

The Stories of Chilean Political Refugees

Intro – Explaining Research Aims

For my audio-documentary project I chose to research the life stories of Chileans who had lived under political oppression during the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet, that began in 1973. I chose this topic with an audience in mind of the British general public, because I felt that there is a lack of general knowledge surrounding the history and experiences of political refugees who have been exiled to our country.

It is clear that the media can portray an often biased perception to the realities occurring in other countries, and the best way to educate ourselves, and gain an understanding of the true narrative, is by hearing first-hand accounts.

The aim of this research project is to inform and educate the British general public about the experiences of living under a dictatorship, being persecuted for political reasons, and the repercussions faced by those who suffered, and continue to suffer long after the oppression has ended.

The first stage of recruiting participants was through contacts, which is how we found Sara de Witt. After that, we learned of a meeting for Chilean refugees living in Sheffield, where attendees would share their experiences. We attended this meeting, where a presentation was given by the producers of the educational resource 'We touched the sky' – a website set up to educate viewers about Chile from the 1970's until present day. Fortunately, I was given permission to use extracts from their website for this documentary. At this meeting, we also met Benjamin Vergara-Carvallo, a Chilean political prisoner and refugee living in Sheffield, who agreed to be interviewed for this project.

For the interview with Benjamin, we met at Sheffield University, a place familiar to him that he felt comfortable with, and we found a private room so that we wouldn't be disturbed. With Sara, the interview was conducted via skype as she now lives in London.

For both interviews, I decided to adopt the oral history method, whereby the participants are asked to tell their stories without the guidance of interview style

questions. This allows for more qualitative and rich data, which I thought more appropriate for the topic. I wanted to allow the participants to tell their stories from their points of view, rather than limiting their information through a more formal question based structure. However, this form of methodology has a risk of limiting the data as participants are encouraged to discuss what they want and I cannot lead their narrative in any way.

The most important element of these interviews was to gain informed consent. Both interviewees signed forms agreeing for all materials to be used, including their personal details.

The interviews were conducted in English as that is the language of my target audience, and both participants were comfortable to do this.

As I was interviewing the participants, I realised that there were many more issues to be discussed than first met the eye. The atrocities that occur during an oppressive dictatorship are clear, but the after effects are often overlooked. The impacts on families, the issues regarding exile and having to start your life again, and integrate into a foreign country and culture. Sensitive issues were often discussed and so the interviews had to be approached in an appropriate way so as to make the participant feel at ease.

The final aim, with informed consent, is to publish my research for my target audience as an educational tool, which may then be available to be used to those who find it of interest.

I am interested in covering a number of issues in this documentary, such as:

How did so many ordinary people suddenly become capable of torture and murder?

How did people react when faced with life or death situations?

And, how are the effects of these events still felt today?

Many researchers and therapists have conducted studies into the mental health of asylum seekers and refugees. A staggeringly high proportion of victims of political repression suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, yet this is often a group that is overlooked by the mental health community (Wilson and Drozdek, 2004). The research in this documentary could contribute to expanding awareness of these

issues to the general public and to professionals in the field, in order to help with similar situations in the future.

The Pinochet regime engaged in massive human rights violations, and had devastating consequences for the victims and their families. The dictatorship ended in 1990 with the newly elected democratic President, Patricio Aylwin. One of his biggest challenges was to begin legal procedures against those who had committed human rights abuses, and there was an investigation into around 3000 disappearances, (Aguilar, 2002, p.414).

The concluding report found that 1,102 people were 'disappeared' and 2,095 were killed under torture (Webber, 1999, p.529). For the families of those who disappeared, their bodies were never recovered and they were never told what really happened. One of our interviewee's, Benjamin Vergara-Carvallo had a girlfriend at the time who became one of these 'disappeared'. In these circumstances, families and friends never truly get to mourn those they have lost, and the psychological effects have been felt throughout Chilean society ever since.

I also encourage the audience to consider the bigger picture, and the factors that lead to the dictatorship. The United States had great economic and military influence, and Salvador Allende's policies did not match their interests. Under President Nixon, the US implemented economic measures in Chile in order to see Allende's demise (Walker, 2011). These factors must be taken into consideration when we look at the situation as a whole.

Overall, I hope that this documentary conveys that there is more to learn about oppression under dictatorships, and refugees, than what is portrayed by the media.

The Stories of Chilean Political Refugees

Documentary Script

Narrator: This documentary aims to explore the realities faced by Chilean citizens under an oppressive dictatorship. Throughout, you will get to hear the real life stories of Chileans, who were detained, tortured, and exiled to England following their opposition to the new regime.

First, let's take a look at the history of Chile, to gain an insight into how such terrible events came to pass. For decades, there had been political instability in the country. In 1960, historians Fredrick Pike and Donald Bray foresaw the catastrophic future of United States and Chilean relations. They warned of the increasing acceptance by the US of the right wing in Chile, who alleged that claims of need for radical reforms and change were not to be trusted.

The United States had, in a sense, colonised Chile, as a large proportion of the Chilean economy was controlled by United States corporations, who exploited their natural resources, such as copper. Therefore, there was tension from the working class as money that could have contributed to the Chilean economy was instead being taken out of the country.

Throughout Chile's political history, many attacks carried out by the military were against the Chilean population. Even before the dictatorship, they were responsible for the deaths of many. This violent history of the Chilean army against their own people gives us an early warning sign as to what they would become capable of.

There was a shift in attitudes in Latin America after the 1959 Cuban revolution, headed by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro.

It gave rise to left wing, trade union and working class movements. The people wanted radical reforms to combat the social inequalities being faced by a lot of the population.

In 1970, left wing parties in Chile joined together to form the Popular Unity party, known as Unidad Popular, led by socialist Salvador Allende.

Allende's party won the elections by a landslide and they quickly began to make reforms to many sectors including housing, education, welfare and agriculture.

However, the Popular Unity party faced opposition from the right-wing, the rich elites and the United States. These groups tried to undermine the government with attempts to ruin the economy, and propaganda was created that portrayed Salvador Allende as being in allegiance with the Soviet Union.

By 1973, tensions had grown as increased conflict between the right and left affected the economy, leading to high levels of inflation and a food shortage. People began to protest and the probability of a military coup became more likely every day.

With the reality of this coup becoming more apparent, many citizens wanted Allende's government to slow down on their reforms, so as not to provoke the right further, whilst other members of the population wanted to resist.

On the 29th June 1973, there was an attempted military coup, which failed to succeed. However, this only fuelled tensions further and both sides became increasingly more agitated.

On the 11th September 1973, General Augusto Pinochet lead the military coup that would overthrow the democratic government. News of the coup was broadcast on the radio, and the population listened in as the armed forces attacked La Moneda, the palace of the government.

Salvador Allende was inside the building, and refused the military's initial requests for his resignation. He gave a final speech over the radio, knowing that they would be his final words. The palace was bombed, and president Salvador Allende was killed.

The following interview extracts come from a group of Chileans that participated in the project We Touched the Sky. One participant, Sergio Requena Rueda, recalls the last words of the former president:

SRR: "I won't resign, I won't go out of the, the palace of government, the only way that I will go out will be with my feet in front"

Narrator: Another Chilean, Apolo Santana weighs in on his memories of that eventful day:

AP: Basically, you know, they attacked Allende and he refused to resign, which showed the quality of Allende. And when I listened to Allende's final speech, I don't think in the history of mankind, I don't believe in the history of mankind of modern times there has been a more dramatic, better speech... meaningful speech than made by that man.

Narrator: The resilience of Salvador Allende in the face of death has placed him at the hearts of many Chileans, as one of the greatest leaders in their history. His leadership had been a symbol of hope for many, and he was taken too soon, by a barbaric regime.

Pedro Fuentes was also living in Chile at the time, and shares his thoughts on the coup:

PF: I remember the coup but I never, we never thought, I personally never thought it was going to be like that never ever, that the presidential palace would be bombed, people being actually killed on the street by Chileans, killing Chileans, we never thought that, people being detained, tortured...

Narrator: For the Chileans, their society had been a democracy for centuries, and the dictatorship that followed was something that they could never have imagined.

It quickly became apparent that members of the population who had supported Allende and the Popular Unity party were now in danger. Curfews were immediately put in place, and calls for the arrests of Allende's supporters began.

In the days following the coup, violence flooded the nation. Many activists were arrested, tortured and killed. Law and order no longer existed, and terror spread through the country as civilians were publicly executed in the streets. It became clear that if you were not on the side of the new regime, you were in danger.

Benjamin Vergara-Carvallo from Termuco in Santiago, was twenty-three at the time of the coup. He had completed his military training and had been working as part of the team of bodyguards who protected Salvador Allende. He was also member of the MIR, the Revolutionary Left Movement, and he describes his actions on the day of the coup:

BVC: I called a meeting the same day in the morning as to what we were going to do, and some of them were higher up in the ranks and said we are going to go...

underground until we know what's happened, and I said “well you do that but from this moment on... I take charge and I take responsibility of being the chief of the MIR and the... of the whole two provinces, you are no longer members of... that section of the political party”.

...So I stayed there in Termuco and tried to reorganize everybody not just my party but other political parties I knew, because the repression began immediately and... that's how my experience to the beginning of the exile... started in Chile so I finished becoming a civilian to be in a political, and in underground and then a political prisoner passing for torture and imprisonment and then exile to be here today, so those are the two big lumps what of, my life has been until now. Twenty-three at the time of the coup, twenty-six when I was expelled from Chile and now I'm sixty-seven.

Narrator: Sara De Witt, also from Santiago, was twenty-two years old when the coup happened. She was a social work student at the University of Santiago. She recalls her experiences from that day:

SDW: Well... that day was absolutely horrible because, well it was horrible because... the killing started. That day I had myself a very important test at the university, and having studied until late, leaving the house early and I noticed that everything was so weird and mad, but anyway I had to go for my test I went to the university and when I arrived there everybody was running like mad rabbits, and someone told me look at what is going on... and it happened that airplanes were bombing the house of, what I was saying, no it wasn't the House of Parliament...

Antonio Martinez Arboleda: The house of the... La Moneda

SDW: La Moneda, the Presidential Palace shall we say

Narrator: Sara was also a member of the MIR, and her role included selling the newspaper of the organisation to workers. When the coup began, she and some friends went to a shanty town and hid for three days during the initial curfew, in the hopes that other members of the organisation would rescue them. They soon realised that this wasn't going to happen, as people politically affiliated with Allende's government were the first to be kidnapped and killed. Sara recalls her experiences of those initial days:

SDW: ...Well... after the third day people could come out, I came out and I went home. I went home and when I arrived home I found that my mum was doing exactly what millions of people were doing, she have taken my books and burned them, they put them in the rubbish, and it was a shock for me and it was funny because she took some of my books, academic books, and left the Lenin or Trotsky books you know lying around. Now there was such a panic in the population because in the TV, the army was appearing and making pronouncements, like threatening people basically, and giving the names of people who have to present themselves.

Narrator: These announcements originally stated that if certain people came forward, they would receive a fair trial. However, it quickly became apparent that this was a lie and a trick to kidnap people who were against Pinochet's regime. It was later discovered that there were no fair trials, and thousands of people disappeared with no explanation.

In 1974, Sara returned to the University to continue her studies. However, this was short lived as the secret police were made aware of her affiliation with the MIR. She describes the moment in which she was taken:

SDW: Anyway, I had about finishing my training, I had three month more to go, and then one day I was walking in the street, I was on my way to hand over some micro films to someone, fortunately for me, I couldn't take the microfilms that day, but I went nevertheless and... when I was walking in the street... these people that were coming from behind me, they grabbed me from the back and they put something on my back, that my assumption was that it was a gun I couldn't see what they put and they said: "Don't move, freeze. If you shout, if you scream or try to run away we are going to kill you and we have got a gun" so... I just stood there and then a car approached and they say "Walk, walk to the car, don't make a noise" Well I walk to the car, and then in the car I sat there and... there were probably some, nearly five men in the car, and what they start doing was hitting me, hitting me, "Oh we got you"...

...anyway, apart of hitting me they took me to... somewhere in Santiago I know that they were taking me away from the centre.

Now the point is that I didn't exactly know where because what they did, they put cellotape on my eyes I had to close my eyes and they put cellotape, and they took me to a place, they were still hitting me, and the other thing that they were doing, quite... they were touching me everywhere, you know, my breasts, down there... and I'm saying that because that is what the secret police do.

Narrator: It was clear that the rules and regulations of a democratic society had been thrown out the window, and the soldiers of Pinochet's dictatorship were above the law. They were in charge and they could get away with doing what they wanted, when they wanted. The trauma didn't end there for Sara, and she was taken to a building where she describes one of the atrocities she witnessed:

SDW: but that night what it happened... that outside the room, I could hear... that they took a man, they took a man, I really don't know... why, but they were very vindictive and what they did, they hang him and they hit him with chains.

Now, that is still with me because it's so horrendous, when you hear, when they are killing someone, and the sound of the chains in someone's body, and he's screaming. Now, at some point he stopped screaming, he was just doing, making some noises, and this must of been oh 5 or 6 men they were so excited, laughing, they really enjoyed it. They were saying, "Go! Go! Hit him!", it was horrendous.

Narrator: This traumatic experience has stayed with Sara ever since, and raises questions about the people involved. Who were these men? And how did seemingly ordinary men suddenly become capable of such barbarity?

To commit such atrocities with no evidence of remorse, is an act usually associated with psychopaths. Is it possible that all of these men already possessed psychopathic tendencies? Or has the environment of political oppression developed these characteristics?

Christopher Browning, a holocaust historian who has studied how ordinary people are able to commit such atrocities says that governments have the power to create these behaviours in people as they prey on their conformity and desire to be held in esteem of their comrades.

We see this in the situation faced by Sara, through the encouragement of the other men in the room, a man was murdered.

Being a woman at the hands of this macho environment made Sara's experiences of torture more sexually focussed. She was continually asked why she had gotten herself involved in things that belonged to men, and the attacks against her were much more centred around demeaning and humiliating her. She explains in her own words:

SDW: What they did with me, and why I'm going to tell you this is basically because that is what the army and the Secret Service do everywhere in the third world countries, and I have no doubt to believe that they have done that to women in Sudan, women in Libya, everywhere, wherever they go and invade. Anyway, what they did, they took me the following morning, very early they took me out, and again you know hitting you, touching you, they took me to a different place, we arrived to this place, and... we went to a house with sort of, we went with the car inside, anyway, they took me to the house and basically, we went to the first floor of the house and they said there, "Well, we are asking you to co-operate for your own good", and so on, so on, so on. And they said, "alright take off your clothes" and I said why? "take off your clothes otherwise we are going to take it". Now, and my guess is that probably there were fifteen, twenty men now, I took off my clothes, I took off, I was blindfolded I couldn't see, I took off my clothes. What they did when I finished taking off my clothes, they dragged me and put me in a sort of frame, and they introduced me, I don't know, something inside my vagina, and they start with electric shock. Now, the electric shock is absolutely horrible, it's horrible horrible, now they would stop, asking more questions and the other thing, they touch you everywhere.

Narrator: Under oppressive regimes, the degradation of women is all too common. However, sexual crimes and abuses often go unreported as they are much more stigmatized than other violent crimes.

When the dictatorship ended in 1990, collecting reports of the human rights violations carried out under the regime, was important for the nation to get closure and begin to heal. Testimonies from women like Sara enabled perpetrators to be brought to justice.

At a similar time to Sara, Benjamin was also captured. He had been working with the MIR and, as a consequence of his association, he was on the run from the authorities as a wanted man. He details his experience:

BVC: and I went to Valparaíso and the second night somebody enabled, said in that house that there were people that were not known in the house and the patrol went to the house and took me and there and the friend that owned the house and we were taken to an interrogation torture centre in the Navy in Valparaíso

We were taken to the navy academy in Valparaíso to be interrogated and questioned and whatever they wanted to do the intelligence service of the Chilean Navy and that was my very first experience of torture

And there was a point when the torture go to the Russian Roulette they passed me a revolver and one bullet and said put it in the, in the chamber and then run it and then a question squish the trigger apart from the punches and kicks and the other that was an electric shock that was the same for eight, ten days.

They were not convinced of things so I went back 'incomunicado' to the jail and the following day it wasn't the army that went to pick me up it was some of the Air Force and that was a different story the only thing I can remember is the chief of the intelligence service of the army in Termuco told them, don't mark him, no lo marques, I didn't know what he meant by that it was later on it was nothing to be shown on my face probably because if I am going to be shown to some people which I was they wouldn't see me any bruises or anything on my body under my shirt or anything like that it's a different so I spent 44 days going from place to place and being electrocuted... kicked, punched...injected with pentothal and different kinds of drugs until on the 41st, 42nd day I just said well I just confirmed who I am, mi general Arellano, and they stop everything they took me back to Termuco.

Narrator: These forms of torture were commonplace during the dictatorship, and for those who survived, the effects of these violations are still felt today. Benjamin now lives with a permanent disability due to his experiences of torture during this time.

It is hard to imagine what it would feel like to be in a similar situation, or how you would react if you were. Both Benjamin and Sara expressed their unwillingness to cooperate with their captors and both withheld information even when they were being physically tortured for it. Benjamin explains his thought process:

BVC: if I said yes they are going to hit me if I say no they are going to hit me, if I said maybe the same will happen so it's better to say no

Narrator: Being in a top position of this revolutionary group, Benjamin held a lot of responsibility on his shoulders. It is a testament to his character, that even under extreme torture, he never revealed important information.

When he was sixteen, Benjamin had joined the young socialists group, which sparked his interest in politics. He then went on to complete his compulsory military training, and found himself as part of the socialist party with one of Allende's daughters. During this time he was trained to use guns, including snipers. He was promoted to second lieutenant in the reserve army, however he decided he didn't want to become an officer, and instead became part of the protection group created for Salvador Allende, as he was running as a candidate. It was after Allende was elected that Benjamin joined the revolutionary group, MIR.

During this time of instability and repression, the normal rules of society are thrown out the window, and people must do what they can to survive.

During our interview with Benjamin, he confided in one of his most painful memories.

BVC: there was another occasion...on the night of the 11th of November I needed to move a few things from one place in Termuco to another

and because there was a curfew, from three or four o'clock that I mentioned that we have to go as high as possible... so we went through one of the Cerro, a hill in Termuco, a lot of trees it's an historical place a natural reserve, so there, one of the people that was going to be in that group was followed by someone

So a military patroller dropped into that area, half an hour after we all got together, and they start firing everywhere in that Cerro Ñielol in Termuco

and we have a few gunshots and a rifle, point 22 I had a pistol and with the... with adrenaline of the moment we decided to resist, so we used some of the grenades we had in some of the bags, they didn't work, we shoot back with the gun shots, the gun and the rifle until... until a moment during that, that incident there was a silhouette in the front of my rifle... and I squeezed.

Narrator: Benjamin was relieved to have only injured the man, as he was forced into a situation that we can only pray that we would never find ourselves in. Many

Chileans still carry the weight of guilt with them over actions they were forced to commit during the regime.

Many political refugees who have fled their country may find safety abroad, but their psychological scars will never be healed.

With more awareness and understanding, organisations will be able to provide the best services for refugees who have suffered under political oppression.

Sara De Witt benefitted immensely from international organisations, who along with the help of her family, were able to obtain a visa for her to leave.

Sara was eventually freed from jail, and exiled to England. The world outside was very different to the one she had been in for 2 years, and she discusses adapting to her new found freedom:

SDW: Now as I came out... well that was a big experience getting you know, used to... used to be free again, because something that I couldn't do, that I couldn't do, was to look at men in the face. To start with, I was for 2 years with only women, and in some occasion, I had for example, I had to go from inside the detention centre, from A to B, and as we were walking for example, and there were some male detainees walking, they would say, "Look down! look down!" you know, screaming at you, so if I saw a man you know, I would just look down. And the streets, I thought that the streets were so large, I wasn't sure what I was going to do, I was at home and then... I start receiving calls, my mum was picking up the phone I wasn't allowed to pick up the phone, and the phone were, "tell that so and so", and that was me, "that we are going to kill her blah blah blah".

Now, I don't know myself whether they were, if it was true what they were saying, some people who came out free they were, they were killed, I don't know. I was really scared, by then, thanks to my mum and international support, I had a visa to come to England, and I had a place in Bradford University.

Narrator: We often talk about Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in relation to soldiers who have returned from war, yet civilians who have witnessed similar atrocities are often overlooked. Especially when individuals have been exiled to a country that is unfamiliar with the situation they have come from. Sara discusses returning to Chile for the first time since exile, in the 90's after the dictatorship had ended. She visited her mother during the new elections:

SDW: and I arrived one day before the elections and I went with my mum to vote. To a National Stadium that it was a centre for detention, we went there, and my mum was queueing and I was standing with my daughter and there were a lot of army people patrolling there and then I see a group of people coming from far away with the candidate, probably an MP candidate and they were shouting screaming at him, you are a beast, assassin, you name it, and they started pushing and I was so scared, so scared that I took my daughter who was probably four, I took her to the floor and I went on top of her, because an army person with a machine gun, he moved it, I didn't know, he moved it from one shoulder to the other, but as he was moving it from one shoulder I thought he was going to shoot us. And then when nothing happened I lift my head and I see my mum but the colour of a beetroot, with the other women because she didn't know what to say. Oh my God I said, oh my god I want to, I wanted you know, to go into a hole I was embarrassed. That is to show you about the reactions sometimes they're and irrational reaction and they don't have... you know, they don't keep a distance with reality, you have to do it because with the fear. Of course I wouldn't trust the army, but I think that they want to kill people, that is what I believed.

Narrator: It is easy to take for granted the sense of security that can be felt in our everyday lives. The behaviour of political refugees may not always seem rational. Therefore, it is important to develop a better understanding of the traumas faced by these people, so that we can be more aware of their behaviour and how to help.

Sara quickly transitioned from a prisoner to a refugee. When she arrived in England, she received support from an organisation called Joint Working Group for Latin American Refugees. Volunteers met her to welcome her into her new life and aided her in finding accommodation. She started studying Public and Social Policy at Bradford University, and quickly made friends.

However, there was still a lack of knowledge by the general public about the situation in Chile, and Sara found herself wanting to educate people, and tell her story:

SDW: I always said that I was a political refugee, because... one is that I don't feel embarrassed, and the other thing is that I got that in my head, about... if I could to tell, what I'm doing now, well if I could to tell people... you know what happened, I mean why, why I'm here. I think that, you know, I remember when I was living in

university and people wanted to hear me I would tell them because many people don't know why you moved, they think that you came here on holiday, no I came because they bloody destroyed my life over there.

Yeah, mainly to pass information to people, because you know sometime and I explained, I explained sometimes always imagining what my life could have been in Chile and I will never know.

Narrator: This is a sentiment shared by thousands of refugees, who have had no choice but to flee their own country. The experiences faced by the Chileans are unfortunately not unique, and similar events have happened across the globe, throughout history.

In order to consider the factors that lead to the dictatorship, we must first consider the history of Chile. We already know that there had been political instability for some time, and that the United States had great power economically and over the military.

But to what extent did the US contribute to the rise of General Augusto Pinochet?

According to renowned philosopher Noam Chomsky, the US has a long record of opposing democracy in Latin America and intervening to prevent it. He also claims that the United States had the power to prevent the dictatorship in 1973.

The socialist policies of Salvador Allende were clearly not in the interest of the United States government, and he was seen as a threat. The Nixon administration implemented economic measures on Chile, with the intention of weakening Allende's government, so that it could be overthrown. Author Christopher Hitchens, argues that the involvement in Chile of Nixon's national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, presents a strong case for him to be tried for kidnap, torture, and murder.

At first, President Nixon publicly showed support for General Pinochet, and defended his regime. The involvement of the US in the coup became controversial as more and more human rights violations were being reported. When President Carter came to power in 1977, human rights and foreign affairs were at the forefront of his new policies, in order to regain some trust in both nations.

According to professor Margaret Power, Chile has become a case study of the damaging effects of US intervention in Latin American countries.

And whilst efforts were made by the US government to reverse the damage they had caused, the dictatorship was enabled for seventeen years.

Pinochet's regime ended in 1990, with the democratic election of President Patricio Aylwin. The new president had the challenge of healing a betrayed nation. He began legal proceedings to acknowledge human rights violations that had taken place during the dictatorship, and began to bring the relevant people to justice.

In 1991, the government issued the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation Report, which concluded that 1,102 people were officially declared as disappeared, and 2,095 people were declared as executed by torture. For those who were disappeared, there was no record of their death, and no bodies recovered. Still today, people are trying to find out what happened to their loved ones.

The implications of this report meant that members of the military were convicted for their human rights abuses, and the nation could finally begin to mourn and heal.

It is important that the victims of this tragedy are never forgotten, and for those that survived, that their stories are told with accuracy, and dignity.

This leaves us with many unanswered questions:

How can a democracy be so easily converted into a dictatorship?

What are the early warning signs we can look for?

Does this environment enable the development of psychopaths?

How can we respect and understand the experiences of political refugees?

And what lessons can we learn, to ensure that history does not repeat itself?

Reference List

- Aguilar, M. 2002. The Disappeared and the Mesa de Diálogo in Chile 1999-2001: Searching for Those Who Never Grew Old. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. [online]. **21**(3). P. 414. [Accessed: 12/04/2017]. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3339688>
- Bray, D and Pike, F. 1960. A Vista of Catastrophe: The Future of United States-Chilean Relations. *The Review of Politics*. **22**(3). Cambridge University Press. Pp. 393-418. [Accessed: 19/05/2017]. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1405611?seq=2#fndtn-page_scan_tab_contents
- Browning, C. 2017. Why Did Ordinary People Commit Atrocities in the Holocaust? *BBC iWonder*. [Accessed: 20/05/2017]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/zsshyc>
- Chomsky, N. 1985. *Turning the Tide: US Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace*. South End Press: Boston.
- Drozdek, B., and Wilson, J. eds. 2004. *Broken Spirits: The Treatment of Traumatized Asylum Seekers, Refugees, War and Torture Victims*. New York: Brunner/Routledge.
- Hitchens, C. 2001. *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*. In:
 - Shiraz, Z. 2011. Review: CIA Intervention in Chile and the Fall of the Allende Government in 1973. *Journal of American Studies*. **45**(3). Cambridge University Press. [Accessed: 20/05/2017]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23016792>
- Power, M. 2009. The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s. *Latin American Perspectives*. **36**(6). Sage Publications, Inc. Pp. 46-66.
- Walker, V. 2011. At the End of Influence: The Letelier Assassination, Human Rights, and Rethinking Intervention in US-Latin American Relations. *Journal of Contemporary History*. [online]. **46**(1). Pp. 111. [Accessed: 18/04/2017]. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25764611>
- Webber, F. 1999. The Pinochet Case: The Struggle for the Realization of Human Rights. *Journal of Law and Society*. **26**(4). P.529.
- We touched the sky. 2017. *Chile Online Course*. [online]. [Accessed: 15/03/2017] Available: <http://wea-yh.org.uk/chile2/section4.html>

Bibliography

- Biederman, N, Brown, J and Roizblatt, A. 2011a. Extreme Traumatization in Chile: the Experience and Treatment of Families. *Journal of Family Therapy*. [online]. **36**(S1). Pp. 24-38. [Accessed: 10/04/2017]. Available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/doi/10.1111/j.1467-6427.2011.00555.x/full>
- Biederman, N, Brown, J and Roizblatt, A. 2011b. Therapeutic dilemmas and human rights violations: the experience of therapists working under extreme traumatization in Chile. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*. [online]. **3**(3). pp.155-161. [Accessed: 10/04/2017]. Available: <http://www.emeraldinsight.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/doi/full/10.1108/17596591111154185>
- Wilson, R. 1999. Prosecuting Pinochet: International Crimes in Spanish Domestic Law. *Human Rights Quarterly*. **21**(4). Pp.927-979.

Licence: CC-BY-NC-SA.

© University of Leeds 2017