



Universidad del Azuay

School of Law Sciences

Department of International Studies

**PARALELL STUDY OF THE SCHOOL OF AMERICA'S TEACHINGS AND THE
VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS.**

**Graduation work prior to obtaining a
Degree in International Studies with a minor in Foreign Trade**

Author: Juan Felipe Ochoa Mogrovejo

Director: Jaime Moreno Martínez

**Cuenca, Ecuador
2015**

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the hundreds of thousands of people whose lives were stolen, changed and degenerated by the repression of Latin America dictatorships. Its historical legacy motivates the recovery of social memory in each and all who still live.

Acknowledgements

To my parents Edgar Vinicio Ochoa B. and María Mogrovejo R. whose responsibility, sacrifice and human sensitivity have encouraged me to study and have never limited my dreams.

To my brothers and sisters: Pablo, Samantha, Andrés and Ana Belen, co-believers of the craziest and most human ways to change the world.

To my beautiful niece, Samantha Abigail, who has challenged me to present to her the history of our America and thus keep recovering social consciousness in another generation.

To my friends and brothers by choice. Certainly their countless love and appreciation for my thoughts have been the thrust needed to continue my journey.

To Tamara Trowsell for believing in my ideas and encouraging the construction of this work.

To Jaime Moreno, for his valuable contribution and interest in the development of this research.

Last but not least, I am infinitely grateful to each and all researchers, passionate Human Rights defenders and supporters of the recovery of historical memory who have allowed me to be more sensitive to injustice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	6
CHAPTER ONE: THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS’ TEACHINGS	7
1. The School of the Americas’ Background	7
2. The School of the Americas’ Teachings	12
2.1 Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual	13
2.1.1 Non-coercive Methods.....	14
2.1.2 Coercive Methods	17
2.2 Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual	¡Error! Marcador no definido.
CHAPTER TWO: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS	27
CHAPTER THREE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LINK BETWEEN THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS’ TEACHINGS AND THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS.....	47
CONCLUSIONS.....	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY	58

ABSTRACT

The School of the Americas is a United States' military institution which was initially established in Panama and became the most important center of military training of Latin American soldiers. By using two Torture Manuals, this institution taught soldiers procedures to control subversive groups by applying coercive and non-coercive methods in interrogation techniques. The present research studies these Manuals focusing on the historical background where the School of the Americas was developed, in the context of the National Security Doctrine and the intention to slow communism in the region.

In addition, this study examines the violation of human rights, specifically by investigating the techniques of kidnapping, torture, and enforced disappearance or death in the dictatorships of six countries of Latin America. This work has been developed by reading related literature, the reports of Truth Commissions and the Torture Manuals.

This research demonstrates a comparative analysis of the coercive and non-coercive methods explained in the Torture Manuals used at the School of the Americas with certain practices of Latin American dictatorships. While most human rights violations during that period are not specified in these texts, some techniques used by security authorities in the hemisphere meet the objectives detailed in the Torture Manuals.

INTRODUCTION

After World War II and the beginning of the Cold War, the communist ideology landed in the Latin American territory. The Cuban revolution ignited a powerful transforming movement of capitalist policies generally applied in the subcontinent. United States, who led the Western bloc in this ideological conflict, could not afford the outburst of its strategic allies in the hemisphere.

In this sense, the School of the Americas – founded in 1946 in Panama – became a core entity for the recovery of the US' capitalist standards held in Latin America. This military institution taught Latin American soldiers techniques to control communist groups that were called subversive. These teachings applied certain methods written in two texts known as Torture Manuals: *Kubark* for Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual and Human Resources Exploitations Training Manual.

In this context, military dictatorships were established in Latin America with United States' support and, they were often governed by The School of the Americas' graduates. Immediately, hundreds of thousands people were abducted, tortured, killed or forcibly disappeared in territories of the subcontinent. This systematic and widespread violation of human rights is directly attributed to the process of national reorganization under the authority of the National Security Doctrine and led by the Latin American military.

Therefore, this paper will describe a brief historical background of the School of the Americas, and will collect the teachings of that military institution by reading the two Torture Manuals identified before. In addition, this work will analyze the historical and political context in the development of Latin American dictatorships and will describe some violations of human rights occurred in that period. Finally, the research will examine the link between the Torture Manual's techniques and the violent tactics used in Latin America dictatorships.

CHAPTER ONE: THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS' TEACHINGS

1. The School of the Americas' Background

In this section, I will discuss briefly three topics: the historical background of where the School of the Americas was created, the political context where it was supported and how the American ideology of expanding global capitalism led to the militarization of the continent. I will also discuss historical, political and ideological issues with theories like the culture of fear, hegemony and the factual military power in intimate attachment with the School. This first part is the prelude to further understand the specific teachings and the violation of human rights perpetrated in Latin American dictatorships.

The School of the Americas (SOA) is a US military institution which was founded in Panama in 1946 and moved to Fort Benning, Georgia-United States in 1984. Under many names, this School "has trained more than 60 000 soldiers and officers in combat-related skills and counterinsurgency doctrines "(Gill 2005, 21). This training institution was born in a time when most countries were in the midst of the ideological war between the US and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The communism advance and the victory of the Cuban revolution in the 50s have placed Latin America as an important focus for expanding the ideas brought by Fidel Castro. In this struggle, the United States was hit hard by the loss of the island, and began a remarkable campaign to banish communism from the subcontinent through the ideology of national security which, in the words of Agustin Cueva, is derived from monopolistic capitalism of the State, where native and ruling bourgeois class merges with the economic strength to maintain the hegemony of power (1980, 25).

With the Cuban revolution and the ideologies that were dispersed in several Latin American groups (Fagen 1992, 45), a serious US problem was developed in regards to power dominance. After the military failure in Vietnam, United States could not afford to lose control in the Hemisphere. Cuba's alliance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gave green light to the US to comprehensively reformulate the teachings of the The School of the Americas, so that "military training to fight communism became

the *raison d'être*¹, and anti-guerrilla and insurgent groups in the main focus of its activities "(Gill 2005, 105).

At such times, the struggle between the ruling class and the popular movements – called "political crisis" – was heightened and, as a result, the military regimes established policies of domination and control of individuals. Thus, for the military branch, daily life became catastrophic which led to a "zero-sum political crisis where everything was at stake" (Garretón 1992, 15). In order to return to the established order and social peace, the military became "at the same time in defenders of society and guarantors of its survival" (Lechner 1992, 29). In this context, the social dynamics of uprisings forced Latin American states to use stronger repression because they feared they would lose control over their people and that the people would not accomplish the main objectives of reorganization.

Leslie Gill – author of the book *School of the Americas: Military Training, political violence and impunity in the Americas* – states that "US hegemony depended on soldiers willing to impose a certain capitalist order, which would evolve over time. And this process has been fundamentally violent "(2005, 300). Therefore, the military began a transformation, modernization and professionalization of their actions to unify the continent in the same ideological line but, they were still sheltered by the urgent need of the United States of America to have geopolitical control (Garretón 1992, 15).

US' military strategy was clear and aimed to export democracy through an unfriendly international cooperation which focused on teaching and commitment for the Latin American military power, caused its soldiers to be the largest contributors of the United States. In addition, we can add that "SOA's officials insisted that 'compromise' armed forces was the best way of ensuring democracy" (Gill 2005, 68). Proof of these processes were the School's teaching themes; at least for the cadets of the last years of the military branch, which were "the theory of communism, tactical ground mobility, intelligence, marksmanship practice, and the use of specialized weapons and surveillance devices "(2005, 11).

¹ Purpose

The dominant process of rescuing the State of the communist claws and the desire to bring democracy (the capitalist system as Cueva said) (1980, 23) to every corner of America, created some courses at The School of the Americas that were new just for that institution. The United States had trained Latin American soldiers for 15 years before SOA opened in Panama (Gill 2005, 47). The main purpose of these courses was to teach American culture which was purely capitalist. Latin American soldiers had the opportunity to observe and fully experience the system. Supporting this premise, Jorge Rafael Videla, former Argentine dictator and graduate of the The School of the Americas declared to the newspaper El Clarin on September 18, 1977 that "a terrorist is not just someone with a gun or a bomb but someone who disperse ideas contrary to Western civilization". Identically, Augusto Pinochet, the former Chilean dictator and the one who had sent more soldiers to SOA said to El Mercurio on September 12, 1974 that "envy, resentment and irreconcilable class struggle are even more dangerous than weapons" (cited in Fagen 1992, 43).

In the 50s there was no Latin American country that did not participate in a training process or military professionalization issued or sponsored by the United States (Fagen 1992, 43). Thus, Latin American countries only reinforced the techniques taught before.

The main objective of Latin American countries and military students from SOA was to control society and prevent its "imminent decline." For this reason, the military considered urgently their need to control citizens, and the logic "was repression, so that the regime was based on a powerful device that uses large amounts of resources and techniques of brutality until then unprecedented" (Garretón 1992, 15). The School was the protagonist of the controlling and systematic "disease" that infected Latin American democratic processes and from where the military took power (Fagen 1992, 44).

The psychological strategy used by The School of the Americas was that Latin American students returned to their countries with a US' perception of life because it was believed that Latin American countries were poor and not very "civilized" (Gill 2005, 65 -66). This included, in all possible ways, scenarios where soldiers could note that the lifestyle of the United States is better than the one in their countries; and, in

fact, they should be responsible for carrying the patterns to change society. This is why the primary objective of Latin American military branch was immediate repression, power control and protect society from "crisis" (Garretón 1992, 16).

The purpose of the SOA was fulfilled from its very first year. The United States created close relationships with Latin American military forces as it "helped and encourage this process by arming their favorite leaders, intervening militarily to support them when necessary, or resorting the use of threats, loans, diplomatic pressure and other techniques to control the government in office"(Gill 2005, 88). The School was not just a military training camp but a real lobby to create contact and make strategic friends.

The The School of the Americas was among other military training institutions, the cornerstone of military domination. This is why there is high relevance in the context of human rights violations in Latin America. Through US imperialist intervention, SOA was the strongest institution in military training in the Hemisphere. Through its work, the leaders chosen by the US government and under its guidance and support, succeeded in taking power in Central and South America with the subsequent development of crimes perpetrated to military regimes' opponents.

The courses offered by The School of the Americas incentivized students to reorganize the whole territory where military had control. The SOA faithfully believed that the security forces had the primary obligation to defend the nation against any enemy who went against the traditions and norms accepted by society (Gill 2005, 186). Dictatorships feared people who disturbed society (specifically, communists). This situation led authorities to make citizens be afraid of themselves and, in turn, make them feel guilty for their actions (Lechner 1992, 31).

With this fear involved, Norbert Lechner refers to the military regimes as unable to resolve the clear differences in the class struggle of a society, so they treated the conflict as "violations to the rules, which in turn confirmed the punishment as a result of these transgressions "(1992, 27). Such punishments, often subjected under the SOA, were justified by the stability that Latin Americans supposedly lived with military power.

Due to this, the School and the military governments of the hemisphere justified the use of violence with several reasons. For example, some teachers of the SOA separated the professional military soldiers from the privates. The first are those who discerned the use of violence according to the case of social disorder. The second are those who applied violence (Gill 2005, 187). Latin American dictatorships tried even with legal processes, to justify the systematic violence and to excuse themselves from future lawsuits. This justification was for both the soldiers who exercised violence by receiving orders, as for those who believed it was a necessary evil because of the "infiltration of subversive in the established order that due to a mortal damage they may cause, they should be killed" (Lechner 1992, 31).

With these dynamics, it cannot be generalized that subversive groups did not exist; in fact this associations also generated armed and dangerous struggles. However, the State of terror of the authoritarian military regimes ravaged all political groups by describing them as subversives or communists even though they did support such acts or ideology (Fagen 1992, 43). The war was against organizations where it was believed that subversion was born.

Graduates from the The School of the Americas had an advantage over the revolutionary armed groups, because the former had knowledge of conflict for counterinsurgency by preparing them "technically and psychologically for a relentless war and against internal subversion" (Fagen 1992, 46). Latin American soldiers who graduated from the SOA were not trained for a strong armed war, since they did not fight against state's military forces rookies but rookies of armed struggle.

Latin American military governments spoke openly to pursue and punish the rebels in order to remove them from the political scene (Fagen 1992, 39). Meanwhile, another of the dominant motivators for both American foreign policy and the SOA itself, was to strike down any organization of political participation. This allowed governments to act freely and pursue clandestine groups by accusing them of causing rebellion and describing them as enemies of the norms, even though they were innocent.

The The School of the Americas and the US foreign policy aimed to establish a militarized continent for and by the United States. In the words of Gill, the SOA is

described as "a military school full-fledged of physical and moral health, completely unrelated to the violence that has plagued Latin America, ignoring the fact that it trains people to kill" (2005, 66). The School was the military organization which hosted Latin American soldiers and officers to savor the capitalist lifestyle and may, by that process, bring the system to their own countries. Under the pretext of bringing democracy to Latin America, the School allowed its students to have the vision of superiority and the mission of designing social ethics at their convenience. These two options framed the plan to enforce national reorganization and the security doctrine.

2. The School of the Americas' Teachings

After a brief discussion of the School of the Americas' history and the reason for its creation, it is necessary to include in this chapter the teachings of this institution to its Latin American students. The analysis focuses on each of the teachings written in two of the known torture manuals: Manual *Kubark* for Counterintelligence Interrogation and Human Resources Exploitations Training Manual; texts created in 1963 and 1984 respectively and declassified for public use in 1994. In the analysis, each manual will have a short introduction about the duty of the interrogator and then the explanation of coercive and non-coercive techniques.

The most comprehensive definition of the Manuals was presented by Leslie Gill who said:

The 'torture manuals "were texts advocating the use of fear, shock, payment for dead enemy, false arrests, executions and truth serums as recruitment and control of intelligence sources. They referred to extortion as an interrogation method and apparently they defended the execution, or "neutralization" of the enemy. (...) They were distributed by Mobile Training Team of Special Forces to military and intelligence personnel, and to intelligence schools in Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala and Peru. They were created in the 1960s by the *Army Foreign Intelligence Assistance Program* or 'Project X', which supplied training materials to military allies around the world. (...) Both the 'Torture Manual' as the anti-insurgency doctrine generally served as McClintock said 'as a kind of anti-subversive software, ready to be used anywhere and anytime.' (Gill 2005, 74-75)

The Manuals created by the US government are part of the process that guides all the above information and where the true definition of the national security doctrine that

was framed in the concept that the inside enemy was the main obstacle of national reorganization in Latin American dictatorships. These Manuals are the living proof that the United States tried, through these clandestine, secret and classified processes, to have control over the entire hemisphere to reject communism advance and win the ideological war and the global domination.

In the catalog used by the School in 1964, they provided clear points about what to teach in the courses and who could receive them. Military Intelligence Fundamentals, Fundamentals of counterinsurgency and counter-insurgency operations were part of the curriculum of at least 15% of the courses offered. There were other books that taught tactics, strategies and civil-military relations and accounted for 40% of the total course grade. The rest was a final paper of free choice. Perhaps the most important part of these courses and these catalogs was that they gave relevance to planning, logistics and resource management; but they included other technical matters; for example, regular and irregular warfare (Gill 2005, 157).

2.1 *Kubark* Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual

The *Kubark* Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual created by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was the first Manual managed by military schools around the world. Even though US military forces taught other kind of techniques throughout the continent, the Manual *Kubark* was used and managed by the School of the Americas.

The Manual established processes to filtrate the targets in such ways that just some people with specific characteristic were used to apply this kind of teachings. For example, the Manual explains that the interrogation “of a resistant source who belongs to a staff or agent member of an Orbit intelligence or security service or of a clandestine Communist organization” (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 2) is a harder and more complicated process to apply the teachings to in comparison to a target that does not belong to this kind of networks. However, the definition of the possible victim is too subjective if we leave it to the interrogator’s conciseness.

The techniques that are described in this Manual are methods to produce regression that, in words of Gill and Brenman, “are basically a loss of autonomy”. These paths permit –even with a simple confinement or a strong coercion- an interrogated target to

feel so unnerved that he/she confesses an act that the interrogator considers a mistake even if it is not (Gill y Brenman quoted in Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 41). These Manuals quote different authors in order to justify the teachings described in them. For example, Horowitz specifies seven psychological indications to full-fill regression. One of these indications is guilt, which triggers numerous defensive attitudes and, in some cases, the target could lie to prevent future repressions. (quoted in Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 38-39).

The Manual was specific in terms of schedules, locations and situations where the process of interrogation had to be established as it is explained in the next quote:

Interrogation sessions with a resistant resource who is under detentions should not be held on an unvarying schedule. The capacity for resistance is diminished by disorientation. The subject may be left alone for days; and he may be returned to his cell, allowed to sleep for five minutes, and brought back to an interrogation which is conducted as though eight hours had intervened. The principle is that the sessions should be so planned as to disrupt the source's sense of chronological order. (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 49-50)

This quote describes perfectly the treatment that interrogators applied to their targets. Regrettably, as further analysis shows, some "targets" were never prosecuted or had the right to a legal defense. Other people were interrogated clandestinely as described in the last paragraph, and then they were prosecuted in the ordinary justice that was aligned to the government policy and that imposed jail for years.

2.1.1 Non-coercive Methods

The non-coercive methods are psychological techniques that are described in the Manual as "more difficult" activities than ones that use force. The non-coercive exercises are used to make the target feel threatened. In the interrogation process, the Manual warned the interrogator not to fall upon the "natural inclination" to use coercive techniques "prematurely" in order to make the victim answer some questions (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 60). This is the first justification of the violence used in dictatorships: accepting that is intrinsic to apply violence. By being intrinsic, it is impossible to retain violence for a long period of time, and even worse when the one questioned is reluctant, stubborn and resistant. This is when violence becomes indispensable. Furthermore, it was assumed that non-coercive processes were not

violent and the Manual motivated the initial use of these techniques as necessary and gentle methods.

Among non-coercive methods described from page 65 to 73 of the *Kubark* Manual we can find the following:

- Going next door

It is the technique to obtain information externally from the target.

- Nobody loves you

It is a method used to work psychologically with the accused making them believe that their friends have betrayed him/her. The victim will give the interrogator his/her side of the story. This is an adjustment of the Prisoner's Dilemma.

- The All-seeing eye (or the Confession is Good for the Soul)

It is a technique where the interrogator proves to the source that he/she knows all the information, and that the interrogation process is established just to test the honesty, reliability and reputation of the target. It initiates whit questions where the interrogator knows the answers. If one of those answers is wrong, the interrogator should become strongly disappointed.

- The Informer

This method is well known in communist countries; therefore, it is necessary to use it with a variation. Two people are located in the source's cell. The first one has to establish a friendship with the accused while the other one remains quite. When the first person abandons the cell, the one that remains quite warns the victim not to trust the other person because he/she is an authorities' spy. This situation could establish a good link between the source and the true informer who will give relevant information.

- News from Home

This technique refers to the mail exchange. It is good to allow the accused received some letters previously selected so he/she will be in acceptable mood. Also, let them write some letters and make them believe that the authorities will not read them. They could provide information that cannot be obtained from direct questioning.

- The Witness

It is a role game where authorities work with cooperative witnesses who are close to the accused. This is done through some activities like inputs and outputs, secretaries who take notes of stories and manipulate statements to exaggerate and blame the

accused directly. This will make the accused confess part of their guilt in order to not receive a strong punishment.

- Joint Suspects

If two or more sources are suspected of violating the security of the United States, they must be separated immediately. The weaker of the two is the key of the interrogation process. An adulterated statement or a written signed confession (also adulterated) could be prepared where the first suspect blames the other one. The second would feel betrayed and he/she will tell his/her side of the story. An interrogation process could be planned with the weaker of the two. Then, authorities should bring the other accused and place him/her in a place where they are able to hear the one who is interrogated. Delicately and without allowing the strongest suspect to know, the weakest suspect moves to another cell while the interrogator pretends to keep going the process. The interrogator gets upset and begins to become abusive making comments like: "You had to say that from the beginning." At this time, the suspect who is outside will think his/her partner has confessed. Upon ending the alleged interrogation, the interrogator leaves the office and runs into the other suspect. The questioner gets angry with the guard, and requests the second interrogated to confess in order for both suspects to go free at once.

- Ivan is terrible

This is a technique where the intelligence service from the victim is minimized and where his/her work is discredit. In this case, the interrogator tries to become trustworthy so the interrogated will feel comfortable.

- Joint Interrogators

It is a method where two interrogators control the process with the source. It is usually used with women, young people, and weak men. There exists two types of interrogators: the first one is hostile with the victim and extremely aggressive. The questioner insults, hits the table and tries to make the interrogated feel devastated. The second interrogator enters into the process of interrogation and ask kindly for the first interrogator to calm down and leave the room. Before the first one leaves the room, he/she threatens the victim that he/she will be more severe next time. The second interrogator asks for apologies and tries to justify the first one and generates a friendship relationship with the source (1963).

One of the most puzzling non-coercive techniques is the reward for non-cooperation, i.e. even when the defendant does not respond to the questioning process, he or she is rewarded. The one interrogated is disoriented and confused. Also, the use of placebos as truth serums in those interrogated, may work so they can psychologically think that nobody can blame them for telling the truth because they were under the influence of drugs. The interrogators could even deceive the prisoner by saying that the pills will make their arm get hot, or that a cigarette will have a bitter taste. A special pill is prepared in order to make the arm hot, or a bitter-taste cigarette is created to make them think that the cigarette is bitter (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 77-78).

Under this dynamic, these techniques were used with groups from different social, economic, ideological, and gender backgrounds. Even if the alleged non-coercive measures were to be correctly applied, we will see that in Latin American dictatorships positions of physical and psychological violence were taken; and were even interspersed between coercive and non-coercive measures.

2.1.2 Coercive Methods

In the initial part of the Manual's section of coercive methods, the next phrase can be read: "For both ethical and pragmatic reasons no interrogator can take upon himself the unilateral responsibility to use coercive methods. Concealing from the interrogators' superiors an intent to resort to coercion, or its unproved employment, does not protect them" (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 82). However, the reality is that military forces created legal framework to defend authorities and soldiers with lower hierarchy. Keeping up with the reading of the Manual, a concept of coercion can be found and is defined as a process that destroys people's personality and makes them fight with their conscience in order to find that what they did was not correct. In addition, coercion cracks the victim's resistance with the purpose that the interrogator could spread fear and have authority and respect (1963, 82).

In the development of this research, it is important to quote from the Manuals in order to understand the magnitude of the teachings that were promulgated in the the School of the Americas. For example, the following quote speaks on the application of pain and other forms of coercion in order to lower the defenses of the human being and facilitate the process of confession:

Relatively, small degrees of homeostatic derangement, fatigue, pain, sleep loss, or anxiety may impair this functions (personal control). As a result, most people who are exposed to coercive procedures will talk and usually reveal some information that may not have been revealed otherwise. (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 83).

The *Kubark* Manual was made based on scientific research that preceded the Cold War, and that it was considered natural at that time to engage prisoners. The Manual quotes scientists to justify the methods of coercion and to convey the reader the reliability of the text. Hinkle, Meltzer and Farber are among its favorites psychologists who have studied the coercive techniques used in the wars that preceded them and have proved the "effectiveness" of such practices. The latter, for example, says that the prisoner subjected to coercion has three typical attitudes: weakness, dependency and terror. Quoted in the manual, Farber says that the prisoner is in a dependent relationship to meet their basic human needs, and that, in turn, is accompanied by feelings of fear and anxiety (Central Intelligence Agency quoted in 1963, 83).

Then, pages 83 to 102 of the *Kubark* Manual contains coercive tactics suggested and subsequently used in the territories of the world where these practices were taught:

- Arrest

The general objective of the arrest must be to capture the subject by surprise and to mentally disorientate him/her with the purpose of depriving him/her from any initiative. The process should be executed in an unsuspected time and where their mental and physical controls are weaker. The best time for the arrest is in the early morning hours. If they cannot be arrested at that time, the second best option is late at night.

- Detention

The detention must be made so that the subject does not have the sense of security and tranquility to which he/she was accustomed, and should be integrated into a strange environment to his/her daily life. Clothing should be removed to lose familiarity and reduce resistance. If the prisoner is proud and neat, it is preferable to provide larger pants without a belt so he or she are the ones who have to hold onto their pants. This is to construct humiliation. Authorities should control the whole environment of the prisoner –clothing, diet, sleep, etc. – Creating a world of disorder makes the prisoner

feel afraid and abandoned. In any situation, agents should keep prisoners annoyed by changing routine patterns constantly.

- Deprivation of Sensori Stimuli

The National Institute of Mental Health raises some positions where people lose their sensory stimuli and this can trigger high levels of stress, pressure, and in more severe cases hallucinations, empathy for all living things out of them, etc. The same Institute proposes a technique for this disorientation. Place the covered prisoner over water (34.5 ° C) to the neck and using a dark mask in order to hear only his breathing and other faint sounds of running water. This process cannot last more than three hours. The prisoner will move from a state of anxiety and hunger to a process of imagination of situations and even hallucinations. The prisoner feels that he/she is starting the day, but feels confused about the time change of watches.

Wexler, Mendelson, Leiderman and Solomon are quoted because of the application of another experiment that consists of placing the prisoner in a kind of mattress tank built for that purpose. The appliance must prohibit the movement and should immobilize the prisoner. The head should be at such position that the victim cannot see any part of his/her body. A respirator should be on the left side to supply breathing. The breathing apparatus should make a constant and equal noise all the time. Natural light is not allowed. Artificial light should be little but steady. The time that the prisoner should be set in this position is 36 hours. This experiment led to the conclusion of four theories: 1. Deprivation of sensory stimuli produces stress. 2. Stress becomes unbearable for those involved. 3. The subject has a growing need for physical and social stimuli. 4. Some individuals tend to lose the sense of reality and concentration which produces delusions, hallucinations and other pathological effects.

To maximize the effects of isolation or confinement, it is necessary to apply certain variations. The same effect of months of imprisonment can be produced in just a few hours by controlling light, soundproofing the cell, and eliminating all kinds of smells. A more controlled environment like a water tank or an iron lung is even more effective. When the prisoner is in a state of anxiety, the interrogator is the one who has the power to save him from this situation. He is the first human contact and will give the prisoner a different feeling from what he/she was accustomed to before, therefore he/she assumes a more benevolent role to cooperate.

- Threats and Fear

The fear of coercion usually destroys the resistance of the accused even more effectively than coercion itself. The threat works depending on the prisoner's strength and personality, and his/her belief that the questioner will actually accomplish the threat. Threats and fear should be thrown cold and clearly. They should not be performed in situations of anger or to counter a position of hostility and resistance of the accused. The threat of death is harmful rather than helpful. The victims who do not believe in this position, often destroy the investigation because by silencing prisoners forever, they will think that they have triumphed and the aim of the interrogator failed.

- Weakness

There are no scientific studies that prove that the application of weakness helps to break down the victim's resistance. Prolonged confinement practices, application of force, heat, cold or extreme humidity, and the drastic reduction of food and sleep has been used for years. Apparently this would make the prisoner change from resisting to cooperating. If valid, the accused instigated by the application of this form of physical impairment will give up sooner than one who has not been put in this situation. The threat of weakness such –as the drastic but short reduction of food– achieves greater collaboration than using techniques of prolonged hunger.

- Pain

Everyone feels pain but the reactions or resistance to it are different according to each personality. Those who experience intense fear will be more affected in future violent instigations than those with milder situations. In a simple application of torture, the encounter is between the individual and his/her tormentor. When the individual is called to pay attention for long periods of time, he/she begins a process of personal intervention. The direct application of pain diminishes the role of the interrogator and causes the individual to become a victim of himself because the motivating force of the accused tends to get him/her tired of his/her internal fights. The longer the individual remains in a state of attention, the more they think that the questioner can make worse actions, but there is no evidence that the prosecutor will actually do them. There are people with very strong feelings of guilt that, in a situation of pain, he/she can take it as a form of punishment for his/her sin. There are other people who can enjoy the pain and not take it as punishment. As the accused have high morals and intellectual capacity, this can easily categorize the instigators as inferiors; they may also decide not to give up into their interrogations even with the application of pain.

The application of pain can give false confessions. If a person is victim of an application of pain in an advance phase of the interrogation process and after other tactics have failed, he/she will know that their punishment is coming to an end and will resist a little more.

- Heightened Suggestibility and Hypnosis

The use of hypnosis should be applied when the investigator knows the subject and the situation and its consequences. This technique is unproven and investigations, until this date, have been denied.

- Narcosis

In the same way that the threat of fear instead of the actual application thereof, making the interrogated believe he/she is under the influence of drugs is much more useful in the interrogation process than actually forcing the prisoner to take certain drugs. Drug use facilitates the interrogation process when the accused feels guilty. This situation will allow the prisoner to justify his/her confessions because he/she could assure to have been "drugged". The techniques described here work only as a support for obtaining information and should not be used permanently. Once the cooperation of the individual has been reached, the coercive methods should no longer be used, for moral reasons and because further they are truly unproductive (1963).

The manual is explicit to offer different ways to disorientate the accused to such point that he/she begins to hallucinate. In addition, the text studies deeply the whole interrogation process to be well meditated. The arrest and detention must meet specifications that will make the subsequent enforcement process more effective. The text describes situations for the application of pain, weakness and threats to instill fear. While these threats promote a lie in response, the manual says they are processes that must be performed when there is no cooperation from the questioned individual even if he/she actually resists because they ignore the responses to questions from the interrogation process.

With this background and before the analysis of the Second Manual, it can be concluded that the text of 1963 is the result of a host of previous activities, research and experiments that were all summarized in several pages for future use. The Manual taught specifically how to torture people that undermined the security of the United

States. It justified the use of violence under the concept that it was normal to the human being and that if the authorities had a hostile and resistant victim the use of violence is the only way to obtain information. The Manual also gives different techniques to obtain answers but it left it to interrogators' discretion to choose from the different kind of methods.

2.2 Human Resources Exploitation Training Manual

The following manual called Human Resources Exploitation Training Manual was developed in 1984. Interestingly, the text was amended two years later to prevent accusations already made to the the School of the Americas and to the use of these manuals to promote violence and torture. During this analysis, this research will point out the evolution of the previous manual. Many of the citations used in this part are crossed out or corrected from the original text after the review the manual received in 1986. For example, on page 3 of the book, there are some corrections in detail made by a team of US officials or military.

Among other corrections, some explicit sentences are surprising by stating that coercive techniques were taught in this manual. For example, there is a part of page 3, which states directly that in chapter I-8 the phrase "physical violence" has to be removed. It also requested that the following paragraph should be included in the introduction chapter of coercive techniques: "We will discuss some of those coercive techniques that have been used by many, and the reasons why we are against the use of these techniques" and added to end "We do not use these techniques, nor we condone the use of them." To end this part of the manual, the editors asked that in the introduction, a disclaimer be added kindly suggesting the reiteration during classes of coercive and non-coercive techniques which position they have (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 3).

In page 7, where there is an introduction about the contents of the manual, there is a correction of the phrase "we do not stress the use of" for "deplore the use of" coercive techniques. Furthermore, at the end of the paragraph, another correction can be found where instead of "and the proper way to use them" there was the sentence "so that you may avoid them". The corrections are overt actions to fix past mistakes; but, logically,

you only fix what was committed. The changes in the manual correction by the editors is the strongest evidence of the practice of these violent measures.

The manual describes exact locations for interrogations and the implementation of violent measures. It was advised that the doors are large and made of wrought iron in order for the accused to feel separated from the outside world. It is also suggested that the windows are located high on three meter-walls to reduce the entry of light and to confuse the accused senses. The letter "e" of the manual states that heat, air and light must be controlled from the outside. Here, there is a correction and a note where it is not mandatory that these requirements should be controlled from the outside and suggests not be used for torture (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 40).

Although the Human Resources Exploitation Training Manual is very similar to *Kubark* Manual, there are other actions that have been added to a better understanding and further specifications on the procedures to be used. For example in terms of clothing, the Human Resource Manual adds to what is already stated earlier that "the bedding should be minimal – a place of rest and no blankets (the idea is to prevent the subject to relax and recover from the shock)" (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 40). There is a clear desire to remove the last four words of this subsection in the physical manual.

This manual evolves the prisoner's dependence on the agent of the security forces to fulfill his/her basic needs. They do not allow the use of any latrine or toilet facilities and the last resource should be a 'bucket'. The prisoner had to be accompanied by a security guard in any moment.

The manual also evolved the ways of prisoner's room control. For example, it suggests that when the accused is moved from one cell to another, this must be done by blindfolding the prisoner (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 41). As for how to stop the prisoner and take him to the detention center (often clandestine centers) "it is very important that the arresting party behave in such a manner as to impress the subject with their efficiency. The subject should be rudely awakened and immediately blindfolded and handcuffed "(1984, 48).

The procedure after detention suggests that all relevant information should be sought in the place where the person resides and they must also maintain proper silence without being allowed to speak to other prisoners. The subjects must be segregated immediately using physical and psychological dissociation. Transportation to the place of detention should be quick and confusing to the prisoner in order for him/her to not know where he/she is (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 49).

Other examples of explicit humiliation and offense to the dignity and human rights are shown in this manual. When the prisoner arrives to the location he/she "is completely stripped out of their clothes and told to take a shower" and not allowed to remove the blindfold while being closely watched by security agents (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 50).

This manual is much stronger than *Kubark* Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual. Here there are positions described like the creation of intolerable environment for a human being which urges the use of torture from which the accused lost senses of perception, time and space. Among the measures of restraint shown from page 110 to 112, it can be detailed the following:

- Physical Weakness

Food and rest must be granted irregularly, much more than abundance or less than adequate and without a pattern of regulated time. This makes the subject less likely to resist.

- Dependency

This technique makes the interrogated be dependent on the interrogator to satisfy all his/her basics needs.

- Dread (Intense Fear and Anxiety)

It is the induction of fear and extreme anxiety. However, it is not advisable for this to be too prolonged because the subject may develop apathy to the process and therefore become more resistant because the punishment will become a relief to the earlier threat (1984).

In the original text of the manual, we can see objections to coercion where it is argued that probably the use of strong enforcement measures may cause irreparable

psychological damage. At the end of that paragraph, we can find a justification that was corrected and affirms that this would be the only reason to prevent the use of these measures and that they do will not judge the validity of other ethical arguments (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 112).

The text also states that when an accused is subjected to such measures, at the moment of the confession, coercion has to be reduced as a reward for collaboration, but not suspended until all information has been delivered.

The coercive measures are exactly the same as detailed in the previous manual. There is no new or relevant information that merits further explanation. However there is a paragraph with specifications for a better process of interrogation:

As I said at the beginning of our discussion of coercive techniques, the purpose of all coercive techniques is to induce regression. How successful these techniques are in inducing regression depends upon an accurate psychological assessment of the subject and a proper matching of method to source. There are a few non-coercive techniques which can be used to induce regression, but to a lesser degree than can be obtained with coercive techniques. The effectiveness of these techniques depends upon the questioner's control of the environment. For example:

- Persisting manipulation of time
- Retarding and advancing clocks
- Serving meals at odd times
- Disrupting sleep schedules
- Disorientation regarding day and night
- Unpatterned questioning sessions
- Nonsensical questioning
- Ignoring half-hearted attempts to cooperate
- Rewarding no-cooperation (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 123).

Throughout this process, the manual suggests the presence of a psychiatrist to ensure the safety and recovery of the accused when measures that are too severe are applied (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 124). The reason for the presence of the psychiatrist or doctor was not for prevention since the agents knew exactly when they would apply more violent behavior and when they would need a doctor. This was clearly seen when the option of forcibly disappearing the victim was discarded.

To conclude this chapter, this is the evidence of a society mired in greed of power to control and perpetuate economic systems and global hegemony, or at least hemispheric. The United States, through the School of the Americas, made the torture manuals to teach techniques that lay the foundations for the process of national reorganization carried out in Latin American dictatorships in the framework of the security doctrine. The objectives did not distinguish specific data on people who were questioned. In fact, the subjectivity with which agents selected these people unleashed a hell of disappearances, extrajudicial executions and human rights violations that opened a wound that still bleeds in Latin American memory.

These manuals and these teachings were the beginning of the human brain to think of ways to torture and to make people talk of whether they were innocent or not. The Hemisphere Armed Forces took the attribution to defend its own inhabitants from themselves. In an effort to ward off communism, a wave of violence was introduced in Latin America lasting decades and whose consequences are still lamented by survivors or families and friends of victims.

CHAPTER TWO: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS

1. Background of Latin American dictatorships

This chapter will address the ideological, historical, social and military context in which military dictatorships were developed and its causes and consequences. It will discuss the role of the United States as a hegemonic entity of domination in the hemisphere and its influence on the establishment of military government systems. The analysis will be based on authors who discuss the justification of violence by these governments against their own people.

The dictatorship, as a purely political concept of governance, is understood as the accumulation of power in a single person, or a group of people or specific elite, governing a state. In the words of Rouquié, dictatorship is "a special regime, given the particular circumstances, exercised without control" (Rouquié 1981, 11). A military dictatorship is when the branch of the State Security Forces shapes this privileged group that directs the reins of a country. However, when speaking of Latin American military dictatorships, we cannot easily extend a connotation to the European style. This process requires a single situational analysis for each country victim of this form of government. Therefore, and this is not the subject of this work, the military dictatorships in Latin America will be considered to be the governments that presided between the decades of the 1960s and 1980s throughout the continent and where the military branch clearly exercised power.

There is a caveat worth mentioning; US hegemony played a leading role in building up the military governments of the late twentieth century in Latin America. Guy Poitras describes hegemony as the preponderance of one State over another where the dominant uses its economic and military levels for specific purposes (Poitras 1990, 2). This hegemony is affected by the expansion of Soviet ideology in the Hemisphere.

In this sense, the power that the United States was used to was threatened by the loss of Cuba and the birth of governments pointing to socialist ideologies. This significant reduction of hegemony in America also shows a crisis of global capitalism which is the

reliable engine of American affairs. Therefore, there is a trance of the state of monopoly capitalism, which according to Agustín Cueva, leads to a complete re-engineering of international relations to reintegrate the capitalist system on the continent, but this new process "cannot be carried out in a democratic manner" (Cueva 1980, 30).

Thus, in the machine of global domination fueled by blind fear of the communist advance in Latin American territory, - always in the context of the Cold War - legislators, public officials and US politicians in general, dictate a strategy that puts as the elimination of communism in the region and the modus operandi was the military force. US imperialism, in the words of Leslie Gill, integrates all manner of interference in the internal affairs of other countries (economic, military, and political) to align the new paradigm of the global economy and global market capitalism (Gill 2005, 19). Proof of this fear is the statement of Henry Kissinger "contagious" to the victory of Salvador Allende in Chile (Cockcroft 2001, 63).

In this undemocratic process, the dictatorships are then established or de facto governments fulfilling two edges closely related, external and internal. The first applies to an international crisis of hegemony and capitalism managed from the US perspective and from where processes generate indirect intervention. The internal one responds to social instability – called chaos most of the times- where revolutionary groups are formed within Latin American countries whose opening speech was aimed at the redistribution of wealth and the vindication of the rights of workers. For this reason, besides the fear that the United States had about Soviet Union gaining ground, they did not allow the establishment of the proposed new revolutionary political system. For the US military officer Robert Schweitzer, the Cold War completely revolutionized the national security system in the world - of which the military soldiers are only one part- giving it new focus of attention. (Schweitzer 1997, 15). This development, according to Reyes Echandía, turned the traditional enemy of national sovereignty that was always external, into enemies within the nation. (Reyes Echandía 1991, 145).

Revolutionary movements considered insurgent destabilized the power of the United States; who in response, introduced two theories drawn from the Manifest Destiny doctrine and evolved to the current era: the doctrine of national security and the

Reagan doctrine. So we can say that the "National Security Doctrine provided a comprehensive logic of combating communism by maintaining the 'internal order'" (Gill 2005, 89). The Reagan administration proposed a new model of intervention and maintenance of hegemony called "Low Intensity Conflict" (LIC) which empowered the expansion of the internal control beyond the insurgency (2005, 27).

However, this internal enemy who threatened the continental power was often confused for the citizen or the professional. Here, Gill, Cueva and Lalama agree that insurgents were peasants, workers and students, who far from fighting for a political ideology, claimed their rights to land, labor and education. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the definition that Moncayo has about the objectives of the Security Forces which was to: "violently apply power to the threats against the nation so these are prevented, deterred or suppressed" (Moncayo 1997, 54) even if this transgression against the country's stability was seen as ordinary people listed above. In conclusion, the military defended the citizens from themselves.

Therefore, and with the central premise the US hegemonic power, the Latin American military governments are established in order to control the internal chaos developed from the ideological conflict of the Cold War. Thus, several authors agree that the way to keep this national level is through the application of coercion and terror (Gill, Cueva, Rouquié, Figueroa, Lalama, Poitras, among others).

In fact, in the international arena, Cueva maintains two key positions in the political game. The first is about the chain of "strong links" between countries that are economically, politically and militarily powerful and can establish processes of resilience when experiencing an internal crisis. The countries of "weak links" undertake revolution processes that rule out the possibility of continuing to maintain the guidelines of government of the dominant class. This causes social unrest, uprisings and protests, usually from the working class. To Cueva, military dictatorship based on "coercion" and "hegemony" is nothing more than a response to the crisis of world capitalism of those days for being the weakest part of the international economic chain. (Cueva 1989, 52-53)

The problem that is unleashed from this crisis of hegemony and the international economic system is that the process was really violent in Latin America; and, for this coercive chain to be put in place in the subcontinent, a complicity between governments was necessary. Poitras told us that "hegemony can survive if accepted by those affected by it; It is not necessarily imposed. Compliance does not always need a preponderance unilateral exercise of power or exorbitant strength "(Poitras 1990, 30). It is for this reason that the military forces accepted US influence in their decisions to keep the enemy calm and the foreign friend happy.

Also, Figueroa speaks that "violence applied from the state is always a rational phenomenon; there is no dictatorship as brutal as it seems that does not need to be a minimum of consensus to endure" (Figueroa Ibarra 2001, 53). As time passed, the wave of power and military domination multiplied, which greatly magnified systematic violence and terror on the continent. In these dictatorships, "the constitutional rule becomes the exception, because the emergency state is somehow the rule" (Rouquié 1981, 12), making it impossible to exercise freedom and the use of legal, secure and legitimate methods by people affected by violence.

Besides this clear obstacle to the creation of justice, when a real, valid and stable legal order is absent "the line between one form of crime or another - becomes blurred"; and, in the same way, the concept we have about the motivation to suppress this behavior and its consequent punishment is disturbed (Pinheiro 1991, 167). Citizens are confused about the legality of these acts of repression, even more after they were already in an atmosphere of political tension before the dictatorial government. As an example, we can discuss the statement of Cockcroft concerning the rapid rise to power of General Stroessner in Paraguay and where people lived in a continual state of limitations where the only political knowledge at the time was the fear of kidnapping, torture and death (Cockcroft 1989, 440).

These confusions allowed dictatorial regimes to establish misconceptions concerning their role on state politics. Some believed their military professionalism was legitimized by the principle of subordination from military power to political power (Herrera 1986, 118). They raised to undisputed premises statements as, for example, the revolutionary movements against the ruling class are core problems of a military nature

(Reyes Echandía 1991, 146). In this context, even assuming that the revolutionary processes of the time were situations that merited a strong military intervention, the curious thing about these cases is the rating of all political action as communist or subversive. Patricia Weiss Fagen speaks widely on this issue stating that the wave of state terrorism responds to a widespread assumption that civil and groups calling for social change shared, par excellence, a "subversive mentality," even if they were not enrolled in subversive acts (Fagen 1992, 43).

The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Chile, states that a significant percentage of the use of torture, forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions took place against people without any political militancy, which concludes that acts, at least in that Republic, took place indiscriminately (CONAVERE 1991, 112).

Some authors like Rouquié differ in concepts of classification of fascist dictatorship and extreme violence processes. However, Figueroa Ibarra made a clarification on the analysis against the legitimate use of violence in the state. He points out that violence is linked to the preservation of the State as the most evolved form of social organization. Hobbes calls this the transfer of "natural state" to the "social state." Weber describes this as a monopolistic state maintenance of violence to control and safeguard society (Figueroa Ibarra 2001, 57). Either way, the violence on the State is considered necessary and accepted.

In this regard, the State has been formed with the legitimization of violence for the purpose of regulating society and to keep it organized (social contract). However, there is a difference between the types of dictatorial government and democracy, for the subject we are dealing, is clearly the use of violence. For the dictatorship it is systematic of random goals and unprecedented extremes to silence society. In a democracy, however, violence is seen as exceptional, temporarily required and directed.

For these reasons, military dictatorships were essentially violent. Dictators, soldiers and intelligence officials generally were educated in schools and military training ruled under the US umbrella. The intensity of violence inflicted is justified under the threat of an internal enemy that destabilizes the social order and from which a strong state

intervention appears. In the classification of this new enemy of society, we find women, children, the elderly, students, workers, peasants and innocent people who had nothing to do with the threat of the communist ghost or the revolutions of that time.

2. Human rights violations

After briefly analyzing the context in which the Latin American dictatorships were built, this paper will proceed to collect some specific cases of violation of human rights from States which are subjects of this study. Some significant cases that have hit hard the Latin American consciousness are considered; and others that probably were not discussed throughout the subcontinent, but can be used to depict the brutality with which these crimes were carried out.

When we speak of torture and for purposes of this investigation, we will consider the definition established by the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment that Article 1 reads:

For the purposes of this Convention, the term "torture" means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. (1984).

There are legislations that establish scope of torture in legal terms. For example, the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Chile, in its report submitted in 1991, was very clear in the management of the term torture. When a trooper - says the Commission - tortures a person it is qualified as a crime, violation of human rights and a violation of the norms of International Humanitarian Law. It is a crime that is punishable by law, a violation of human rights because it breaks completely the international treaties of matter, and a violation of International Humanitarian Law because such actions even in situations of conflict cannot exist.

I have to mention that the data presented in this part of the chapter does not apply to all Latin American dictatorships. The reason responds to a filtration process in

accordance to the existing level of repression and those who have had a very prominent international character. The countries that have been chosen for the analysis of this research are: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. The other states have not been chosen due to their very particular circumstances, but it is important to consider that within its de facto governance periods similar forms of human rights violations could have occurred.

In this context, I use research conducted by the Truth Commissions in countries that had it. Added to this, other investigations are quoted discussing the matter due to the brief or non-existence of a government report describing these violations of human rights (specifically in Uruguay and Nicaragua).

Reports and research used are as follows:

- Report of the National Commission for Disappeared Persons "Nunca Más"(Never again) from Argentina.
- Report of the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Chile.
- Report of the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture of Chile.
- Report of the Historical Clarification Commission of Guatemala.
- Report of the Truth Commission in El Salvador.
- El Salvador: truth, justice and reparation, the Human Rights Institute of the Universidad Centroamericana "José Simón Cañas".
- Report of the Human Rights Commission in El Salvador.
- The torture as an endemic disease in Latin America: its characteristics in Uruguay of Luis Yarzábal.
- Violence and Repression in the twilight of the Somoza prison conditions of the political prisoners of Maria Dolores Ferrero.

This part is subdivided into practices of human rights violations physically and psychologically. In reading the basic texts, it has been found that these actions are repeated over dictatorships studied with specific variations quoted accordingly. Therefore, the following information is common among the six countries studied.

It has also been found that there are significant differences compared to the number of missing and / or dead depending on the country and force of the State's repression. In Argentina, after the coup and until the date of publication of the Report of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons, 8960 people were still missing (CONADEP 1986, 16). However, many other groups such as the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo claim that they are more than 30,000 disappeared, and even general intelligence services claim that there are at least 22,000 missing (Lissardy 2006). With this dispensing of confusion and since we are dealing with the references that exceed those of the Commission report, we can say that at least 8,960 people were forcibly disappeared in Argentina. In Guatemala, the Historical Clarification Commission (CEH) was also formed in 1999 and presented the report in Guatemala: Memory of Silence. The compendium includes in over four thousand pages all of the historical analysis and the process of violence exercised between 1954 and 1983 that left 150,000 victims, the largest amount recorded in Latin America in relation to population and territory (Figueroa Ibarra 1990, 108).

In 1968 in Uruguay, a State of Internal War and Prompt Security Measures to justify the use of torture in the fight against Urban Guerrilla, was decreed. At the time of the investigation of Luis Yarzábal, 80,000 people had been tortured, but only 58, until this date have been deaths from causes related to this type of action (Yarzábal 1985, 76).

Violations of human rights in Latin American dictatorships have an identical figure procedure summarized in three steps: kidnapping, torture and / or disappearance. With this premise, the States varied forms of perpetrating these actions according to objective person and country.

Normally, at the stage of kidnapping, a group of people bursts violently into the home of the target. In some cases, they were overly armed (CONADEP 1986, 18). Then, they proceeded to intimidate the victim and his family regardless of whether they were adolescents, children, and women, disabled or elderly. For example, in Argentina cases of intimidation to infants a few months old in front of their mother are known.

In Chile, the kidnapping could be made through raids on homes, arrests on the street or calls to military courts (where the victims were detained) (CONAVERE 1991, 96). Every act was preceded by a preliminary investigation of the target person.

In most cases, the interrogation began at the home of the person involved. These early rounds of questions could be accompanied by multiple tortures to victims and relatives (See CEH 1999, 473). Aiming for the victim to become lost from time and space, they were blindfolded and were separated from their families in different rooms.

Thus, we can analyze the case of Carlos Alberto Campero, who described the torture and kidnapping of his mother in the Dossier 1806 of the National Commission for Disappeared Persons. He claims that after all of the members of the house were threatened, his mother was brutally attacked "using methods neither wild animals can be applied to them." They unplugged a fan and the cable was used as an electric prod, occasionally getting the victim wet to produce more pain. All of this was done while another one beat her until she was disfigured (CONADEP 1986, 26).

These acts were undoubtedly perpetrated by State agents. A clear example is the kidnapping of Graciela Baroque in Argentina blamed to belong to the Juventud Universitaria Peronista (revolutionary group of the time). Her parents, at the time of reporting the crime, were informed by officials that there was no abduction or improper break in of the home because the person in question was arrested for "Armed forces and the Federal Superintendence" (CONADEP 1986, 21).

That is, the military admitted their involvement in the terrifying scene of the kidnapping and even dared to say that the person in question was held without a lawyer and without the possibility that her own parents could see her. There was no guilt because there was a clear justification of the fact, based on an alleged wrongdoing committed by Ms. Barroca, in the case of the preceding paragraph, which authorizes the security forces take her into custody.

The kidnapping continued to transport the victim to the place of detention. Typically, these imprisonment centers were illegal; i.e. were not legally constituted so did not

exist to public light. This transfer was accompanied by beatings and mistreatment of all kinds.

After this process that was already strongly violent, the torture started or continued, depending on the case. For the various committees and the different authors who are quoted in this paper, torture is neuralgic in the methodology accompanying the National Security Doctrine and social reorganization in Latin American dictatorships. It will never be casual, an emerging use or as a last resource. The military dictatorships used a process of systematic violence that sought to inflict pain on the victims for the sake of thinking differently.

In Argentina, a survivor informs the Commission of that country that the official mentioned to him that "he would be tortured for being an opponent, because he had not understood that in the country there was no political space for opposing the government of the Process of National Reorganization" (CONADEP 1986, 28).

The number of people who have been arrested in the period of Latin American dictatorships and that have not been tortured in any way is very limited. In Chile, for example, 94% of the victims interviewed in the case by the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture say they suffered some sort of mistreatment in detention facilities.

The first type of torture often simultaneous with other methods, are the repeated blows. All research on this subject agrees that the beatings were the first source of incitement and establishment of fear in victims. Although in such cases detailed above, the blows initiated at the process of irruption, burglary and kidnapping and it remains along detention. It constitutes torture because it is based on the premise of "causing unnecessary suffering" (NPTC 2003, 256). The hitting could be done with hands and objects of various kinds. Sticks, iron rods, batons, stones, wire fences, concrete blocks were used to hurt until victims bled (CNPT 2003, 256-257).

"The Phone" technique was widely used in El Salvador, Chile and Argentina. It consisted of blows made with both hands directly to both ears of the victim simultaneously (CNPT 2003, 257). This caused a complete disorientation of the victim.

In this sense, another way of generating humiliation and loss of human identity appeared when the victims fell from beatings or other methods, which caused officers to walk or jump on them (IDH 2009, 30).

The application of electricity was also common and used in all dictatorships of this research. This was applied on gums, nipples, genitals, abdomen, ears, eyes, anus, soles of the feet, tongue, temples etc. In some cases, they proceeded to simultaneously hit electrocute victims (CONADEP 1986, 28) (See also Yarzabal 1985, 79). This torture resulted in greater creativity on the perpetrators, as different ways to use it were invented to get the most out of the interrogation. In many cases body machines were constructed, small electrodes that the victims were forced to swallow to transport electricity within their bodies (CONADEP 1986, 36, 38). In this dynamic, the victim could also be forced to drink large quantities of water or was soaked with buckets of water while electricity was applied.

The use of animals in processes of torture was low but real. In Argentina, cats were used and placed under clothes and were applied electricity so the animal infringe pain with its claws to the victim (CONADEP 1986, 41). In Chile, hungry dogs were used to bite victims (CONAVARE 1991, 99). In Guatemala even animals were used as methods of torture for sexual rape (CEH 1999, 477).

Burning was also a process of torture at the time of interrogation of the victim. One person in Chile was tied from one arm to an electric oven for fifteen or twenty minutes (NPTC 2003, 262). In Guatemala, more elaborate processes were used such as furnace construction to slowly burn victims (CEH 1999, 482).

State agents also used bladed weapons to inflict pain on victims. Scalpels and razor blades to flay the soles of the feet were common along with other forms of dismemberment (CEH 1999, 484). Besides penetrating those objects in the newly open wounds on the victims (CONADEP 1986, 34), they also applied different methods to cause temporary or permanent injury. Sharp objects, cigarette burns or hot metal objects were used to be applied on the whole body and in the most sensitive parts: male and female genitalia (CNPT 2003, 260) (See also CEH 1999, 473).

The security forces also generated processes of mock murder by suffocation or by shooting. The submerging method was a well-known technique including submerging the victim's head in water until they can barely breathe (CONADEP 1986, 38), and then proceeded to apply the same or another torture at the time of recovery. This process could also have variations if the place of detention was near a river. They proceeded to make the victim submerge in that space (48) (See also Yarzabal 1985, 79). There were other variations such as launching the victim off of a helicopter at and tying them to a rope and then pulling them back to torture them with other processes (52). However, in Nicaragua the process was performed without the use of rope, which then was called the death flight (Ferrero 2009, 170).

Along the same lines, a Chilean technique was to perform processes of semi asphyxiation with putrid water or feces (CONAVERE 1991, 98-99). In Guatemala asphyxiation processes were also practiced giving victims their own waste to choke on. This was done when, for own effects of torture, the prisoners could not resist their needs since the use of the toilets became a power of the guard on duty (CEH 1999, 472).

In El Salvador, the method of "the hood" was used to cause asphyxiation. It consisted in the placement of a rubber device with lime, very similar to the one used by firemen in case of fire with the aim to hit the victim while using the device, forcing him to breathe the substance up to suffocation. (ICH 2009, 28-29).

The use of placebos and drugs which can be used to psychologically get answers from the victims was widely used in El Salvador. The Human Rights Commission investigated that SECONAL and LAPENTO BARBITAL were used to produce tongue sleepiness, tingling, skin allergy, blurred vision, dream, dizziness, lack of coordination, not have of critical analysis of ideas, despair and hallucinations (CDHES 2012, 76).

Undoubtedly, the hangings were also part of the torture they applied to victims. These could not be less than an hour and could last for days (CNPT 2003, 265). The Argentinean Oscar Martín Guidone, for example, was tied his hands to a wall, with open arms, and could only support himself touching his toes to the floor. There he was beaten for more than three hours (CONADEP 1986, 32). There were some variations

for the victim to lose the perception of time and space with hangings or freezing techniques. For example, in Argentina, Chile and Guatemala men and women were placed in holes previously made to be buried naked up to their necks. They spent three or four days without water or food, exposed to sun and cold until a confession was made (31) (See also CEH 1999, 473).

In Uruguay this type of fixed positions was practiced for long periods of time by applying weights in hands or feet to generate greater difficulty, pain and frustration (Yarzabal 1985, 78). It also happened the opposite way, as in Nicaragua, that prisoners were separated even up to six months of sunlight and heat (Ferrero 2009, 170).

Under the same umbrella, in Argentina, the prisoners were placed face down on the floor, squatting, facing a wall, under excessive or no light, always blindfolded and / or tied, and forced to enter into very small places previously manufactured for these tortures. (CONAVERE 1991, 98-99) (See also CDHES 2012, 39 and Yarzábal 1985, 77-79). Also, victims were hanged by one or both arms, hands or feet; hands and feet tied to a pole in a horizontal position and arms directed towards the back causing shoulder dislocation. In most cases, these situations were performed with victims naked and were beaten with punches before and during the hanging. Sometimes electricity or sexual assault was applied. (CNPT 2003, 262)

Deprivation of food was also common as a method of torture. In some cases, the prisoners were not given food of any kind for days; they just drank a glass of water a day. In Nicaragua, the food (when it existed) was transported in wheelbarrows that naturally soiled and damaged food; and this food was delivered to victims. (Ferrero 2009, 169)

It was very common that prisoners were crammed into specific places with extreme heat or cold. In Uruguay they proceeded to wet the clothes of the victims when the weather was colder than usual (Yarzabal 1985, 77). In Nicaragua, to cause concentration and sleep deprivation, a strongly lit neon lamp was kept on while prisoners were trying to sleep (Ferrero 2009, 168).

In Guatemala and El Salvador, for example, there were interruptions of sleep for a week by pouring buckets of cold water to wake victims up when they were about to fall asleep (CEH 1999, 466) (see also HR 2009, 36). These processes were then joined by other torture sessions which made the situations of victims more intolerable.

Pau de Arará or easel technique was widely used in Chile, Uruguay and Guatemala. Originally created in Brazil, it consisted of tying hands and feet of the victim together, while inserting a horizontal pole in the empty space between the feet or hands. Often the pole was turned around to inflict more pain (CONAVERE 1991, 100) (See also Yarzábal 1985, 78). On other occasions after standing for hours, the victims were placed face down while the guards walked on them. This was done to intense sunlight and more than fifteen hours (CNPT 2003, 257).

The rapes took place almost entirely to women, but men were also affected. When the rape was carried out by an object, sometimes this was the baton to produce electricity (Yarzabal 1985, 79). Women were hanged, undressed and touched with morbidity throughout the body and much more often on intimate areas; then were beaten and tortured (with other methods) even during the violation which is already considered a brutal and inhumane act (Ferrero 2009, 172-173).

It was also common in all countries of this study the presence of doctors at the time of the torture, to analyze the health of the victim so they can be treated after situations got serious. The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Chile describes that it "it was a characteristic of the events to have the presence of doctors, wearing a hooded coat and controlling torture (so that it was not fatal) and treating emergency victims most affected by the torture" (CONAVERE 1991, 100) (See also CNPT 2003, 266). Another example was the statement of a torturer in Guatemala who claimed that "if someone was found too injured, they were healed and returned to being tortured" (CEH 1999, 471).

On the other hand, in Nicaragua there were also cases of strong and disconcerting torture. For example, the file of Tomas Borge is very significant to summarize the level of torture caused by the Somoza dictatorship in that country. He was hidden naked for 15 days and chained to a place where he could sit but not lie down. On a daily basis,

he was severely beaten in the face and especially on the testicles. He had fractured ribs, was deprived of food and given a glass of water a day which was spiced on by the guards. He was not allowed to go to make his biological needs, so the stench was so unbearable in the cell that one of his torturers vomited before continuing. To torture the victim, the room was cold because of air conditioning that produced a continuous, loud and disturbing noise. Phrases such as "eat it, dog" accompanied the food they offered the victim. (Ferrero 2009, 166-167).

After this summary, I want to establish one of the most powerful stories of systematic violation of human rights of defenseless populations. The massacre at El Mozote in El Salvador is a historic landmark. On December 11, 1981 soldiers of the Atlacatl battalion proceeded to separate men, women and children into groups in a church and an adjacent land. After torturing the men to get information, they were arbitrarily executed. Women were gunned down after they snatched their children. The children were also executed. This operation had 200 identified victims since there were corpses that could not be identified. (Truth Commission 1993, 118).

This violation is significant because the Commission found acts during the period of the Salvadoran dictatorship truly inhumane. In these jungle villages, mothers were thrown into rivers and their children were decapitated or mutilated in parts, often in the presence of the mother (HDR 2009, 79-81). In neighboring countries like Nicaragua, many were forced to dig mass graves, then the remains were burned so that human rights institutions could never find them (Ferrero 2009, 171).

With this background it is clear that the victim was left "completely disoriented, with no notion of time and space" (CEH 1999, 472). Moreover, this was done in order to intimidate the population in frontal and direct ways. Some victims were decapitated after the torture and were exhibited in streets or squares to alert the population of how they would end up if they opposed the regime (CEH 1999, 464). Commissions and sources say that torturers were in full knowledge that torture methods applied completely nullified the will of purpose and strong personality.

From the first stage of kidnapping to the forced disappearance, the goal was to reduce and completely shatter the personality of the accused and of the citizen who was

witnessing this in order to leave them vulnerable and defenseless (CEH 1999, 471). This goal was widespread and extremely relevant in Latin American dictatorships in order to achieve the process of national reorganization maintaining internal order.

However, these physical tortures were always accompanied by psychological forms of inflicting pain which are often harder to forget than external sequels. These psychological tortures have been handled in all dictatorships studied and were preponderant for subjects to feel humiliation, deconstruction of personal strength and complete elimination of integrity. For security forces, this situation favored interrogation and obedience.

Typically, victims of dictatorships were treated with insults, taunts, threats and complete destruction of honor to take away all of their integrity. The Argentine Norberto Liwsky says that officials considered victims less than servants; they were considered things and officials would use phrases such as "you do not exist, we are everything for you, justice is us, and we are God" (CONADEP 1986, 31).

In many cases the victims were investigated long before the arrest. They knew the victim's schedules and their usual activities for days or weeks, and those of their families and close friends. A woman, who was tortured and testified to the Commission on Political Prisoners in Chile, stated that her victimizers threatened her and insisted that she will never see her children again. They provided information of the children's full names, where they went to school and what time they got in and out of school (CNPT 2003, 271-272).

The processes of humiliation first consisted of nudity. Some prisoners began their interrogation and if the guards received a negative or a null response, they would strip the prisoners out of their clothes until they were completely naked. (CONADEP 1986, 33) (See also Yarzabal 1985, 80). Other prisoners, especially in Nicaragua, were forced to watch or listen to torture of others including torture of their own families. This is the case of the children of Ruth Campos who witnessed each other's torture (Ferrero 2009, 166).

In the first chapter and in the background of this study, we were able to explain that the political context behind these violations responds to an interest in stopping the advance of communism in the region. A proof of this is seen when an official insults Oscar Martin Guidone's mustache hinting that it was "more of a fascist than a communist, he had the wrong ideology." Similarly, in El Salvador the prisoners were forced to march through the towns making sure people knew they were communist or from guerrillas (IDH 2009, 29).

Abandonment was a widely use technique to cause the depression of sensory input. These techniques included, locking the prisoners in cells 2 meters by 1.5 meters without any sort of lighting or with an intense light on. They were unable to sleep and did their biological needs in the cell. Many people suffered hallucinations. (CEH 1999, 486) (See also Ferrero 2009, 165). Sleep deprivation and threatening also played an important role in increasing fear in victims. For example, in El Salvador officials will wake prisoners up early morning just to intimidate them, saying phrases like "at this time, communists are slaughtered" (IDH 2009, 40).

Similarly, some people reported to the Commissions that they were locked for days in places without light where they could hear a drop of water fall. They listened for days, completely disorienting the individual (HDI 2009, 40).

As mentioned before, psychological torture was made at the same time that the prisoner received physical pain. Given that all these actions were outlined in an interrogation processes, officials would confuse victims by repeating questions or reverse the formulation of the question to decentralize the individual and punish them as means to justify for answering wrong (CONADEP 1986 36).

In Chile and Guatemala, truly inhumane and degrading tortures were applied. Many Chilean victims stated that they were forced to eat their own feces or other people's bodily waste discharge. Officials demanded victims to take actions that belittled their honor such as kissing the feet of the investigators, apologize to them, acknowledge their superiority and insult themselves or others (CNPT 2003, 274) (See also CEH 1999, 467 and 489 or Yarzabal 1985, 80).

One way to confuse the prisoners was carried out when transporting them from one place to another. In Argentina, for example, prisoners comment that "they had to climb three steps up and go down two or vice versa to disorient them" (CONADEP 1986, 36) before reaching the destination. This created confusion about the space in which they were.

The inability of seeing what is around them is already a form of generating helplessness, but it was discovered that victims were forced to run around obstacles blindfolded. As it was natural, they would fall and agents mocked them and beat them. (NPTC 2003, 274).

Mock execution was commonly applied in Latin American dictatorships. It was a way to make the victim believe that all their suffering would come to an end; however, at the time of executing the action (usually with firing a gun), agents did not do it. These processes had to make the victims believe that in fact they would be killed. The shootings were carried out in the air or close to the victim. Normally after this drill, other tortures followed (CNPT 2003, 272) (See also CONADEP 1986, 38 or CDHES 2012, 99).

There were very common and private ways to make prisoners confess. For example, there were role-playing games where officers disguised themselves as priests to absolve the "guilt" of victims (CONADEP 1986, 16). Another particular case happened in Guatemala and El Salvador where agents took people to places where there were corpses or bodies in a state of putrefaction (CEH 1999, 473) (See also CDHES 2012, 37).

One of the most interesting methods applied in interrogation processes was the role-game of good cop-bad cop. Raul Esteban Radonich told the Truth Commission that his interrogation was leaded by at least three people, "headed by the boss of the group who arrested him. The boss assumed the role of "kind", asking me to confess because it is no longer worthwhile to sacrifice myself for others. The others used threatening and authoritarian tones." (CONADEP 1986, 45) (See also CEH 1999, 467) Besides this, certain prisoners who lost consciousness due to the violence, upon waking up,

thought that they had already confessed by reading false statements (CDHES 2012, 143).

Another of the most striking situations after the victim was sexually abused and humiliated – especially women – was nicely asking them to dress and comforting them, even asking other victims to comfort them (CONAVARE 1991, 49). This situation was made to counter the hostile stands and brusque attitudes of rape on the victim to create a feeling of affection for the torturer.

A classic example of the premise described above is that some women in Argentina were transported to a room where there was just a man. He requested them to describe what happened in all previous days or weeks. After the story, the man commented that the person in question had omitted some things. Also, he urged women to think that many stories that they were saying did not occur, and they invented them. He told them that the hitting was not hard as they commented and that rape did not occur. He comforted them and told them that they cannot tell anyone what happened because by not telling anyone, they would be released. (CONADEP 1986, 50).

For these reasons, the state of helplessness that was developed in tortured people destroyed all signs of hope and strength and forced them to think of ways to commit suicide. Some of them drank water that was in bad state (CONADEP 1986, 42). Daniel Fernandez, an 18 year-old Argentinian at the time of the torture reports that "the idea was to leave the victim without any psychological resistance, until he was at the mercy of the interrogator to get any kind of response he wanted, even if the answers were absurd."(CONADEP 1986, 47).

In conclusion, the Latin American military dictatorships exercised complete domination of the citizens of their territories systematically and deliberately. The threat of communist expansion allowed the armed forces to take on a role of defenders of democracy and protectors of the internal order. Under the pretext of this new objective, there were major violations of human rights to innocent people. They disappeared entire villages; many people who survived the torture and cruel threats still live thinking about those times; in fact, they live in a psychological torture every day.

CHAPTER THREE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LINK BETWEEN THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS' TEACHINGS AND THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS

This chapter will address the relationship between the School of the Americas' teachings described in the first chapter and the violations of human rights perpetrated in Latin American dictatorships that were analyzed in the second chapter. The analysis will include the techniques discussed by the SOA through both Torture Manuals and its comparison with the actions of detention, kidnapping, torture and death or disappearance in dictatorships' processes in Latin America.

It is necessary to note that the Manuals: *Kubark* Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual and Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual did not describe in detail the human rights violations that took place in Latin American dictatorships. Since they were technical Manuals, Latin American security forces used the tactics only as guidelines for interrogation process. Therefore, in reality, security officers conveniently interpreted these teachings transformed them to inflict pain on their victims.

It must also be noted that in all dictatorships studied, violence and torture was practiced. The vast majority of political prisoners in that period suffered some form of physical or psychological torture. The violence was systematic and widespread throughout the territory of the military dictatorship. However, this research seeks to look at the relationship between the teachings of Torture Manuals and the crimes detailed in previous chapters. Therefore, in the Torture Manuals we will not find specification to cruel beatings, rape, application of electricity, and other tactics to inflict pain.

Although the manuals do not particularize the actions referred to cases of human rights violations, we can start analyzing some conclusions to relate the processes detailed in the texts with the crimes that were committed in dictatorships. For example, Torture Manuals have two phases to the interrogation process: coercive and non-coercive techniques. Likewise, this is also comparable with the torture applied in dictatorial periods to use physical and psychological methods of inflicting pain.

With this introduction, we will proceed to find coincidences in the comparison, by one hand, from the details written in the Manuals and, on the other hand, the research to date in the various reports of the Truth Commissions or in literature referring to human rights violations in the six countries studied previously.

As a first point, it was found that victims of human rights violations were accused of belonging to communist organizations, such as the Argentine Oscar Martin Guidone from whom officials taunted at the way in which he had his mustache making it clear that he had a confused ideology and that he should have been a fascist and not a communist (CONADEP 1986, 33). In this sense, we can make a correlation with the *Kubark* Manual which established that the interrogation process should be addressed to people from communist's clandestine organizations (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 2). Dictatorships follow the principles of the Manual by accusing victims of belonging to Communist groups, and even justifying criminal acts under this defense even when people were not part of those organizations.

Here, we have to make an analysis concerning the people selected to be interviewed by the Latin American security forces. All those opposed to the regimes of national reorganization were considered enemies of the State without discriminating age, gender or physical condition. To be considered an enemy, the person had to meet the requirements of opposing government policies, act different than other citizens, belong to labor organizations, student councils, or to be a relative of a victim who was captured.

As a next point, it was concluded that the purpose of the manuals was to produce regression, loss of personal autonomy and time-space disorientation. These texts left the security forces the discretion of applying techniques to get answers to their questions. In this regard, it was found that indeed the techniques used in the Latin American dictatorships produced exactly the same result as set in the manuals: to disorient and disable the person from any physical or emotional strength. Therefore, the objectives of these instruments taught at SOA were met by using torture in Latin American dictatorships. That is, the aim of the Manuals was fulfilled with human rights violations even if the means to produce that purpose are not detailed in their pages.

The idea described above was found in the statements of the victims' feelings after the torture sessions (physical or psychological). The interrogated revealed that after torture they had no conception of time and space, they were bulged out the real world, many of them had hallucinations as manuals explained, and many others lost all their emotional strength to the point of asking the death.

Other coincidences found in the research refer to the coercive measures of the two analyzed Manuals and their relationship with the techniques applied in the Latin American dictatorships. This is the case of the method called "the eye that sees it all" where the security officer claimed to have all the information with a pile of documents in his/her hands in order for the accused confess the truth (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 77). In comparison, the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador found a case where a person who lost consciousness because of torture, upon waking up, was confused by officials who claimed to know the whole truth; this made the victim think that he/she supposedly had already confessed. The agents kept false statements on their hands (CDHES 2012, 143). Confusing the person by making him/her assume they did not know the correct information was the aim of the techniques described in the Manuals and applied in specific cases as the one described in El Salvador.

In addition to what is mentioned above, a similar process was found with respect to the role game of good cop - bad cop approach. In the Manuals, it was specified that in this kind of interrogation technique, the process should start with an aggressive and violent agent who inspired fear and threatened constantly. After this, another officer approached to continue the interrogation and the latter was very friendly and tried to build a friendship with the victim (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 78). In dictatorships, they provided fictional priests for confessions (CONADEP 1986, 16), some soldiers treated the victims kindly after rapes and others just tried to establish close relationship at the time of interrogation (CONAVARE 1991, 49). Although this method is well known in the interrogation processes, it was applied in dictatorships after they were tortured; in order to obtain the trust of the victim, officers uses appeasement and consolation.

The use of placebos is the most accurate relationship between a manual and violations of human rights in dictatorships. Although this technique was not suggested in the

Manuals, the method was described in detail (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 88). It was found that in El Salvador, pharmacological torture was used with specific drugs like Seconal and Lapento Barbital to produce physical alterations and to seek confession (CDHES 2012, 76).

Another idea present in the texts that were taught at School of the Americas was the creation of a true prisoner's dependence on the authority. This was reflected in the practices where security forces had to exercise such control that all human needs of people were at the mercy of the officials. Multiple cases were known where even biological needs had to be done with the consent of the officer. The creation of dependency was used even though in the Manuals this was not described in detail. That is, the security forces, in order to achieve the Manuals' purposes, invented a number of techniques.

In the same view, officers generated a level of respect and a remarkable image of authority by using insults, harassment or phrases that humiliated the victim. In some of the cases detailed in the preceding chapters, security agents used sentences to hurt the victim such as "you are worthless" or "we are God" (CONADEP 1986, 31). This made the victim look at his tormentor as the boss and the real master of his/her life and integrity. By building this new idea of authority, the objective set in the manuals is fulfilled.

In addition, the creation of dependency also had to be reflected in the provision of food. The prisoner did not eat if the security officer did not allow it. There were people who did not eat for days or whose food was spoiled. This situation generated what the Manuals wanted: a process of complete subordination to the authority not only because it generated anxiety and fear, but because the agent became a victimizer and a savior at the same time.

The arrest and detention are other techniques that can be compared with violations of human rights in Dictatorships' practices. For example, in all countries studied, the arrests that were made were done by surprise. The officers of the Latin-American Security Forces were heavily armed and broke into homes, beat, tortured and insulted the victims in order for them to prove that they had the control. In this case, the

Manuals suggested that the methods of arrest and detention should be indeed surprising, unexpected, aggressive and with a complete controlled-environment (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 48). In this sense, arrests and detentions maintained a close relationship to what was described in the Manuals.

Nudity is another key coincidence in this investigation because the Manuals are clear in saying that the victim should be undressed to feel humiliation (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 50). This practice occurred on a regular basis in all dictatorships studied since most of the victims of those who could collect their statements said they were stripped naked and tortured when they were interrogated. The torture might have extended after the accused was left completely naked, but the suggestion of the Manual was accomplished to humiliate and shame the victim.

Another technique in which relationships were found is in the deprivation of sensory stimuli. Both texts taught at the School of the Americas indicate different ways of promoting this deprivation, including building machines to immobilize the body, issuing constant and disturbing noises, and handling the manipulation of the light, environment, diet and sleep (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 40). In dictatorships, some spaces were built to prevent the mobility of the body; in turn, rudimentary processes were also used like digging deep holes and putting people in them for long periods of time without the possibility of bodily movement (CONADEP 1986, 31). Also, as detailed earlier, security agents worked to produce constant sounds that bulged the person and, of course, many of them had hallucinations. These processes undoubtedly eliminated sensory stimuli fulfilling other parameters stipulated in the Manuals.

The security forces also built spaces for full control of light, heat, cold and food. There were prisoners who did not see daylight for months. Others, however, had to try to sleep with neon lamps or with excessive light (Ferrero 2009, 168). These actions respond to weakness techniques about prolonged confinement explained in the Manuals (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 84). The overall control environment posed by these texts are fulfilled in different ways by the security agents, which further complements the idea that the Manuals themselves formed the basis for the torture applied in the Latin American dictatorships.

The control of sleep is also a suggestion from the manuals of the School of the Americas which can be associated with practices related to dictatorships. The officers were in charge of the prisoner's activity. Here, victims were woken up at dawn and forced to pay attention for long periods of time. Officials used violence, water or insults to wake them up (CEH 1999 , 466). All these coincidences between the Manuals and the practices of torture in Latin America served as a prelude to position SOA as an entity that teaches subjectively methods of torture. The texts taught in this military institution were not detailed in measures to inflict pain but were explicit to explain the purpose of the torture. Security officers were the ones in charge of fulfilling that objective through different techniques.

Generating confusion is one of the processes outlined in the Torture Manuals and was applied in dictatorships in Latin America. The texts of the SOA suggested that the victims had to lack an understanding of their location at all times (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 49). In Latin American dictatorships, the victims were unaware of their exact location either at a clandestine detention center or inside a building at the time they were taken to torture rooms. The prisoners were forced to walk back and sometimes were taken through other roads or beaten during the transfer to make them lose their concentration (CONADEP 1986, 36). The objective of generating confusion written in the Manuals was fulfilled, even though that in order to get to that goal, the agents had to apply torture.

The texts of The School of the Americas also suggested that agents should make senseless interrogations; this was applied by Latin American Security Forces to cause confusion on the victims but also to justify the punishment for the wrong answer to an absurd question. The questions were repeated or simply performed without any syntax (CONADEP 1986, 47). The prisoner answered, and whatever the response was, he or she was tortured. Many of the recommendations on the Manuals were obviously exaggerated by the torturers in dictatorships, however, it is necessary to emphasize that the texts were the first ones to raise the idea and goals in the agents' minds. The use of the Manuals cannot be justified by their brief explanation because, having no information about the pedagogy of The School of the Americas, it was imperative to resort to those texts that described the fulfillment of certain objectives such as the

creation of confusion. From this premise, security agents were responsible of the performances to achieve those purposes.

An undeniable coincidence in certain dictatorships was the presence of medical doctors in torture processes and its relationship with the suggestions in the manuals concerning this subject. The texts of SOA recommended that in every interrogation process, there should be a person with medical knowledge to avoid any danger of death in the victim (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 124). Here we question that if the interrogation process was mild and without using violence: What was the need to include a health care professional in these situations? Indeed, many cases detailed in the second chapter demonstrated the presence of doctors who healed the prisoners in order to continue with the usual torture sessions (CNPT 2003, 266).

The above idea is a very relevant conclusion to make the Torture Manuals responsible for human rights violations in dictatorships; since the request of doctors in interrogation rooms, as mentioned in the texts, responds just to a fear that the victim may suffer severe injury due to the application of coercion. Although the mechanism of torture was not detailed in the Manuals, the request for the presence of these health professionals demonstrated that those books inherently instigated the use of violence.

The teachings of SOA suggested a previous research for each alleged victim. The Truth Commissions Reports found that many people were investigated thoroughly to the point of finding out about frequent schedules of visits, exits and entrances to workplaces, schools, colleges, both from the victims and their families.

The mock executions and suffocation described in the second chapter is directly related to the technique of generating threat or fear explained in the Torture Manuals. The texts of the CIA mentioned that it is preferable to threaten someone about torturing or killing them than actually doing it (Central Intelligence Agency 1963, 86). In dictatorships, many prisoners were threatened to be murdered in different ways: inability to breathe in water or by using special devices, mock throwing the prisoners from helicopters and simulations of shooting with firearms (ICH 2009, 28-29). These examples proved compliance to the suggestion of the Manuals to be using threat more than the actual killing.

The Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual suggested to create fear in people who were in a process of interrogation (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 112). Undoubtedly, all the techniques described in chapter two generated pain, fear and extreme anxiety in victims. To explain one case, there was a situation of mothers who saw their children being slaughtered or maimed by security officers (IDH 2009, 79-81). These people surely felt terrified. While this analysis responds to a common feeling of pain in a person who had just lost a child, the primary goal of this research is to find that the use of these inhumane techniques was motivated by formal and technical descriptions presented in the Manuals. That is, the texts presented the top of the pyramid and the security agents were those who climbed to it.

In the course of this investigation statements from directors of School of the Americas were found where they justified their actions by saying that they had no responsibility for the acts committed by its graduates. Specifically, they stated that a "few bad apples" did not establish a link to the heinous actions of Latin American dictatorships (Gill 2005, 22). In the preceding paragraphs, we can see the links between the Manuals that were used for military training in the School and human rights violations in Latin American dictatorships. While the ones to blame are the people who conducted the torture, SOA became a training center for these security agents.

If the justification used by the defenders of the SOA was true, some questions arise that have not yet been answered: Why did they include coercive techniques into a military training manual? Why did they include in the curriculum of the School measures anti-guerrilla, counter-interrogation, or theory of communism? Why were the "bad apples" from the saddest chapters of the School called to give lectures in courses prepared by the military center? (Gill 2005, 78). The answers are varied and motivate other types of studies.

Also, another conclusion stems from the declassification of Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual in 1994. The Manual, as detailed in the second chapter, was found having a ton of corrections, erasures and crossed-out words. Even with this effort, there were legible words. These messages in the original text tended to use violence and coercion techniques. The attempt to hide what was actually taught at

School of the Americas proves once again that this military center instructed its students different kinds of coercion techniques.

Finally, some statements of the Truth Commissions and authors that investigated human rights violations in Latin American dictatorships prove that the United States intervened directly in these violent processes and that the School of the Americas played a major role in training the security forces of subcontinent. The Institute of Human Rights of El Salvador received a statement detailing that senior US officials led and commanded National Guard squadrons (IDH 2009, 35).

Similarly, in Nicaragua, Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero lead the National Guard and commanded the "CONDECA, Aguila VI" operation that sought to halt the Sandinista rebel movement. This process called the "Southern Command of the Panama Canal Zone, where Latin-American dictatorships were instructed and advised, and was addressed to the north, to the mountains to fight the Sandinista guerrillas." (Ferrero 2009, 161). Also in Chile one of the victims said that after a long and strong torture session, the perpetrators shouted that they were "trained in Panama commands" (CNPT 2003, 271).

These are strong statements that assure that many Latin American soldiers who exercised violence during the period of dictatorship were graduates of The School of the Americas in Panama or commanded by officials from the United States professionalized under the same line of the SOA. Still, the similarities found between the different purposes of the two Manuals and the human rights violations serve to make the conclusion that The School of the Americas, through its texts, are the promoters of the actions committed by its Latin American graduates.

Even with this comparison, we cannot certainly verify that the The School of the Americas taught to torture. What can be connected is that the teachings explained in Torture Manuals used in the military center were the guide for security forces in the Hemisphere to use their creativity to meet the objectives of each non-coercive and coercive techniques described in those Manuals.

CONCLUSIONS

In this research paper, a collection of information was obtained regarding the teachings of the School of the Americas written in two Torture Manuals and they were connected to techniques of kidnapping, torture, death and disappearance of people in dictatorships of six Latin American countries. The aim of undermining these documents was to find a link that relates the School and its teachings with military dictatorships and human rights violations.

As it was seen in the development of this work, the United States was a dominant player both in the establishment of the School in Panama and in the installation of dictatorships in Latin America. Capitalism and communism were conflicting ideologies in Latin American territory that led the justification of horrendous crimes against humanity. The US intention to control the Hemisphere and export the economic system, paved the way for the development of certain teachings in order to control subversive groups. This process had a result with two Torture Manuals: *Kubark* Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual and Training Manual for the Exploitation of Human Resources

It is indisputable that School of the Americas served as an institution of training Latin American military in order to keep communism away from the region. Synonymous to this objective, the SOA used two Manuals that formally described techniques for the detention and interrogation of accused communists or subversives. These tactics included coercive and non-coercive methods to be applied in people.

Thus, some Latin American military graduates of the School and others who were supported by the US government took power in most countries of the region. With the umbrella of the national reorganization theory, various processes of systematic and widespread violence against civilians began. Although the objective was to capture and process those who must be communists, the reality was that, in most of the cases, those targeted were innocent people who did not have a political ideology.

The kidnapping, torture and death or disappearance of prisoners and people in general were daily news in the life of Latin American dictatorships. Cruel, inhuman and

degrading treatment committed in the investigated countries reaffirm once again that the dictatorial governments applied techniques that violate human rights and which still go unpunished in most cases.

For this reason, in the analysis, the techniques used to violate human rights that period met the objectives set by the Torture Manuals of The School of the Americas. Certainly, in these texts specific techniques of kidnapping, torture, death and/or disappearance are not found, but, they do establish guidelines for detention, interrogation processes and how to deal with the accused through coercive and non-coercive methods.

Every process detailed in the Manuals had an objective that was fully accomplished the violations of human rights, whichever the case was. Therefore, there is a connection between the teachings of The School of the Americas and the violations of human rights in Latin American dictatorships through the accomplishment of the fundamental purposes of these teachings even though the means to achieve them have been distorted or used arbitrarily by the security forces through torture techniques.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beltrán, Virgilio. «Intervención del Doctor Virgilio Beltrán.» Interamericanos, Programa de Estudios. *Diálogo Civil-Militar*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1997. 33-41.
- Central Intelligence Agency. *Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual*. Washington DC: National Archives, 1984.
- . *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation*. Washington DC: National Archives, 1963.
- Cockcroft, James D. *América Latina y Estados Unidos: Historia y política país por país*. Chicago: Siglo XXI Editores, 2001.
- . *Neighbors in Turmoil: Latin America*. Nueva York: Harper and Row, 1989.
- Comisión de Derechos Humanos de El Salvador. *Secuelas Psicosociales de la Tortura El Salvador*. San Salvador: Comisión de Derechos Humanos de El Salvador, 2012.
- Comisión de la Verdad para El Salvador. *De la Locura a la Esperanza: la guerra de 12 años en El Salvador*. Nueva York: Naciones Unidas, 1993.
- Comisión Nacional para la Desaparición de Personas. *Informe de la Comisión Nacional para la Desaparición de Personas "Nunca Más"*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1986.
- Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura. *Informe de la Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura*. Santiago de Chile, 2004.
- Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico. *Informe Guatemala Memoria del Silencio*. Guatemala: Oficina de Servicios para Proyectos de las Naciones Unidas, 1999.
- «Convención de las Naciones Unidas contra la Tortura y Otros Tratos o Penas Crueles, Inhumanos y Degradantes.» 1984.
- Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación. *Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación*. Santiago de Chile: Andros Impresores, 1996.
- Cueva, Agustín. «El desarrollo del capitalismo en América Latina y la cuestión del Estado.» [s.a]. *Autoritarismo y fascismo en América Latina*. Ed. René Báez y Andrés Rosero. Buenos Aires: Gallor Rojo, 2013. 17-31.
- Faguen, Patricia Weiss. «Repression and State Security.» *Fear at the edge: state terror and resistance in Latin America*. Ed. Juan E. Corradia, Patricia Weiss

- Fagen y Manuel Antonio Garretón. California: University of California Press, 1992. 39-69.
- Ferrero, María Dolores. «Violencia y represión en el ocaso de los Somoza: las condiciones carcelarias de los presos políticos.» *Historia Crítica* 39 (2009): 254-278.
- Figueroa Ibarra, Carlos. «Dictaduras, Tortura y Terror en América Latina.» *Bajo el Volcán* 2.3 (2001): 53-74.
- Garretón, Manuel Antonio. «Fear in Military Regimes: An overview.» *Fear at the edge: state terror and resistance in Latin America*. Ed. Juan E. Corradia, Patricia Weiss Fagen y Manuel Antonio Garretón. California: University of California Press, 1992. 13-25.
- Gill, Leslie. *Escuela de las Américas: Entrenamiento Militar, Violencia Política e Impunidad en las Américas*. Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones, 2005.
- Herrera, Genaro Arriagada. «The Legal and Institutional Framework of the Armed Forces in Chile.» *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Oppositions*. Ed. Samuel Valenzuela y Arturo Valenzuela. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. 117-143.
- Instituto de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Centroamericana "José Simeón Cañas". *El Salvador: Verdad, Justicia y Reparación, deudas históricas con las víctimas y la sociedad*. San Salvador: Universidad Centroamericana "José Simeón Cañas", 2009.
- Lalama, Gustavo. «Roles de las Fuerzas Armadas tradicionales y nuevos.» Interamericanos, Programa de Estudios. *Diálogo Civil-Militar*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1997. 89-95.
- Lechner, Norbert. «Some People Die of Fear: Fear as a Political Problem.» *Fear at the edge: state terror and resistance in Latin America*. Ed. Juan E. Corradia, Patricia Weiss Fagen y Manuel Antonio Garretón. California: University of California Press, 1992. 26-35.
- Lissardy, Gerardo. «Un informe de EEUU dice que hubo 22.000 desaparecidos.» *El Clarín* 25 de Marzo de 2006: [s.p].
- Moncayo, Paco. «Intervención del General Paco Moncayo.» Interamericanos, Programa de Estudios. *Diálogo Civil-Militar*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1997. 43-59.

- Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. «Police and Political Crisis: The Case of Military Police.» *Vigintalism and the state in modern Latin America: essays on extralegal violence*. Ed. Martha K. Huggins. Nueva York: Praeger Publishers, 1991. 167-188.
- Poitras, Guay. *The ordeal of hegemony: the United States and Latin America*. Colorado: Westview Press Inc., 1990.
- Ponce, Javier. «Militares y diversidad en el Ecuador.» Interamericanos, Programa de Estudios. *Diálogo Civil-Militar*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1997. 79-89.
- Reyes Echandía, Alfonso. «Legislation and National Security in Latin America.» *Vigintalism and the state in modern Latin America: essays on extralegal violence*. Ed. Martha K. Huggins. Nueva York: Praeger Publishers, 1991. 145-153.
- Rial, Juan. «Makers and Guardians of Fear: Controlled Terror in Uruguay.» *Fear at the edge: state terror and resistance in Latin America*. Ed. Juan E. Corradia, Patricia Weiss Fagen y Manuel Antonio Garretón. California: University of California Press, 1992. 90-102.
- Rouquié, Alain. «Dictadores, militares y legitimidad en América Latina.» *Crítica y Utopía* 5 (1981): 11-20.
- Shweitzer, Robert. «Intervención del General Robert Shweitzer.» Interamericanos, Programa de Estudios. *Diálogo Cívico-Militar*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1997. 13-31.
- Yarzabal, Luis. «La tortura como enfermedad endémica en América Latina: sus características en Uruguay.» *Nueva Antropología* VII.28 (1985): 75-93.