

Annotated Bibliography

Table of Contents

Interview	2
Primary Sources	2
Secondary Sources	3
Images	4
Primary Sources	4
Videos	9
Primary Sources	9
Secondary Sources	13
Books	15
Primary Sources	15
Secondary Sources	18
Articles	20
Primary sources	20
Secondary Sources	30
Documents	36
Primary sources	36
Secondary sources	40
Quotes	43
Audio	44

Interview

Primary Sources

Andersen, Martin. *Telephone Interview*.

Martin Andersen, whistleblower and former investigative journalist in Argentina under Jorge Rafael Videla, discussed his views on Operation Condor. Andersen spoke considerably his disapproval of Henry Kissinger. It was extremely insightful to speak to him, and his encounters with the Argentine military helped us write our argument on the Argentine dictatorship.

Devine, Jack. *Telephone Interview*.

Jack Devine, former Director of the Latin American Division of the CIA, was a critical primary source in understanding the pro-American side of Operation Condor, as he himself was someone who had a CIA assignment in Santiago, Chile during the 1973 coup, Devine explained to us the historical context of the different Latin American governments of the time, and it helped us construct the subpages in our Historical Context section of our website.

Dinges, John. *Telephone Interview*.

John Dinges is an American journalist who specializes in Latin American affairs, and we read his analytical book *The Condor Years* prior to interviewing him. Dinges has played an important role in the uncovering of Operation Condor decades later, especially with the release of documents that show atrocities carried out in the

military governments. Dinges also helped us get an idea of what lasting effects exist today in Latin American countries as a result of Operation Condor.

Pina, Joao. *Telephone Interview*.

Portuguese photographer João Pina related the persecution of his left-wing family members in Portugal to the persecution of leftists during Operation Condor. As the author of *Condor*, Pina provided insights on the crime committed by the secret police as well as the justice that continues to be served by putting the perpetrators on trial.

Power, Margaret. *Telephone Interview*.

One of our most important primary sources was Margaret Power, a professor who lived in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship, and has written articles and books about right-wing Chile and Latin America. She was extremely resourceful, and told us a lot about Chile, such as about ‘the march of the empty pots and pans’, the conditions of the working class, and on the Chile solidarity movement, all with events that she had witnessed in Chile. Power was an amazing resource, whose anecdotes we have incorporated into various pages of our website in our content.

Secondary Sources

Kohut, David. *Telephone Interview*.

David Kohut, co-author of the *Historical Dictionary of the Dirty Wars* explained how the content of his book had to change in its second and third editions as the trials for the perpetrators of the Dirty War continued to progress decades after the conflict in Argentina, showing how justice was eventually served. Kohut's insights were important in our Lasting Effects segment of the website.

Olga, Vilella. *Telephone Interview*.

Vilella Olga, Spanish Literature professor of Saint Xavier University, was the co-author of the *Historical Dictionary of the Dirty Wars* with David Kohut. Olga provided insights on how Operation Condor impacted Latin American literature and arts and empowered Chilean and Argentine citizens to protest the juntas. This was especially useful in the Lasting Effects section regarding the Desparecidos.

Rodriguez, Nestor. *Telephone Interview*.

Dr. Rodriguez, sociology professor at the University of Texas at Austin, provided insights on the United States and its relationship with the rest of the Western Hemisphere. A point he posed was that the United States commonly refers to Canada as a neighbor while referring to the rest of Latin America as a “backyard”. This paradigm helped us when explaining the Monroe Doctrine in our Historical Context section.

Images

Primary Sources

Bill of Rights Institute. “Who Was Responsible for Starting the Cold War?” *Bill of Rights Institute*,

billofrightsinstitute.org/activities/who-was-responsible-for-starting-the-cold-war.

This is a photograph of Stalin standing with US Officials. We used this photograph as we were referencing the Cold War on our “Cold War” page of our website.

David Burnett / Press Images. *September 1973 Graves of the Executed. Photograph by David Burnett / Contact Press Images, Sept. 1973,*

archivoschile.org/2012/01/ejecuciones-chile-septiembre-diciembre-1973/.

This photograph shows graves planted in the aftermath of the 1973 mass executions carried out by the Chilean Coup, which was supposedly instigated by the CIA. We used this photograph on our website.

Devine, Jack. "What Really Happened in Chile." *Foreign Affairs*, 24 June 2021,

www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chile/2014-05-22/what-really-happened-chile.

Accessed 2 Jan. 2022.

This image depicts Pinochet reviewing troops inside the presidential palace in Santiago. We use this image on our website.

Dictators Profile. "Alberto Fujimori." *Dictators Profile*,

dictators-page.naturalrights.com/profile/Alberto_Fujimori. Accessed 3 Jan. 2022.

This image depicts Alberto Kenya Fujimori, President of Peru from July 1990 to November 2000. We use this image on our website.

Historica Profile. "Hugo Banzer." *Historica Profile*,

historica.naturalrights.com/profile/Hugo_Banzer. Accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

This is an image of Hugo Banzer, the President of Bolivia from August 1971 to July 1978. Initially, Banzar ruled as a military dictator but was later elected as a constitutional president in 1997. We used this image on our website.

Long, Gideon. "Peru's Leftwing Presidential Candidate Rattles Its Business Elite." *Financial Times*, 6 May 2021,

www.ft.com/content/f5bd2d70-d905-425d-88c9-5495521d5eb5. Accessed 19 Dec. 2021.

This is an image of Pedro Castillo, the 130th president of Peru since July of 2021.

This image captures Castillo telling voters of Peru, "Gold, silver, zinc have to be for the Peruvians... no more poor people in a rich country!" We used this image on our website.

“Patricia Erb at the General Conference - Mennonite Archival Information Database.”

Patricia Erb at the General Conference - Mennonite Archival Information Database,
<https://archives.mhsc.ca/index.php/patricia-erb-at-general-conference>.

This picture is of Patricia Erb, who spoke up about the constant injustices she faced by the Argentine regime. This picture was used for research, and for understanding.visit

TeleSUR HD. “Fidel Castro’s 1971 Visit to Salvador Allende in Chile.”

Wwww.telesurenglish.net, 1971,
www.telesurenglish.net/multimedia/Fidel-Castros-1971-Visit-to-Salvador-Allende-in-Chile-20171110-0022.html.

This photograph shows Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro's historic state visit to Chile in November 1971, where he toured the length of the country in the midst of a democratic socialist process led by Salvador Allende’s Popular Unity coalition. We used this photograph on our website.

Taiwan News. "Pinochet Indicted over Deaths." Taiwan News, 29 Nov. 2006,

www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/330595. Accessed 3 Jan. 2022.

This image depicts former dictators, Hugo Banzer Suarez of Bolivia and Augusto

Pinochet (left) of Chile as they stand in attention at a February 1975 meeting.

"Breaking News, Analysis, Politics, Blogs, News Photos, Video, Tech Reviews." TIME.com,

26 July 2007, content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1647257,00.html.

Accessed 3 Jan. 2022.

This image depicts a Cambodian officer pointing a pistol at the head of a blindfolded

Khmer Rouge suspect as he walks the suspect toward a command post for

interrogation on November 4, 1973. We used this image on our website.

Tremlett, Giles. "Operation Condor: The Cold War Conspiracy That Terrorised South

America." *The Guardian*, 3 Sept. 2020,

[www.theguardian.com/news/2020/sep/03/operation-condor-the-illegal-state-network-t](http://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/sep/03/operation-condor-the-illegal-state-network-that-terrorised-south-america)
[hat-terrorised-south-america](http://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/sep/03/operation-condor-the-illegal-state-network-that-terrorised-south-america).

This photograph shows Argentine special forces in operation in Buenos Aires in

1982. They are depicted pulling a young man into a truck, in a brutal scene. We used

this photograph on our website to show the atrocities that occurred in the Argentine

Dirty War.

Truth, Justice and Declassification: Secret Archives Show US Helped Argentine Military

Wage "Dirty War" That Killed 30,000. 1982,

[theconversation.com/truth-justice-and-declassification-secret-archives-show-us-helpe](http://theconversation.com/truth-justice-and-declassification-secret-archives-show-us-helped-argentine-military-wage-dirty-war-that-killed-30-000-115611)
[d-argentine-military-wage-dirty-war-that-killed-30-000-115611](http://theconversation.com/truth-justice-and-declassification-secret-archives-show-us-helped-argentine-military-wage-dirty-war-that-killed-30-000-115611).

This image is of men detained during anti-government demonstrations in Buenos Aires, March 30, 1982. At least 30,000 people were arrested, tortured and “disappeared” during Argentina’s 1976-1983 dictatorship, and this primary source photograph shows that. We used this image on our website.

US History Store. “Monroe Doctrine 1823.” *Store.ushistory.org*, 1823,
store.ushistory.org/products/monroe-doctrine-1823.

This is a picture of the Monroe Doctrine, which has significance in the historical context of Operation Condor. The Monroe Doctrine, presented by President James Monroe to Congress in 1823, proclaimed the United States’ opinion that European powers should no longer colonize or interfere with the sovereign nations located in the Americas. We used the picture on our website.

Yan, Euan M. "Peru's Ex-leader Fujimori Asks for Forgiveness Amid Heated Protests." CNN, 26 Dec. 2017,
www.cnn.com/2017/12/26/americas/peru-fujimori-pardon-protests/index.html.
Accessed 3 Jan. 2022.

This image depicts demonstrators as they march in Lima on Monday to protest the presidential pardon for Fujimori. We use this image on our website.

Videos

Primary Sources

BBC News. “Chilean President Piñera ‘Will Not Resign’ [Full Interview] - BBC News.”

Wwww.youtube.com, Winter 2AD, www.youtube.com/watch?v=yne-d9UW0Hw.

Accessed 31 Dec. 2021.

This is a video of a BBC News Interview with Chilean President Sebastián Piñera, in which he says that he will not resign despite the mass anti-government protests. The demonstrations were originally triggered by a rise in the price of metro fares in Santiago. This was a very insightful and helpful interview with Piñera.

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. “Jack Devine: The CIA & the

Overthrow of Allende.” *W*www.youtube.com, 26 May 2015,

www.youtube.com/watch?v=MAbbVXKIV6k.

This is an interview with Jack Devine, a retired 32-year CIA veteran who was stationed in Chile when President Salvador Allende was overthrown. In the interview, he disputes the popular notion that the Agency helped to plan the coup. This interview was very helpful in understanding the other side of the argument, and it made our research more balanced. Additionally, it gave us a good idea of Devines’ viewpoints before we interviewed him via telephone weeks later.

CGTN America. “Operation Condor: A Dark Time for Latin America.” *W*www.youtube.com,

25 Feb. 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=GRKZwInn78E.

This video gives primary footage and an overview on Operation Condor. It highlights that high-ranking officials from several South American countries gathered for a meeting in Santiago with a dark agenda. It was then that Operation Condor was launched and military dictatorships were able to swap information to hunt down political opponents. This video gave us a greater historical context and understanding of Operation Condor.

CGTN America. “Operation Condor: A Latin American Alliance That Led to Disappearances and Death.” *W*[www.youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_YEKdzjSDA), 6 Jan. 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_YEKdzjSDA.

This video has original footage from Operation Condor, and it describes Condor as a programme of imprisonment, murder, and terror that several dictatorial regimes collaborated on in the 1970s and 80s. This video helped us understand the historical context, lasting effects, and impacts of Operation Condor when conducting our initial research.

Foreign Affairs. “Jack Devine on Pinochet’s Coup.” *W*[www.youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDW2pMw7yE0), 24 June 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDW2pMw7yE0. Accessed 2021.

This video is an interview with Jack Devine, a former CIA operations officer who was stationed in Chile at the time of Operation Condor. He argues that the CIA did not plot with Chilean General Augusto Pinochet to overthrow the country’s democratically elected president, Salvadore Allende. This video was helpful because it was how we first spotted Devine, whom we later contacted via email for a telephone interview.

Investigating Operation Condor. Documentary. Amazon Prime Video, June 2003.

This documentary has original footage from Operation Condor and was very insightful and provided an introduction to Operation Condor when we were in our initial stages of research. The documentary features exclusive interviews and undisclosed recordings of major world leaders at the time.

JFK Library. “Richard Nixon on Communism and Khrushchev.” *Wwww.youtube.com*, 1960, youtu.be/86irrCY8zqo.

In this Republican 1960 campaign ad, Richard Nixon stresses the importance of showing Soviet leader Khrushchev US strength in order to promote freedom everywhere. The video is very propagandized in nature, and we understood the goals of the US against Communism with it. This video helped with our research on historical context.

Journeyman Pictures. “Investigating Operation Condor | Trailer | Available Now.”

Wwww.youtube.com, June 2003, www.youtube.com/watch?v=6bHGbA7gPec.

This was a trailer with original footage of Operation Condor. It is for the documentary “Investigating Operation Condor”, released by Journeyman Pictures. The documentary was not only helpful for our understanding of Operation Condor, but it was also instrumental in aiding our video content for the website, with primary source videos.

Journeyman Pictures. “Uncovering Pinochet’s Secret Death Camps.” *Wwww.youtube.com*, 26 May 2014, youtu.be/pfRXLjhsSy4.

This video has primary footage on revealing the truth about Chile's repression, with the murderous past under dictator general Augusto Pinochet is slowly coming under scrutiny. With new evidence of extermination camps, the families of the disappeared are yearning for justice, and that is what this video highlights. Due to the contemporary application, this video helped us on our "Lasting Effects" page of our website.

Noga, Lauren. "Argentina: The Dirty War." *W*www.youtube.com, youtu.be/79_6dtXjfwo.

This video has original footage from the Argentinian Dirty War, and it shows many of the atrocities that occurred following the Junta. The video helped us understand the brutality that was occurring throughout the war. We used some clips from the video on our website.

StepBack. "Operation Condor: Terror in South America." *W*www.youtube.com, July 2018, www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ72ANudQeQ.

This video has original footage from Operation Condor and discusses how the legacy of Operation Condor haunts South America. It talks about the programme of imprisonment, murder, and terror that several dictatorial regimes collaborated on in the 1970s and 80s. We used the information from this video to help construct our "Lasting Effects" page.

"The Bombardment of La Moneda Palace - Salvador Allende." *W*www.youtube.com, 11 Sept. 1973, youtu.be/aeO_lsYldU4.

This is an original video of the Chilean Air Force bombarding the La Moneda palace at the request of the army on September 11, 1973. Salvador Allende was in the

palace, and this was an attempt to overthrow the socialist politician. This video was insightful, and gave us an understanding of the brutal atrocities that occurred in Operation Condor.

“CIA, Chile & Allende.” *W*www.youtube.com, 1972,

www.youtube.com/watch?v=8R7MNnoYktM.

This video has original interviews from prominent figures involved in Operation Condor, and it discusses the CIA interference in Chilean national affairs in the early 70’s. The video helped us with our research, as it taught us a lot about Allende, the influence he had on the people in Chile. For example, the way he helped the poor, giving education to children who are the next generation.

Secondary Sources

AJ+. “Chile, Neoliberalism and the CIA | AJ+.” *W*www.youtube.com, 16 Sept. 2019,

www.youtube.com/watch?v=zY1Rq8issTQ.

This video talks about how Chile came to be called the “neoliberal laboratory of the world” and the role of the CIA in Chile. It was very helpful in giving primary source video footage to us, as well as giving us information on Chile to aid our research.

“How a Farm Boy Became Bolivia’s President - and Lost It All | AJ+.” *YouT*[ube](http://www.youtube.com), 13 Dec.

2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z27zAA1lQFk.

This video talks about Bolivia's first idengenuous president, Evo Morales, and how 13 years later, Morales left the country and a right-wing interim government with a

Christian fundamentalist had taken his place. This was essentially the instigation of a coup for an undemocratic regime. We used the information from this video to help us talk about Evo Morales on our website.

Al Jazeera English. "The Colony: Chile's Dark Past Uncovered | al Jazeera Correspondent."

Wwww.youtube.com, 3 Sept. 2013, youtu.be/jC4G6DToi90.

This video uncovers the role of the Nazis in Chile during Operation Condor. It takes about how a German sect in Chile become a haven for Nazi fugitives and a torture centre for the Pinochet regime. We used information from this video to add to our "American intervention in Chile" page of our website.

Jabzy. "1973 Chilean Coup | 3 Minute History." YouTube, 7 Apr. 2018,

www.youtube.com/watch?v=wffa_7ekU_M.

This video explains the 1973 Chilean Coup. It talks about how after Chile elected a socialist leader, the CIA helped start Coups which committed various atrocities on the citizens. We used information from this video to broaden our understanding of Operation Condor in Chile.

Khan Academy. "Allende and Pinochet in Chile | the 20th Century | World History | Khan

Academy." *YouTube*, 9 May 2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Um92GZLCQ_Q.

This video outlines the 1973 Allende Coup in Chile and Pinochet's Junta.

Considering that it was an educational video, it gave us a good understanding of the CIAs' instigation of a coup in Chile, which ultimately led to the bombing of the Presidential Bombing by the Chilean military.

National History Day. "What Is an Annotated Bibliography? (Overview)."

*W*www.youtube.com, 7 Oct. 2020,youtu.be/KmPYQ3fCKMA.

This video by the National History Day gives an overview of what is expected in an annotated bibliography. This was helpful to our construction of our annotated bibliography, as we were up-to-date with the current guidelines and rules.

Books

Primary Sources

Dossier Secreto: Argentina's Desaparecidos And The Myth Of The ""Dirty War"" Martin

Andersen - Account of Operation Condor in Argentina

This book was written by Martin Andersen, whom we interviewed via telephone. The book put into perspective the years of Argentina's military regime against its own citizens. The book recounts the atrocities committed by the military, and the argument that there simply was no Dirty War. This book was instrumental in framing the contextualization of our research, and it helped us prepare for our interview with Andersen.

Dinges, John. *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents*. The New Press, 2012.

This book by John Dinges investigates the ins and outs of Operation Condor, and it alludes to the secret alliance between six Latin American military dictatorships in the

1970s. This book was instrumental in shaping what Latin American countries we decided to focus on when presenting this historical event, and it also introduced us to John Dinges, who we later would interview.

Eisenhower, Dwight. *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956*. New American Library, 1965.

This autobiography of President Dwight D. Eisenhower explains his justification for invading Guatemala. This source is important because it prefaces Operation Condor and America's intervention. We used this in the Historical Context section of the website.

Marchak, M. Patricia., and William Marchak. *God's Assassins: State Terrorism in Argentina in the 1970s*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1999. Print.

In this extremely powerful book, Marchak traces Argentina's dirty war, including the history leading up to the coup in 1978, and by recounting interviews with Argentine citizens, she explores the complex factors behind the success of the junta's heinous crimes that were carried out in spite of long-standing international norms against genocide and other crimes against humanity. The interviews, though often graphic, upsetting, and depressing, are strong testaments to the terror, repression, and abuse Argentine citizens suffered during this period of history. It is a book about personal experience, coping, survival, and rebuilding a nation and its people, and it was instrumental in our understanding of the Argentinian Dirty War.

Partnoy, Alicia. *The Little School: Tales of Disappearance & Survival*. San Francisco, Calif.: Cleis, 1998. Print.

The Little School is a fictionalized account of Alicia Partnoy's experience as a disappeared person during Argentina's dirty war, and the story a glimpse into what she saw, felt, and heard during the more than three months she spent in a secret detention camp before she was moved to a state prison, where she remained for over two years. The book reveals the way in which Partnoy held on to humanity and created solidarity with the other captives, and it also implicitly defines torture as acts committed by those who physically impose pain on others. This book was helpful and intriguing as it exposes the atrocities of one of the most far reaching acts of genocide.

Timerman, Jacobo. *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number*. New York: Knopf, 1981. Print.

Jacobo Timerman, a Jewish Argentine journalist, chronicles his experience as a disappeared person during Argentina's dirty war. As founder of La Opinión, a Spanish-language daily newspaper in Buenos Aires, Timerman dared to print the truth, even though doing so meant subjecting himself to criticism from both the right and the left. In a book that is part narrative and part essay, Timerman uses his experience to stress the importance of political journalism during both times of peace as well as during periods of repression and violence. This book helped us a lot for our initial stages of research.

Secondary Sources

Cox, David, and Robert John Cox. *Dirty Secrets, Dirty War: Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1976-1983 : the Exile of Editor Robert J. Cox*. Charleston, S.C.: Evening Post Pub. with Juggling Board, 2008. Print.

The book tells of the price the author, David Cox and his family paid due to his commitment to truthful reporting, and the author himself felt so pained when writing the book. As editor of the Buenos Aires Herald, he continued printing information regarding disappearances, even though doing so was strictly censored by the Argentine government, and his actions eventually caused the forced exile of his family. The book also explores Cox's role as a British citizen living in Argentina during the country's most infamous period of history, and it was really instrumental in our research.

Genna, Gaspare M. *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles: The United States and Latin America Since 1945*. Political Science Quarterly, vol. 122, no. 2, summer 2007, pp. 345+. Gale Academic OneFile, link.gale.com/apps/doc/A166199405/AONE?u=anon~f946bf0f&sid=googleScholar&xid=b00574ef. Accessed 30 Nov. 2021.

This book includes a comprehensive history of the interdependence and cultural ties formed between Latin America and the United States.

Grandin, Greg. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. New York: Owl Books, 2007. Print.

This book by Greg Grandin, a professor at Yale, talks about the U.S Foreign policy in South America and how it mirrors Imperialistic policies in Europe. Essentially, Grandin talks about how the U.S. pursues their own interests in South America and how all of their intervention really serves for their own material interests, and how they often sacrifice the conditions of people who live there for selfish reasons. This book really helped us understand how U.S. intervention related to the policy of imperialism.

McSherry, Joan Patrice. *Brazil: The Hegemonic Process in Political and Cultural Formation*. Sage, 2002, www.jstor.org/stable/3185071.

This publication by J. Patrice McSherry, an associate professor of political science at Long Island University. Here, she explains how Operation Condor was not institutionalized until 1975, but political repression prior still very much pervaded. We used this in our historical context in Argentina to argue that the Peronists were already perpetrators of political repression.

Winchester, Simon. *Prison Diary, Argentina*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1983. Print.

This book talks about Simon Winchester, a British reporter and writer for the Sunday Times, who was on the Malvinas Islands when General Videla's forces invaded. Accused of spying for the British army, he was captured by the junta and imprisoned, and the book is a collection Winchester's diary entries as well as letters he received while in prison, captures both mundane prison life – boredom, fatigue, hunger – and the omnipresent feeling of terror. The book was very helpful in understanding the atrocities committed during Operation Condor.

Articles

Primary sources

Andersen, Martin Edwin. “How Much Did the US Know about the Kidnapping, Torture, and Murder of over 20,000 People in Argentina?”

Www.thenation.com, 4 Mar. 2016,

www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-much-did-the-us-know-about-the-kidnapping-torture-and-murder-of-over-20000-people-in-argentina/.

This article discusses the US’ knowledge in the Dirty War, essentially a campaign to wipe out left-wing opponents in Latin America. The article especially discusses Henry Kissinger's role in the deadly war. This article helped us add to our “American Involvement in Chile” page of our website.

Archivos Chile. “Ejecuciones En Chile Septiembre-Diciembre 1973: El Circuito Burocrático de La Muerte | Archivos Chile.” *ArchivosChile.org*, 2012,

archivoschile.org/2012/01/ejecuciones-chile-septiembre-diciembre-1973/.

This article by the Archives of Chile is on the 1973 Chilean coup d’état, in which mass executions were carried out by the Chilean Coup in Chile. Additionally, the database includes accurate data of the total amounts of deaths and atrocities carried out. This website was useful in aiding our research.

Devine, Jack. "What Really Happened in Chile." *Foreign Affairs*, Foreign Affairs Magazine, 18 June 2014,

www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chile/2014-05-22/what-really-happened-chile.

This article by Jack Devine shares the viewpoint that the CIA did not plot with the Chilean military to overthrow current Chilean President Allende, who was democratically elected. The article intrigued us as we were looking to get a balanced viewpoint of Operation Condor and the involvement of both sides.

Erb, Patricia. "[Patricia Erb's] Statement, December 31, 1976." *[Patricia Erb's] Statement, December 31, 1976*. | *National Security Archive*,

<https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/19316-national-security-archive-doc-14-patricia-erb-s>.

This government document talks about Patricia Erb, a 19-year-old American Citizen, getting tortured in Argentina under the oppressive regime. The source talked about how she was abducted, and the various torture devices she was forced to face. This document helped us analyze the effect of Operation Condor in Argentina.

Icontherecord. "IC on the RECORD." *Direct Access to Factual Information Related to the Lawful Foreign Surveillance Activities of the U.S. Intelligence Community. Created at the Direction of the President of the United States And...*, 10 Aug. 2021,

icontherecord.tumblr.com/. This article discusses release of the 21st Joint Assessment of Section 702 Compliance, which essentially highlights some traces of US intervention in Latin America. This article helped with our initial research.

Issuu. "THE COUNTER-PUBLIC SPHERE in the CONDOR YEARS." *Issuu*,

issuu.com/islaa/docs/counter_public_sphere_final_lores_oc/s/11088960. Accessed 2 Jan. 2022. This article has information on U.S. Political intervention in the politics of Latin America. The U.S. caused significant changes in the political structure and resulted in the instigation of attacks against left-leaning people. This article helped us with our "American intervention in Chile page.

Kornbluh, Peter. "Brazil Truth Commission Releases Report." *UNREDACTED*, 10 Dec.

2014, unredacted.com/2014/12/10/brazil-truth-commission-releases-report/.

This article is based on a report released on International Human Rights Day, and it names hundreds of perpetrators. It was stated the Obama Administration was a main cause of the declassification of hundreds of secret U.S. records for report follow-up.

We used information from this article on our "lasting effects" page of our website.

Kornbluh, Peter. "Pinochet's Secret Envoy to Kissinger: Contreras." *UNREDACTED*, 22 Dec. 2015,

unredacted.com/2015/12/22/pinochets-secret-envoy-to-kissinger-contreras/. This article talks about secret CIA Funding for Christian Democrats, The Horman Case, and other aspects of Operation Condor. This article gave us a good understanding of US political goals in Latin America. We used information from this article on our website.

Miranda, Benjamín, and Nicolás Sepúlveda. "CIPER Chile." *CIPER Chile: Current*

Intelligence Director General Was in Charge of Monitoring Student Leaders Who Now Arrive at La Moneda SECRET FILES of CARABINEROS: FILES on BORIC,

VALLEJO, JACKSON and THEIR ORGANIZATIONS Current Intelligence Director General Was in Charge of Monitoring Student Leaders Who Now Arrive at La Moneda, 4 Jan. 2022, www.ciperchile.cl/.

This article talks about how General Lopresti (Carabineros Intelligence Director) was one of the officers in charge of launching the monitoring and reporting on the student leaders who will now make up the central core of the government. Leaked Carabineros documents show how the police infiltrated the student movement, recruiting informants from students and university officials. This article was sent to us by John Dinges, whom we had interviewed. We used information from this article to form our “Lasting Effects” page of our website.

Nast, Condé. “Obama’s Bittersweet Visit to Argentina.” *The New Yorker*, 23 Mar. 2016, www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/obamas-bittersweet-visit-to-argentina.

This article discusses how Obamas’ visit to Argentina in 2016 was a part of a greater move toward transparency in examining the involvement of the U.S. in the country’s Dirty War. This article examined Operation Condor from a contemporary point of view. We used this article to help us on our “Lasting Effects” page of our website.

National Security Archive. “Chile and Operation Condor.” *Nsarchive2.Gwu.edu*, 10 June 2004, nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB125/index.htm.

These documents uncover many of the atrocities encountered in Operation Condor. Additionally, these Condor documents indicate 1976 terrorist attack in Washington might have been prevented. We used the information from these documents on our website.

National Security Archive. "Obama Declassification Holds Promise of Uncovering New

Evidence on Argentina's Dirty War | National Security Archive." *Nsarchive.gwu.edu*,

26 Mar. 2016,

nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/southern-cone/2016-03-23/obama-declassification-holds-promise-uncovering-new-evidence-argentinas-dirty-war.

This website provided a variety of detailed human rights abuses and U.S.

policymaking in Latin America. This report was released as a result of the Obama

administration's attempts of uncovering the dirty war in Argentina, from decades ago.

The website was extremely helpful for our research, and it compiled official documents on the dirty war.

National Security Archive. "Operation Condor." *Nsarchive2.Gwu.edu*, 6 Mar. 2001,

nsarchive2.gwu.edu/news/20010306/.

This article by the National Security Archive showcases multiple documents that

prove the U.S.' instigation on political turmoil and change in Latin America. We used

many of these documents to get a better understanding of both sides to the Operation.

We used information from this website on our "American intervention" page of our website.

Office of the Historian. "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume E–11,

Part 2, Documents on South America, 1973–1976 - Office of the Historian."

History.state.gov, 1976,

history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76vol11p2/d358.

This is a telegram from the Embassy in Uruguay to the US Department of State. The subject of the telegram is Operation Condor, and it discusses intervention. We read this transcript as part of our research.

Padgett, Tim. "December 12th, 2016 | Vol. 188, No. 24 | U.S." *TIME.com*, 26 Feb. 2016, time.com/magazine/us/4587715/december-12th-2016-vol-188-no-24-u-s/.

This article discusses the life of Fidel Castro. It was intriguing to gain insight on Castro's impact in Latin America, especially with his contrast with the US' strategies.

This article helped us understand the context of Operation Condor.

Pina, João. "Operation Condor: How Latin America Is Dealing with the Consequences of Political Repressions." *Bird in Flight*, 8 Aug. 2016, birdinflight.com/inspiration/project/20160808-operation-condor-joao-pina.html.

This article talks about the perspective of Latin American people who suffered from political repressions in Latin America. Moreover, the article discusses how all crimes were committed with the justification that leftist militants were being hunted down, but the majority of victims had nothing to do with any kind of armed opposition. This article helped us add to our "American Intervention in Chile" page of our website.

Posner, Paul W. "Chile's Political Crisis Is Another Brutal Legacy of Long-Dead Dictator Pinochet." *The Conversation*, 12 Nov. 2019, theconversation.com/chiles-political-crisis-is-another-brutal-legacy-of-long-dead-dictator-pinochet-126305.

This article talks about how contemporary political and economic issues in Chile are the result of Pinochet leadership during Operation Condor. It was very intriguing and

helpful to get an understanding of just how much of an impact Operation Condor had on Chile. We used information from this article to add to our “Lasting Effects” page of our website.

Pressenza. “Isabel Perón Arrested over Accusations of Human Rights Abuses.” *The*

Guardian, 13 Jan. 2007,

www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jan/13/argentina.rorycarroll.

Accessed 16 Nov. 2021.

This article talks about how Isabel Perón, the former Argentine president and widow of the caudillo Juan Perón, was arrested in 2007 for Human Rights Abuses. She was accused of having links to rightwing death squads which abducted and murdered leftwing activists during her 1974-76 rule, a chaotic period ending with a coup which ousted her and ushered in a dictatorship. We used information from this article to add to our “Lasting Effects” page of our website.

Quezada, Hernan C. “The Carlos Prats Case: An Historic Trial.” *Memoria y Justicia - in*

Focus- the Carlos Prats Case,

https://www.memoriayjusticia.cl/english/en_focus-carlosprats.htm.

This article discusses the case of General Carlos Prats and the car bombing that ended up killing him. The article also goes into Augusto Pinochet's role in Chile, and the injustices that happened in the country under his regime. This article helped out with research and with the page "American Intervention in Chile".

RSF. “Operation Condor’s Lasting Impact on Latin America’s Media | Reporters without Borders.” *RSF*, 12 Sept. 2013,

rsf.org/en/news/operation-condors-lasting-impact-latin-americas-media. Accessed 2021.

This article talks about the lasting impacts of Operation Condor on the media outlets of Latin America. It was very intriguing to get a greater understanding of how the portrayal of Latin American governments would change in the eyes of the public following Operation Condor. We used information from this article to add to our “Lasting Effects” page of our website.

Santiago, Associated Press in. “Chilean Court Links US Intelligence to 1973 Killings of Two Americans.” *The Guardian*, 1 July 2014,

www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/01/chile-us-intelligence-1973-killings-americans.

This article talks about how US intelligence had played a role in the torture and killing of two socialist Americans in their visit to Chile. This article was very intriguing, and we wrote about this directly in our “Archives of Transnational Repression” gallery page.

Slack, Keith M. “Operation Condor and Human Rights: A Report from Paraguay’s Archive of Terror.” *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1996, pp. 492–506,

www.jstor.org/stable/762513.

This journal article is on a report from Paraguay’s Archive of Terror, and it discusses Operation Condor and Human Rights. The Archives of Terror are a collection of

documents chronicling some of the illicit activities undertaken by Alfredo Stroessner's secret police force. This report was especially helpful in understanding some of the atrocities committed during Operation Condor.

Swinden, Silvia. "Henry Kissinger Encouraged Mass Killings in Argentina." *Pressenza*, 10 Aug. 2016,

www.google.com/url?q=www.pressenza.com/2016/08/henry-kissinger-encouraged-mass-killings-argentina/&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1640980921770476&usg=AOvVaw22WySZEvSJtCI8Szz_OH3g.

Accessed 2021.

This article talks about how Former United States Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger played a role in the instigation of Operation Condor in Argentina. Henry Kissinger is commonly praised as someone who contributed greatly to the United States, but this article highlights how he played a deadly role in South America. This article connected us with Jack Devine, whom we had a telephone interview with, as he strongly believed Kissinger was guilty of war crimes.

teleSUR HD. "Soviet Influences in Latin America That You May Not Know."

Wwww.telesurenglish.net, 8 Oct. 2017,

www.telesurenglish.net/news/Soviet-Influences-in-Latin-America-That-You-May-Not-Know-20171023-0008.html.

This article talks about how the relationship between the Soviet Union and Latin America was very profound, complex and full of solidarity. The article mentions Soviet influence on Mariategui and other intellectuals, practical support for

revolutions and revolutionaries, and Mutual support of art and culture. The article helped us understand the similarities between the Soviet and American influences, and the repercussions that followed.

The White House: Barack Obama. "FACT SHEET: Argentina Declassification Project."

Whitehouse.gov, 12 Dec. 2016,

obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/12/12/fact-sheet-argentina-declassification-project.

This article from The White House releases various information regarding Argentina's Dirty War, following former US President Obama's planned efforts to declassify Argentina's Dirty War. This shows that even after the Dirty War, there are efforts being made to uncover the atrocities of the war. This helped us with our "Lasting Effects" page.

Touraine, Alain. "Www.unesco.org." *DEMOCRACY IN THE LIGHT OF DICTATORSHIP*,

Unesco, Aug. 2000, http://www.unesco.org/courier/2000_07/uk/dires.htm/.

This article talks about the link between Pinochet/Chile and the rest of the country, and how the Operation took place on an international scale. It also talked about how the operation's scale was very large, and how much coverup was involved. This article furthered our understanding about the scale of the operation and its impacts.

Tutorialspoint. "HTML Tutorial - Tutorialspoint."

Tutorialspoint.com, 2012,

www.tutorialspoint.com/html/index.htm.

This website gave a very in-depth guide on how to design websites in an aesthetic yet simple form. This helped us in our initial implementation of video clips onto our website.

Secondary Sources

Andersen, Martin E. "How Much Did the US Know About the Kidnapping, Torture, and Murder of Over 20,000 People in Argentina?" *The Nation*, 4 Mar. 2016, www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-much-did-the-us-know-about-the-kidnapping-torture-and-murder-of-over-20000-people-in-argentina/. Accessed 22 Nov. 2021.

This article elucidates into the US' involvement in Operation Condor: the author believes that the work of Carter, Derian, Hill, and other US presidents who fight the Kissinger legacy to ask for forgiveness for US' involvement. This first-hand account provides an emotional appeal as to how Operation Condor affected the individual lives of Latin America.

Archivos Chile. "Mapa Interactivo de Las Ejecuciones Masivas de 1973 | Archivos Chile." *ArchivosChile.org*, 11 June 2012, archivoschile.org/2012/01/mapa-interactivo/.

This website contains an interactive map of the 1973 mass executions carried out by the military coup in Chile against the government of President Salvador Allende. The database has a total of 1898 cases, with people murdered being classified by the

approximate area in which they were murdered. This website gave us a better idea of the scope and magnitude of the brutal atrocities committed by the Chilean Coups on the people of Chile.

Biography. "Salvador Allende." Biography, 15 Jan. 2016,

www.biography.com/political-figure/salvador-allende.

This article includes quotes, facts, and a summary of former Chilean President Salvador Allende, who co-founded Chile's Socialist Party. When researching Operation Condor in Chile, we used this article to understand the significance and context of Allende's presidency. This article helped us with our "American Intervention In Chile" page of our website.

Carroll, Rory. "Isabel Perón Arrested over Accusations of Human Rights Abuses." *The Guardian*, 13 Jan. 2007,

www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jan/13/argentina.rorycarroll. Accessed 2 Nov. 2021.

This article talks about how Isabel Perón, former Argentinian president during one of its most tumultuous political eras in history, was arrested after her home country launched an investigation into alleged human rights abuses during her presidency in the 1970s. This information was helpful when describing the final moments of Isabel Perón's presidency in Argentina.

DeYoung, Karen. "Newly Declassified Papers Reveal U.S. Tensions Regarding Argentina's 'Dirty War.'" *Washington Post*, 8 Aug. 2016,

www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/newly-declassified-papers-reveal-

us-tensions-regarding-argentinas-dirty-war/2016/08/08/4227fbee-5db1-11e6-af8e-54aa2e849447_story.html.

This article discusses how The Obama administration released more than 1,000 pages of newly declassified documents relating to U.S. policy toward Argentina's "dirty war". The documents reveal U.S. eagerness to push human rights as Carter's signature foreign policy issue, and concerns about cutting off aid with Argentine' junta. This article helped us with our "Lasting Effects" page of our website.

Dube, Ryan. "Obama Honors Victims of Junta during Visit to Argentina." *WSJ*, The Wall Street Journal, 23 Mar. 2016,

www.wsj.com/articles/obama-honors-victims-of-junta-during-visit-to-argentina-1458725401?cb=logged0.20068836097754228
www.wsj.com/articles/obama-honors-victims-o-junta-during-visit-to-argentina-1458725401?cb=logged0.20068836097754228.

This article talks about former President Obama's empathy for the victims of the Dirty War in Argentina. It was very intriguing to see that although the United States allegedly had a role in instigating the Dirty War, contemporary leaders of the US such as Obama showed empathy for the atrocities. We used information from this article on our "Lasting Effects" page of our website.

EBSCO. "Home Page | EBSCO." *EBSCO Information Services, Inc.* | *W*www.ebsco.com, 2000, www.ebsco.com/.

EBSCO was an integral database to accessing resources for our research, and we were able to access many primary source documents and articles through this medium.

Especially for our initial stages of research, EBSCO was helpful as it gave us a better understanding of Operation Condor and the historical situation surrounding it.

Harper, Lauren. "Condor Verdict In, FOIA Requests to the FCC Just Got More Difficult, and More: FRINFORMSUM 1/19/2017." *UNREDACTED*, 19 Jan. 2017, unredacted.com/2017/01/19/condor-verdict-in-foia-requests-to-the-fcc-just-got-more-difficult-and-more-frinformsum-1192017/. Accessed 30 Jan. 2022.

This article elucidates the National Security Archive providing declassified evidence to the tribunal in Rome, Italy, that sentenced two former heads of state and two ex-chiefs of security forces from Bolivia and Peru, as well as a former Uruguayan foreign minister to life imprisonment for their involvement in Operation Condor.

This article was pivotal in providing evidence that actual transnational repression occurred.

Horman, Joyce. "Justice for Charles Horman – and the Truth about the US and Chile's Coup | Joyce Horman." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 11 Sept. 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/sep/11/justice-charles-horman-us-chile-coup>.

This article discusses the murder of Charles Horman, an American Journalist, who was seen as a political opponent of the Pinochet regime. This article talks about how the U.S government did not help find justice for the man and allowed Chile to do as they please. This helped us with the "American Intervention in Chile" page.

Independent. "The Case for Henry Kissinger." *The Independent*, 17 Aug. 2009,
www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/the-case-for-henry-kissinger-1773365.html.

This article discusses how Henry Kissinger is viewed as a war-criminal by Leftists, and how he is justified by conservatives as someone who fought Communism in Latin America. Following our telephone interview with Jack Devine, we read this article as he spoke on the war crimes committed by Henry Kissinger. This article helped us with our "American intervention in Chile" page of our website.

"Operation Condor's Lasting Impact on Latin America's Media | Reporters Without Borders." RSF, 20 Jan. 2016,
rsf.org/en/news/operation-condors-lasting-impact-latin-americas-media. Accessed 7 Nov. 2021.

This article talks about the lasting effects of Operation Condor on media in Latin America. This article emphasizes the negative consequences that Latin American countries, especially Argentina, has faced due to the political repression that occurred during Operation Condor. This information was helpful in understanding how even forty years after the Chilean military coup of September 1973, Latin America's media and conscience still haunted the memories of Operation Condor.

Posner, Paul W. "Chile's Political Crisis is Another Brutal Legacy of Long-dead Dictator Pinochet." *The Conversation*, 18 Nov. 2019,
[theconversation.com/chiles-political-crisis-is-another-brutal-legacy-of-long-dead-dic](http://theconversation.com/chiles-political-crisis-is-another-brutal-legacy-of-long-dead-dictator-pinochet)

tator-pinochet-126305.

Accessed 14 Nov. 2021.

This article mentions that Chilean President Sebastian Piñera finally relented to popular demands to rewrite the Chilean Constitution. The protestors claim to fight for a new constitution to address the social and economic inequities that are rampant in Chile. We use this information to dissect the effects and dissatisfaction that Operation Condor had on Latin American society today.

Swinden, Silvia. "Henry Kissinger Encouraged Mass Killings in Argentina." *Pressenza*, 11

Aug. 2016,

www.pressenza.com/2016/08/henry-kissinger-encouraged-mass-killings-argentina/.

Accessed 19 Nov. 2021.

This article outlines how the newly declassified state department files regarding Henry Kissinger's close relationship to Argentina's military rulers during Jimmy Carter's 1977-81 presidency. This article revealed that there was much evidence to suggest the US's and CIA's involvement in Operation Condor.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Dirty War | Definition, History, & Facts."

Encyclopædia Britannica, 2019, www.britannica.com/event/Dirty-War.

This article includes a summary of the Dirty War in Argentina and the multitude of atrocities and crimes that were committed during it. It also discusses Videla's presidency and his role in perpetuating mass murders. This article was very useful in our research, and it mainly helped us gain interest in the topic.

Documents

Primary sources

Allende, Salvador. *Final Speech*. Chilean Coup d'état.

This is a transcript of the final speech of President Salvador Allende before his death in the La Moneda Palace in 1973. The speech conveys Allende's Marxist rhetoric but also rationally foretells the fate of the Pinochet regime by including moral reconciliation over the impending loss of Chilean liberty. However, this source is definitely limited by time and political beliefs. We used this speech as a medium to better understand the Allende rhetoric.

Amnesty International. "Archives of Terror, Paraguay | Amnesty International | Kansas State University, Chapter 254." www.k-state.edu, www.k-state.edu/amnestyintl/cdya.html. This website has a digital breakdown of the Archives of Terror, which are essentially documents that list atrocities committed by Latin American militarities against civilians. The archives of terror prove the existence of Operation Condor and give scope to just how brutal Operation Condor was. We additionally used the pictures from this database on our website.

Kornbluh, Peter. "Documentos Desclasificados Muestran a Contreras Como Emisario Secreto De Pinochet Para Kissinger." CIPER Chile, 7 Jan. 2016, www.ciperchile.cl/2015/12/23/documentos-desclasificados-muestran-a-contreras-com-o-emisario-secreto-de-pinochet-para-kissinger/. Accessed 19 Jan. 2022.

This is an article of the declassified documents which show Contreras as a secret emissary from Pinochet to Kissinger. We used this document to shed light on the role the United States played in the first years of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Leonov, Nikolai. *Soviet Intelligence in Latin America during the Cold War*. Lecture to the Centro de Estudios Públicos.

This is a transcript of a lecture delivered by Nikolai Leonov, he gives his account as a KGB member who dealt with Chile. In this, he states that the USSR did not have a great incentive to influence Chile, and for this, we used this in our analysis to show that the fear of a unified communist front in Latin America was unjustified.

National Security Archive. 1 Apr. 1977,

nsarchive.gwu.edu/sites/default/files/documents/2775852/Document-5-Notes-from-U-S-State-Department-Human.pdf.

These notes describe what Coordinator of Human Rights Patricia Derian has discovered about the Junta's repressive measures in Latin America. She talks about the atrocities committed on the people by the military in great detail. This document helped us add to our "who was the good guy" page of our website.

National Security Archive.

nsarchive.gwu.edu/sites/default/files/documents/2774835/Document-2-Staff-Meeting-Transcripts-Secretary.pdf.

This document shows evidence of former Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Assistant Secretary for Latin America William Rogers showing interest in involving the US in the military-run governments of Latin America. This document

is crucial, as it essentially validates the US role in Operation Condor. We used information from this document in our research, in validating our claims.

National Security Archive. *RENDITION in the SOUTHERN CONE: OPERATION CONDOR DOCUMENTS REVEALED from PARAGUAYAN "ARCHIVE of TERROR*
nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB239d/index.htm.

The archives of terror were discovered by a judge in Paraguay in 1992 and were essentially a collection of documents that accounted for tens of thousands of the victims of Latin American governments in cooperation with the United States through Operation Condor; the documents weighed over 4 tons, and this is the digital version. These documents recorded that there were 50,000 people murdered, 30,000 people disappeared and 400,000 people imprisoned. These documents helped us get an idea of the extreme brutality faced by civilians in Operation Condor, and we used screenshots from the document on our website when discussing Operation Condor.

National Security Archive Electronic Briefing. "The Pinochet File." *Nsarchive2.Gwu.edu*,
nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB110/index.htm.

This digital documentation from the National Archives contains information on declassified Henry Kissinger transcripts that reveal strong support for Pinochet's regime following Chilean Coups. This website also contains numerous audio files of documents, many of which we used for research.

National Security Archive. "FBI Cable, [Capture of Chilean MIR Member Jorge Isaac Fuentes Alarcon, AKA Ariel Nodarse Ledesma], Secret." FBI, 5 June 1975.

This document from the National Security Archive reports on the capture of Asuncion of Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) member Jorge Isaac Fuentes Alarcon, who was using a false Costa Rican passport. The MIR is a left wing Chilean organization that revolted against Chilean coups (which were reportedly instigated by the CIA) at the time. This document was obtained by Martin Edwin Andersen (whom we had interviewed) from the FBI, and it was donated to the National Security Archive. The document shows that the US was cracking down on members of leftist Chilean organizations.

National Security Archive. *Latin American Trends ! I I I ' Seeret IS!) APPROVED for RELEASE*. 1976.

This CIA “Staff Notes” on Latin America reports that Argentine security forces captured Patricio Biedma and Mario Espinosa; Biedma was the delegate to the Junta Coordinadora Revolucionaria (JCR) for the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR). This document helped show us the inquisition that was taken up by Latin American Coups against revolutionary left wing movements. We used the information from this document in our website.

National Security Archive. Special Operations Forces [Secret/NoForn Intelligence Information Report]

nsarchive.gwu.edu/sites/default/files/documents/2775851/Document-4-Special-Operations-Forces-Secret.pdf.

This report from the DIA provides information on a joint counterinsurgency operation by Southern Cone countries, which is now known as Operation Condor. Additionally,

it reveals the tone of US Intelligence on the revolutionaries as it states, “Operation Condor is the code name given for intelligence collection on leftists, communists and Marxists in the Southern Cone Area.” We used information from this website for our “American Intervention in Chile” page of our website.

Walters, Vernon. *Conversation with Colonel Juan Contreras, Chief of the Chilean Intelligence Service*. Crime and Social Justice Associates, 7 Jan. 1975. This is a memorandum to Henry Kissinger asking him for military supplies for Chile. It also references the recognition of human rights in Chile, but this is perhaps a method to downplay the repression under the Pinochet regime. However, this shows how the US supplied the Chilean military equipment regardless of its end use.

Secondary sources

Andersen, Martin. *Argentine Police and the “Dirty War”: A Study of What Not to Do, and When Not to Do It*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

This opinion column is an analysis of the policing policy of Argentina during the Videla regime. This shows how the civilian police were controlled by the military when instigating the Dirty War. We used this to explain how Argentina became known for the Desparecidos.

Andersen, Martin. *Crypto Cover-Ups: The Real History of U.S. Ties to Central American Military Dictators Has yet to Be Written*. Academia, 2020,
www.academia.edu/44485170/Crypto_Cover_Ups_The_Real_History_of_U_S_ties_to_Central_American_Military_Dictators_Has_Yet_to_be_Written.

Martin Edwin Andersen, a former journalist in Argentina, recommended to us his report on the cover-ups used in Operation Condor that still lie under classified status in Brazil and the Southern Cone nations. We used this in our research on the background of the subject to understand what is still known about Condor as a basis for the further exploration of documents.

Faculty Chass. "Argentina's Dirty War." *Faculty.chass.ncsu.edu*, 1999,
faculty.chass.ncsu.edu/slatta/hi216/documents/dirtywar2.htm.

This is the transcript of a firsthand account of the aftermath of the "Dirty War" in Argentina. In elaborate detail, it discusses the atrocities committed in Argentina and it contains an epilog of where the perpetrators are today. This transcript helped us with our "Lasting Effects" page of our website.

Patrice McSherry, Jean. *Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor*. Sage, 2002.

This writing is essentially a synopsis of Operation Condor with a focus on its origins. It especially talks about how Operation Condor was an institutionalized formal system to coordinate repression in various Latin American countries throughout the 1970s, and how it stopped following the fall of the Berlin Wall. The information in this document helped us with our "Archives of National Repression" page on our website.

Patrice McSherry, Jean. "Operation Condor: Clandestine Inter-American System." Arizona State University,

www.public.asu.edu/~idcmt/terror.pdf.

Accessed 16 Jan. 2022.

This article elucidates the role that Pinochet's arrest played in the Dirty Wars during the Cold War era. We used this report to learn about Pinochet's legacy in Argentina and clarify the specific actions he took to reduce opposition. This document is an analysis of the state-sponsored terrorism in Operation Condor, and we used it to understand how the United States was involved. This also explains how the US Embassy in Operation Condor was aware of the political repression. We used this to justify the premise that the US was in fact involved regardless of the CIA declassified documents.

Steffan, Emily. "Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange." *University of Tennessee*, https://trace.tennessee.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=2235&context=utk_chanhonoproj. This document talks about the two-faced approach the U.S employed when dealing with countries in Latin America. It talks about how America allows for human rights violations to happen, as long as it supports their interests. This article helped us understand America's actions and reasoning for being involved.

Whitaker, Georgia C. *Reconsidering Operation Condor: Cross-border Military Cooperation and the Defeat of the Transnational Left in Chile and Argentina during the 1970s*. 2014. Bowdoin College , MA thesis.

digitalcommons.bowdoin.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=honorsprojects.

This dissertation elucidates on how the left-wing dictatorship of Allende in Chile was overthrown by a CIA-backed coup. We used this article to further clarify the US involvement in the propping of right-wing dictatorships in Latin America.

Quotes

Primary Sources

Mochkofsky, Graciela. "Henry Kissinger Will Not Apologize." *The Atlantic*, 15 Nov. 2016, www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/11/kissinger-obama-mea-culpa-argentina-cold-war/507749/.

This article contains information on the former secretary of state, Henry Kissinger and how he seems untroubled by his actions across Latin America during the Cold War. It includes quotes on his view of his actions, and we used these quotes on our website.

AZ Quotes. "TOP 20 QUOTES by SALVADOR ALLENDE." *A-Z Quotes*, www.azquotes.com/author/31168-Salvador_Allende. Accessed 2022.

This website includes many quotes by Salvador Allende, a former President of Chile until he was overthrown by a military coup in 1973 led by General Augusto Pinochet. Allende had a very different outlook and role in the government of Chile than

Pinochet, and these quotes helped us understand his viewpoints. We used these quotes for research, and on our website.

Audio

Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation, Secretary's Meeting with Foreign Minister Carvajal, September 29, 1975.

This transcript records a meeting between Secretary Kissinger and Pinochet's foreign minister following Chile's decision to cancel a visit by the United Nations Human Rights Commission investigating human rights crimes. Kissinger tells Carvajal that condemnation of the Pinochet regime's human rights record is "a total injustice," but that "somewhat visible" efforts by the regime to alleviate the situation would be useful in changing Congressional attitudes. This audio helped us understand the motives of the CIA behind Operation Condor.

Department of State, SECRET, "the Secretary's 8:00 A.m. Regional Staff Meeting,"

December 3, 1974.

At this staff meeting, Secretary Kissinger spends considerable time discussing Congressional efforts to restrict U.S. military assistance to the Pinochet regime. The transcript records Kissinger's vehement opposition to such legislative initiatives, on the grounds that they are unfair to the Chilean military government, could lead to its

collapse, and set a dangerous precedent for cutting assistance to other unsavory governments the Ford Administration is supporting.

Department of State, SECRET, “the Secretary’s Principals and Regionals Staff Meeting,”

December 20, 1974.

At this staff meeting, the discussion of the State Department’s response to Senator Kennedy’s efforts to curtail assistance continues. Kissinger tells his staff that he won’t tolerate concessions to Congress on human rights and again expresses concern that the Pinochet regime will collapse. This audio was very helpful in understanding the actions taken by the United States on Chilean Coups.

Department of State, SECRET, “the Secretary’s Regionals and Principals’ Staff Meeting,”

December 23, 1974.

During this meeting, Kissinger again presses his staff to resist efforts by Congress to encroach on executive branch prerogatives and curtail assistance to the Pinochet regime. He calls cutting military aid to Chile “insane.” Kissinger argues that if Congress is able to curtail assistance to Chile, it will move to cut aid to other countries like South Korea and Turkey. The audio of this meeting was very helpful in getting an understanding of the United States instigation of the military in the U.S.

Department of State, SECRET/NODIS, “Secretary’s Staff Meeting, October 1, 1973.”

At the first staff meeting following Henry Kissinger’s confirmation as Secretary of State, Chile is a key topic. In this transcript, Assistant Secretary for Latin America, Jack Kubisch, comes to the meeting from Capitol Hill and reports that legislators are peppering him with questions about massive atrocities by the new military regime in

Chile. This meeting was highly insightful, and helped us understand the historical context of Operation Condor.

Department of State, SECRET/NODIS, "Secretary's Staff Meeting, October 2, 1973."

In this meeting, Assistant Secretary Jack Kubisch asks Secretary Kissinger if Pinochet's new foreign minister should be invited to an upcoming diplomatic luncheon in New York City with other Latin American ministers. Kissinger, approvingly mentions that all recorded in the meeting will be sent straight to Argentina. This meeting helped understand the foreign relations at the time between Latin America and the US.

Kellemen, Michelle. *Despite the Awkward Timing, Argentina Welcomes Obama*.

This audio report by NPR details efforts by Obama to reveal evidence of the Dirty War in Argentina. Despite the United States having a role in the Dirty War, Obama promised justice and held the US accountable for whatever actions it had taken. We used information from this news report on our website.

Smith, Jackson. "Typewriter Sound Effect." *W*www.youtube.com, 15 Jan. 2014, youtu.be/VP2WctM2tzU.

This is an audio of a typewriter sound effect. We used this audio in one of our self-created videos that is on our website.

White House Audio Tape, President Richard M. Nixon and White House Press Secretary Ron Zeigler, March 23, 1972.

In this White House tape, President Nixon is recorded speaking by phone to his White House press secretary, Ron Zeigler about damage control efforts on the first major

covert operations scandal of the 1970s-the ITT papers on Chile. Zeigler tells the president that the key issue was an ITT memo that stated that in the fall of 1970, U.S. Ambassador Edward Korry had received a “green light” from the White House to “do everything short of a Dominican Republic-type action” to stop Allende. Numerous declassified records such as this make it clear that Nixon and Kissinger explicitly ordered the CIA not to inform Ambassador Korry of their efforts to instigate a military coup to keep Allende from assuming office.

White House, SECRET/SENSITIVE Memorandum for the President, “Subject: NSC Meeting, November 6-Chile,” November 5, 1970.

This briefing reveals Kissinger’s forceful attempts to influence Nixon’s policy toward an Allende government prior to a pivotal National Security Council meeting on Chile. Kissinger lists the “serious threats” he perceives Allende to pose to U.S. interests in the region and the world, among them \$1 billion in investments that could be lost, and the precedent-setting “example of a successful elected Marxist government.” This briefing reveals the instigation and influence of the United States in Chile.