid distinguishing between good foreigners and bad ones, (Hay Extranjeros y Extranjeros, P. 62), a discussion regarding the nature of the enemy that relies heavily on quotes from Carlos Marighela’s Minimanual for Urban Guerrillas, (Conversacion de Soldado a Soldado, P. 65), as well as letters of support purporting to be from parents and potential victims of left wing violence.

La araña roja ha impartido sus órdenes a través de la red viscosa que ha tejido lenta pero insidiosamente. En las escasas sombras que hace septiembre tiene que ocultar mucha suciedad, muchas bocas renegridas de armamentos extraños pero mortales. Como es tanta a la luz, ha debido cavar hondo en la mugre de innumerables pozos sépticos. Ha debido agazaparse en inmundos rincones, en corazones turbios, en mentes desquiciadas. Todo es aquí un remedio de la pureza del Cuartel, o del azul profundo del mar chileno o del celeste vivo de su cielo, pero peligrosamente letal y artero. Víctima de la urgencia de su propia finalidad, la araña roja cree tenerlo todo preparado. Tiene una gran carta que jugar: la sorpresa de la traición. La orden viene desde muy lejos, de un lugar extraño a nervadura de Chile, tiene voz extranjera y ha cultivado odios entre hermanos. La traición es fácil, porque es septiembre y porque la orden del día es muerte.

(The red spider had given orders through the thick web that had been woven slowly and insidiously. The scarce shadows of September have to hide a lot of filth and blasphemous mouths of obscure but deadly weapons. Such is the light that it has had to dig deep into the filth of innumerable septic wells. It has been taken from dirty corners and unhinged minds. Everything here is a parody of the barracks purity, or the blue profundity of the Chilean ocean or of living blue of its sky but perilously lethal and crafty. A victim of the urgency of its own goals the red spider believes it has every thing prepared. It has big hand to play: the surprise of treason. The order comes from afar, a foreign place distant from the green warmth of Chile, it has foreign accent and has cultivated hatred amongst brothers Treason is easy, and because it's September and because the order of the day is death.

The story then goes on to describe a parade ground massacre in which stalwart defenders of the nation are machine-gunned by a hidden and

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cowardly enemy. In the fog of battle and surrounded by dead comrades, Capitán López organises a suicidal bayonet counterattack:

Casi unos niños, los ve gigantes en estos momentos, ángeles vengadores que sólo caen derrotados cuando la sangre se les escapa por mil ríos. Cuando la ráfaga le alcanza en pleno tórax recuerda de nuevo a Gloria y Francisco. Pero la única lágrima que le corre, está seguro, es por los cientos de camaradas de armas de todos grados que han caído en un acción innoble que no cubrirá a nadie de gloria, porque en esa hora negra todo es posible.119

(Almost children, in these moments he sees them as gigantic avenging angels who fall only when the blood pours from them in a thousand rivers. When a machine gun burst catches him in the chest, he thinks again of Gloria and Francisco. But the only tear he sheds is for the hundreds of comrades in arms, of all grades, killed in this ignoble battle that will give glory to none because in this darkest hour anything is possible.)

Un Día Largo concludes with a press announcement that, "El Gobierno de Chile pasará a llamarse, a contar de hoy, República Socialista y Democrática de Chile, y su bandera será modificada, agregándose la hoz y el martillo, símbolo que caracteriza al marxismo."120 (The government of Chile, which from this day forth will be called the Socialist Democratic Republic of Chile, announced that the national flag will be modified by adding the symbols of Marxism, the hammer and sickle.) Succinctly summing up all the military's fears of armed but covert insurgent forces, the 'red spider' is remarkable for


both being hidden and foreign. Characterising the enemies of the state as bestial obviously serves the purpose of dehumanising them, thereby reducing the moral qualms of those who will be required to physically kill or harm them. The presentation of the soldiers as angels of vengeance is indicative of the military's messianic view of themselves as pulling the nation from an apocalyptic inferno and leading it into a utopian future.

Plan Z was subsequently used as 'proof' of the left-wing threat to the nation. One air force officer stated later:

Air force squads were told by superiors soon after the coup that leftist forces had mined military parade grounds with explosives and drawn up death lists of military men and their families."... "We had been taught to trust the word of higher officers, so we had no reason to doubt them. What they said created great anxiety and mistrust amongst us; it created the desire to go out and kill those animals," Carbacho recalled. ... "Anyone who acted with humanity was a traitor. Anyone who supported the [former] government was serving a foreign enemy."121

The anger and fear caused by the revelation of Plan Z helped add a further punitive aspect to the mistreatment of prisoners. The violent retribution was, however, the very element that bridged the gap between the limited resistance to the Junta and the enormity of the threat. Through torture, regardless of who was being detained, the Junta could generate the enemies it so obviously feared. Mario O'Ryan, a low ranking officer in the Chilean Air Force, who had been arrested in October, 1973, recounted later that, "They hit you and

121 Patricio Carbacho had been a captain in the Chilean air force, he was convicted of treason, tortured during interrogation and exiled. See Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), Pp. 53-54.
pressured you so much that you began to ask yourself if you were involved in the plan or not." 122 Another report helps illustrate the extreme dissymmetry between the mythological world of the Junta and that of the population, where people were arrested for "having 100-centavo notes in their wallets--worth about a tenth of a cent after the inflation of the Allende period. "The police told me that this bill was the secret sign of MIR."

123

The value of the information garnered through the application of torture has been questioned almost as long as torture, as a recognisable element of judicial proceedings, has existed. No less a person than Augustine himself, who could not bring himself to outright condemnation of the practice, noted that a victim often "declares that he has committed the crime which in fact he has not committed...rather than endure any longer such tortures."

124

The victim's pain serves to amplify the torturer's version of reality and denote the unreality of the victim's. The dissolution of the victim's internal representations of the outside world is expanded by bringing other elements of the world beyond the torture chamber into it and using them against the victim as a means of furthering the victim's pain. As noted above, the torturer's inversion of the discourse of medicine reverses the common relationship between medicine and human suffering, in a process that mimics the internal destruction of the victim's world and further dramatises the absolute power of the torturer. The destruction of the victim's internal

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representations of the benign elements of the world, and the torturer's use of that world as weapons, were epitomised by some torturers' preference for torturing members of the victims family rather than the victim themselves, as Otto Trujillo an ex-Air Force intelligence officer notes with a horrifically apt metaphor, "That is the worst; it is what generally makes people burst."125

As we have seen, torture is a means by which the attributes of pain are bound to a particular social construct. The power that is generated through torture is both eminently clear and ambiguous. The clarity devolves from the overwhelming evidence of pain, the sheer unavoidable fact that the regime is creating and controlling it, while its ambiguity stems from both the ostensible reasons for the pain's creation and purposes its existence will ultimately serve.

Reconstructing the Nation

If we accept that social reality consists of a field of intertwined symbols that are expressed in a given community's customs, beliefs, institutions and monuments, in a word, its culture; if we also accept that the ascription of value to the symbolic realm relies on a complex differentiation of self and other, a process that is inextricably tied to other culturally defined categories like those of high/low, sacred/profane, pure/impure and order/disorder; then we must also accept that the human body, as a site for the action of power and the production of it, cannot be conceived of as separate from the broader currents within the social formation. The categories of value, however, are never static, due to the constant redefinition of subject and object in relation to one another, as well as continual reference to, and distinction from, previously

extant, and relatively stable forms and the hierarchies of value implicit in these contexts. The purely military action of the coup should not be seen as an entirely discrete series of events that lead to the creation of a military government but rather as one element in a continuum of events, bound up in what occurred before it and afterwards. Undoubtedly, the coup fostered a series of social changes that were imposed by force; however, as these changes are linked to broader metaphysical discourses, they heighten and expand the military's distortion of subsequent forms of social reality. As the Report of the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation states "it is absolutely essential that we understand the crisis of 1973...in order to understand how the subsequent human rights violations we were charged to investigate came about,"126 it is vital to recognise that the derealisation, that is the literal dismantling of the different ideological and material elements of constructed social reality, generated by the competing social constructs, the increasing unreality of everyday life, had reached a point wherein violence seemed not only the sole means by which the conflict could be resolved. This would entail collapsing the existing social duality through the elimination of one of the contestants means of realising themselves in the world. Furthermore, the violence that this would involve was also the preferred means for both sides in the debate to achieve their respective goals. The fact that the left-wing had generated a discourse of romanticised violent revolution that far outstripped the left's adherent's ability to carry it out, is both a

symptom and a partial cause of the social unreality that existed in Chile during the final months of the Allende regime.

As a spatial and temporal event the coup itself can be viewed as a carnival of power, which in turn can be conceived of as expanding and constructing an existing liminal space. This temporal portal offered opportunities for adherents of both left and right to redefine the structures of meaning, via access to and deployment of both military and social power. Within the framework of the coup, the Junta created a theatre of terror that had the paradoxical effect of forming an exact negative of the military's explicitly enunciated social objectives. The program of national reconstruction initiated by the coup, the mythic framework of which was characterised by a simplistic moral binarism, which P. Bule noted was defined by 'block logic,' and a vision of the state as an hierarchical corporate entity, (a notion which was suffused with ideas stemming from messianic/millennial Christianity), had the effect, through the application of different technologies of coercion, of eliminating many people's participation in the attribution of meaning to their physical/social and internal environments. There were many methods deployed by the Junta to force external reality into harmony with their ideas of the natural configuration of society, which on a objective plane included disappearance, torture, physical and mental intimidation along with mass arrests. In a broader social register, the Junta's activities included economic instability among specified social strata, reorganisation of the workplace, suppression of social organisations such as unions and political

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parties, widespread censorship up to and including book burning, internal and external exile of Chileans and the expulsion of foreign nationals deemed dangerous to the nation.

Drawing on Folch-Serra's discussion of Bakhtin, work on carnival,\textsuperscript{128} it is viable to view the coup as a deformed carnivalesque chronotope which incorporates negative correlates of Bakhtin's initial concept. By inverting the previously established hierarchy of socio-political values, the Junta created a spatio-temporal opposite of Bakhtin's carnival, in which each of its constituent elements are inverted while simultaneously producing a discourse of moral righteousness. The instability of the carnival reached into heart of the institution that authored it. Overturning the few remaining disciplinary restraints on the very organisation that underwrites, maintains and creates power, the Junta acted out an assertion of autonomic agency that not only inverted the pre-existing 'natural' subordination of the military to the executive within the state, but also raises the spectre of an imminent annihilation of all power.

\textsuperscript{128} Bakhtin described a chronotope as "an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring." MM Bakhtin. \textit{The Dialogical Imagination}. Trans. M Holquist,(ed.). (Austin: University of Texas Press), 425-426. Folch - Serra clarified this idea by stating that "Chronotopes are places of intersection of temporal and spatial sequences." M. Folch-Serra, \textit{Mikhail Bakhtin's Dialogical Landscape in Society and Space} Vol 8 1990. P.261. Bakhtin proposed the notion of the Carnival Chronotope after recognising that during the medieval period the time of Carnival offered participants substantial reversals in social roles wherein, for example, the local rich dressed as the poor and vice versa. Folch-Serra lists the characteristic categories of the Carnivalesque Chronotope as;

1. \textit{free and familiar contact among people} (people who in life are separated by impenetrable hierarchical barriers enter into free familiar contact on the carnival square);
2. \textit{eccentricity} (a special category of the carnival sense of the world that permits, in a completely sensuous form, the latent sides of human nature to reveal and express themselves);
3. \textit{carnivalistic mésalliances} (togetherness and the combination of the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, the wise with the stupid);
4. \textit{profanation} (a whole system of carnivalesque debasings and 'bringings down to earth', carnivalesque obscenities linked with the reproductive power of the earth and the body, carnivalesque parodies on the sacred texts and sayings, etc). Folch-Serra 265.
disciplinary restraints that make up the basis for large scale social existence. If the hierarchy, and the roles that it imposes, can be altered via the simple application of force then the discipline that makes the application of force possible is immediately questionable.\(^{129}\) This particular fear was, arguably,\(^{130}\) turned outward to face the civilian population to such an extent that soldiers could act with absolute impunity. One such incident was detailed in Sergio Villegas', *El Estadio*:

*El día jueves 13, como a las once de la manana, pasa un camión militar por Providencia. Acaba de terminar la queda larga. Por una bocacalle sale un hombre canoso corriendo dificultosamente, sin duda porque es muy gordo. Corre agitando un brazo en alto, haciendo la "V" de la victoria con dos dedos y gritando eurofico: "¡Ganamos!". Estaba claro que salía a saludar a los uniformados. Desde el camion, alguien le disparo y lo dejo tirado en el suelo. Un poco mas alla, el*

\(^{129}\) A reality that was tacitly recognised in the extreme measures that the military used to ensure that subordinates remained suitably cowed. Constable and Valenzuela detail one such occasion when a minor breach in protocol resulted in the execution of the protagonist. "Major Ivan Lavandero, while processing detainees at the National Stadium, was persuaded to release a group of Uruguayan prisoners by the Swedish Ambassador, Harald Edelstam, a Popular Unity sympathizer who helped hundreds of Chileans and foreigners reach asylum. When a colonel directing stadium interrogations found out, according to Edelstam, he ordered the major executed immediately by firing squad." Although a total breakdown in the chain of command seemed unlikely there had been precedents, set elsewhere, wherein an army deposed a civilian government and shortly thereafter suffered an absolute collapse of the command structure. In Uganda during the 1950s and '60s there was a series of coups in which each successive rank, disenchanted with the newly installed military governments, deposed their immediate superiors until the lowest rank of the officer corps, the NCOs under the guidance of Idi Amin, gained control of the apparatus of state.

\(^{130}\) The notion that the process of transference, whereby the negative attributes of the subject are held to be possessed solely by the object, in this case the illegality of the overthrowing the government and the subsequent guilt, are felt to belong to the population rather than the Junta. For an expanded discussion of the role and effects of transference within the social sphere, see Edward Said. *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
vehiculo se detuvo, bajo el oficial y preguntó por una dirección que buscaba.\textsuperscript{131}

(On Thursday 13 (September), around 11 in the morning, a military truck was driving down Providencia. The 24 hour curfew had just ended. From a side street appeared a fat grey haired man running with difficulty. He ran waving his arm in the air, making a 'V' for victory sign with his fingers and euphorically shouting, "We Won!"

It was clear that he came to congratulate the men in uniform. From the truck, someone fired and he fell shot on the ground. A little farther on, the truck stopped and an officer stepped out and asked for an address they were searching for.)

The sudden suspension of the rules that determine the appropriate behaviour of military personnel that the coup engendered cleared the social space necessary to reconfigure the cultural landscape. The destabilisation of all the different aspects of life initiated by the Allende regime was extended and restructured by the Junta's assumption of power. The initial inversion of socio-political values signalled by Allende's election and the subsequent social turmoil created the necessary preconditions for the series of reversals that began with the coup, and found their apogee in the terrorist activities of DINA.

The primary expression of the Junta's power, in keeping with their military training, was their almost absolute control of the city's geographical space. During the battle for Moneda, roads leading into the centre of the city were blocked by Carabineros, troops and armoured vehicles, controlling the entrance and more importantly, the exit from the downtown core. Initially the Junta declared a 48 hour curfew and troops were ordered to shoot violators on sight. After the total curfew was lifted, the Junta instituted a dusk-til-dawn curfew that was eventually reduced to 11pm til 5am. The curfew remained in

effect (although as time passed less rigorously policed except in times of turmoil), throughout the length of the military government. The curfew laws had the effect of dividing the city into two separate, temporally distinct, albeit geographically contiguous, worlds.

The public spaces of the city became one of the subtler indexes of the extent and reach of the Junta's power. One witness described the sudden change in Chilean social life heralded by the coup:

The Allende era had been an intensely public experience, with an endless stream of political activity and cafes bustling until dawn. The coup brought down a swift still curtain on this frenzied drama. Bookstalls closed, nightlife vanished, and radio stations replaced Andean protest ballads with Mexican mariachis and American pop songs.  

The murals that had been painted on the restraining walls of the Mapocho river, and almost any blank wall, were immediately removed. Many Chilean newspapers reported on the ongoing effort to clean the city's walls, often noting that many of the cleaning crews were made up of political prisoners. Illustrating the extent of some Chileans' fear of extremists as well as the incrementally disorienting world that the non-military population was forced to live in, a woman phoned the editorial office of *Las Ultimas Noticias* saying that:


133 See *Las Ultimas Noticias*, Santiago de Chile, Septiembre 18, 1973, 4.

134 A world in which revolution is hatched, planned and co-ordinated through graffiti scrawled on the walls of women's washrooms of downtown cinemas is to my mind at least unusual.
Mientras todo el mundo limpia los muros de la ciudad, elimina la imudicia, quedan extraños focos de garabatos y de inscripciones políticas. Me refiero concretamente a los baños de señoritas en los cines céntricos. Yo voy siempre al cine Metro. A pesar de las ordenanzas sobre limpieza y borrado de inscripciones, he visto con sorpresa que estas dos semanas han aparecido frases que se renuevan constantemente. Creo que son los inspectores municipales los encargados de estos revisiones, y me temo que no hayan informados. En todo caso, creo que habría que dar una revisión a otros cines como Mayo y Capri y otras salas de gran movimiento público, porque No creo que es un espléndido lugar para transmitir recados el baño de señoritas de los cines?135

(While everybody cleans the city’s walls, eliminating the filth, there still remain areas of strange doodlings and political grafitti. I am referring concretely to the women’s washrooms of downtown cinemas. I always go to the Metro. In spite of the cleanliness By-Laws and grafitti erasure, I have been surprised by the appearance of constantly renewed phrases. I fear that the superintendents and municipal inspectors, responsible for removing grafitti, may not have been informed. In any event, I think that it would be wise to examine the washrooms of other downtown cinemas such as the Mayo and Capri as well as other places of great public movement. Don’t you think that the women’s washroom is a splendid place to transmit messages?)

This comment illustrates not only the very limited spaces available for any kind of public discourse that criticised/questioned or even condemned the military, it also shows a public attempting to align itself with the government in an effort to avoid inevitable persecution.

The control of the discursive possibilities of public space were not solely limited to the removal of left-wing political slogans, they were used to publicise the demands of the Junta. In a neat reversal of the UP poster campaigns, the newly cleaned walls (also inferentially reflecting the souls

135 Las Ultimas Noticias, Santiago de Chile, 1 Octubre 1973, 21.
'cleansed' by their laborious punishment), were quickly covered with posters proclaiming "that in every soldier there is a Chilean and in every Chilean there is a soldier,"136 a slogan that clearly emphasises the idea that each Chilean has a specific position in the military hierarchy as well as military duty that they must fulfil. The specific nature of that duty was, of course, to be dictated by the Junta, as the nation's supreme leaders. The civilians recently lost ability to choose their roles in the grand process of reconstruction was made explicit during a meeting between the rector of the Universidad de Chile, Edgardo Boeninger, and the newly appointed Junta Education Minister, Admiral Hugo Castro, when, in response to the rector's proposed alterations, Castro said "I want you to know that there are no such thing as 'shared goals.' "..."There are only the government's objectives, and the citizens must comply with them."137

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The process of National Reconstruction involved the radical reconfiguration of the Chilean economy. Before the coup, high-ranking naval officers had asked a number of neo-liberal economists to prepare a plan for salvaging the national economy in the post-Allende period. Profoundly influenced by the economic theories of Milton Friedman, Arnold Harberger and Hayek, the plan of the "Chicago Boys" proposed a massive economic restructuring based on the action of the market. The plan called for a wholesale de-regulation of the country's price and tax structures along with tight monetary controls, and the privatisation of virtually all publicly held industries. Although initially hesitant in the widespread application of the neo-liberal policies, the Junta pursued both price de-regulation and privatisation immediately, and soon accepted the whole program. The effects of the harsh shift in economic policy were quickly felt. Chossudovsky shows, through an analysis of the purchasing power of the 1974 minimum family income that used its 1969 predecessor as a base, that "the wages and salaries group [had] experienced an overall decline of at least 60-65 per cent in its purchasing power as a result of the Junta's policy of 'freeing prices and freezing wages'". Unemployment doubled in October 1973 alone, and by the beginning of 1975 had reached 13.3 percent. While material privation and economic instability had long been the dominant element of many people's

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138 These economists were so labelled because of a 1955 agreement between the University of Chicago and the Universidad Catolica de Chile, which offered favoured economic students the opportunity to pursue post-graduate work in Chicago. The exchange was funded by the United States Agency for International Development and initially justified the expense on the grounds that such a program could help counter the influence of ECLA economic thought. The University of Chicago was home to the stringent monetarist theoretician, Milton Friedman.

lives, the results of the Junta's economic policies soon began adversely to affect the lives of those who had called for the suppression of Allende's government.

Contemporaneous with the most drastic changes in the national economy came the consolidation of the Junta's repressive apparatus. Effectively excluded from public life, the subject population developed a number of tactics for coping with increasing social uncertainties caused by the excessive violence of the Junta. The most important of which was the simple denial of any consistent wrongdoing on behalf of the Junta, epitomised by the constant refrain of "De eso no se habla" (we don't talk about that) when questioned about human rights abuses. Two psychologists noted that in Chile, "Nearly everyone appears to deny what is going on around them, and many explain the government's actions with a 'just world' theory: Those who suffer abuse must have brought it on themselves, and it will not happen to anyone who avoids trouble. (Sera algo)"\(^{140}\) The subject population's denial, reflecting that of the Junta, was ingenuous. To deny or ignore the existence of something requires that it had already been acknowledged and that knowledge suppressed through an act of will. Moreover, the adoption of the 'just world' theory shows that the subject population was consistently engaged as a spectator guarantor to the truths generated by the brutal spectacle of torture. Through the 'just world' notion, the spectators aligned themselves with the Junta, participating momentarily in the fiction that some secret knowledge

\(^{140}\) Amado Padillo and Lilian Comas-Diaz. *A State of Fear; Brutal Dictatorships Crush Minds as well as Bodies, as the People of Chile Would Tell You If They Were Free to Speak, Psychology Today*. Sussex Publishers Inc. Vol 20, 1986, 60.
possessed solely by the Junta justified and explained the atrocities which they were forced to witness.

The spectacle of the brutalised body of the extremist in the torture chamber, however, pointed to the other role the subject population could fill. The unstable representations of the Junta's spectacular atrocities transmitted by the theatrical arrests, staged confrontations and indexed by the eerie absence and silence of the 'desaparecidos' promoted the subject population's tacit recognition (an understanding that was, for the most part, suppressed as soon as it broke into the individual's consciousness), of itself as a victim. This understanding, promulgated and heightened by the security services' practices of arresting people on the basis of a denouncement, promoted the ultimate contraction of public space wherein one's social world was restricted to members of the immediate family. Sometimes it could not even stretch that far, as one survivor reports, "They took us both in the same truck. My in-laws thought I had turned him in. I couldn't go to their house for seventeen years. I remained by myself, hated by those who killed him and despised by those who loved him. What happened in this country if someone could believe that a woman in love is capable of turning in her own husband?"\footnote{Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation: Volume 2. Trans. Phillip E. Berryman. (Indiana: Centre for Civil & Human Rights Notre Dame Law School, 1993), 790.}

The contradictory mixture of hope and despair that characterised the responses of those affected by the disappearance of a loved one, and the corresponding inability to grieve ensured that the victim remained a haunting presence in the lives of those left behind. As one relative stated, "Every time I see a madman or a hobo in the street I think it may be my husband; or that he
might be somewhere in a similar condition."David Becker, who has worked extensively with the victims of political violence in Chile, describes the peculiar social effect of a repressive policy of disappearance, “To disappear,” evokes images of “magic intervention by mysterious forces,” ... “It suggests the inexplicable, the irrevocable, an absolute loss of knowledge.” The disorienting and distorted social world promulgated by the Junta coupled with the fantastic imagery of disappearance, in which shadows of the dead constantly pass through the lives of the of the living, promoted the belief by some in supernatural means of ascertaining the whereabouts and state of the victim. These beliefs, which, in the context of a social life which has been systematically stripped of certainty and tainted with an encompassing fear, were a desperate attempt to attribute order and meaning to lived experience, and were exploited by numerous unscrupulous charlatans. A brother of one of the disappeared told the commission that:

We no longer had anything left. We had lost everything looking for him. A fortune teller came to the Araucano Hotel, and my mother sold the last things we had left and went there with my little brother. The fortune teller told her not to worry, that my brother would arrive for Christmas. My mother called everyone and cooked up a feast...He didn’t arrive that Christmas or ever again.”


143 David Becker et al., La experiencia terapeutica con victimas de represion politica en Chile y el desfio de reparacion social. (Santiago de Chile: Instituto Latinamericano de Salud Mental y Derechos Humanos, 1989), 9.

The Junta's plans for 'National Reconstruction' not only entailed the physical elimination of particular ideas from the social space of the country but also the creation of particular representations of a harmonious community. This created an odd variety of military endeavours. Admiral Jose Toribio Merino publicly defended the burning of books and, in the immediate aftermath of the coup commissioned a squad of soldiers with the task of measuring the length of women's skirts to ensure that they met his personal standards of propriety. One indication that the new order of power was making itself felt in people's personal lives was the sudden fashionability for short hair clean shaves on young men.\textsuperscript{145} The extent of the Junta's access to the bodies of the subject population along with the Junta's willingness to use it fostered the development of particular modes of social comportment. So ubiquitous were these behaviours that the Chileans themselves gave them specific names. The term 'Submarining' referred explicitly to the process of going about one's daily business in such an unexceptional manner as to avoid catching the eye of the state. The other Junta inspired behaviour was named 'Sniffing,' which involved a series of apparently innocuous questions that people would ask one another upon being introduced, the answers to which would indicate the respondent's attitude toward the Junta.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{145} See El Mercurio, Sabado 22 Septiembre de 1973, P.25, "Pelo Corto" which notes that the craze for short hair had spread as far south as Punta Arenas
The Stadium as an Icon

Jim Ritter, an American physicist who had been working as a professor at the Catholic University in Santiago during the Allende regime was arrested on September 23, 1973 for failing to renew his visa, described his entry into the realm of repression;

The pain didn't allow you to play the kind of safe game I'd been playing up 'til then - just being an observer, a coolly detached observer of my own plight. I began to realise that this was for real...Finally they started the truck and they drove very slowly to the National Stadium...The entire time they kept working us over. I remember that they kept yelling at us “Goddamn foreigners, came

147 Also from the same group that published the pictures depicting torture, this drawing of the Stadium can be found in Amnesty International. Chile Briefing. (London: Amnesty International, 1988), 13.
down here to kill Chileans."...We got to our destination and they said "All right you bastards. Here we are at the stadium. This is wonderland. Now you're really going to see something."  

The beatings administered by the soldiers forcibly re-embedded and reattached Ritter's conscious mode of knowing, his perspective, his subjectivity, to his body and placed it within the sphere of repression. Through the application of the Junta's mythic logic Ritter was deemed to be guilty in the supernatural realm of sins against God and therefore deserving of punishment. Having removed him from the shareable public realm and placed him into the magically transformative space, the wonderland, the Junta could then impose its order upon him. In doing so, the state presumes the capability to recreate subjective reality in the form of the Junta's choosing, realigning reality to correspond with the presumptions of its logic and presenting this recreated world to a reconfigured sight; as the soldier says, 'Now you're really going to see something.'

In his book *Empty Meeting Grounds*, Dean MacCannell argues that at the centre of every spectacle is an icon. As a semiotic element icons are particularly important as they are based on the enactment of the ideas that they convey. As an enacted representation of culturally specific moral-aesthetic ideas, the producer and spectator are, subordinated to the icon itself. This subordination binds the "addresser and addressee in a cult and the cult-icon articulation is antecedent to any interpretation that might subsequently be performed," although both are subordinate to the icon this

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does not mean that both enjoy an equality with one another. MacCannell further argues that in order to fully comprehend the impact that spectacles and their iconic foundations have upon their producers and receivers, it is important to recognise that the “participation of beings is not as external interpreters but as internal to the sign itself.” In this context the Stadium functions as a model, an icon, of the Junta’s mythically constructed nation, those within its walls are absolutely subject to the nation’s demands (there are only the government objectives and the citizens must comply with them), as enunciated by the nation’s self-appointed representatives.

The participation of the audience as the guarantor of the veracity and truth of the spectacle is an intrinsic element of Michel Foucault’s conception of sovereign power. The concept of sovereign power helped to delineate the means by which the National Stadium functioned as an icon of the military’s conception of order, and a physical apparatus through which the necessary power to create that order could be generated. Furthermore, the Stadium functioned as a means by which the anonymous forms of power, which during the Allende period had become so contestable, could be and were, physically asserted and validated.

While only one of the numerous stadia that were used as detention centres in the wake of the coup, the National Stadium formed a perverse kind of the Cathedral space delineated by Henri Lefebvre, as well as an inverse form of Foucault’s Panopticon, generating a distinct combination of sovereign and disciplinary power. Lefebvre claims that the creation of the Cathedral in medieval Europe represented a vigorous decrypting of mythical space. This

decryption re-aligned the contours of the medieval city in the sense that the social-spatial relations had to be adjusted to incorporate the presence of the divine as well as His earthly representatives. This illumination of cryptic space ultimately presaged the destruction of its absoluteness as the Cathedral's 'visual logic' was a necessary precursor to the production of abstract space.\footnote{151} The National Stadium represented a means by which mythical space could be recrypted and its absoluteness, in this case the strength and unity of the mythic nation, could be restored and maintained. Contrary to Lefebvre's notion, the Stadium once harnessed by the Junta to the production of terror, formed a spatial-temporal portal by which the liminal spaces of torture and clandestine detention were inserted beneath the surface of everyday life. Inverting Lefebvre's 'visual logic,' the Stadium advertised the Junta's power through its refusal explicitly to reveal the mundane means by which the military was recreating the legitimacy of its right to rule via the production and elimination of dangerous 'extremists'. The sheer indecipherability of the outside wall of the Stadium mimicked and colluded with the Junta's desire and ability to reassert the "principle of authority,"\footnote{152} an ideal that was as opaque as it was materially present. The recreated and recrypted mythic space haunted the materiality of everyday life, as the spaces and modes of people's ontological security were conquered by the state.


\footnote{152} \textit{Account of the State of the Nation on September 11, 1973}. Reprinted in Pinochet Augusto. \textit{The Crucial Day}. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Renacimiento, 1982), 154.
Another Kind of War Story

In 1982, the United Kingdom fought a short and apparently successful war against Argentina. The ostensible cause of this conflict was Argentina's annexation of the Falkland Islands, islands that were little more than a few windswept rocks in the middle of the south Atlantic. The newspaper pictures of British marines sitting patiently on a rocky beach surrounded by grinning Argentine soldiers jolted the nation from its recession-born introspection. I had just turned 18, and the social atmosphere of the little southern English town that I had lived in for the last 10 years perceptibly and quite suddenly changed. At the time, I was disoriented by the rapid appearance of Union Jacks, the bellicose nationalism that dominated both newspaper headlines and pub conversations, as well as the bumper stickers that depicted a missile, a mushroom cloud and the legend "Built in Britain, Tested in Argentina."

I had lived in Britain long enough to recognise that the two World Wars had left their marks on the British imagination, but I no longer noticed the silent but insistent presence of war memorials in the local villages and towns. I had in the previous 10 years, however, eagerly consumed a huge amount of war-related narratives and images. I picked up my first Commando comic (novella-length graphic books detailing the heroic exploits of various lantern-jawed soldiers), when I had been taken to a barber shop in Henley-on-Thames. I remember being struck by the fact that at the bottom of the first
page there was a notice stating that the following story had been published previously in the early '60s. The Thames TV show *The World at War* dominated my Sunday afternoons, and while that show attempted to convey the war in all its black and white horror, what really caught my attention was the dynamism of the era and its apparent moral simplicity. Meanwhile on the other side, cartoon Nazis were endlessly paraded before my mind, and when Basil Fawlty did the silly walk while screaming something utterly incomprehensible but vaguely Germanic, I got the joke.

As the politicians formulated their response to the unwanted Argentine intrusion, the military hurriedly threw together a flotilla capable of launching a counter-attack. When the Task Force put to sea leaving a brass band on the quay playing 'Rule Britannia' while girlfriends, wives and families waved good-bye to their menfolk, the image seemed natural as I had seen it so many times before. This conflict, after all, was to be a proper war and nothing like the sheer bloody incomprehensibility of Northern Ireland. Seemed, however, was the operative term. The spectacle was simultaneously normal and perfectly predictable and yet very, very peculiar. It was as if everyone involved, from those on the quayside to those of us watching at home, were playing small parts in a bigger production, whose stage was the country and where the improvised script was made up of a bricolage of stray quotes, taken randomly from different kinds of war story. The majority embraced their roles and got on with the serious business of living, only partaking in the big event via censored newscasts. There was no threat to the mainland but the country was definitely
at war, and the state of the nation was admirably reflected in its citizens. There was little real doubt who would win, but for a while the whole of life, its myriad of routine actions and beliefs, became just a little less sure, more contingent, less easily taken-for-granted. One forgotten corner of the country's territory had been violently removed from the inhabitants' national self-conception, the community's entirely imagined notion of what it, as a nation, was, and now the whole conglomeration of discourses that constituted the nation were jeopardised.

The speed with which many British people accepted and ultimately applauded, the use of violence to achieve political ends was a product of the contemporary social situation, and the widespread acceptance of particular kinds of historical narrative. The socially-sanctioned violence in the south Atlantic had the effect of heightening people's awareness of the fictional character of the nation. And that apprehension entailed an appreciation of its mutability. It raised an awareness that any or all of the attributes previously ascribed to the United Kingdom could be altered, or that new ones could be introduced into the equation. Argentina offered the UK a chance to redefine itself, which the UK took, but the redefinition was couched in the pre-existing framework of a violent national chauvinism. The material fact that, for the period of time between Argentina's initial invasion and the conclusion of the battle for Port Stanley, the UK did not include the Falklands meant that British people had to engage in a collective act of will to assert that contrary to that fact, the UK did. The collective act was initially verbal and eventually became
physical. Social violence involves the combatants, along with the ideas and people they represent, in a reciprocal activity whose results are non-reciprocal. Which means that both players in the competition agree to abide by the results of their activity and that the physical nature of the activity is the sole element that gives the result its unassailable attributes. In every violent confrontation there is always an element of uncertainty because the result is never predetermined.

Examining the manner in which the uncertainty born of particular types of political violence infiltrates other aspects of social life, and how that infiltration effects the construction of the society, has been the subject of this thesis. One of the primary reasons I chose to study events in Chile was that I was fascinated by a society that could generate both the Allende government and that of Pinochet. I was further struck by the swiftness with which a loosely-disciplined form of state socialism was replaced by a much stricter authoritarianism. Part of that interest devolved from an increasing unease with the apparent lack of interest that established academic texts, ostensibly concerned with the nature of power, evinced in the workings of repressive regimes. To me it seemed that to explain the effects of what appears as the simple application of brute force required a more nuanced understanding of what had happened when that force was applied. I recognised that, contrary to the much-loved aphorism 'violence never solved anything,' violence did change things, and I thought it would be wise to explore at least some of the ways it did that and their ramifications.
The Junta's process of national reconstruction entailed a swift reformation of the different spheres of Chilean social reality. It was a process that was tantamount to a declaration of war upon the nation's population, a war that was played out in a theatric and ritual fashion on the bodies held captive in the different torture sites. The fact that the war was covert and undeclared is what shielded its instigators, and the results, from an extended critical examination that would have revealed the weaknesses of Junta's mythic construction of reality. The power of definition—the ability to delineate the meaning of social events—was only one of the privileges accrued by the Junta. It was a critical one that enabled the Junta to deny their active role in the creation of a terrorist state. This denial underpinned the Junta's ability to view their activities as serving a mythic purpose and the behaviour of the subject population as a confirmation of the validity of the Junta's presumptions. The Junta's transformation of Chilean social geographies involved a radical reorientation of the nation's intellectual, emotional and financial economies. The Junta's power reached into the psyches of individuals and groups alike, forcing them to adopt new and different subjectivity's. The intense geographical juxtaposition of order and chaos, good and evil, certainty and uncertainty all derive from the capacity to define and refine the different elements that constitute social reality. The extensive reach of the Junta's disciplines helped generate a new form of Chilean subjectivity, one that was forced to oscillate between tacit approval and cowed silence.
The fractured subjectivity generated by the practices of the Junta reflected both the pre-existing conflict and the uncertain, as well as unstable, realities that it was now forced to inhabit. One aspect of this subjectivity found its expression in the exclusive representations of social order and coherence promulgated by the Junta. The absence of manifest dissent that the Junta read as social peace was fostered by the creation of spaces where inhumane violence was the defining characteristic. The covert nature of the security services and their activities, ensured that the public manifestations of the Junta's peace were imbued with the immanent and seemingly omnipresent threat of torture. Ostensibly Chilean society was no longer locked in civil conflict; however, as people were forced by the spectre of torture to retreat into increasingly circumscribed and precarious social spaces, the terrain they conceded was filled with abstract but unmistakable signs of the Junta's dominance.

People create memorials as a means of publicly celebrating and remembering the lives of the dead. Memorials serve to link the dead with the living. In Chile, it was impossible to memorialise the desaparecidos for although their social absence mimicked death, the lack of a body denied the victim's relatives the opportunity to grieve. The uncertainty of the desaparecidos relatives mirrored the anxiety of the population as a whole. The subject population's anxiety and fear, stemming as it did from suppressed and forbidden knowledge, led many of them to adopt the National Stadium as a symbol of the Junta's repression. The Stadium helped contain and limit their fears as much as it served to remind them of the Junta's violence and memorialised those who were its victims.

The Junta may have dominated public spaces, and its threats may have haunted the city's streets; but many Chileans began, almost
immediately, to resist the crippling fear. In the wake of the coup, one pro-
Allende activist moved to the other side of Santiago and found a job in a meat
packing plant. For the first 10 year's of the Junta's regime he followed a
simple and regimented life of days spent at work and nights swearing quietly
at the television. He was as shocked as most of his neighbours were when, at
8p.m. in the evening of May 11, 1983 he went out onto his small apartment's
even smaller balcony to bang on a metal pot as a means of protesting against
the Junta, only to discover that the majority of his building's inhabitants were
standing on theirs, each grasping their own saucepan. The noise began,
timorously at first, but quickly built to a deafening crescendo. For a further five
years the Junta tried to drown the noise with its own proclamations and
increased repression. Eventually the Junta were forced to concede defeat
when they were beaten in their own carefully controlled plebiscite.
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