

FIGHTING PINOCHET

NYTTET

fredag 3. november 1998



Professor takes Pinochet to court

andre eksklusiv: i blant i Norge hans eksempl

Nå feiger
FOTO: SCANFOTO

Professor anmelder Pinochet

Key: Korte nyheter

professorinnas år gammel
Kam kjærlighetsroman

nytt i motstandsbevegelse
Kam: nye bokstilt i

Marcello Ferrada de Noli

Libertarian Books Europe

**FIGHTING
PINOCHET**

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Marcello Ferrada de Noli
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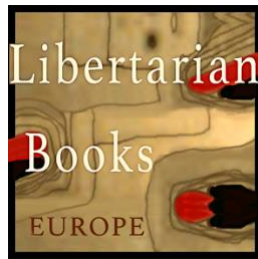
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Marcello Ferrada de Noli

Fighting Pinochet

Bergamo, Italy

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To the memory of Miguel Enríquez Espinosa and Bautista van Schouwen Vasey, my dear friends since adolescence - and with whom we founded the MIR, ¹ together with other brave, in its majority from the University of Concepción.

As they fought valiantly for the noble cause
of Freedom, Equality and Social Justice,
they were assassinated by the forces of
the reactionary dictator Augusto Pinochet

¹ Movement of the Revolutionary Left, founded in 1965.

Old tunes from the combat trumpet i

Her bronze skin
Torn from intentions
By the edge of canyons
And the bayonet bullets
Honoured by responses
To its battle song
Let's attack
Without retreat!

Defending ideas
Allende throws
A testament of words:
"Miguel, it is now
The turn of your bullets"

Miguel answers:
"Then, do ask the soldiers
To disobey their officers
Ask them to join the people
To whom they belong.

But Allende commands
To his followers
To not resist,
To return to their homes

Ensuing, the fascist repression
Makes its way into avenues
Vomits lead on people's back
Throw bodies at the Mapocho river

But MIR does not hesitate for a second

It was the word by men
It was the solemn oath
On September 11, 1973
To meet the iron with the iron
In Santiago squares
In factories and avenues
There was Miguel Enríquez
With van Schouwen and Pascal
And four hundred in barracks
With their finger on the trigger

And one in Concepción
Asking for the order
To initiate the charge

For I was prepared
By the blood pact
And The *Plan Militar*
De Emergencia ⁱⁱ

Still, the regional leader
Ordered withdrawal
Before the advance
He repeated the same shame
To the working class
“Go to hide without combat
This enemy we can’t defeat”

But so we libertarians
Trained in contempt
To orders without principles
From bureaucrats and worms
We picked up the tunes
Of B-Flat on fire
Sent by the trumpet
Of comrades in Santiago

And we went to the rooftops
To designated positions
As devised by the Plan
In the centre of the city

We left the smoke
Of inferior guns
In the uneven fighting
On Colo-Colo street
We wrote poetry
With lead
We fired symbols
Without rage

And then we hid
As long safe houses
Existed
But also did
The reasonable fear
Of theirs owners
And then we were
Again in the open
And then in the Stadium
And then in Quiriquina
When the newspaper wrote:
"There they are
For shooting the military
with their firearms" iii

ⁱ From the book *Si Bemol de Combate*. M Ferradade Noli. Libertarian Books Europe, 2021. <https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/05/17/si-bemol-de-combate/>

ⁱⁱ The “Contingency Military Plan of the Mir”, agreed in the organization in the months prior September 11, 1973, in the eventuality of a coup d’état. It was only poorly implemented in Concepción.

ⁱⁱⁱ *La Tercera*, October 6, 1973.

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Prologue

Be known that this is not a political book, nor it has the slightest intention of provoking, or making more or less pleased, anyone inside or outside the good old MIR. I respect all, beyond differences. Here, I only bring further details of my simple participation in the events, complementing what I have revealed in my earlier books. ¹

In another book, *Esistenza Dialettica* ² I told how human behaviour, unpredictably, demonstrates itself being so different – at times the opposite– of what we would have expected. Among our good guys struggling for a good cause, some demonstrate that is their personal hate, or just envy, which nihilates both fair comradery and jeopardize the struggle itself.

¹ *Rebeldes Con Causa*. [Spanish] Libertarian Books Europe, 2020.
<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2020/06/15/rebeldes-con-causa/>

Con Bautista van Schouwen. Libertarian Books Europe, 2018.
[Spanish] <https://libertarianbooks.eu/2018/12/22/con-bautista-van-schouwen/>

Los que fundamos el MIR. [Spanish] Libertarian Books Europe, 2021.
<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/03/03/los-que-fundamos-el-mir-origenes-del-movimiento-de-izquierda-revolucionaria/>

Pablo de Rokha y la joven generación del MIR. [Spanish] Libertarian Books Europe, 2019. <https://libertarianbooks.eu/2019/03/27/pablo-de-rokha-y-la-joven-generacion-del-mir/>

² *Esistenza Dialettica* [Italian]
<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/05/06/esistenza-dialettica/>

Conversely, among the bad guys –meaning our armed enemies in the resistance, and ensuing, our imprisonment guards– some would behave with compassion, and at a great risk for themselves. This book further tells some of those episodes, like when I was literally ‘rescued by military from the military’, which kept me in captivity in Concepción Stadium in 1975.

All which do not contradict the reality of the ferociously cruel, criminal or psychotic, standard behaviour of DINA agents, receiving orders ultimately coming from Pinochet. ³ And I couldn’t resist to add: Also the behaviour of his politicians, priests, and judges. Again the paradox, not all the priests.

In sum, this book consists partly in my own testimony of happenings in which I have been a direct participant. It also includes texts from an interview by another author, referring whereabouts of my time as political prisoner in Pinochet’s Chile. Thereafter, I reveal some counterintelligence activities of MIR in 1977, of which I was responsible for the Scandinavian countries, in dealing with Pinochet’s *Operation Condor*.⁴ Lastly, it is about my campaign to bring the Chilean dictator to an European court of Justice.

Therefore, in a multiple sense, this book may be well regarded as an autobiographic text. It took many years until these dramatic

³ General Manuel Contreras, DINA’s director, blamed Pinochet “for the abuses committed by the feared security service (DINA)”. AP: *Jailed general blames Pinochet for abuses*.

<https://gulfnnews.com/world/americas/jailed-general-blames-pinochet-for-abuses-1.287791>

⁴ *Operación Cóndor* was a killing enterprise devised by the Chilean Junta, aimed to liquidate (as they did) oppositional leaders living in exile, as well MIR and JCR militants.

episodes, which I have personally lived in and lived with, have finally taken a book shape.

As it is common among ex political prisoners –or prisoners in general, such as POWs– that have endured captivity in enemy’s hands, there is a ‘natural’ reluctance to describe that captivity in detail. That not only referred to the classical ‘interrogations’, the torture experiences, etc., but also to the psycho-affective concomitants that constitute the sad experience of loneliness and confinement amidst cruelty.

Secondly, there was, during the first years after liberation from political prisons, the cautious behaviour of not reveal anything that could even remotely put at risk those still in captivity, or “at large” in clandestine activities of resistance. For instance –as I have written– it took me about 34 years to disclose the full name of a prisoner comrade, whom I believe saved my life by not revealing –not even under the harsh torture he was subjected to at the Naval Base of Talcahuano– that at the moment of the military coup I was a clandestine member of the Organization Committee of MIR ⁵ in the southern region of Concepción. ⁶

⁵ *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the principal politico-military organization in the Resistance against Augusto Pinochet dictatorship. Wikipedia: “[Chilean left-wing political organization and former urban guerrilla organization founded on October 12, 1965. At its height in 1973, the MIR numbered about 10,000 members and associates](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_Left_Movement_(Chile))”.

⁶ He is my friend and colleague Dr Renato Valdés Olmos. MD and distinguished research leader in nuclear medicine at a Dutch university. He was, at the time of our capture and imprisonment, head of the Organization Committee of MIR in Concepción.

In spite that several times I was asked to write about these personal experiences, I went on declining it, including interviews. Which costed me some sadness –as authors of biographical books have, in some cases, given wrong or incomplete information about my whereabouts in MIR and of the political peers around me.

So, in the beginning of this millennium I started replying to interviews, although limited to only academics or senior university students preparing their doctoral thesis on historical themes of Chile, and of MIR in particular. I also had a limited correspondence with serious authors and journalists. However, the first account written of my own happened only in 2008 –I was then 65 years old – and after a request of the City of Noli, in Liguria, Italy. It was on occasion of their celebration of the 100th anniversary of Salvador Allende’s birth. That report is included this book.

The same year, I wrote a text in homage to Nelson Gutiérrez –an academic from Concepción and member of the MIR’s political leadership.⁷

Before that, in 2002, I had given a report of my ‘adventures’ while prisoner at the Concepción Stadium and the circumstances of my release, to Anna-Leena Jarva, in Finland. Her text is also reproduced here.

The present text has been formed in five parts and one introduction:

⁷ *En memoria de Nelson Gutiérrez y la vida ideológica*. Libertarian Books, Sweden. <https://libertarianbooks.eu/2019/12/11/en-memoria-de-nelson-gutierrez-y-la-vida-ideologica/>

Introduction: What went on in our resistance in Concepción on the 11 of September 1973 and in days thereafter. My departure from MIR in 1977, twelve years after we found it.

Part 1: That morning of September 11, 1973. A personal testimony

Part 2: After capture, imprisoned in the Concepción Stadium.

Part 3: Imprisoned in Quiriquina Island.

Part 4: Fighting Pinochet's *Operation Condor* in the Nordic countries.

Part 5: I file Pinochet. This is what I had done for the extradition of Augusto Pinochet, aiming to take him to a court of justice in Europe, for his crimes against human rights, and as ultimate responsible of the killings, disappearances, illegal imprisonments and torture of prisoners that opposed his brutal rule.

One issue left to be corrected in this publication –I'll try to do it in a revised version, as soon as find the time– is the repetition of information which sometimes appears in more than one section. The reason for that, is that in this book I have integrated texts that have been written or published in different epochs, but in some cases mentioning a same issue although in a different context.

Some sources mentioned in this book have been updated in 2021. A more detailed description of some episodes here –namely referring the Navy guards at prisoners camp in Quiriquina Island,

is found in *Lo Paradojal de la Vida*.⁸ Details on Gendarmerie lieutenant Vallejos' behaviour in the Concepción Stadium, found in *Rebeldes Con Causa*.⁹ And the full episode in the background of the helpful Army Captain Sánchez, to be found among the narratives in *La mujer de Walter y otras historias*.¹⁰

Marcello Ferrada de Noli.

S. Giovanni Bianco, Bergamo, Italy.

May 2021.

⁸ *Lo Paradojal de la Vida*. Libertarian Books Europe, 2021. Chapter “*Vida de prisioneros, rutina de sorpresas*”, pages 45–58.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/02/25/lo-paradojal-de-la-vida/>

⁹ *Rebeldes Con Causa*. Op. cit. Chapter “*El teniente Vallejos, de Gendarmería*”, Pages 60–66.

¹⁰ *La mujer de Walter y otras historias*. Libertarian Books Europe, 2021. Chapter “*El capitán de Ferrocarrileros*”. Pages 26–34.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/05/29/la-mujer-de-walter-y-otras-historias/>

Introduction



Combatants of the leftist organization MIR and from other leftist parties offered active resistance to Pinochet's army on the 11th of September. However, it has been written that the resistance to the military takeover was in general sporadic, with low firepower, and did not prevail.

In other words, that it did not occur in the scale expected. We in MIR were somehow psychologically prepared "for the moment to come" and for relevant activities, as we in the MIR knew (and even provided Allende with intelligence on the coup preparation) that the putsch was imminent. But the *open* direct resistance was crushed very soon, and also due to the brutality of Pinochet forces the core-militants did not succeed to encourage the mobilization of the vast majority of Allende supporters in order to take up the



Pinochet and Kissinger congratulate each other

fight together. A third aspect was that Allende himself warned (on the 11 of September) the supporters that have elected him of not taking unnecessary sacrifices.

I was in Concepción at the moment of the coup and at that time with assignment in the Organization detail of the Regional Committee, meaning that my “structure” was of a “central” kind. Three of the five members of the detail were captured. I spent times at different detention centres such as the Stadium, the Navy’s camp of prisoners at Quiriquina Island, the “marines” detention quarters at the Navy base in Talcahuano, and finally back to the Stadium in Concepción.

Many died in these places either under torture or executed by firing squad. For instance, in the photo below taken at the prisoner camp of Quiriquina Island and published in the front page of the mayor Chilean newspaper “Tercera de La Hora” (6 of October 1973), it is mentioned the *Intendente* of Concepción Fernando Alvarez (head for the Regional government of Concepción at the moment of the coup)¹¹, at the centre of the picture. In fact, he died under torture at the camp in Quiriquina Island some days after that picture was taken. I am also depicted in the same photo, up right (signalled by the red arrow). The photo was taken at a visit of the Red Cross International at the camp, and for which I was to be thereafter considered as a “recognized” prisoner instead of risking “hidden” status.

¹¹ By 1973, “Intendente” is the direct representative of the government in a region, and the region’s highest civil authority. Thus, the designation is made by the Chilean Republic’s President.

But the story of the armed resistance at the Coup days have not been entirely told

It is now 2008. Why the story of the Chilean armed resistance have not been completely told? Three factors have contributed to obscure the real magnitude of the resistance on the 11th of September and the days that ensued:

One is the reluctance of the putsch leaders of acknowledging the true magnitude of their casualties. Doing this would have shown that the resistance was effective and thus motivating its continuation.

A second factor is that the far most of the operations were of clandestine character. Also, due to the fact that *all* the press, *all* TV channels and *all* radio stations were seized the 11th and remained under the *direct* control of the military (not only by decree, but physically under control) it was not possible either to communicate eventual results of the actions.

A third, is the “factor seguridad” (security) of the militants and units involved. As cadres became arrested in increasing numbers, the units or combatants acting with own initiative tightened security to keep knowledge of the actions to the absolute minimum, or even unknown. For instance, not even the closest members of our families, spouses, etc. would know or suspect what had really happened. This ignorance would save them too. And that silence continued for the years to come, no matter that many lived then in exile.

However, an unequivocal recognition from the part of the military authorities on that the active resistance in Concepción took place in form of armed attacks is given *in the text* of the photo published

in the front page of la “La Tercera” and showed in image below (see translation of the image caption). I am identified with the red arrow visible at the right of the picture.



Translation of the text in the photo above, first part: “In Quiriquina Island it has been concentrated the extremists, and the local authorities of the past Marxist regime in Concepción. The extremists are there because they have attacked with firearms the Armed Forces”.

I was then 30 years old and a professor at the University of Concepción. Having worked previously as invited professor in Mexico with books published there, etc., I was released from captivity partly after direct demands from Mexican academic scholars and authorities (pressures and solidarity came also from

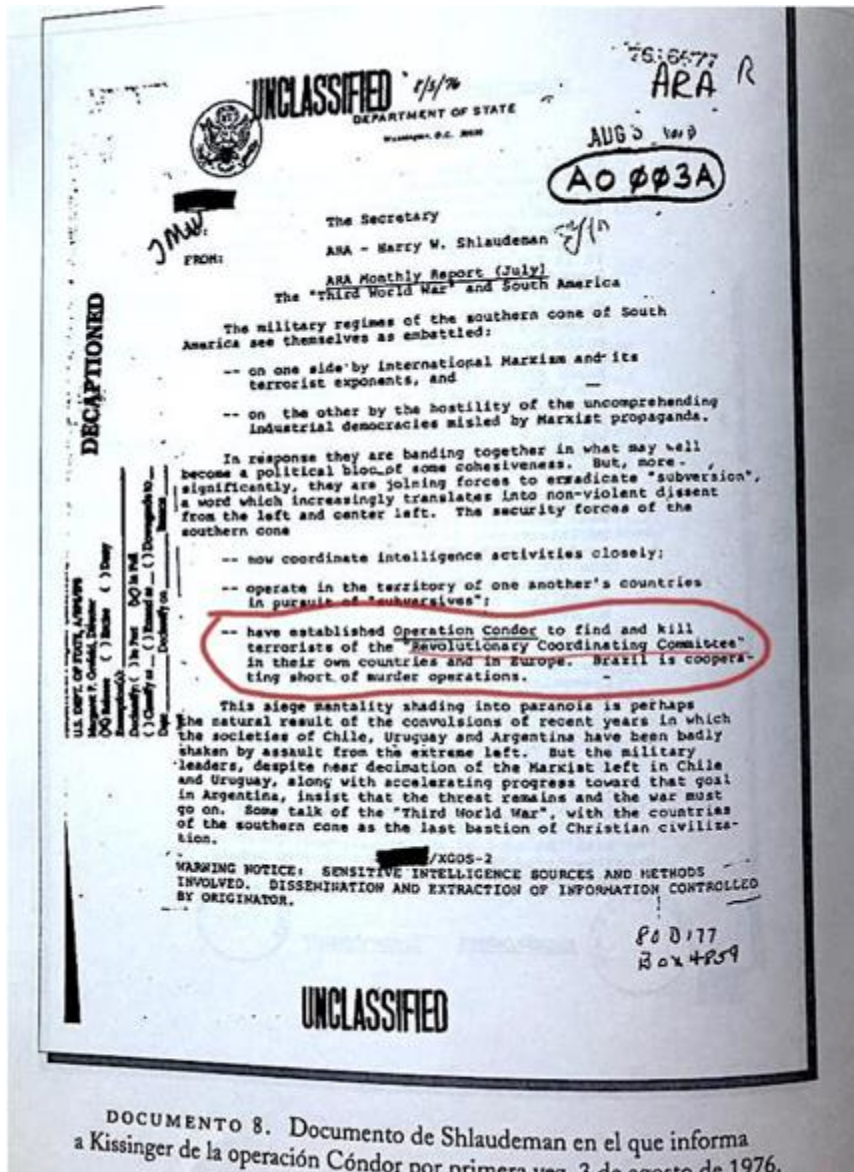
colleagues in Italy and Germany), and partly after demands from my family which had strong tradition among the military. I was not set free in Chile but expelled from the country directly to Mexico from the prison, escorted to the airport by the military.

I had to sign in the airport a document committing me of not to speak about the atrocities in Quiriquina Island etc. However, I changed route in Lima (the first stopover in my way to Mexico), from where on instructions of my organization I went directly to Rome, Italy, in order to participate in the Russell Tribunal which had started in Rome on the crimes of Pinochet's junta.

After my testimony at the Russell Tribunal, I was invited by Senator Lelio Basso to form part of the *Scientific Committee* of the Russell Tribunal. This, in my condition as ex university professor from Chile, and with direct knowledge on the Junta's infringements on the human rights. Other members were writer Gabriel García Márquez, a jurist from the then Yugoslavia of name Dedijer, Linda Bimbi, the head of Amnesty International based in London, and Senator Lelio Basso himself. This committee is not to be mixed with the committee that *organized* the Russell Tribunal held in Rome, and where the participation of Jean Paul Sartre was prominent. This committee had been also chaired by Senator Basso.

However, in August 1974 I was sent by MIR leadership (*Comité Exterior*, with base in La Havanna, Cuba) to Sweden, to work there on what we called at that time "tarefas de retaguardia". My last assignment from MIR's *Comité Exterior* was to organize intelligence work to counterattack the Pinochet liquidation squads in Northern Europe under "Operation Condor", activity which I lead until 1977.

I resigned all my activities in MIR in June 1977, during the MIR Conference in Stockholm. How this happened? I explain that in the next section.



The Chilean Christian Democratic Party and the military coup of September 1973



Ex-President Eduardo Frei (left in the picture), attending the “Solemn Mass of Gratitude” to Pinochet’s coup d’état, in the Santiago’s Cathedral, Sept 1973

The Christian Democratic Party was a most important part in the opposition against the Allende government. Between the Christian democratic politicians and the military preparing the

coup d'état, existed several convergency points; ¹² both institutions were recipients of U.S. economic support. The Cristian Democratic Party was a mass political formation representing the regime-change strategy of the military. They agitated a fierce opposition to Allende among middle class people, a part of the student movement and middle size companies. Whereas other parties of the right and far right had less influence in those sectors. The Interior Minister in Frei's government, Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, succeeded in forming an alliance ("Confederación Democrática", CODE) with the right-wing parties.

The political links between the Christian Democratic Party and the military behind the coup –amalgamed through the cover activities of the United States in Chile– were obvious. On top, the Christian Democratic Party was the political expression of the Chilean Catholic Church, which at that time was openly critical towards the Left in general, and on the Allende government in particular. I had at the pre-coup time published in *Punto Final* (a main Chilean left magazine of the time) articles revealing this connection between the Church and the Christian Democratic ideologues. ¹³

As an illustration, it should be noted that only one week after the bloody military coup, the former president Eduardo Frei attended the catholic Tedeum (a solemn mass) in Santiago's Cathedral, a ceremony held by the Chilean cardinal and publicised as a kind of "coronation" of General Augusto Pinochet and his Junta.

¹² Mario Amorós, *Entre la araña y la flecha*, Ediciones B, Santiago de Chile, 2020, 380 páginas. ISBN:978-956-60-5636-2

¹³ See articles in *Punto Final* archive.



Just one month after the Pinochet coup that killed and imprisoned thousands of Chileans, representatives of the Christian Democratic Party –such as ex senators Juan de Dios Carmona and Juan Hamilton– visited several countries in Europe to defend the “legitimacy” of the military coup against the democratic elected government of Salvador Allende.¹⁴

We at MIR have been object of a harsh repression from the part of the Christian Democratic government of President Eduardo Frei (the government prior Allende’s). It did not consist in a purely “political” repression. It was a brutal persecution which in 1969 forced us to go clandestine.

¹⁴ Mario Amoros, *Una responsabilidad histórica jamás asumida*, Interferencia, 4 Aug 2020. <https://interferencia.cl/articulos/una-responsabilidad-historica-jamas-asumida>

“Dictator Pinochet receives greetings from Eduardo Frei Montalva, days after the coup d’état of 1973.”¹⁵

At that time, I was myself among the 13 MIR leaders to whom it was issued a national warrant for our arrest.¹⁶ After capture, I was tortured by the government political police (PP) in their headquarters of Calle Las Heras in Concepción, and later held incommunicado in the Concepcion’s prison (*La Cárcel*) in 70 Chacabuco Street.

After the military coup, I saw militants of the Christian Democratic Party helping the military to identify and capture workers and students they knew or suspected of been leftists.

MIR Stockholm Conference of 1977

In June 1977, a MIR Conference took place in Stockholm. All militants and aspirants (members of the GAM, meaning “Grupos de Amigos del MIR”)¹⁷ were summoned.

¹⁵ La historia de un magnicidio en Chile. Cuba Encuentro. 1 Feb 2019. <https://www.cubaencuentro.com/internacional/noticias/la-historia-de-un-magnicidio-en-chile-334652>

¹⁶ *A través de la historia terrorista del Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR)*. El Mercurio, 25 Agosto 1973. Page 35.

¹⁷ These were former militants of MIR which had lost their militant status because they had gone to exile without the authorization of MIR. Although they were not declared “traitors”, MIR leadership placed them in a quarantine period in which they should prove they were worth to recuperate the militant-status. Several of the later returned clandestine to Chile, to pursue armed resistance against the military.

At that time I was head of the Counter Intelligence Unit of MIR (as well of the JCR)¹⁸ in the Nordic Countries. It was a responsibility bestowed to me by MIR “Comité Exterior”, through its representative in Sweden at that time, Mario Espinoza (“*Juancho*”).

The conference had been called by other two members of the MIR, one who had come from Santiago de Chile, either directly or via Cuba –I exactly do not remember the route. But I remember his name: Igor Cantillana. The MIR representatives said that the Conference had been summoned to communicate an important change in MIR strategy, in its fight against the dictatorship. The new change consisted in that MIR was calling to a broad political alliance to oppose the Pinochet regime, and in this call the Christian Democratic Party was included.

I said, in view all what I have presented in the text above, that such proposition was preposterously in contravention with what we at MIR had been fighting for, since we founded the organization. I said that Miguel Enríquez, Bautista van Shouwen and other leaders of MIR killed in combat of the resistance, or assassinated by the dictatorship –added the survived founders of the MIR– would had never agreed with such drastic change in MIR’s alliance policy. I instead proposed the delegates in the said conference to vote against the new announced strategy.

However, my proposition was defeated in the vote, at large. I figured out that the majority –which were the “GAM” delegates– would not dare to oppose stances they perceived as official,

¹⁸ JCR, “Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria”, referred as to “Revolutionary Coordinating Committee” in disclosed U.S. Intelligence documents.

“coming from above in the ranks”. And the reason would be, simply, that to demonstrate loyalty to “those above in the ranks” of MIR was utmost central in their struggle to regain the MIR-militant status.

So, that was the reason I left MIR. I believed, and I still do, I was defending the essential political principles of the organization I contributed to found. And, to the best of my knowledge, I have never ever been criticized afterwards by MIR for my decision.

PART I. That morning of September
11, 1973. A personal testimony

On occasion of the 100 birthday of the late Chilean President Salvador Allende, the Region of Liguria and the City of Noli organized a commemorative program. Prof. Alberto Peluffo, Vice Mayor of the City of Noli, Italy, asked me to write a personal testimony on the happenings around Pinochet Coup D'État. The public event in the City of Noli took place in *Piazza del Commune* the 15th of August 2008.

This is the English version of the text, and some parts of it Alberto Peluffo read to the public assisting to the act.

September 11th, 1973

It was a quite shiny seven o'clock, that morning of September 11th 1973 in Concepción, the largest city of southern Chile. I was then staying at the family country house some 20 kilometres north of the University campus, where not so long ago I had been appointed professor of psychosocial methods. I had come back from México some months before. Going out towards the garage, the meeting of a sunny day made me decide at the last second to ride instead my motorcycle to the job. As it did show, it was a spur-of-the moment decision that most certainly save me from being captured, tortured, and killed that very same day.

Nearly exact three years ago had Allende became the first democratically elected president in the western world. I was then 27 years old and living at that time in London, and I decided to come back immediately to Chile. During those first years, the structural changes made by Allende's government in favour of the less privileged sectors of society, and that to certain extent were to be financed by the nationalization of the Chilean copper

mining industry – then exploited by private USA corporations – brought about many powerful enemies to him and his government from both in and outside Chile.

The biggest and most important parties of the centre-left coalition that supported Allende's government were yet in good faith convinced that the vast popular support to Allende together with the democratic credentials of his government would indeed avert any serious political attempt against the "gobierno popular".

On the other hand, a tiny minority voice within the left ranks, mainly represented by MIR – the revolutionary left movement – was pretty convinced that Allende government was not safe, and that a coup d'état would be imminent. With thesis as point of departure, MIR had instead prompted Allende to secure his support among the masses by deepening the socialist measures in their favour. At the same time, MIR started to do some preparations to resist militarily if necessary, and seriously thought that such resistant could be prosperous when the time would arrive.

The facts proved, fatally, that both thesis were equivocate. Pinochet and his generals were not only well militarily prepared but their mission well assisted and even organized with powerful help from abroad, from the land of the foreign owners of the Chilean mines.

In short, using drastic and brutal over violence, Pinochet generals and their allies seized militarily the power that had been denied to them politically by the course of the democratic polls.

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Una foto storica: in basso a sinistra, il giovane Marcello Ferrada de Noli con altri resistenti al campo di prigionia all'isola di Quiriquina

Photo in L'Ecco di Bergamo, Italy, 6 January 2019, illustrating an interview by Emanuele Roncalli. The photo had appeared originally in the newspaper "El Diario Color", Talcahuano, 5 October 1973.

In the aftermath of the defeat against the military forces the days after the coup, thousands among combatants, or unarmed civilians, or left politicians and officials in the Allende government



September 11th 1973. The presidential palace, with Allende inside, is bombed from air by aircrafts based in Concepción.

were executed or imprisoned. Some died in detention-centres or prisoners camps as consequences of torture.

With all, the most effective tactic of Pinochet operation was the consequent concealing of his purposes to his chief, President Allende, to whom he had swear loyalty until the last moment. Not even MIR, in spite of all the intelligence was able to gather about the coup preparations, was able to predict the very date of the putsch.

Consequently, that morning of the 11th of September, while I was riding my motorbike to Concepción, entering Collao Avenue, I was not aware that Pinochet troops were since earlier setting up checkpoints and stopping every single car or bus going downtown.

The military were in search of combat weapons and looking for cars transporting persons whose names were in their arrest-lists. They did let pass through only single walkers, and when it was clear at first sight they could not be wearing combat weapons.

The military and the police forces collaborating with them in the preparation of the military take-over had their lists, exactly like Gestapo. In those lists were all the authorities appointed by the government, all the trade unions leaders (not only of national or regional organizations, but of every single union leader at the working sites) and the leaders of the left political parties and organizations, the academic and intellectuals of the MIR and others with open left sympathies, the leaders of student organizations, etc.

I dare to say that my odds were not the best. I was at that time elected member of the leadership of the association of university teachers and workers (Asociación del Personal Docente y Administrativo) of Concepción University –which was my *public* political assignment.

Besides, because of my publications –for example, my academic thesis criticising the status quo, ¹⁹ or the book I had recently published in Mexico, in which I had expressly dedicated it to an Indian leader of the agriculture workers (Moises Huentelaf), who fallen death 1972 by the bullets of the powerful landowners of

¹⁹ *Universidad y Superestructura*. University of Concepción, 1969.

Southern Chile)–²⁰ I was considered by the military among the so called “MIR intellectuals”.²¹

Not to mention I had published articles in the independent leftist magazine “Punto Final”. And “worst” of all, I had been one of the founders of MIR back in October 1965 and also co-author, together with long-time friend Miguel Enríquez (MIR’s leader) and his brother Marco Antonio, of the first “*Tesis político-militar*” of MIR approved in the constituent congress.²²

Although no more than about eighty people from all along Chile was present at the constituent congress of 1965, at the time of the coup, 1973, MIR had grown to thousands of supporters, and many of them core-militants. For the first time, I will also acknowledge here that my clandestine political role as MIR militant was member of the Organization Committee of MIR for the Region Concepción.

As I saw increasing checking points I left the motorcycle and continued more discretely per foot towards Concepción. As I was already in the way towards the University I decided to get into the

²⁰ In *Teoría y Método de la Concientización*. UANL, Monterrey, Mexico, 1972.

²¹ Issue also confirmed in the book by Prof. Ivette Lozoya, *Intelectuales y revolución. Científicos sociales latinoamericanos en el MIR chileno (1965-1973)*. Ariadna Ediciones, 2020. ISBN: 978-956-6095-03-3.

"... The intellectual quality of the MIR leader, Miguel Enríquez - was also enhanced by Bautista Van Schouwen, Nelson Gutiérrez, Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Andrés Pascal Allende and Fernando Mires, among others." [Translated].

²² Los que fundamos el MIR. Libertarian Books, 2014. 2021.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/03/03/los-que-fundamos-el-mir-origenes-del-movimiento-de-izquierda-revolucionaria/>

house of Avenue Roosevelt 1674, the residence of Dr. Edgardo Enríquez Frödden which was then living in Santiago in his condition of Education Minister in Allende's government. I knew that his son Marco Antonio, one of my closest friends (brother of Miguel Enríquez) was living there. Marco Antonio Enríquez was a scholar from Sorbonne university in Paris which also had come back to Chile. There we were updated of the happenings via the radio. Pinochet coup had started in the Navy base in Valparaiso and coordinated with Army troops in Santiago. They were now moving around the President Palace "La Moneda" in down town Santiago.

From the Enríquez's place I called the "central" but it was not operative that early. In the meantime we saw the army trucks, full lasted with soldiers, going in direction to the university campus. At approximately 10.30 I made finally contact and I was given a "punto" (meeting point) in Concepción downtown, specifically at the exit Maipú Street of Galería Rialto (if I remember the name well), to receive details of the orders.

At that times MIR had prepared, nation-wide among its core organization, a military-political organization based in the "GPM-structures" ("grupos político-militares"). This means that every single militant, regardless his/her *public* political commitment, was member of a concrete GPM.

These GPMs, also called "structures", were in turn organised in clandestine military-political cells ("las bases"). In my particular case, being at that time working *clandestine* at the Organization detail of the Regional Committee, my GPM was the one called "the centralized structure" and my operative cell was the detail itself, integrated at that time by five members (of whom three have survived, all of us living in different countries in Europe).

“Plan militar de emergencia” ?

The main contingency strategy of MIR for the eventuality of a putsch was contained in the nation-wide *“Plan militar de emergencia”* (PME), according to which every single GPM, and its turn every concrete cell, had a previously assigned geographic area to act upon politically *and* militarily during the planned resistance. Up to my knowledge, every single MIR militant have had some military training. Apart of the cells mentioned above, existed at MIR also a few so-called “grupos de fuerza”, integrated with militants with a certain degree of specialization for this kind of resistance task. For instance, during the months prior the coup, the training coaches of MIR ranks used to belong to those structures. Some of them, also as militants of MIR, had previously served as bodyguards of President Allende. Nearly all of them are now dead.

The organization cell which I belonged to – as I said before pertained to the central structure of MIR in Concepción – had been assigned combat stations precisely in the centre part of Concepción City. This posed a terrible problem for me, personally,



18th September 1973. Seven days after the killing of Allende and its popular government, A *Tedeum* in the Cathedral of Santiago presided by Pinochet and his Junta. At this ceremony assisted also the Cristian democratic ex-president Eduardo Frei.

since my parents lived in the building of Colo-Colo Street and Avenue San Martín, two blocks from the Concepción “Plaza de Armas” and where the government offices were located. This means also that near my parent’s residence was situated (circa two hundred meters towards the opposite direction) the headquarters of the Military Division of the garrison Concepción are (at O’Higgins Street and Castellón Street)! Also my son and his mother have been sheltered at my parents’ residence; this after my father went to the country side and brought them to “safe”. In fact, an armed civilian band of right-wing extremists have had – during

my absence – a siege to our property at the country side on the afternoon of September 11th.

The resistance in Concepción, and in Chile as a whole, was not done at the scale that MIR had expected, although numerous combats took place in several sites all over the country. In this fight participated also militants from other political parties of the left. In Concepción, sporadic skirmishes were reported regarding the nights of the 11th and 12th of September, both in the centre of the city and in some point of its periphery. And this was entirely according to the plan. However, as I had pointed elsewhere, these armed resistance was never widespread, or enduring, due to the withdrawal orders called by the then MIR head in Concepción, Horacio Vergara Mehrson –most possible, for he considered the huge superiority of the enemy forces. Ensuing, he was for that reason expelled from MIR.

After 35 years it is not possible to be exact without the documents in hand, but, as I recall in gross terms, the PME had among other items in its strategy these four moments to be implemented:

a) MIR cells assigned for combat in down town were not to seize positions or barricade but to develop hit and run operations in multiple targets with the principal focus of distracting Pinochet forces from the combats in the “*cordones industriales*”.

b) These so-called industrial cordons were the regions in the outer perimeter or outskirts of the city where factories were allocated, and also many “*poblaciones*” – the living areas of that time for the working class and the poor. Here it was previously organized, and predicted, severe resistance to the military forces.

c) The cool mining workers from Lota and Coronel, cities near Concepción, were “expected” to cross Bio-Bio Bridge in a mass

march (a political demonstration, not necessarily with arms) towards Concepción and thus reaching first the city's periphery where the workers would unite with the people in the *cordones*.

d) The battle would continue pushing the military towards the centre parts of the city and where they had their headquarters and also the three regiments were located.

The only aspect I can personally testify is the one related to the night “enfrentamientos” (perhaps more properly referred as sporadic “fire exchange”) from roofs of some buildings in Concepción down town the 11th and 12th of September. They did exist, and I was personally involved in the nearby of the Hotel Alonso de Ercilla in Colo-Colo street, between San Martin and O’Higgins streets. ²³ In a visit I made to Concepción in 1983, impacts of the bullets were still visible in the building of Colo-Colo street limiting with San Martin street. The impacts are visible on the white walls by the stairs in the interior of the building. They were also clearly noticeable the big neighbouring wall between that building and the Hotel Alonso de Ercilla.

Most likely, those marks have still survived in one or another fashion under the make-ups of the maintaining works during these years. They were too big and too many to be concealed by cosmetics. And they will be always traceable with x-ray technique.

²³ La Tercera, 6 October 1973, published a front-page photo showing a group of prisoners at Quiriquina Island, where I am seeing among them, distinctly. Explaining the reason for us being kept in captivity, La Tercera writes that some are political authorities of the former Allende government, and the rest are the “extremists that have attacked the armed forces with firearms”.

And I also remember the sounds of explosions and the sound at intervals of automatic fire, heard long away from down town, during those two days.

On the other developments, I never knew for real what real happened at the “cordones industriales” of Concepción. We heard the automatic fire and some heavy explosions-sounds that came from the city’s outskirts. Mostly the very same day of September 11th. I met some comrades both at the stadium and at Quiriquina Island who were assigned to that front. But one fundamental rule (for one’s survival and the rest’s) is that you never, ever, ask your comrades in captivity on “how did it go” on such matters. On the other hand, I certainly know what happened with the projected march of the mining workers.

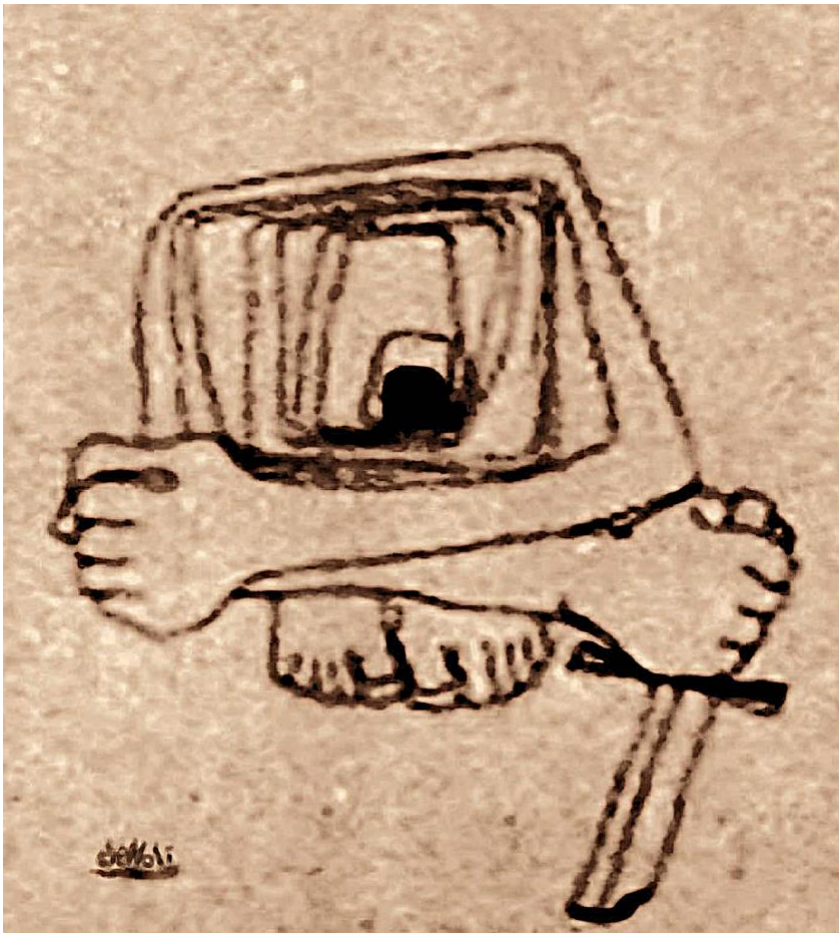
According to the information I have, the head of MIR’s Regional Committee in Concepción, Horacio Vergara, who was supposed to have the ultimate political responsibility for the implementation of the PME, would have ordered MIR militants in Lota and Coronel – in spite of the orders contained in the PME – to halt the march towards Concepción. He visited me at my residence in Stockholm in 1980 and after his account of facts I am prone to believe the version I had heard from before that he tried to halt the march in order to avert the almost certain massacre that march would eventually end in. Indirectly, this is a clear acknowledgement for us that the resistance against the deployment of military Pinochet forces in Concepción did not achieve the goals of the PME.

Personally, I was first publicly declared dead at the skirmishes in the centre of Concepción. This, in the beginning occasioned me much problem during my time in military captivity, particularly in Quiriquina, as I explain further below. (In order to survive torture,

it existed among MIR militants the praxis to attribute to the death combatants the responsibility of activities and whereabouts that the interrogators were asking about). In fact, I continued moving myself in clandestine forms in Concepción, and in regular contact with our operative-liaisons (females all of them. Known as “*las compañeras de la central*”), until the order of cease operations and “submerge” was given to me by her and as it was contained in a communication from MIR leadership in Santiago to all the GPMs which had survived in Chile.

We could sum up that in that period the armed resistance to Pinochet's forces was defeated, but not perished. The year after, being in Rome, I painted the piece "*Vinta ma non sconfitta*" (*Won but not defeated*) which also was the motive of the poster for an art exhibition organized by the publishing house Feltrinelli:

As MIR cadres were abated and our logistics became more and more precarious I had to move more and more often between safe houses. MIR transports were in a moment extremely scarce or too risky to use, and I had finally to rely in my family for such transports. "Safe houses" were at the end just places of people



around your private life, acquaintances without political bounds, or places dangerous per se. This was the case of the last safe house I could count with, in the northern sector of Concepción, and actually belonging to the maid employed at my parents' residence. What I did not know it was she had a relationship with a sergeant of the Regiment Chacabuco. I call my father immediately to come and pick me up but the car was detained "for driving after the curfew". I never knew if it was a set up. My family is indeed right-wing and many were, and in later generations still are, officers in the armed forces or in the Navy. On the other hand this fact contributed that I am still alive.

I was taken first to the Stadium in Concepción. The morning after I was lined with two other prisoners waiting execution – right under the goal frame – by firing squad. One of the fellow prisoners was the former executive director of the state-owned SOCOAGRO in Chillán, and the other was a 16 years old worker from a "cantera" (sort of stone mine) caught with explosives apparently taken from the mine. I was recognised by a petty officer years before serving under my father's command. I was saved, and it was not going to be the last time. See more details in my book *Rebeldes Con Causa*.²⁴

²⁴ *Rebeldes Con Causa*. Libertarian Books Europe, 2020.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2020/06/15/rebeldes-con-causa/>

PART II. The Resistance aftermath.
Prisoner at the Stadium

Prisoner at the Stadium

The text below is from: “*Political biography*”, written by Anna Leena Jarva on the base of interviews with the author in 2002.²⁵ This text reproduced here is missing the first part titled “Facing firing squad at the Stadium”. However, a description corresponding to the facts in the missing episode is to be found in the book *Rebeldes Con Causa*.²⁶ The “Vallejos” person referred below was a *Gendarmeria*²⁷ lieutenant stationed at that time (1973-1974) as part of the prisoners guards at Concepción’s Stadium. The head of the prisoners guard was an Army captain of name Sánchez, also named in the text.

That morning, Vallejos first ordered Marcello to seat early in the morning in the very middle of the field together with two other detainees. These were the chief of SOCO AGRO in the region of Chillán, and that also was a militant of the Socialist Party (Allende’s party). The other prisoner was a very young man (16 years old) who had previously work in a mine and was caught stealing explosives and demolition gear. Later, at about 10 AM, approaches Vallejos himself armed with a machine gun and heading an armed squad integrated by four gendarmes, two

²⁵ It was published in my personal website at the University of Gävle, 2003. The publication ended in 2007, when I finished my work at that university.

²⁶ See section “el Teniente Vallejos, de Gendarmería”, Pages 60-87).

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2020/06/15/rebeldes-con-causa/>

²⁷ *Gendarmeria* is the military-organized institution formed by the guards at Chile’s prisons.

Carabineros and two civil police men from the former “policía política”.

They escorted the three detainees towards the South Goal of the field and ordered them to stand right under the goal frame. One of the Carabineros, a sergeant and former “escribiente” of the Prefectura where Marcello’s father was once upon a time a chief officer, said that the prisoners had first to be blindfolded, and said he would fetch some appropriate stuff at the main building. The prisoners and the squad waited. After ten minutes or so comes back the sergeant together with Army Captain Sánchez (officer in command of the military unit at the camp) and a full armed platoon of professional Army soldiers. They interrupted the procedures and a dispute arises between the Sanchez and Vallejos that ended that Marcello was separated from the other two and taken to custody at the military premise of the camp.

The same afternoon was Marcello Ferrada-Noli included in a transport of 18 prisoners from Stadium heading to the Naval Base of Talcahuano in a military bus, to be from there transported by boat to Quiriquina Island.

What had happened? The sergeant called Marcello’s father, which called his son Mauricio, which called his old-time comrade at the 1964 course of the Officers Military School, Captain Sánchez, once being a protégé of Mauricio at the bullying-prone officer’s mess at the *Escuela Militar*.²⁸

²⁸ The *Escuela Militar* is the training institution in the Chilean Army that forms the officers cadres. It was founded by General José Miguel Carrera in 1817, but received instead the name of Carrera’s rival, General Bernardo O’Higgins. See “*Lo Paradojal de la Vida*”, page 27.

Edith Bustos, de Los Angeles, que manifestó hallarse bien, pero aburrída por la lentitud del proceso. Esto fue señalado por varias detestadas.

LOS HOMBRES

En la piscina vacía, ubicada en la parte posterior del gimnasio -lugar donde duermen 513 varones- se encontraba el grueso de éstos. Estaban allí mientras se ventilaba el gimnasio. Esto se hace cotidianamente, según indicó el comandante Henriquez. Los periodistas se vieron enfrentados a todos los hombres. Y la avidez por ubicar rostros conocidos fue general entre la totalidad de los visitantes. Ciertamente, todos los reporteros hallaron allí gente amiga o conocida. La labor periodística es así. El contacto diario con ex autoridades, ex funcionarios o ex dirigentes, era cosa rutinaria hasta antes del pronunciamiento militar del 11 de septiembre.

EL DIARIO Color, conversó con varias personas. Lo hizo con el reportero gráfico de nacionalidad española Ernesto Nalds, a quien le dijo el comandante Henriquez, en presencia de los visitantes, que el cónsul se lo llevaría a España, para lo cual llevaría hoy,

recibido o en tránsito.

En la parte posterior de la piscina, un grupo numeroso de personas no quiso acercarse a los periodistas. Al igual como había ocurrido minutos antes en el recinto donde están las mujeres, estas rehusaron todo contacto con los visitantes. Allí se encontraban ex servidores de la Armada, que participaron en la sublevación de la Base Naval.

Minutos antes de marcharse la delegación desde la piscina, un detenido consultó al comandante Henriquez Garat sobre la situación de sus familias, dado que los jefes de hogar se encuentran allí. El oficial naval le dijo que hay un poder firmado ya, para que las esposas cobren las remuneraciones de sus maridos recluidos en la isla Quiriquina.

Antes de alejarnos del lugar, dimos un último "vistazo". Percibimos varios rostros. El del ex-intendente de Concepción, Fernando Alvarez Castillo; de Claudio Rivera, ex-gerente de Agencias Graham; de Alonso Moena, ex-secretario ejecutivo de la Central de Distribución; Francisco Benavente, ex-periodista del diario El Sur.

En el interior del gimnasio se encontraban el ex-regidor comunista, Gonzalo Rivera; el ex-gobernador departamental de Talcahuano, Estanislao Mostoya Rodrí-



CON MANTAS Y FRAZADAS, los detenidos en la Isla Quiriquina que habían sido trasladados en la mañana a la piscina vacía de la Escuela de Grametes, escucharon a los oficiales navales que acompañaban

a los periodistas. En primer plano, de barba, el ex-gobernador de Talcahuano, José Toledo Toledo. De gafas, Juan Hernández, ex-directivo del Sectorial Pesquero.

Marcello Ferrada de Noli indicated by the arrow, at the left of the picture above

‘POW’ in Quiriquina Island

According to Pinochet’s *Junta Militar*, the Chilean armed forces waged a *war* against an internal enemy “funded, trained and led” by foreign countries, namely, Cuba and the Soviet Union. Thus, every captured member of the Resistance was euphemistically categorized “prisoner of war” (POW).

After the Stadium, where he was kept the shortly described above, was Marcello thereafter held prisoner of war at the camp



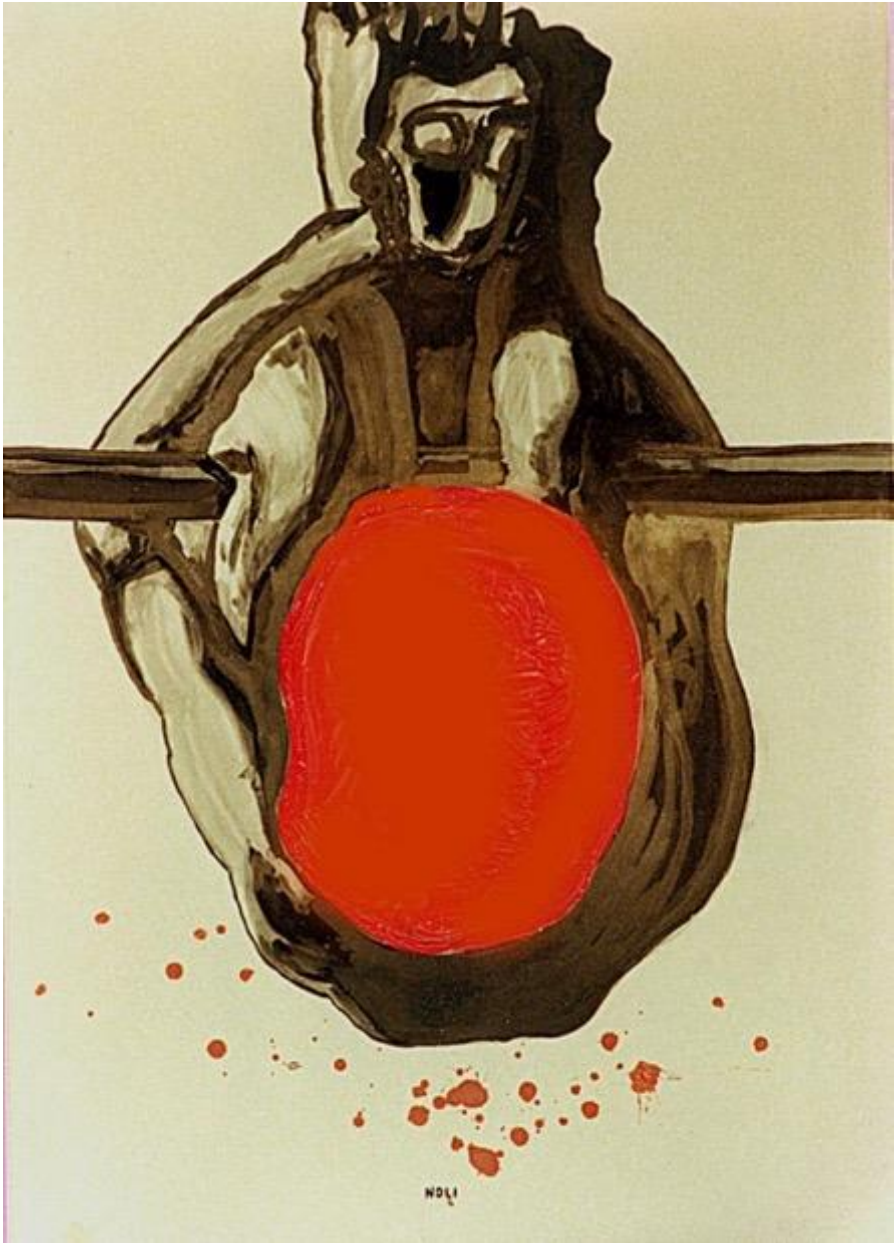
in Quiriquina Island run by the Navy. “Prisoner of war” was the denomination officially used by the authorities, which even issued certificates of detention signed by and with the seal of “Chief of the Prisoners Camp – Quiriquina Island, First Lt. Pedro Arrieta Gurruchaga (see Marcello’s certificate in image further below).

The political prisoners then arrested believed that the measure was taken in connection to the visit of a delegation of the International Red Cross which took place at the Island.

Matching the notion that the detainees were to be considered “war” prisoner, the national newspaper *La Tercera* published on October 6th 1973 a full front-page photo of some of the arrested at the camp (with Marcello among them), and with the footnote “there (detained at the camp) for they have attacked the Armed Forces with fire weapons” or – referring to the local authorities of the deposed government – “for being the intellectual authors in a

plan to exterminate military officers and politicians belonging to Allende's opposition".

Days after DINA assassinated in the "Campo de Prisoners de la Isla Quiriquina" – under interrogation- the former Governor of the Region (Intendente) Fernando Alvarez, the one who appeared at the centre of the referred picture in La Tercera. He was one of the several Marcello's peer inmates at Quiriquina who died at the camp, including those executed by firing squad such Carrillo, the union leader of the coal workers in Lota-Coronel.



The torture. Painting by the author, showed at the exhibition organised by Amnesty International in Stockholm's *Kulturhuset*, 1977.

Interrogations in Quiriquina Island

The interrogations to the prisoners were performed as regular twice a week by agents of a nation-wide security organization to be known later as the National Directory of Intelligence DINA. These agents came to the Island from the garrisons at Concepción.

As in other detention centres of the Navy in Talcahuano, torture was widespread used; especially in the Marines's Borgoño garrison (*Cuartel Borgoño*).

In fact the DINA personnel that took part in the interrogations were integrated by officers and petty officers selected from all branches of the Armed Forces.

During the interrogations the questions for Marcello Ferrada-Noli by the DINA²⁹ agents remained monotonously unchanged: a) Where did he hide the weapons? ³⁰ and b), Where is Miguel Enríquez?

One of the memories Marcello has vividly from the epoch is this account:

“In one occasion that a Navy lieutenant was in charge of the interrogations, he said to me: You know, that we know, of your close friendship with Miguel Enríquez since you were kids. So, I bet you know perfectly well where is he hiding. I

²⁹ DINA, *Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia*. At that time had a slightly different name.

³⁰ See book *Amore e Resistenza*. Libertarian Books, 2021. “*Solo una cosa le preoccupa*”, in page 46.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/03/10/amore-e-resistenza/>

answered: Yes, that is right, as you say yourself, that everybody knows here that Miguel and I we have been that close friends, since kids. Exactly. It would be absurd to deny that. Yet, I don't know where he is. And he is, publicly known, MIR's head commander. So, I doubt that anyone except himself knows where is he staying. And, by the way, even if I knew -which as I said it is impossible in reality- even in that impossible case I wouldn't be able to tell. The same than you, if you were asked where is your absolute best friend, that has been so since childhood, a friend like a brother to you, you would never tell, I am sure about that. And you are sure too about that. ”

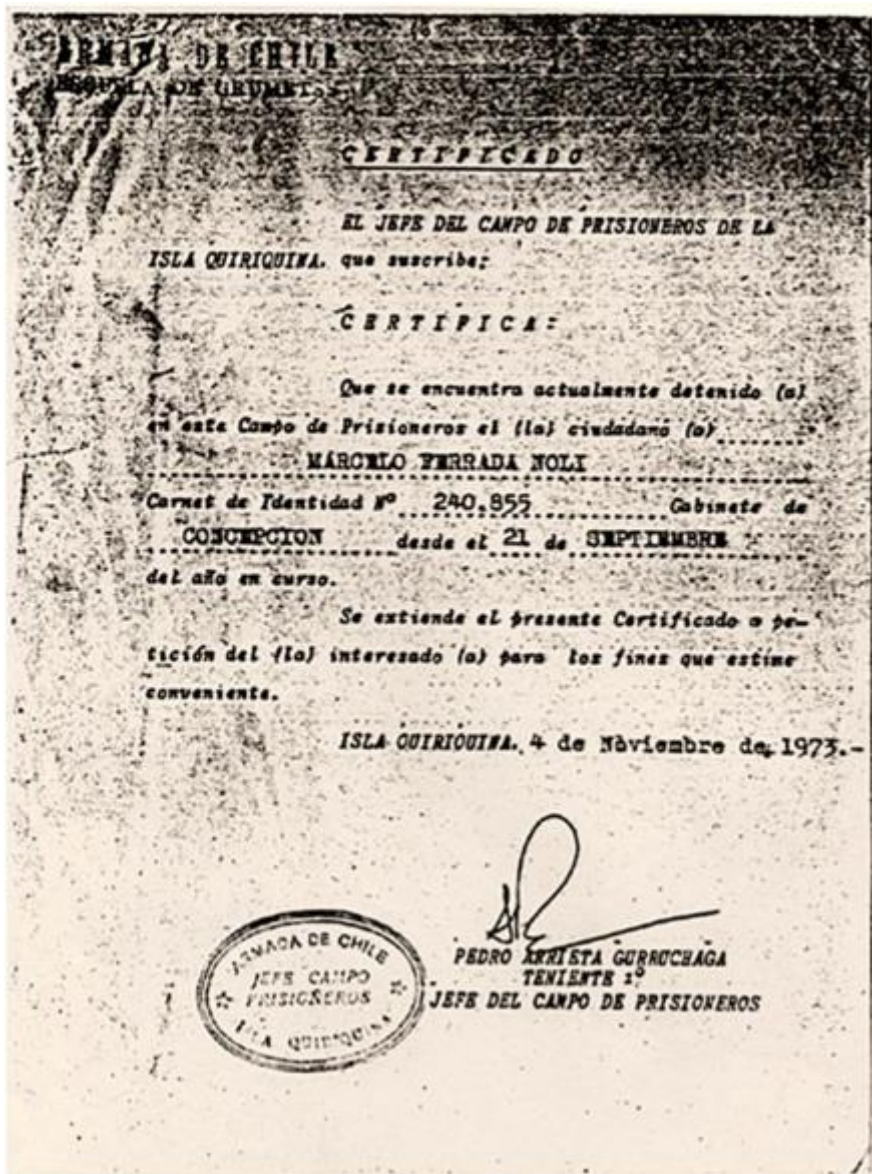
After that “interrogation”, the lieutenant ordered the guards to take back Marcello to the barracks (the compound's gym) where all male prisoners were.

While in Quiriquina Island, Marcello and some prisoner friends elaborated on an escape plan. Marcello had already sailing and navigation skills, learned from years before. Quiriquina Island is a part of the Naval Base of Talcahuano, of the Chilean Navy, and they had hidden Navy working uniforms which were of very simple design, and easy to emulate with help of transformed jeans and civil clothes.

But it was no need to pursue an escape from the Island.

Around December's last week, he was taken away from the Quiriquina Camp. Although captivity did not end there.

Marcello was instead transported to mainland, at the Navy Base in Talcahuano, in a sealed empty metal tank on board a Navy tug-boat. Destiny: The detention centre in Cuartel Borgoño, in main land Talcahuano.



Above: certificate of Marcello being prisoner at Quiriquina Island

Back to Inferno

After staying detained at the Navy Base of Talcahuano, Marcello was picked up by the military, which travelled to that end from Concepción, and took him to the headquarters of the III Military Division. There his brother Mauricio ultimately picked him up later the same day.

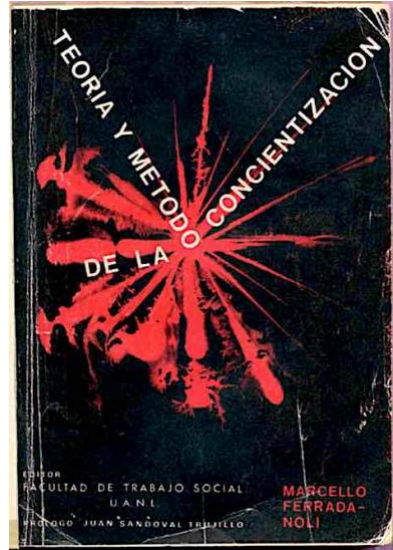
What had happened? And who was his brother?



Photo above: Brothers Mauricio (at left) and Marcello

In 1972, Marcello had been working as invited professor at the University of Nuevo León, in Monterrey, México. The Mexican university had published a book authored by Marcello, that was apparently well received in the progressive academic institutions of country, since new editions were released.

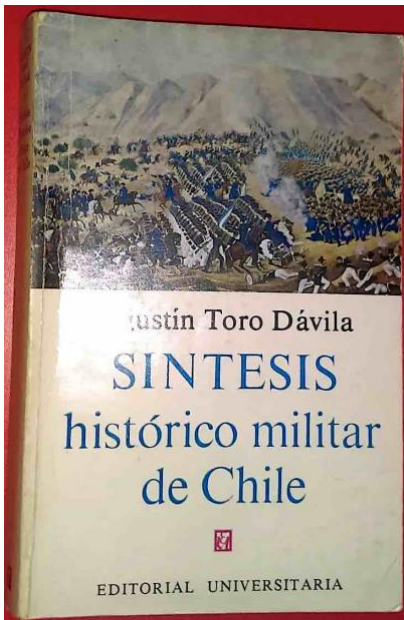
Would that had contributed he became known by colleagues from the University of Mexico, in the capital? Marcello does not know.



The fact is that academics at the University of Mexico were active in the release of Marcello from captivity in Chile.

When his Mexican colleagues knew of the imprisonment of Marcello in Quiriquina Island, they obtained from the university authorities a new invitation for him to lecture in Mexico –which they sent in a letter to his family’s postal address in Concepción.

In those weeks, Pinochet had replaced the commander of the Army División in Concepción (*Tercera División de Ejército*), which at that time was headed by the tough General Washington Carrasco. The new named commander was General Agustín Toro Dávila, a man of “*más mundo*” (meaning, roughly, “travelled in different cultures”), says Marcello.



At the moment General Toro received the new appointment, he was stationed at the Embassy of Chile in México. In his diplomatic role he had made acquaintance with the authorities of the University of Mexico, the main academic centre of the country.

Agustín Toro Dávila was also author of historical investigations, for instance, his two-volumes book *Síntesis de la Historia Militar de Chile*, had been published by then prestigious *Editorial Universitaria*

in 1969, that is during the democratic years, long before Pinochet's coup. And he was (appointed by the military government) Rector of the University of Chile 1976-1979.

And Marcello was not an unknown person for General Toro. They have met years before in Arica, being the first time at the wedding of Marcello's brother Mauricio.

And who was Mauricio at that time? Mauricio was then a first lieutenant at the Artillery Regiment in Arica, and head of staff of the Regiment's commander –namely, the then Colonel Agustín Toro Dávila.

What destiny made possible

By the end of December 1973, destiny had made possible the following:

a) The now (1973) Artillery captain Mauricio Ferrada –by then stationed at the Artillery Regiment *Silva Renard* in Concepción, meets again his old commander and mentor, the now General Agustín Toro, whom, by December 1973, had been appointed head of all Chilean Armed Forces in the region –which includes the Navy Base of Talcahuano (where the Quiriquina Camp belonged).

b) General Toro (picture at right) had come to Concepción directly from his post at the Chilean Embassy in Mexico, where he had established valuable social and academic contacts .



c) Marcello receives an official invitation to work as invited professor in México University, while been detained as political prisoner at Quiriquina.

After a meeting with Mauricio, where he showed the general the letter with the invitation arrived from México, General Toro Dávila ordered a) the release of Marcello from Quiriquina, b) the immediate eviction of Marcello from Chilean territory. ³¹

³¹ *Author's note:* The Decree-law of State Interior Security, issued by the Ministry of Justice 27 September 1924, established “extrañamiento” as an option among the penalties for a crime against the State security, meaning “those who take up arms against the constituted government”.

So, General Toro Dávila wrote by hand –in the same envelope containing the said academic invitation to México, the “authorization” for Marcello leaving the country.



The handwritten and signed text (above) by General Toro Dávila;

Captain Ferrada:

In agreement with your petition, your brother may be authorized to travel to Mexico. Be careful with what he speaks there”.

There was another reason why the eviction should have taken hastily. While imprisoned in Quiriquina, the *Fiscalía Militar* (Prosecutor Gustavo Villagrán Cabrera) prepared the dossier to take Marcello to a military court. And while the process was in Court, he would not be able to leave the country.

Marcello is not sure about the final categorization of his supposedly crime, as suspected by Prosecutor Villagrán. But in the interrogations he had been charged for taking part in an operative

consisting of a weapon transport and smuggling it into Chile. That had been mentioned by other prisoners before Marcello entered the Quiriquina, and because they were convinced that Marcello had been killed in the sporadic resistance episodes that took place in the centre of Concepción, something that newspaper *El Sur* had written about in those days.

The process against Marcello at the *Fiscalía Militar* was eventually dropped only about six years later, while Marcello was already living in Sweden. He formally had denied all the charges, including not revealing to Prosecutor Villagrán about his participating in the MIR.

In sum, there were several factors that contributed to cease Marcello's staying at the Prisoners camp in Quiriquina

a) Thanks to family pressure, b) also the fact that he was publicly recognized as being a prisoner at Quiriquina Island, c) the solidarity of his peers at the Camp –which never revealed what was his real role at the organization MIR at the moment of the coup, and what he did on the days after; and d) The academic pressure from Mexico.

As noted, that was decided only with a clearly stipulated condition, as mentioned above: Marcello should leave the country and he was also expected to do so immediately. In the handwritten order by General Agustín Toro Dávila, Marcello was warned that he should be “careful” with what he was going to say abroad.

But then, things turned worse

Brothers Mauricio and Marcello went together to their parents' residence where a flight ticket and a packed suit case were waiting for Marcello. There Marcello reunited also with his new born son

José-Miguel and mother, and a relieved brother Mauricio finally could travel with his wife and kids to a long postponed summer vacation in Southern Chile.

However, the drama did not end there for Marcello.

As soon as Marcello's brother Mauricio had left Concepción came two agents and arrested Marcello anew, taking him directly back to the prisoners camp at the football stadium in Concepción (the very place where Marcello was detained before sent to Quiriquina). The 'DINA' agents –who they said obeyed orders from the headquarters in Santiago, would not comply with General Toro's gentlemanly gesture towards his brother in arms – once his own attaché officer– namely Marcello's brother Mauricio.

Marcello was then taken prisoner and transported to the Stadium in a van together with another detainee: Professor Galo Gómez, Vice Rector of the University of Concepción and a militant of the Socialist Party. Galo Gómez was also expelled from Chile in 1974 for similar reasons.³²

During his night at the Stadium, Marcello said he shared cell with two of his best personal friends at that time: Marco Antonio Enríquez (Miguel's eldest brother, also professor at the University of Concepción) and Rodrigo Rojas (a medical doctor, son of the National Literature Prize, Gonzalo Rojas).

³² A record filed at the detention centre *Colonia Dignidad*, regarding people from Concepción, reads: "(Galo Gómez) has to leave the country, because he is considered a risk to the state national security". <https://www.sinetiqueta.cl/el-espionaje-de-colonia-dignidad-en-concepcion/>

To complicate things, Marcello's parents had gone Santiago, to receive in the airport their daughter Carmen Consuelo, arriving back to Chile from Great Britain, together with her husband. Her husband was also a professor at the University of Concepción, but of public right-wing political affiliation, Marcello said.

The timing for the detention anew of Marcello is explained by the 'DINA' decision of sending him to Chacabuco prisoners camp, in Northern Chile (approximately two thousand kilometres from Concepción). That day, the military were gathering the selected prisoners in the Football stadium of Concepción. Then, they should be transported by flight to the said Chacabuco camp.

For Marcello's family, the prospective of an airborne transport of Marcello by the military, would have been something worrisome. Why? Because they were well aware of what Pinochet had declared just some months before:

"La opinión mía es que estos caballeros se toman y se mandan por avión a cualquier parte, e incluso por el camino los van tirando abajo."

"In my opinion, these gentlemen have to be detained and to be sent by flight to anywhere, including being thrown down during the flight".^{33 34}

³³ Augusto Pinochet, referring the case of the detainees by the military. The declaration, of own voice, is in the tapes recorded on September 11, 1973 (dialogue with General Carvajal. In: Tito Drago, *Chile, un doble secuestro*. Editorial Complutense, 1993. Page 182.

³⁴ Source: AP (Aljazeera), "About 150 bodies, many of them weighed down by sections of railway track, were thrown from helicopters into the ocean and lakes, the military has acknowledged."

With all Marcello's family away, the mother of Marcello's newborn son was alone in Concepción, and thus she had to deal by her own with the new critical situation. Eventually, she managed to contact Marcello's brother Mauricio, who interrupted his holiday to come – at the very last minute- and rescue his brother from boarding the military transport.

This time Mauricio came with his own military escort and in addition with Captain Sanchez and his platoon. He was carrying the written General orders. The Intelligent agents at the stadium said to Marcello – and in front of his brother and escort- “we do not release you, you go just because your brother and his Artillery men are taking you out, but we will come back to you, and you will come back here”.

As noted above, his brother Mauricio was then a captain at the Artillery Regiment “Silva Renard” in Concepción. It should be mentioned that Marcello comes from a military family. Before his time as entrepreneur and factory owner, his father had been Mayor at the Carbineers, and two of his uncles served as officers under Pinochet, one of them was General Patricio Zúñiga Fuenzalida.

The family support would be able to getting him out from the Quiriquina and the Stadium infernos. But not to stop the expulsion from the country. And as already explained, the expulsion should be done swiftly. It was clearly stipulated that such order of Marcello leaving the country should be made effective immediately. Marcello was presented as well a hand written

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/8/8/ex-chile-spy-chief-dies-while-serving-500-year-sentence>

warning –by General Agustín Toro Dávila– on that he should be very careful with what he was going to say abroad.

Some were ‘officers and gentlemen’

Marcello insists on that the repressive forces during the Pinochet’s government were ferociously repressive. They committed atrocities comparable with the worst war crimes in history, not to mention the crimes against the human rights, he says. “Particularly hit were the leaders and cadres of MIR, many of them assassinated in cold blood, or tortured to death.”

But he adds that although it is an issue to never forget, and that it should be pursued in international courts, it is not the case of naming all of each of the military personnel as criminals.

According to him, not all the Army and Navy personnel acted as DINA agents did. He mentioned several episodes, that he witnessed himself, which can tell about the other side of the behaviour of military or navy personnel towards the detainees or their families.

He told that in one of the several interrogatory sessions held with him in Quiriquina, a Navy lieutenant dismissed him without further mistreatment after an argumentation based on the ethics of friendship (to the question if Marcello knew where Miguel Enríquez was).^{35 36}

³⁵ Read on this episode in chapter *Interrogations in Quiriquina Island*, elsewhere in this book.

³⁶ Other episodes referred in the book *Lo Paradojal de La Vida*.
<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/02/25/lo-paradojal-de-la-vida/>

Marcello said “in very general terms, it was in a way similar to the difference between the SS and the Wermacht, the behaviour of the fanatics at the Gestapo contrasting to the strictly militarily, and at times gentlemanly, behaviour of the professional officers, at least those who respected the Geneva Convention”.

Shortly thereafter Marcello was escorted – this time also with his brother in uniform on his side until the last minute – to the exile flight from Santiago de Chile.

Arriving to Rome

Marcello, the MIR militant, did not comply with the general’s warning, about he should remain silent on the events in Concepción. Instead, he went directly thereafter to Rome to participate as a main witness at the Russell Tribunal investigating the violation of human rights in Chile, in the aftermath of the Military Coup.

Marcello stayed afterwards as a member of the Russell Tribunal’s Scientific Committee, together with, among others, Gabriel García Marquez and Senator Lelio Basso.

He also participated in the activities of MIR’s cell in Rome. The Committee at Russell Tribunal was chaired by Linda Bimbi, which made afterwards possible for Marcello the contacts with Amnesty International in Sweden. There new duties on behalf of MIR waited for Marcello in Stockholm.

Among those tasks, he was entrusted with the organization and command of the Counterintelligence unit of MIR, precisely aimed to neutralize the killings of Pinochet’s Operatiojn Condor.

And years after, amid his second exile in Scandinavia, Marcello would pursue in 1998 General Augusto Pinochet's international trial.

Helsinki, December 2002.

[End of Anna-Leena Jarva's text]



Anna-Leena Jarva and the author, Helsinki, 2001

Part III: Pinochet's prisoner at the Quiriquina Island Camp

My life as Pinochet's prisoner in Quiriquina Island



In the photo above from the newspaper “El Diario Color”, the captions read: “Marcello Ferrada. Ex-Profesor de Filosofía de la Universidad de Concepción, with a military hair-cut and very thoughtful. He did not approach to the journalists. At his side, other individuals detained in the Island”.

The “Contingency Military Plan”

At the time of General Augusto Pinochet's Coup D'état I was mobilized in the organization-unit belonging to the GPM (*Grupo político-militar*) of the *Comité Regional Concepción* of the MIR. The actions were already set for each GPM and its units in the *Plan Militar de Emergencia (PME)* which prevailed in MIR in anticipation of the Coup D'état. This plan was not in the main followed by MIR in Concepción. Partly due to the Nr 2 ordinance (comunicado nr 2) distributed by the Comite

Regional the 12 of September in which we were asked to “wait and see”. I received this communicate in hand through personal courier, in a rendezvous sat in Maipú and Aníbal Pinto street, close to *Galería Rialto*, where the Communication and Telephone Central of MIR in Concepción had its clandestine quarters in the second floor (“La Central”).

This was also a centralized unit ad hoc the Regional Secretariat of MIR. The unit’s task was also the decoding of the encrypted messages coming from MIR command in Santiago (“La Comisión Política”, led av [Miguel Enríquez](#)). The communiqué was given to me by one of the three militant-girls ascribed to *La Central* (“H”, I have her name), and she said were instructions of the Secretario Regional of MIR in Concepción.

Sharing my first safe house – already from early morning of September 11 – with Marco Antonio Enríquez (elder brother of the leader of MIR) in Avda Roosevelt near the University campus, we questioned the authenticity of such *comunicado nr 2* apparently contradicting what we knew of Miguel’s activities in Santiago.

Thus, in trying to adjust to the Plan, I changed again to a safe house located ad hoc a Pharmacy in Barros Arana Street – right in front of a building of the Carabineers – to monitor troop movements. We choose safe-houses only located in central Concepción or around military compounds, in order to deal with the curfew-situation, which otherwise limited our night operations (situation – regrettfully – not contemplated in the PME). The first house, rather big, was owned by a family of President Allende’s sympathizers which also run there a Pharmacy.

We initiated nocturnal actions in central Concepción the first night after September 11. However, since in the house were also hidden various non-combatants Allende sympathizers, ultimately we were asked by its owners to leave the premises, in fear of a searching if we would be followed or captured.

If I remember well, these actions were reported by the newspaper “El Sur” the 13 or 14 September, with a picture of fire-giving from the roofs in central Concepción.

Capture

I was later captured while transported under curfew by my father (a former officer) obliged to leave suddenly my fourth safe house and with no contacts left in the organization. The head of the *Comisión de organización* (my unit) was captured in Las Higueras and taken to Quiriquina Island where I later met him heavily tortured. He never talked and saved thus several lives (he is now a doctor exiled in Holland). La Central at Galleria Rialto had been closed down by MIR’s initiative.

My father did not know anything beyond that I was “on the run” and in need of help for transport that night. Having my father right-wing political sympathies, I did not carry anything that could compromise. The vehicle was intercepted by an Army patrol in Las Heras street.

At the spot identified only as a Professor of the University of Concepción (closed down by the military the very day of the coup) and not as militant of MIR, I was taken to the Football Stadium in Concepción. However – as courtesy to the family this transport under the custody of Artillery officers under my brother’s command (at the time a captain in the Artillery

Regiment, and whom my father contacted immediately). It was not the last time he would save my life.



The Stadium in Concepción (pictured above) was a first detention portal of unprocessed detainees. DINA did not exist at that time yet, and the Intelligence and repression activities at the Stadium coexisted with the ordinary logistic and security “taking care” of the prisoners.

The Intelligence activities were carried out in the beginning by an hybrid ad hoc pluton integrated by officers and petty-officers of the Army, Carabiners, Political Civil Police (Servicio de Investigaciones, and the repressive part performed by brutal ordinary staff and officers of the “Gendarmería” (ordinary prison

or jail-guards formations). The logistic and security tasks were in charge of a company from the Army.

Here at the Stadium of Concepción the detainees were sorted according to political hierarchy and participation character (political or insurgents). Most of those categorized as political cadres, militants or leaders of the *Unidad Popular* (Allende's political coalition) and MIR, were taken from the Stadium in Concepción, airborne, to a camp in Chacabuco, in northern Chile.

On the other hand, political leaders with suspected responsibility in former “subversive” preparedness (the so-called “Plan Z”, an euphemistic denomination found by the Military Junta to refer potential subversive capability), or cadres suspected of participation in resistance activities, were either shot or taken for further interrogation to [Fuerte Borgoño](#) (Marines) and eventually to the prisoners camp in [Quiriquina Island](#). In these two compounds were also executed several prisoners. Eventually, later in 1974, some few prisoners in Quiriquina Island which after re-evaluation met the “Chacabuco” criteria (see above), were again gathered at the Stadium in Concepción and together with other prisoners (59 in total) sent in an Air Force Hercules to the [Chacabuco Camp](#).

For my part I was identified by Intelligence officers at the Stadium as militant of MIR, and suspected of resistance participation. First I was in the line to be shot – at the orders of Teniente de Gendarmería Vallejos – together with two other prisoners.

These were the former Director of *Socoagro* in Chillán, and a young adolescent detained when carrying dynamite he had taken from the *Cantera* he worked at. We were saved from under the Stadium's Southern arc at last minute by the intervention

of Capitan Sánchez, the commander of the Military company at the Stadium (more of this episode in the biographic report “*The red, the black, and the white*”, by Anna-Leena Jarva).³⁷

From there I was taken together with a number of other detainees to the Navy Base in Talcahuano, where a concentration of detainees from elsewhere in the military region took place. Here were selected after further investigation those detainees who would fall in the military jargon under the category “prisoners”, meaning that they would be held in captivity at the infamous Quiriquina Island Camp. But some perished under torture or were assassinated.

Prisoner in Quiriquina Island

I arrived at Quiriquina Camp with eleven other prisoners. Two of them had come as detainees from the cool-mine city of Lota and were shot at the Quiriquina Camp short after we had arrived. One was of the name Carrillo, a trade union leader in the mining zone and heroes of the resistance against Pinochet.

When I entered the main gate in the “Gymnasium” – where at the time all the about 800 prisoners were kept together in one local – my comrades in MIR were surprised, to say the least. The reason was that I have been reported dead in the Concepción actions.

One of the prisoners which received me, a young student of name Quiero, even said to me that in Coronel (a mining city in the

³⁷ “*The red, the black, and the white*”, by Anna-Leena Jarva.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2021/05/20/the-red-the-black-and-the-white/>

Region) they have set a hit-unit called my name, as honours to the dead in action!

Also Miguel Enríquez got the report of these actions and my presumptive death. This was told to me in Malmö in 1976, by the wife of Alvaro Rodas (an old-timer from the VRM period, and if I remember well, member of the first Central Committee of MIR). According to what she told me in occasion of a MIR-meeting (cells of MIR for the “*trabajo de apoyo exterior*”) we had in their apartment in Malmö, she heard herself from Miguel, saying, literally, “cayó Ferradita” (Ferradita has been captured). And that Miguel was visibly affected by it, she told me.

The above situation – that I was believed by many comrades killed by the military in Concepción – had important, and even determinant, positive consequences for my survival at the Camp and at the interrogations under torture.

For those not acquainted with clandestine operations under severe violent military repression, it will be perhaps difficult to understand what follows. The fact is that before I came to the Quiriquina Camp, various of my comrades – interrogated under torture – blamed me for the personal responsibility or executor of the particular operations or activity these comrades were suspected to have had in MIR. The “blame the dead” was a necessary tactic of survival that spontaneously grew in such torture centers.

[Photo below, the wired fences around and above the ominous empty cemented hole in the ground, a monstrous pool, that served as collective detention site].



The above in turn served me as a miraculous survival tool under torture. For when the agents asked me about all kind of items including the items which were truly my responsibility, I invariable responded that “naturally” *nothing* of that was – altogether – true, for the source of those reports on my doings was most certain the practice of “blame the death”, and that I had left my active contacts with MIR (I could not deny that I was a founder of MIR, but “that was historic”) for long time ago when I became Professor at the University of Concepción. All wick the interrogators finally accepted after several weeks.

In conjunction with above, it is important to understand the nature of these interrogation processes at the Quiriquina Island.

a) The interrogations were NOT carried out in the first place by the personal in charge of the prisoners or the Navy personnel at the Island. Instead the interrogators were Intelligence personal from the Carabiners, the Army, and the Navy, which travelled episodal and constantly to the Island to exercise their sinister task. Also, they belonged at

that time to their respective sections within the military Intelligence system. A situation that changed during November 1974, with the *de facto* creation of DINA, Pinochet's *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional*.³⁸

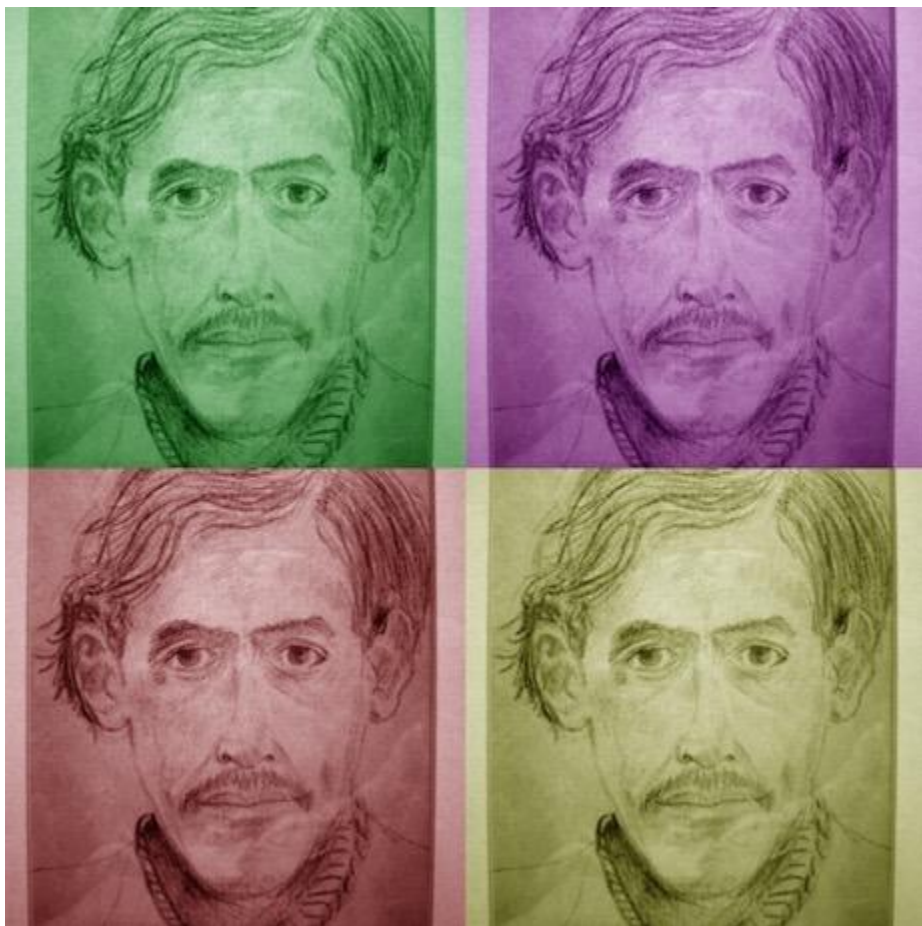
b) These individuals rotated constantly. At least under my time at the Quiriquina Island (one), at the Detention centre at the Naval Base in Talcahuano (twice), and at the Regional Football Stadium in Concepción (twice). At Quiriquina Island the arriving interrogators sometimes were only Carabineers, or only Army, and sometimes a mixture from all services.

c) 1973-1974 it was a time of no computerized information, no data files reachable with a click. Instead the information was gathered in notes taken by the interrogators themselves under a situation in which they were at the very same time the torture-agents themselves.

What I mean – in the context of my experiences at the Quiriquina – is that this constant rotation meant that many of the items asked to me in those interrogations were based only in note-reports taken from other agents in different occasions and before I got in the Island.

All which made less difficult for me to play the convincing survival plot described before, added that the agents interrogating me were not those with the relevant hard data.

³⁸ Officially, DINA creation was first recognized in a Junta's decret of 14 June 1974.



Four decades. Graphic by Armando Popa, 2009. Based on *Portrait of political prisoner Armando Popa* (Ferrada-Noli 1973)

But that was of course not *the* ultimate reason of my survival, of why my true role in MIR at the time of the Coup and in the actions afterwards was never known by my captors at the Quiriquina Island. The reason, as I see it, is because those who actually knew of my activities, such as the head of the Organization Detail of the GPM Regional Committee of MIR in Concepción I truly belonged to, and not only the front political unit at the University of Concepción. This friend

is Renato Valdés, a doctor living now in Holland. He never revealed anything, never talked at the interrogations even under heavy and prolonged torture.

It was everything so dramatic. Every time one of our comrades was called by complete name in the loudspeakers and asked to report himself at the gate of the huge collective cell (the gymnasium) to be taken by the marine-guards to the interrogation/torture sites. Another time, any time, it would be the turn again of any of us who were left for the time being in the uncertain waiting list.

It was on those circumstances which I remember most vividly Renato Valdés, which is a situation I am sure characterizes the situation of any of the prisoners of MIR at the Quiriquina Island. Coming back from interrogation after hours of us waiting anxious for his eventual return. And the dramatic mixture of feelings while two or three comrades sat around him on the floor of the gymnasium:

Disappointment, because in the best of cases he could have set free. Relief, by the fact he was still by us, and otherwise he could have resulted much worse, including the risk of perishing under torture. Sadness, because of the horrible shape – physical and psychological – that those interrogations inflicted in all of us. And finally, the satisfaction and proud that he survived the interrogation without saying anything that could compromise us.

MIR resists in Concepción

The resistance of MIR in Concepción, as in the rest of the country, has not been sufficiently described. Several reasons explain this, which I have referred in my text *That morning of September 11 1973*.

However, one clear demonstration of this active armed resistance in Concepción is given by this photo in the front page of a main Santiago newspaper, *La Tercera* (6 October 1973). In the footnote it is explained that the “extremists” shown in the picture are prisoners in the Quiriquina Camp “for have attacked the Military forces with firearms”.

The rest are, according to the photo caption, political top leaders of the former Unidad Popular (the political coalition in support of Allende, in which MIR did not participate). In fact, the only such political leader of the Unidad Popular shown in the actual picture is Fernando Alvarez (centre of the picture, dark coat and light hat. He died under torture at the camp just few days after the picture was taken).

The photo below (in next page) corresponds to newspaper *La Tercera's* front page, on 6 October 1973. It pictures “the extremists which attacked the military forces with fireweapons”, according to the text. I am depicted in the photo by the arrow from the right.

Other focus of resistance of MIR in Concepción were known to exist in the periphery of the City (*Cordones Industriales*). This was also, as in the case of Central Concepción, more an “automatic response” from the part of *GPM* units or militants following the “Plan Militar de Emergencia”.



EN LA ISLA QUIRIQUINA SE HA CONCENTRADO A LOS EXTREMISTAS y a los jefes locales de Concepción del pasado régimen marxista. Los primeros están allí por haber atacado con armas de fuego a las fuerzas militares. Los segundos, como es el caso del ex intendente Fernando Alvarez —al centro de la foto, con abrigo oscuro y jockey— por ser los autores intelectuales del plan destinado a exterminar a los oficiales y hombres más destacados de la oposición.

A glimpse at the Prisoners Camp

The picture below (*Diario El Sur*) show the door to the main collective cell in the Quiriquina Camp. All the photos here were taken by Concepción journalists accompanying a Swiss delegation of the International Red Cross under the one and only visit ever permitted to the Camp in 1974.



Here are other pictures of the Quiriquina Camp published October 1973 by newspapers in Concepción. The first one in “Diario Color”. The second one in “El Sur”. The remaining one also in “Diario Color”. In the picture first below I am depicted by the red arrow, to the left.

Edmundo Bustos, de Los Angeles, que manifestó hallarse bien, pero aburrida por la lentitud del proceso. Esto fue señalado por varias detenciones.

LOS HOMBRES

En la piscina vacía, ubicada en la parte posterior del gimnasio-bañar donde duermen 513 varones, se encontraba el grueso de éstos. Estaban allí mientras se ventilaba el gimnasio. Esto se hace cotidianamente, según indicó el comandante Henríquez. Los periodistas se vieron enfrentados a todos los hombres. Y la avidez por ubicar rostros conocidos fue general entre la totalidad de los visitantes. Ciertamente, todos los reporteros hallaron allí gente amiga o conocida. La labor periodística es así. El contacto diario con ex autoridades, ex funcionarios o ex dirigentes, era cosa rutinaria hasta antes del pronunciamiento militar del 11 de septiembre.

EL DIARIO Color, conversó con varias personas. Lo hizo con el reportero gráfico de nacionalidad española Ernesto Nabás, a quien le dijo el comandante Henríquez, en presencia de los visitantes, que el cónsul se lo llevaría a España, para lo cual llegaría hoy.

recibidos en el baño.

En la parte posterior de la piscina, un grupo numeroso de personas no quiso acercarse a los periodistas. Al igual como había ocurrido minutos antes en el recinto donde están las mujeres, ellos rebayeron todo contacto con los visitantes. Allí se encontraban ex servidores de la Armada, que participaron en la sublevación de la Base Naval.

Minutos antes de marcharse la delegación desde la piscina, un detenido consultó al comandante Henríquez Garat sobre la situación de sus familias, dado que los jefes de hogar se encuentran allí. El oficial naval le dijo que hay un poder firmado ya, para que las esposas cobren las remuneraciones de sus maridos recluidos en la isla Quiriquina.

Antes de alejarnos del lugar, dimos un último "vistazo". Percibimos varios rostros. El del ex-intendente de Concepción, Fernando Álvarez Castillo; de Claudio Rivera, ex-gerente de Agencias Graham; de Alonso Moena, ex-secretario ejecutivo de la Central de Distribución; Francisco Benavente, ex-periodista del diario El Sur.

En el interior del gimnasio se encontraban el ex-regidor comunista, Gonzalo Rivera; el ex-gobernador departamental de Talcahuano, Estanislao Montoya Rodríguez.



CON MANTAS Y FRAZADAS, los detenidos en la Isla Quiriquina que habían sido irusulados en la mañana a la piscina vacía de la Escuela de Grametes, se cucharon a los oficiales navales que acompañaban

a los periodistas. En primer plano, de barba, el ex-gobernador de Talcahuano, José Toledo Toledo. De gafas, Juan Hernández, ex-directivo del Sectorial Pesquero.

El Rostro de



De cualquier ángulo, siempre se repletan rostros conocidos. Al centro, abajo, Fernando Alvarez Castillo. A la derecha, de perfil con lentes y manos en bolsillo Pablo Aznar.



LAS PERSONAS arrestadas en la Isla Quiriquina que fueron visitadas ayer por los periodistas mostraron interés en las palabras del comandante

te Henríquez Garat, quien les señaló que tengan paciencia frente a la necesaria lentitud del proceso

EL DIARIO COLOR

117. Edición de 16 Páginas. Concepción, Viernes 5 de Octubre de 1973 Precio del Ejemplar E\$ 25.

En Materia Económica:

At the Quiriquina Camp, when not under interrogation or in isolating cell, the treatment was of collective *forced labour*. We were organized by the Navy Camp authority in “companies”, e.g. Company A (or Company “Ancla”, where I was), Company B (“Bote”) etc. The main activity of the companies was to do heavy work of construction, or restoring, of a very old stone Fort, the Fuerte Rondizonni. It was going to serve as the new prison for ourselves.

We were constructing our own prison! In the few hours of rest I spend much time in painting, or drawing, as the resources would allow. I did mainly portrait of my fellow prisoners, but also of guards and of the Camp.

I gave a few other designs and paintings to the Red Cross officials visiting the Camp. I conserve thus a few pieces. One is the portrait of a younger colleague, Armando – *Mandy* – Popa (see below). He was at the time medical student at the University of Concepción. Both Armando and his brother Ricardo, also a friend of mine, exiled thereafter in Sweden working as doctors. Armando lives now in Singapore.

Liberated?



“Captain Ferrada: Agreeing with your petition, your brother may be authorized to leave for Mexico. Be careful with what he will be talking over there”

– Signed: General Agustin Toro.

I was taken from the Quiriquina Island camp by the last week of December 1973. I was first transported to final interrogation at the Naval Base in Talcahuano, and then in custody to Concepción for house arrest at my father’s residence situated in Colo-Colo street crossing San Martin street. That is in Concepción’s central area, and just beside the buildings where we offered resistance on the first two nights of the coup.

In this context, I have to add that in my family there were several members associated with the military elites. Besides my father, my brother Maurizio became Colonel in the Chilean Army, and my other brother, Riccardo, a judge under the Pinochet era. Furthermore, my closest uncles (married with my mother's sisters) were also high commanders at the military. My uncle Patrizio Zuiñiga was a general and professor in the Military Academy. His house in Las Condes was used by his colleague and friend General Augusto Pinochet as a "safe house". My other uncle was Colonel in the Telecommunications branch of the army. A cousin was officer in the Navy, and his daughter's husband also an officer in the Navy.

Another significant event, is that General Agustín Toro, the commander in charge of Chile's III Military Division (where the military garrisons in Concepción and the Talcahuano Naval force were allocated) had an old-time friendship with my brother Maurizio. This association comes from the times my brother, then a lieutenant, was his adjutant at the Artillery Regiment "Tacna" in Arica –where then Colonel Toro was the Regiment's commander . In fact, at the wedding of my brother in Arica, Summer 1971, I was invited and there I met Colonel Toro and family.

In 1972 I was in Mexico, invited professor at the *Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León*, in Monterrey. Meanwhile President Allende had sent Agustín Toro, now promoted to general, as military attaché to the Chilean Embassy in Mexico. In Mexico, I published a book –"Teoría y Método de la Concientización"– which reached certain spread at the time, with two editions published within six months. I would believe that General Toro, who was also there at the time, was aware of that publication and of my academic work in Mexico –.

So, *after* the military coup, Pinochet called General Toro back to Chile, and made him commander of the II Division with seat in Concepción. Coincidentally, my brother was at the time captain at the Cavalry-Artillery Regiment “Silva Renard”, also in Concepción.

When the news reached Mexico about my detention in Quiriquina Island, university colleagues mobilized to get me free. Among the steps they took was to send an open invitation for me to work at the University on Mexico. They also contacted General Toro, trying to recall on him memories if his pleasant staying in Mexico as military attaché in the Chilean diplomatic mission.

I couldn't know, I never will, what is what. I was deep imprisoned in the Quiriquina hole. But in a sunny early summer day I was called to present myself with all my tings to the prison's gate. When you hear that call in the loudspeakers you know what it means, that you are going to be taken to execution, or “at best”, transferred to another interrogation/torture centre.

But I was transported first at the naval Base in Talcahuano, and the day after back to Concepción. I was under arrest, with military custody on the door. At that time I knew of General Toro's decision to set me free on condition I would change prison for a penalty known in Chile as “extrañamiento” (eviction from the countries' borders) . So he “authorized” I could be let travel to México –but with military escort to the airport. He was not going to take any chances.

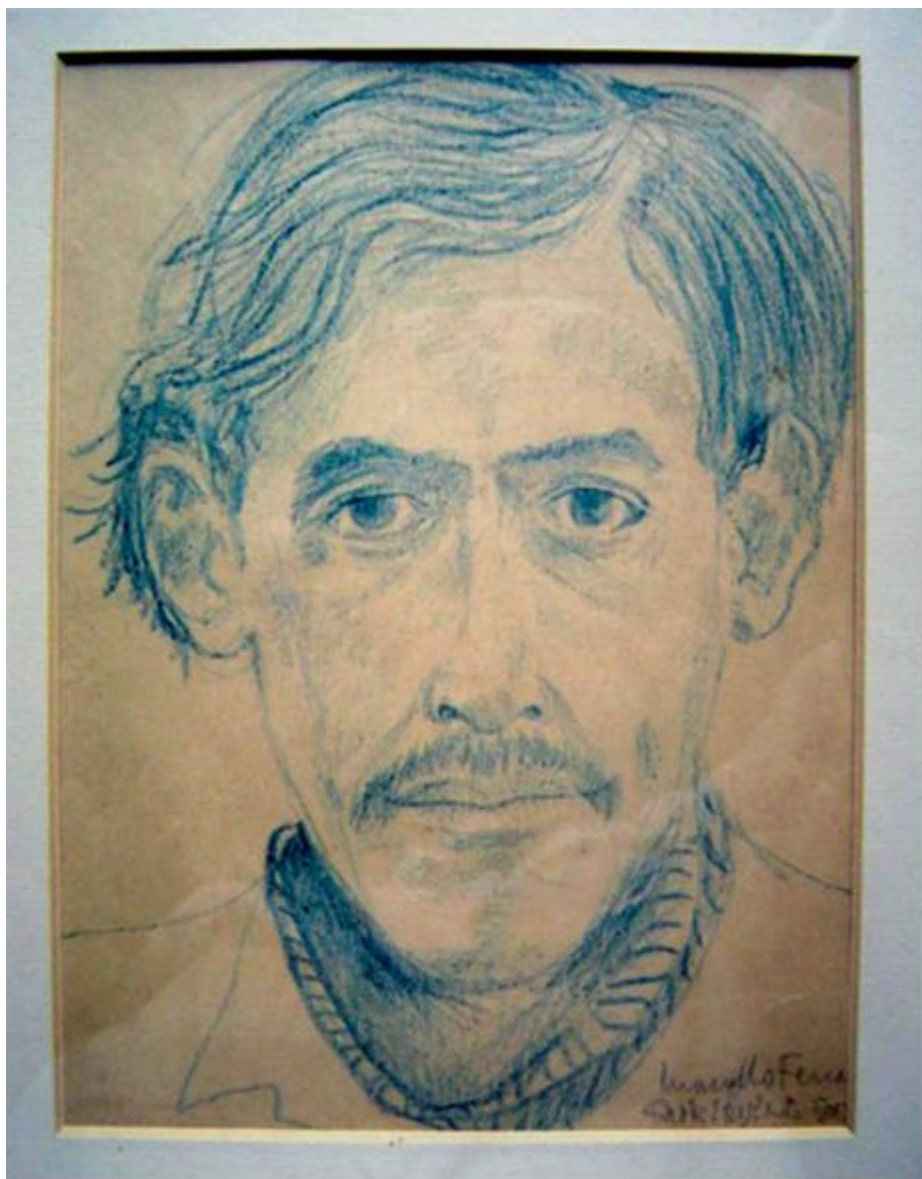
I was waiting for that transport escort, but when they arrived, they took me instead back to the Regional Stadium in Collao Avenue of Concepción. And it was then when the really drama began. This passage about the returning to the Stadium prison has been

described in “The Red , the Black and the White” of 2004. It is also in my book “*Rebeldes con Causa*”.

Let me here only summarize, that after being rescued my brother Maurizio with help of Captain Sánchez, commanding a platoon from the Artillery Regiment with irrputed in the Stadium, I was transported to Santiago and from there to México. Bout I escaped in the first stopover of the flight, in Lima. From there I traveled after a few days to Rome.

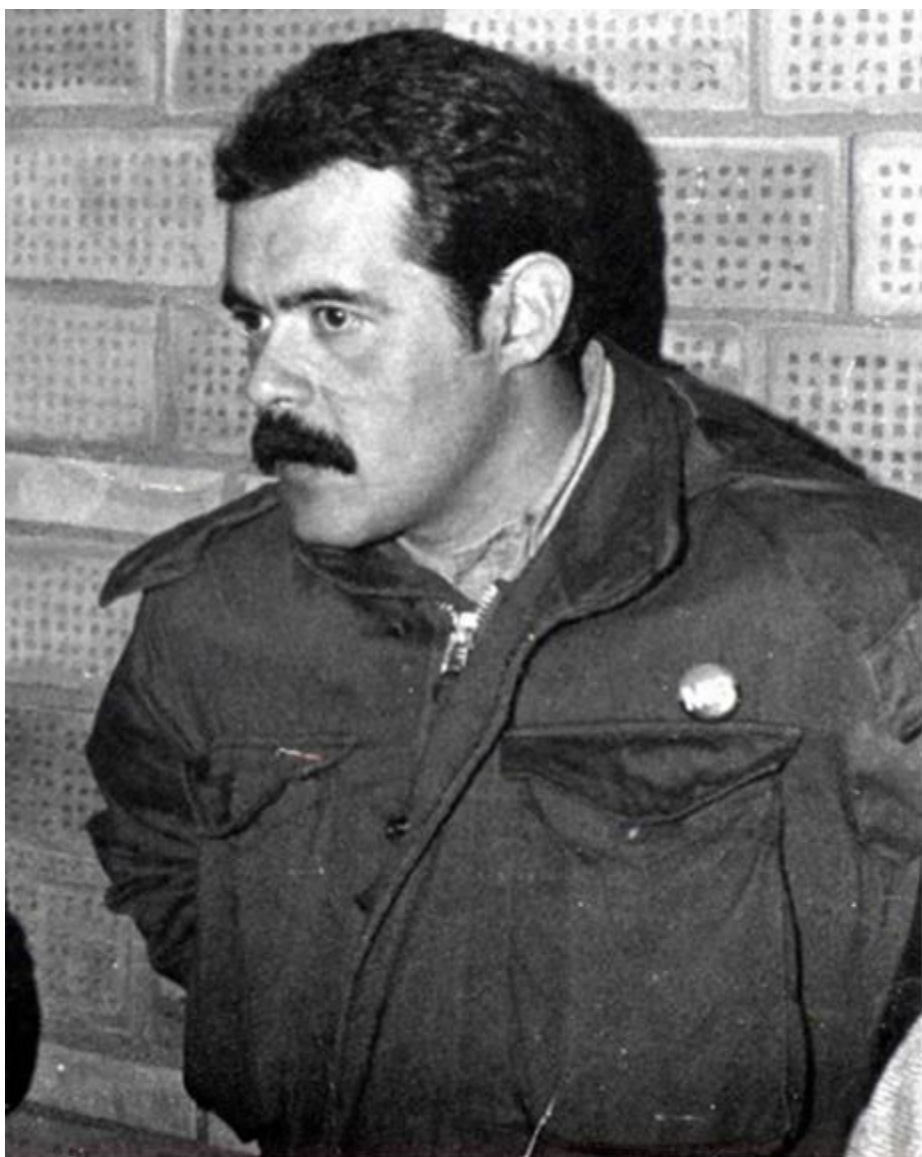
In charge of MIR’s affairs in Peru at that time was the lawyer Juan Saavedra (Patula). he contacted MIR leadership (*El Comité Exterior*) newly formed in Havana, with help of the Cuban Embassy in Lima. Two days after I was flying to Rome, to tell at the Russel Tribunal what was really going on in Pinochet’s prisons in Chile. My testimony, together with that of Joan Jara (Victor Jara’s wife) and Ariel Dorfman’s, is archived ³⁹ at the Lelio Basso Foundation (the organizer of the Russel Tribunal of 1974), still located at Via della Dogana Vecchia 5, in Rome.

³⁹ <https://www.lazio900.it/oggetti/?id=21092>



After very many years Armando Popa visited me at my country house in Sweden, summer 2009. I gave the portrait to him. For which we waited 36 years!

Part IV: Fighting Pinochet's “Operation Condor” in Scandinavia



War on *Operation Condor* and Pinochet's Terror. The author at the time of the 1977 events

The context

Plan Condor (Operación Cóndor), was a USA-backed intel operation established among military governments in the southern cone in Latin America. Namely, Chile (most active), Argentine, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay. It has been categorised as *state terror* organization, and its goals were to assassinate political oppositional figures living abroad, as well as key cadres of the JCR –an organization coordinating left guerrillas operating in those countries. Head in Chile was General Manuel Contreras,



aka Chief of DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional).

Operation Condor aims:

a) To liquidate oppositional figures in exile – several bloody executions took place in different countries (most known case was the killing in Washington of Allende’s former ambassador in the US, Orlando Letelier.

b) a) To liquidate leaders and cadres of the organizations listed below:

b) To counter arrest Resistance activities of the “Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria” ⁴⁰ of South America’s Southern Cone, formed mainly by, MIR-Chile, ⁴¹ ERP-Argentina (Argentine People's Revolutionary Army) ⁴² ELN-Bolivia (Bolivian Liberation Army) ⁴³, and the Uruguayan Tupamaros. ⁴⁴

There were approximately 25,000 Chileans exiles in Sweden in the first years after the military coup of Augusto Pinochet of 1973. Those considered having political reasons for that asylum were

⁴⁰https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Revolutionary_Coordinating_Junta&action=history Retrieved 20 Feb 2021

⁴¹

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_Left_Movement_\(Chile\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_Left_Movement_(Chile)) Retrieved 20 Feb 2021.

⁴²[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Revolutionary_Army_\(Argentina\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Revolutionary_Army_(Argentina)) Retrieved 20 Feb 2021.

⁴³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%91ancahuaz%C3%BA_Guerrilla Retrieved 20 Feb 2021.

⁴⁴ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tupamaros>. Retrieved 20 Feb 2021.

38, 5 percent.⁴⁵ Militants and ex militants of MIR that were politically organized in Sweden by 1977 could not be more than 150, approximately. That was the number of participants in the national conference of June 1977.

On the other hand, the number of MIR leaders –meaning those who had occupied seats in MIR Central Committee, in the Political Bureau, in the direction of the Armed units such as *Fuerza Central*, were quite numerous in proportion to the militants / ex militants, its number generally considered. Also, considering the fact that in Sweden and in the Nordic countries, MIR represented the above mentioned JCR.

In other words, the revolutionary organization based in Stockholm, was a “natural” target for the assassination plans of *Operación Cóndor*.

The Social Democratic Party contacts MIR in Stockholm on ‘Condor’

In the spring of 1977, Gösta Ohlsson, a member of the leading board of the Social Democratic Party (*Partistyrelsen*), and also the official in charge of the Latin-American desk (or international relations) contacted Mario Espinoza (*nom de guerre* “Juancho”). Mario Espinoza was at that time a member of the Central Committee of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and of the *MIR-Exterior*.

⁴⁵ M Ferrada de Noli, *Epílogo epigoloso*. Magazin Latino, Stockholm, <https://www.magazinlatino.com/index.php/columnas/item/1184-epilogo-epigoloso-sobre-la-pandemia-ideologias-y-paradojas>

The MIR-Exterior was the international bureau of the MIR, operating abroad to support activities of the anti-Pinochet Resistance led at that time by the organization in Chile. ⁴⁶

In Sweden, Mario Espinoza was in charge of both the *MIR-Exterior* Office in Sweden, and of the above described *Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria*, JCR.

MIR Counterintelligence and Operation Condor

Mario Espinoza and I went to the meeting with the social democrats, which took place in Sveavägen 68, and held 11.00 AM. In the meeting, the senior party official, Mr Gösta Ohlsson, declared to us the following, as I recall it:

“Our contacts in the Swedish Security Police informed that (Operation Condor) is to initiate activities for Northern Europe . . . from their current base in the Chilean Embassy in Madrid they may be sending more operatives here . . . We know also of the monitoring activities deployed in those regards by MIR . . . We therefore ask your organization to avoid any retaliating-action in Swedish territory, and also, for MIR’s own behalf, we ask you to synchronize your monitoring results with the one conducted on Operation Condor activities by the Swedish Security Police”.

Mario Espinoza agreed with the proposal, and said to Ohlsson:

⁴⁶ The Swedish collaboration with US/NATO spying. The Professors’ Blog, 12 Dec 2013. <https://professorsblogg.com/2013/12/12/peoples-intel-apparatus/>

“Well, I suggest that the people at the Security Police working with this, get in contact with Marcello Ferrada Noli, here (pointing at me), who is in charge of our counter-intelligence unit”.

As I am trained for surprises, when I heard what Juancho said to Ohlson I did not said a word, not a blink, not even looked at Juancho. But the truth is, that moment was the first time I heard that I had been entrusted by MIR's *Comité Exterior* with the organization and leadership of MIR/JCR Counterintelligence unit for the Nordic countries...

So, the counter-intelligence unit was born to fight *Operación Condor* activities in Scandinavia.

At the end of the meeting Mr Ohlsson handed over to me his visit-card and told I was welcome to contact him on the progress made (I never did, as the contacts went on with the SÄPO and the activities were undercover).



The same afternoon I received a call by an officer from the Swedish Security Police. The same evening I had established MIR

Counterintelligence unit, hand picking its members among trusted comrades and friends of that time. We started the job the same night.

Among the operatives, was Pedro Luis Santana, a MIR militant that also had been imprisoned by the Pinochet regime in Chile, and still lives in Sweden. He was by far the most effective and brave among those people. I was authorized by him to mention his name – like in, “I was not afraid then, I am no afraid now. Or never”.

We wondered how it was that social democrats knew about our monitoring of the Junta agents and presumably operatives of Operation Condor.



With Mario Espinoza, recalling the events at a lunch-meeting in southern Stockholm, near *Globen*

After all we worked with tight clandestine routines, encrypted communications, etc.; all members of my unit – and we were only few – were former combatants with long experience in undercover work and also survivors of Pinochet harsh prisoners camps (Quiriquina Island, Chacabuco, and Concepción).

It was no task for “civilian” social democrats – or for that part not a possibility for any civil organization – that with normal means

they would be able to get insight about our operations. The most credible, we reasoned from the beginning, is that the information was passed to the social democrats after a professional surveillance – technically superior – done by the Swedish Security Police.

But again, how come it was the Social Democratic central bureau that contacted us? Why the high-ranking party official at 68 Sveavägen street said explicitly “Our contacts in the Swedish Security Police informed...” ?

Further, the Social Democratic Party it was not at that time in charge of the Government, it was not an “official” party – why they would enjoy official contacts with an official institution such as the National Security Police?

Some answers became clearer while doing the talks on behalf of my unit at the Security Police headquarters at the Kungsholmen compound. It is not that solely judging after the contact-episode above I would be in position to *prove* that some kind of communication pipes between the Security Police and the Social Democratic Party did exist *systematically*.

Yet, my strong impression was – after the conferences and several walks I had together with the gentlemanly senior official of the Security Police in the nearby park – that this was the case. That they did cooperate.

How Sweden knew about Operation Condor’s menace?

But not only that. Another central issue was the still not clear for us, namely, how the Swedish Security Police knew about the imminent threat on us by Pinochet’s Operation Condor?

Only years after, my hypothesis began to receive substance. For instance, newspaper *El País* published ⁴⁷ 13 June 2010 that by that time, Pinochet had sent to France a group of *Condor* operative officers from Chile, Argentine and Uruguay, with the mission to kill René Gato Valenzuela –one of MIR leaders active in what we called *La Retaguardia*, with important logistic and clandestine tasks with centre in Paris. However, this assassination plan of the Operation Condor was discovered in time by the French intelligence.

At that time, the Intelligence services in Western Europe were perhaps not that connected as it is now and since the European Union was established (Sweden joined in 1995). However, political parties in their the governments – as in the case of France and Sweden– were connected. So either through Intelligence channels between these countries, or via information provided by French political counterparts at government level, the French passed secretly the information to the Swedes.

And so, it was not strange that the connections that the powerful Social Democratic Party had in the Intelligence apparatus of Sweden, made possible the transfer of this information to us in MIR. Our organization had at that time formal political contacts with the Swedish Social Democratic Party, which explain the call done than to us by the member of its leading board, Mr Gösta Ohlsson.

We also have to bear in mind, those were the times of Olof Palme, which did much for the Chilean refugees in Sweden.

⁴⁷ *Las conexiones de ETA en América*. El País, 13 June 2010.

https://elpais.com/diario/2010/06/13/domingo/1276401160_850215.html

The operative Volvo Amazon

Nevertheless, we did our job, and tightened internal security measures, as well as we monitored the movements of the Chilean Embassy and consulate officers and employees –some of them newly arrived. We also provided escort to MIR and JCR representatives.

Also for that ends of updating the organization structures, Mario Espinosa (*Juancho*) and I, travelled in occasions to Finland and Norway in a car I had at that time, which we called “El Amazón operativo” (the operative Volvo). It was a Volvo 122 Sport, a model known in Sweden as *Amazon*. We went in the same car to France, from Sweden, after Nelson Gutiérrez called me for news at a meeting of the MIR’s *Comité Exterior* (read further below).



The contacts between MIR/JCR and the Swedish Security Police lasted for about two months, until the situation was declared under control. The MIR's counterintelligence unit pursued those activities on the issue. *Operación Condor* in Scandinavia was eventually neutralized, and no political exile figure was ever killed during that period, neither such attempts were registered against any of the (about) over 30,000 exiles from *Cono Sur* countries in the Nordic countries at that time.

During those activities I met with several Swedish Security Police officers –including two senior-ranking officers. Incidentally one senior officer presented me –it was a fortuitous encounter– to Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin, while he was at the Security Police headquarters using a “sport facility” located in the Secret Police building.

A nomination done at the Comité Exterior of MIR

About that same period, MIR had decided to open a “diplomatic representation” in Geneva –argued “with purposes similar of that of the Palestinians’ office in Geneva”– in order to canalize political support to the Resistance in Chile. This nomination as the representative of MIR in Genève was proposed to me by Nelson Gutiérrez in Stockholm, and later confirmed in a meeting the *Comité Exterior* of MIR had in France. In that meeting was also present Mario Espinoza (*Juancho*), René Valenzuela (*Gato*, a talented cellist known for remarkable clandestine operations), Patricio Rivas (*Gaspar*), and also –if I remember well– Alejandro Tranquilo Romero.

However, the “ambassador” task –as Nelson called– was not implemented because of a harsh opposition to my designation done by Roberto Moreno aka (“Pelao”), at the time a member of

MIR's Central Committee lead (the *Comisión Política*). To the best of my knowledge, neither the MIR office in Genève was ever installed. The times also coincided with my critics to the new strategy of alliances (including the Christian Democratic Party) proposed by members of MIR leadership, episode which I described in the *Introduction* chapter of this book.

With the years, Roberto Moreno became a member of the Chilean Intelligence apparatus known as “La Oficina” (*The Office*) in a government of transition by the post Pinochet era. The institution was devoted to “counter insurgency”, namely targeting the cadres of some still active far-left guerrilla organizations.

There has been aggravating denounces about Moreno, in his new role in the Chilean Intelligence apparatus of the period. One is described in the report entitled “The Undergrounds of the Transition”,⁴⁸ arguably based in an interview conducted in the late 90s by the journalist Udo Joao Goncalves with Humberto López Candia –once employed at *La Oficina* as a productive asset.

In that interview, López Candia would have affirmed that in the beginning, the bosses of the forthcoming *La Oficina* asked the so called *MIR politico* –the faction which Roberto Moreno belonged to– to neutralize the other two groups that have survived MIR split after the dictatorship, namely Andres Pascal's *MIR histórico*, and Hernán Aguilo's *MIR militar*.

According to the same report, López Candia also would have reveal that Roberto Moreno, “went to work directly at the Ministry

⁴⁸ *The Undergrounds of the Transition*

<https://cearmaipu.wordpress.com/2010/12/27/los-subterranos-de-la-transicion/>

of the Interior...as a test of his will and a demonstration of democratic spirit, gave all the background information of miristas linked to the ETA of Spain and of others who were operating in Brazil and Argentina, who seemingly were determined to continue supporting the armed struggle in Chile.” [quoted from the text] ⁴⁹

“This would have been the way, says López Candia, how the governments of Spain and Brazil obtained the information to apprehend and neutralize the Miristas in those nations. Among the detainees, the most prominent is one of the founders of the MIR: René Valenzuela, "The cat". He operated with the ETA and was sentenced to 14 years for the kidnapping of a Spanish businessman. Together with the fall of "El Gato", the operational network with which the MIR financed itself from different parts of the world was dismantled” ⁵⁰

According to the declarations of López Candia, as it is referred in the same document, several other miristas were also detained elsewhere.

It should be noted that that I have not been able to confirm López Candia’s narrative about *Pelao* Moreno through MSM published sources. However, the same document with the said López Candia interview has been given as source in an academic thesis at the Department of History of the University of Chile. ⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ *Id.*

⁵¹ Gabriela Barría Cancino, *El Chaca, la Chica y el Jonny. Represión y muertes en el Chile democrático*. Santiago, 1988-2008. Universidad de Chile, Dept de Ciencias Históricas, 2012.



And I'm sorry for *Gato* Valenzuela. I personally met with him several times, both in Chile (Santiago) and in Paris. I have a good memory of him.

Efficient, calm and dedicated, he was. As in one adagio

piece of a cello concert –the musical instrument he talented with his interpretations.

The first time I met him was in March 1971. He was Miguel Enríquez's trusted driver, and Miguel had send him to meet me in a secluded area of Santiago –where I gave him the coordinates where he should pick up a machine gun which I have smuggled from Arica.

It was a P 30, and had been transported in a compartment which a friend of a friend of nickname *Pito*, had welded under the base of his transport lorry. ⁵²

Other times I met *Gato* were in Paris, mainly in 1976, where I had been sent several times to pick up clandestine documents hidden

<http://repositorio.uchile.cl/bitstream/handle/2250/111483/Barria%20Gabriela.pdf>

⁵² More on this story in the chapter *Operación ametralladora Punto 30*, in my book *Rebeldes Con Causa*, page 248.

<https://libertarianbooks.eu/2020/06/15/rebeldes-con-causa/>



in a double folder of my handbag. Other missions had sent me to Rome.

Once, flying turn and return to Paris from Stockholm, I went to fetch in my hand-baggage considerably amounts of cash –impossible to fit in the hidden folder– to be received by another member of the Political Bureau (Nelson Gutiérrez), with destiny of Chilean resistance activities. Nelson was at that time temporarily living in an apartment in a suburb south of Stockholm.

Needless to say, there were those times in which Security at airports did not check cabin bags of non-suspected persons. And, in fact, I customary did not use to dress as a 70's hippie or as a guerrilla from the fields. Photo at left, from the epoch, the author by Fontana di Trevi, in Rome.

How did Le Figaro know?

One last comment on the secret Intelligence connections of Sweden and France, or in general between EU and NATO, about MIR activities of the period:

In the context of my criticism of some Western media's disinformation on the war in Syria—⁵³ French right-wing paper *Le Figaro* mentioned in an article of 2017⁵⁴ my “past espionage” in Sweden, in obvious reference to the MIR's counterintelligence activities during Operation Condor.

The *ad hominem* *Le Figaro* article, authored by Pierre Avril, mainly questioned that statements from *one* Western academic – referring the interviews done with me in Russian television channels– were used as an argument to contradict the Western powers' version on the happenings in Khan Shaykhun, Syria. *Le Figaro* also made a fuss over my conclusions on the “White Helmets”, which were the actual sources for the exploited allegations on gas attacks in Syria. That was in reference to SWEDHR investigations on alleged gas attacks in Sarmin and Khan Shaykhun reported by the “White Helmets”.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Interference by journalists on sovereign opinions of professors, academics, and independent researchers, comprise infringements to Art 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* The Indicter, 7 Feb 2020.

<https://theindicter.com/interference-by-journalists-on-sovereign-opinions-of-professors-academics-and-independent-researchers-comprise-infringements-to-art-19-of-the-universal-declaration-of-human-rights/>

⁵⁴ *En Russie, une curieuse thèse reprise pour exonérer Damas.* *Le Figaro*, 13 Apr 2017.

<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2017/04/13/01003-20170413ARTFIG00273-en-russie-une-curieuse-these-reprise-pour-exonerer-damas.php>

⁵⁵ *Should UN consider White Helmets a politically neutral organization, and its allegations as credible sources by UN investigative panels on Syria?* The Indicter, 30 Nov 2017. <https://theindicter.com/should-un-consider-white-helmets-a->



Le Figaro journalist Pierre Avril (picture at left) went on describing – inaccurately for the most–backgrounds of my personal and political life. It was then when he ‘exposed’ that I “had in the past enjoyed espionage” activities in Sweden.

Who had informed Avril (at left), the *Le Figaro* correspondent in Moscow), about what we did in MIR in Scandinavia during the Operation Condor period? That was known in the first place by the Swedish Security Police, and no newspaper had reported on that before.

Only source cited by *Le Figaro*’s Avril, is Bert Sundström –a Moscow correspondent of Sweden’s state television who there ⁵⁶ appears blunt lying when denying my multiples appearances in the same Swedish state television channel he works for.



In my analysis, both journalists had appear, since long in their reports, to be clearly anti–Russian biased. Sundström was in one occasion “expelled” from Russia by the authorities, who denied him visa. ⁵⁷

politically-neutral-organization-and-its-allegations-as-credible-sources-by-un-investigative-panels-on-syria/

⁵⁶ *En Russie, une curieuse thèse reprise pour exonérer Damas*. Op. cit.

⁵⁷ <https://www.thelocal.se/discuss/index.php?showtopic=59>

Nonetheless , later in *The Indicter* I rebutted *Le Figaro* article, ⁵⁸ and the said Sundström, as well similar publications in *Der Spiegel* ⁵⁹ and in the Swedish press.

At the bar in Waldorf Astoria

Coming back to 1977, in the first week of July I was in New York, meeting my father, who by then attended in those days a conference of Lions International in Washington (my father was then Governor of the Concepción's Lions).

We had a great time. First we stayed in Manhattan's Carlton Hotel, because my dad's nostalgic memories led to visit that site again, facing is beloved Madison Square Garden. But then he invited me to the Waldorf Astoria, in which bar (the one at the lobby), I had my very first meeting with the *Manhattan*, the cocktail of the house.

While we waited for something to eat, I decided to call to Sweden, to Hernán Donoso, from one of the telephones nearby in the lobby. Donoso, who had been during a short period a member of the Counterintelligence unit I headed, told me that after the Stockholm MIR Conference (described above, in the Introduction section of this book) he had been put as the man in charge. I did

⁵⁸ *Mainstream journalists angered by SWEDHR denounce of unethical war propaganda. Reply to Le Figaro.* The Indicter, 15 April 2017. <https://theindicter.com/mainstream-journalists-angered-by-swedhr-denounce-of-unethical-war-propaganda-reply-to-le-figaro/>

⁵⁹ *Swedish Doctors for Human Rights (SWEDHR) respond to Der Spiegel.* The Indicter, 22 Dec 2017. <https://theindicter.com/swedish-professors-and-doctors-for-human-rights-swedhr-on-slandering-in-der-spiegel/>

not get whether it was an interim situation, or permanent. Neither I got clear if he was appointed the new head of the above mentioned counterintelligence unit or of the Stockholm structure.

Nevertheless, in that telephone talk, Hernán Donoso informed me on the news from Roberto Moreno's opposition to my nomination to head the planned office of MIR in Genève. Moreno would have said, according to Donoso, that he opposed because I was that kind of self-driven militant "under none's control", and therefore it was "a risk that Marcello would '*arrancarse con los tarros*'. That means, according to Wiktionary, "Make a determination without seeking the opinion of others involved in an issue" ("*Tomar una determinación sin pedir el parecer de los demás involucrados en un asunto.*")⁶⁰

Which may be partly true, in the sense that –as all true libertarians– "I am the captain of my soul", and for my decisions I do not rely on others', and therefore the responsibility is only mine. But equally true is that I have never done anything that could be considered as going against the strategic interests, the wellbeing and safety, of MIR and its cadres. It is called *loyalty*. My father called *hombría*. My grandfather called *parole d'onore*.

The question that Moreno should have asked at that time is: How come that –since the times of MIR's foundation in 1965 to July 1977– I had received from Miguel or from the rest of my friends at the Political Bureau, and in so different occasions, delicate missions to be carried out only by myself? Some of those episodes

⁶⁰ https://es.wiktionary.org/wiki/arrancarse_con_los_tarros

are described in my books *Con Bautista van Schouwen*⁶¹ and *Rebeldes Con Causa*.⁶²

And, bizarre as it reads, Moreno had said, according to Donoso, “Marcello should not be permitted to travel to the US”.

So what I did after I heard that? The telephones were near the shop, by the reception. I bought a postcard with the Walldorf front picture, and I came back to the bar in the same lobby. There I asked the barman to hand-write the recipe of the Manhattan on the post card. He proudly agreed, it seemed.

And that postcard, via Donoso’s address, was the reply I sent to Roberto *Pelao* Moreno, in my opinion, the only humour-deprived member of that MIR’s Political Bureau...

Hernán Donoso kept that postcard for years, and handed it over, back to me, in a visit he did in my house in the country in Månkarbo, Uppsala, in 2003.

Never heard again from Moreno, until I read, decades afterwards, That he had converted in a bureaucrat of the repressive governmental Intelligence institution *La Oficina*, at the dawn of Chile’s neo-liberal splendour which fustigated the poor.

So, there ended my prospective assignment as MIR’s first representative at the lobbying circuits of international organizations of Geneve.

⁶¹ <https://libertarianbooks.eu/2018/12/22/con-bautista-van-schouwen/>

⁶² <https://libertarianbooks.eu/2020/06/15/rebeldes-con-causa/>

However, after my farewell to MIR I did not change ideological compass, as many others did after the fall of Pinochet, and some even before.

And while in those years some other ex-miristas in Chile –as well as some opportunist pretending-to-be-miristas in the countries of exile– were eating the fallen crumbs from the banquets of European governments they served and cleaned up (as the discriminated immigrants they are, even without acknowledging it, or understand. Which is sad).

What I was instead doing?

1. I was dedicated to investigate and expose the fatal consequences of that discrimination (e.g. the content of my academic research on the overrepresentation of immigrants in the epidemiology of suicide). That led at that time to a proposition by a MP at the Swedish Parliament, and also to changes in the assessments protocols of health care units dealing with patients' report of suicidal behaviour. The ethnic factor was to be included.

In my publications from Harvard Medical School, I also demonstrated that suicide is significantly correlated with less favourable SES, ⁶³ at individual level, as well as with lower communes' and regions' income.

Ergo, it is not so that “poverty is a shield against suicide”, as Durkheim had wrongly concluded. ⁶⁴ His hypothesis followed a century of flawed epidemiological research which had deprioritize

⁶³ Socioeconomic status.

⁶⁴ Émile Durkheim (1897), *Le suicide*, Paris, PUF, 2007.

a highly needed social-psychiatric attention towards the poor and underprivileged in society.

2. Pursuing justice for the assassinated MIR revolutionaries, where the ultimately responsible was the dictator Pinochet. See next chapter on my denouncing of Pinochet crimes.

And in the periods thereafter I continued my struggle for social justice, for the humans rights for all. Therefore I founded the organization *Swedish Doctors for Human Rights* – SWEDHR, ⁶⁵ and the publication *The Indicter*. ⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *Swedish Professors and Doctors for Human Rights* – SWEDHR
<https://swedhr.org/>

⁶⁶ *The Indicter Magazine* <https://theindicter.com/editorial-board/>

MIR



Marcello Ferrada de Noli, 1977, head of Counterintelligence MIR & JCR (Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria), set to combat Pinochets Operación Cóndor in the Nordic countries. Here in the vicinity of Swedish Secret Police headquarters. Photo UCI/MIR, Stockholm 1977.

The image above was published on Twitter 4 Nov 2015 by the late Dr Armando Popa (then editor of SWEDHR Research & Reports), referring to the article which is a main source of this section. ⁶⁷

⁶⁷ <https://twitter.com/ArmandoPopa/status/661901554702786560>

Part V: Filing Pinochet. “To bring him to an European Court of Justice”

“Ferrada de Noli files against Pinochet for the disappearance of friends Bautista Van Schouwen and Edgardo Enríquez”.



Above: Photo from a reportage in Aftenposten, Norway. The picture was taken outside the building of the Dept of Clinical Neurosciences at Karolinska University Hospital, where I had my office at the time.

At the Tribunal Russel in Italy

I did my first denouncing in Europe on human-rights transgressions, war crimes and widespread torture of prisoners committed by the Pinochet Junta in Chile, at the Bertrand Russel Tribunal in Rome in 1974. The Russel Tribunal on Chile was organized by the late Italian Senator Lelio Basso. The transcript of my testimony (12 pages) including a brief presentation of it by Senator Basso, is archived at the Fondazione Basso, ⁶⁸ in Rome, and referred as:

“Testimonianza di Marcello Ferrada de Noli, relativa alla repressione culturale, 3 aprile 1974” ⁶⁹

The document was found in 2017 by Simona Luciani, to whom I thank for these coordinates leading to the document:

Fondazione Lelio e Lisli Basso – ISSOCO. Fondo: Tribunale Russell II per la repressione in Brasile, Cile e America Latina. Serie 3: Documentazione delle Sessioni: Prima Sessione (Roma, 30 mar. – 5 apr. 1974), sotto serie 2: “Testimonianza di Marcello Ferrada, relativa alla repressione culturale”, 3 aprile 1974.

In pages 10-12 it reads (here excerpted and translated into English): “Along with the atrocious demonstrations of what human cruelty is capable of, I have seen proof of extraordinary heroism and revolutionary strength in the vast majority, if not totality of the prisoners. They have not spoken; not given a house,

⁶⁸ <http://www.fondazionebasso.it/2015/>

⁶⁹ <https://www.lazio900.it/oggetti/?id=21092>

nor an address, no name. For that they have been tortured even to death.

The best tribute to them is to continue fighting, to find among all the revolutionaries a tactical unit that finally allows us to destroy this political model based on torture...In other words, the fight against repression, the denunciation of the violation of human rights, of democratic rights, etc. that have been raised in this Tribunal, must be accompanied by the firm will to find the way ... for the replacement of that power structure. In other words: to consider the question of the conquest of power. Only that will guarantee the end of the torture issue that is very incensing to you all, and that of course we are very honored to contribute to its denunciation.”

de indignación y de preocupación. Es una preocupación que compartimos junto a la que se refiere a la suerte Bautista Van Schowden Bassey. Como ustedes saben este compañero Bautista Van Schowden fue detenido el día 13 de diciembre. Fue detenido junto a un compañero que posteriormente murió por las torturas, el compañero Patricio Munita. Yo me voy a permitir pedirle al jurado que hagan participe del nombre del compañero Bautista Van Schowden, al igual que el de todos los dirigentes políticos revolucionarios y gentes del pueblo en general, que están sometidos a tortura y no se sabe su condición ni si están muertos o no. Pido que se le incluya también en este cable que se va a enviar tanto a las organizaciones de mi país como internacionales.

Por último, para terminar, respecto a la represión cultural me voy a permitir agregar solamente que para muchos de los compañeros universitarios o del pueblo en general que han sido detenidos y que yo he conocido, lo que más les importa, tanto o más que el estar separados de sus familias, de no ver a sus hijos, etc, es no tener la libertad de movimientos necesaria para seguir luchando por la libertad de sus otros hermanos y para seguir combatiendo en términos consecuentes por sus ideas revolucionarias, junto con las atroces pruebas de lo que la crueldad humana es capaz de hacer hay también y las he visto, pruebas de increíble heroísmo y de increíble capacidad revolucionaria de la gran mayoría por no decir de la totalidad de los compañeros detenidos. Se han portado a la altura del momen-

to, no han hablado, no han entregado una casa, una dirección, un nombre. Por eso han sido torturados incluso hasta morir.

El mejor homenaje que podemos dedicarles a estos compañeros, reprimidos brutalmente y encarcelados, es entonces, como es obvio y ustedes lo comprenden bien, seguir luchando para encontrar todos los revolucionarios una unidad táctica que permita finalmente destruir este modelo político que se basa en la tortura, pero no porque haya generales malos o menos malos que otros, sino porque la tortura hoy en Chile como en América Latina, es una forma y un instrumento de gobierno inherente al modelo político que corresponde al modelo económico por el que optó la Junta y sus similares. Una fracción de la burguesía chilena, la gran burguesía industrial, aliada financieramente con los intereses del imperialismo norteamericano y del sub imperialismo brasileño, se han planteado en Chile el modelo económico que permita una máxima acumulación del capital a través del trabajo explotado de los trabajadores chilenos. Pero es una superexplotación de ese trabajo.

La represión que se ejerce en Chile sólo tiene como objeto impedir que los trabajadores se organicen, impedir e intimidar al mismo tiempo a las organizaciones estudiantiles, de partido, en general gremiales, de los trabajadores, para que de una u otra manera no puedan llevar adelante su lucha por sacudirse esta situación.

Este modelo económico exige este modelo polí-

tico que es la dictadura gorila con coro fascista. Y este modelo político no puede sostenerse sino con la represión. O sea la lucha en contra de la represión, en otras palabras, la denuncia a la violación de los derechos humanos, de los derechos democráticos, etc, que se ha planteado en este tribunal, debe ir acompañada al mismo tiempo de la firme voluntad de buscar el camino en la conciencia de que el reemplazo en esa estructura de poder de la clase que domina por la clase proletaria en el poder - o sea plantearse el problema de la conquista del poder - es la única manera que garantizará definitivamente el fin de la tortura que a todos ustedes indigna y que por supuesto nosotros estamos muy honrados por contribuir a su denuncia.

Los que ~~en~~ Tejas Verdes han introducido máquinas de tortura traídas de Brasil mediante las cuales se introduce una máquina en las fosas nasales para rítmica y gradualmente ir penetrando en las fosas nasales hasta quebrar los huesos nasales, o que se usa para introducir progresivamente agujas en los testículos. ~~En~~ Aquellos que en Tejas Verdes han introducido ratones en las vaginas de las compañeras o les han cortado con Gillette los pezones, o han castrado a los compañeros revolucionarios, ^{Todos} aquellos van a pagar: no les quepa duda, sus crímenes!. Los revolucionarios de Chile, ^{allá en Chile} con el apoyo solidario de ustedes, están haciendo lo posible, lo que permite el momento imperante y lo que permite también la táctica que ellos han diseñado. Pero no debe haberles duda a estos asesinos que pagarán tarde o temprano sus crímenes!

In the Archive at Fondazione Basso I was also found copy of correspondence I had with Linda Bimbi, secretary of the scientific working committee established after the Tribunal session on Chile, in April 1974.

In Norway and Sweden

In 1998 Pinochet went to London. The Spanish judge Baltazar Garzón presented an extradition request to the U.K. authorities. On his support, I presented a similar demand. Formally, by filing Pinochet in Norway (I was then professor at the University of Tromsø), but agitating the campaign also in Sweden.

My campaign to bring Pinochet to justice had a, for me, unexpected spread in European media, beyond Norway and Sweden. Several European news agencies, but also Associated Press, helped to make clarity what was behind my police report against the Chilean dictator. In this way, the whereabouts about the detention of my friends and comrades in MIR, Bautista van Schouwen and Edgardo Enríquez Espinosa –which Pinochet ordered to assassinate– got the minds and hearts of many.

Among the European news agencies were AFP, EFE, TT, NTB, and DPA.

Newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* published my opinion piece:

“Bring Pinochet to an European Court of Justice. Pinochet måste ställas inför rätta”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ <http://ferradanoli.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/ferrada-noli-bring-pinochet-to-justice2.pdf>

Pinochet måste ställas inför rätta

Av: Marcello Ferrada-Noli

Debattbakgrund: De olika slag av immunitet som Chiles förre diktator Pinochet åberopar är inte hållbara och vi ber att de nordiska regeringarna agerar för att rättvisa nu skipas en gång för alla, skriver professor Marcello Ferrada-Noli. Vi ser också att man från juridiskt håll i Sverige bryter tystnaden och tar ställning till den juridiska relevansen hos de anmälningar som gjorts av f d chilenska politiska fångar bosatta i Sverige.

För två veckor sedan kontaktade mig juristen Peter Bergquist från Stockholm för att diskutera de eventuella åtgärder som f d politiska fångar från Chile, numera i Europa, kunde tänka sig att vidta i fallet Pinochet. Pinochet hade ju då nyligen arresterats i London. Jag föreslog en aktion parallell till den som den spanske domaren Garzon gjort: att göra en anmälan mot Pinochet från Sverige. Eftersom jag vid detta tillfälle befann mig i Norge gjorde jag själv en kort tid härefter en sådan anmälan från Oslo. Numera har likartade initiativ tagits från ytterligare andra länder, såsom Schweiz, Belgien, Italien, Luxemburg, Frankrike, Danmark och Tyskland. Från dessa länder har man krävt en rättslig åtgärd mot den f d chilenske diktatorn.

Trots denna vida spridning av anmälningar mot Pinochet, har man inte i något annat europeiskt land samlat så många (över två hundra) rättsliga krav som i Sverige. Samtidigt är det paradoxala att i alla dessa länder, men inte i Sverige, har dessa krav för att ställa Pinochet inför rätta åtföljts av ett beslutsamt stöd från både juridiskt håll och från respektive regering. Exempelvis har den franska justitieministern Elisabeth Guigou engagerat sig för att omedelbart till sin brittiska kollega framföra domarens begäran om utlämnandet av Pinochet till Frankrike, detta därför att hon bedömer att det "för sig om en fråga av högsta prioritet" (*Le Monde* 1/11 -98).

Med detta inlägg vill jag kort bemöta de argument som inom skandinaviska

politiska och juridiska kretsar stödjer en noninterventionsprincip i affären Pinochet.

Kan inte åtalas

Den immunitet som man anfört som hjälp för exdiktatorn Pinochet utgörs av den k sovverign immunity, enligt beslut av High Court i London. Detta innebär att den f d generalen inte kan ställas till åtal eftersom han varit statschef. Om inte överhuset (House of Lords) nu ändrar detta beslut kommer Pinochet att vara fri att komma tillbaka till sin senatorsstol, den stol han själv utformade när han hade den totala makten.

Som redan har meddelats i chilenska medier (La Tercera 3/11 -98), kommer detta beslut från det brittiska rättsväsendet att respekteras både i Norge och Sverige. Dessa två länder tänker, enligt uppgift, inte att ta något rättsligt initiativ innan det engelska överhuset fattar sitt beslut. Inte heller har de sagt vad de kan tänka sig att göra ifall Pinochet ska skickas hem utan rättegång. Denna inställning framstår som klart väsensskild ifrån andra europeiska länders agerande i frågan. Exempelvis har Frankrike, Belgien och Schweiz redan begärt utlämnande av Pinochet (detta före House of Lords beslut). Vad kan vi, ett fåtal exilchilenare i Europa, göra för att påverka detta beslut, fattat av en brittisk domstol? Mycket lite, skulle man kanske tro, så länge detta är att betrakta enbart som en "exilchilensk" angelägenhet. Precis som man vid tiden kring andra världskriget betraktade sudetflyktingarnas problem som "sudetflyktingarnas" - eller judarnas, eller polackernas - och inte Europas eller världens.

Hitler på Drottninggatan

Här i Skandinavien skulle jag inte behöva redogöra för ett antal etiska argument för mänskliga rättigheter, ett ämne inom vilket de skandinaviska länderna är att betrakta som pionjrländer. Låt mig bara fråga: Hur skulle politiker, domare och präster i Danmark, Norge eller Sverige reagera om Hitler plötsligt skulle dyka upp mitt på Drottninggatan i Stockholm eller på Karl Johan i Oslo och hävda att det inte var hans kropp som i hemlighet blev kremerad utanför bunkern i Berlin, och att han nu är här som turist, helt oskyldig till alla fruktansvärda illdåd under andra världskriget på grund av sin "statschefsimmunitet"? Skulle han dessutom erbjudas VIP-behandling och rättegångskostnader ifall koncentrationslägerförelivande vågade polisanmäla honom?

Har man upplevt en diktator, har man upplevt alla diktatorer, kan man lugnt säga. Vice versa, har en diktator upplevt den aktuella risken att bli åtalad för sina grova brott mot mänskligheten, så kommer alla efterföljande diktatorer att tänka sig för, om de inte bibringas den falska uppfattningen att deras immunitet varar för evigt. Ur ett internationellt rättsperspektiv är det oerhört viktigt att insistera på en åtalsprocess mot Pinochet, inte bara för den retrospektiva rättvisans skull - utom framför allt för den preventiva. Låt oss inte missa detta historiska tillfälle.

Flera ansedda internationella juridiska sällskap utanför Skandinavien har inte bara skarpt kritiserat utan även underkänt det brittiska domslutet vid High Court i London. Jag kan här nämna International Committee of Jurists, IJC,

American Association of Jurists, AAJ, och La Asociacion de Magistrados Europeos por la Democracia y las Libertades (MEDEL, De europeiska domarnas samfund för demokrati) som även bestämt sig för att stödja den spanske domaren Baltazar Garzon.

Huvudargumenten i dessa internationella juristsamfund går ut på att även om statschefimmunitet existerar i lagen, så är denna immunitet kopplad till varje stats inhemska jurisdiktion. Vidare är statschefimmuniteten inte att betraktas som personlig. För att bevisa detta, illustrerar juristerna med såväl Nürnberg-som Tokyorättegångerna i vilka åtminstone en statschef ställdes rättsligt till svars.

Respektera det engelska domslutet

Den svenske chefsåklagaren Jan Danielsson är av den åsikten att vi bör respektera det engelska domslutet och agera från Sveriges sida utifrån detta faktum. Skulle överhuset ändra beslutet (och under förutsättning att ett habeas corpus från Pinochets sida inhäleras i rätten) bara då kan man tänka sig ett agerande från Sveriges sida. Och i detta fall skulle det mest realistiska vara att förse spanjorerna med det i Sverige insamlade bevismaterialet mot Pinochet, menar Danielsson.

Trots att jag i det väsentliga delar Danielssons uppfattning, och till yttermera visso eftersom en likartad position intagits av de 36 kongressmän i USA som av president Clinton begär tillgänglighet (i Europa) av underrättelsematerialet kring Pinochet, har jag mindre förståelse för varför man inte tagit ställning redan nu beträffande till exempel den juridiska relevansen hos de anmälningar som gjorts av de f d chilenska politiska fångarna, numera bosatta i Sverige. Detta skulle visa sig oerhört viktigt för kommande rättsliga processer mot Pinochets påstådda brott, särskild före den s k statschefsperioden.

Ett argument som framförts i debatten är att Pinochet inte skulle kunna bindas direkt och personligen till de brott vi anklagar honom för, såsom tortyr, dråp och "försvinnande" av människor. Vissa dokument som nyligen offentliggjorts i USA (Department of Defense, Directorate of National Intelligence) visar emellertid tydligt att överste Manuel Contreras (dåvarande chef i chilenska arméns underrättelsetjänst DINA) fullföljde Pinochets direkta order. I detta dokument är först DINA beskrivet som "the sole responsible agency for internal subversive matters". I dossiern nämndes också att överste Manuel Contreras, "has reported exclusively to, and received orders only from, President Pinochet". (Se "Chile and the United States Declassified Documents Relating to the Military Coup, 1970-1976", Department of Defense, Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA) Expands Operations and Facilities, April 15, 1975). Långt innan beslutet i High Court i London hade Pinochet lyckats med konststycket att bevilja sig flera andra slags "juridisk" och politisk "immunitet". Exempelvis att vara "senator" i Chile som ger en immunitet under den tid man bekläder detta ämbete (i Pinochets fall för hela livet). Det är just denna "parlamentariska" immunitet som åberopas av den chilenska kristdemokratiska regeringen och vissa socialistministrar i försvar av inte "diktatorn" men av "senatorn". Vilken demokratisk valkrets har valt Pinochet?

Dessutom smickrar sig Pinochet av ytterligare en immunitet som han passade på att diktera just när han var statschef: ingen ska behöva svara för brott i samband med den skänkta inbördes militära konflikten mellan militären (snarast säkerhetsstyrkorna) och motståndsrörelsen. Det är oerhört viktigt att man förstår sig på denna sistnämnda speciella immunitet; i Chile är Pinochet immun, likaså alla de styrkor som han använde som represiva instrument. Sammanfattningsvis: Huvudanledningen till Europas initiativ att åtala Pinochet är att överhuvudtaget göra det möjligt att ställa den för diktatorn inför rätta. Lyckas vi inte att göra detta i Europa, är det mycket osannolikt att detta kan göras i Pinochets Chile.

Machiavellisk immunitet

En annan väldigt märklig immunitet som Pinochet har skaffat sig själv är en rent politisk immunitet, snarast en machiavellisk sådan. Trots att han representerar den extrema högern i Chile, antydde han en tid före sin resa till England offentligt att han skulle stödja den kristdemokratiska kandidaten i nästa presidentval. Härigenom försäkrade sig Pinochet om det stöd som han nu får från den kristdemokratiska regeringen.

Resten av immuniteten har uppnåtts av den internationella politiken som sådan. Alltså den sedvanliga tillämpningen av "the golden rule", dvs den som har "gold" gör den till "rule". Det chilenska försvaret har nu låtit förstå att det på nytt ska övervägas tidigare funderingar om inköp av försvarsmateriel från England, Spanien och Sverige.

Ett av de argument som framförts som skäl för att inte lägga sig i "Chiles inre angelägenheter" är att man inte vill förhindra den demokratiska utvecklingen i Chile. Denna tes underförstår att det skulle existera en "pakt" mellan politiska och militära krafter i Chile. Så är inte fallet. För diktatorn Patricio Alwyn har i dagarna personligen uttryckt att någon sådan överenskommelse inte finns.

Enligt min mening är förhållandet helt det omvända. Självklart hjälper vi i stället demokratiproessen genom att blottlägga sanningen. Och denna princip har mer och mer stöd av ett brett politiskt spektrum i Chile, senast av den kände högerpolitikern Lavín, en av Santiagos borgmästare. Enligt min åsikt har även den chilenska försvarsmakten mycket att vinna på en sådan sanningsenlig upprättelse. Deras 150 år goda rykte av en utmärkt professionell armé i de demokratiska institutionernas tjänst blev också besudlat av diktatorn Pinochet. Jag är övertygad om att långt ifrån alla inom militären deltog aktivt i brott mot mänskligheten eller sanktionerade dessa.

Agerar för rättvisa

Pinochet skall ställas inför rätta. För att kunna genomföra detta mål ber vi de nordiska regeringarna att agera för rättvisa en gång för alla. Vi vill bevisa, och detta kan bara vi exilchilenare genom direkta vittnesmål göra, att de brott som begicks av Pinochet inträffade under en period långt innan han var statschef. Och de hundratals anmälningarna från exilchilenare i hela Europa skulle krossa kristallen av diktatorns "sovereign immunity".

Vi vill också ta bort senatorsstolen under Pinochet just som han är på väg att sätta sig i den vid den chilenska riksdagen. Alltså att på nytt försöka ta upp diskussionen om de "försvunna" och de politiska fångarna i Chile, bortom militärernas "immunitet", och aktivera medvetenheten om de brott mot mänskligheten som begåtts i Chile.

Ett av dessa brott mot mänskligheten består i att tiga.

Skulle överhuset i London bekräfta Pinochets immunitet, så ska de nordiska regeringarna aktivt undersöka de politiska medel som står till buds för att trycka på för en sanningskommitté i Chile och för en europeisk tribunal i Stockholm avsedd för att uppenbara Pinochets brott mot mänskliga rättigheter och ställa honom inför rätta, även i hans frånvaro.

Marcello Ferrada-Noli
med dr, professor

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Mediearkivet.se
Box 34211, 100 26 Stockholm

Other publications in Europe on my action VS.
Pinochet:

In Associated Press:

“Chilean in Norway files against Pinochet” ⁷¹

Associated Press November 1, 1998 Chilean in Norway files against Pinochet OSLO, Norway, Nov. 1 (AP)

A Chilean exile in Norway has filed a legal action against former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, alleging his responsibility for the disappearance of two close friends in 1974. Marcelo Ferrada-Noli, a professor at the University of Tromsø, told the Norwegian news agency NTB on Sunday that the complaint was filed last Tuesday. Similar actions have been filed in Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, France, Italy and Belgium. Ferrada-Noli said he hoped that the suit would add to the pressure to extradite the Chilean general to Spain from Britain, where he was arrested some two weeks ago after a Spanish judge demanded his extradition. Pinochet was released from arrest this weekend by London's High Court, but cannot leave Britain until his appeal has been handled by the House of Lords. Ferrada-Noli's two childhood friends, Edgardo Enriquez and Bautista van Schouwen, who were active on the Chilean left during the government of Salvador Allende, never were seen again after their arrest in Santiago. Ferrada-Noli has worked for years to find out about their fate. Ferrada-Noli came to Sweden as a refugee in 1975. He was interned in the soccer stadium in his home town of Concepcion after the 1973 coup that Pinochet led, and spent the next two years in various Chilean prisons. The former Concepcion university teacher was a professor at the Karolinska hospital in Stockholm until he moved to Norway last year to take a post as professor of psychology. He also teaches social medicine at Harvard Medical School.

<http://listserv.buffalo.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind9811&L=justwatch-1&D=0&P=1492>

In ABC – Madrid (AFP, EFE):

⁷¹ <http://ferradanoli.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/associated-press-ferrada-noli-pinochet.pdf>

"A French judge issues an international arrest warrant against Pinochet" "Un juez francés dicta una orden de detención internacional contra Pinochet" 72

...militar".

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Un juez francés dicta una orden de detención internacional contra Pinochet

Paris. Afp, Efe

El juez francés Roger Le Loire dictó ayer una orden internacional de detención contra Pinochet. Esta orden de detención debería servir de base legal para una demanda de extradición. El juez Le Loire ha emitido también una comisión rogatoria internacional para que la policía británica notifique al general Pinochet esta inculpación.

Por otra parte, tres personas presentaron ayer en Alemania demandas por tortura contra el ex dictador chileno. Afirman haber sido secuestrados y torturados en Chile pocos días después del golpe de Estado de 1973.

Del mismo modo, el exiliado chileno Marcello Ferrada-Noli, que ahora reside en Noruega, presentó una denuncia contra el ex dictador por los supuestos delitos de desaparición y privación de la libertad. También en Bélgica, la Justicia admitió a trámite las denuncias de seis ciudadanos de origen chileno.

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<http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1998/11/03/034.html>

In Dagbladet – Oslo:

“Pinochet reported at the police in Norway” ”Pinochet politianmeldt i Norge”⁷³

Dagbladet PLUSS E-AVIS DEBATT

Pinochet politianmeldt i Norge

Chiles tidligere diktator Augusto Pinochet er politianmeldt i flere europeiske land. Eksilchileneren Marcello Ferrada-Noli, professor ved Universitetet i Tromsø, var blant de aller første med sin anmeldelse.

Hei, denne artikkelen er **over ett år gammel** og kan inneholde utdatert informasjon

Publisert søndag 01. november 1998 - 17:32



ANMELDT I NORGE: Chiles tidligere diktator Augusto Pinochet er anmeldt sju land - deriblant Norge.

Pinochet er nå politianmeldt i Spania, Sveits, Italia, Frankrike, Sverige og Belgia, i tillegg til Norge.

- Vi postla anmeldelsen til Oslo-politiet sist tirsdag. Da var det kommet et par i Sverige, sier Ferrada-Noli til NTB på telefon fra Stockholm, der han tidligere var professor ved Karolinska Sjukhuset.

Han er overbevist om at presset som ligger i de mange anmeldelsene vil bidra til å få Pinochet utlevert til Spania og stilt for retten. Etter at en domstol i Storbritannia fant at Pinochet var beskyttet av diplomatisk immunitet da han ble arrestert 17.september, er det opp til Overhuset å avgjøre Pinochets skjebne. Avgjørelsen vil bli kunngjort onsdag til uka.

⁷³ <http://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/1998/11/01/137778.html>

Savnede

Ferrada-Nolis anmeldelse gjelder hans to barndomsvenner Edgardo Enriques og Batista Van Showen, som begge ble pågrepet i Santiago i 1974 og som siden dengang har vært sporløst forsvunnet. I flere år har professoren arbeidet for å finne sine to venner.

- Det må antas at de to er drept av militære som handlet på vegne av Pinochet, heter det i anmeldelsen, som er utarbeidet med advokathjelp fra Berit Reiss-Andersen, tidligere statssekretær i Justisdepartementet.

Pinochet anmeldes også for ulovlig frihetsberøvelse av Ferrada-Noli selv. Han ble internert på fotballstadionen i byen Concepcion, der han var professor i filosofi, og siden sendt til forskjellige fengsler og fangeleire i Chile i 1973-74.

- Det ble hevdet at jeg hadde angrepet de militære styrkene med våpen. Det var min politiske kamp mot kuppmakerne som var bakgrunnen for interneringen, sier han.

- Hvordan slapp du ut?

- Etter internasjonalt press og press fra familien. Familien min er alt annet enn venstreorientert. Men da jeg slapp ut, ble jeg utvist fra Chile.

Norsk engasjement

Han kom til Sverige i 1975. Han har siden august i fjor vært bosatt i Tromsø, hvor han underviser ved Psykologisk Institutt og medisinsk fakultet. Han har dessuten en bistilling i sosialmedisin ved Harvard i USA.

Nå krever han at Pinochet tiltales og straffes etter norsk rett, eller at norske myndigheter bidrar til at han tiltales og straffes i et annet land.

Ferrada-Noli tror at selv om Overhuset i London skulle bestemme at Pinochet ikke kan utleveres til Spania, og han blir sendt tilbake til Chile, så vil hans politiske karriere være slutt i hjemlandet.

- Han vil nok ikke kunne beholde sin selvutnevnte plass i Senatet. Det som har skjedd, er alt for pinlig for en chilener. Man må huske at Pinochet ikke lenger har så stor støtte i Chile.

- All den oppmerksomheten denne saken har fått i Europa og USA vil også kunne styrke krefter i Chile som vil stille ham for retten der. Inntil det skjer, vil vi ikke oppnå fullt demokrati, sier Marcello Ferrada-Noli.

(NTB)



DEL PÅ FACEBOOK

“Lawsuit against former dictator is filed in Belgium”

*“Dan entrada en Bélgica a demanda contra el ex dictador”*⁷⁴

La Jornada 2 de noviembre de 1998

Dan entrada en Bélgica a demanda contra el ex dictador; a Londres, familiares de desaparecidos

Ap, Reuters, Afp y Dpa, Bruselas, 10. de noviembre ² Otro país europeo sumó hoy su presión para enjuiciar a Augusto Pinochet, luego que un juez belga falló este domingo a favor de las demandas interpuestas por seis chilenos contra el ex dictador para que sea juzgado por crímenes durante su régimen. Este caso se suma a las demandas interpuestas en Francia, Italia, Suiza, Suecia y Noruega, además de España y Gran Bretaña, por víctimas de violaciones a los derechos humanos. Mientras, un grupo de parlamentarios socialistas y familiares de detenidos desaparecidos, entre ellos Isabel Allende, hija del depuesto presidente Salvador Allende, y Juan Pablo Letelier, hijo del ex canciller socialista Orlando Letelier, asesinado en Washington en 1976, viajaron este domingo a Londres para buscar cambiar el fallo de la Cámara de los Lores, que reconoció inmunidad a Pinochet.

Las demandas presentadas por seis chilenos residentes en Bélgica y aceptadas por la justicia de ese país, según la prensa de Bruselas, intentan aumentar la presión sobre Gran Bretaña para que el ex dictador sea extraditado a España. Los documentos, evidencias y testimonios reunidos en este caso serían enviados a ese país o al que obtenga la extradición de Pinochet, informó a la cadena de televisión RTBF el abogado George-Henri Beauthier.

Al mismo tiempo, en Noruega, un exiliado chileno dijo haber presentado un recurso contra el ex militar por la desaparición de sus compañeros en Chile, en 1974. Marcelo Ferrada Noli, profesor en la Universidad de Tromsø, dijo a la agencia de noticias noruega NTV que la querrela fue presentada el martes pasado, con la esperanza de aumentar la presión para extraditar a Pinochet a España, donde el juez Baltasar Garzón busca enjuiciarlo en relación con centenares de homicidios, desapariciones y torturas cometidos durante su régimen.

La Cámara de los Lores de Londres estudiará el miércoles y el jueves próximos una apelación contra la sentencia de la Corte Superior de Justicia, que esta semana declaró ilegal la detención del ex dictador chileno, acusado por los crímenes cometidos durante sus 17 años de gobierno, decisión apelada por la fiscalía británica.

<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/1998/11/02/dan.html>

⁷⁴ <http://ferradanoli.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/ferrada-noli-pinochet-la-jornada.pdf>

”Pinochet responsible for way more deaths” “Pinochet ansvarlig for for langt flere dødsfall” ⁷⁵

[Aftenposten Interaktiv](#) - [Nyheter](#) - [Utenriks](#) - oppdatert 27. november 1998 kl. 12:50

- Pinochet ansvarlig for langt flere dødsfall

Chiles tidligere diktator Augusto Pinochet er ansvarlig for langt flere drap og forsvinninger enn det han hittil er anklaget for, sier eksil-chileneren Marcello Ferrada-Noli, som er professor ved Universitetet i Tromsø.

Spania ønsker Pinochet utlevert for å tiltale ham for tortur, forsvinninger og drap på 3.178 mennesker i perioden 1973 til 1990. Men Ferrada-Noli, som var blant de aller første med sin anmeldelse av Pinochet, mener at tallet med stor sikkerhet kan doubles.

Professoren som underviser ved Psykologisk institutt og medisinsk fakultet, og som dessuten har en bistilling i sosialmedisin ved Harvard-universitetet, mener at man i regnskapet også må føre opp alle dem som begikk selvmord etter å ha gjennomgått ulike former for tortur under Pinochet-regimet.

Selvmordsstudie

Han har selv gjennomført en studie av selvmordstilfellene blant eksil-chilenerne i Sverige. Tallet på selvmord i denne gruppen er langt høyere enn for befolkningen i Chile.

- Tallet på selvmord blant eksil-chilenerne i Sverige ligger på 13,3 per 100.000 innbyggere. I Chile er antallet mellom fem og seks per 100.000. Nesten alle chilenerne i Sverige er politiske flyktninger, og mange har gjennomgått tortur, sier professoren til NTB på telefon fra Boston.

Bare i perioden 1987-91 begikk 16 chilenerne selvmord i Sverige. I de 25 årene chilenerne har bodd i eksil er det rundt hundre selvmordstilfeller, opplyser han.

Tortur påvirker

Ferrada-Nolis studie viser at valget av selvmordsmåte ofte hadde sammenheng med den type tortur den enkelte hadde gjennomgått.

- Grovt sagt kan man si at de som var blitt torturert med glødende sigaretter, valgte ild som dødsåte. De som var blitt torturert i vann, druknet seg, og de som var blitt utsatt for slag mot hodet eller kronen, valgte å kaste seg foran bil eller tog.

⁷⁵ <http://ferradanoli.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/ferrada-noli-aftenposten-pinochet-ansvarlig.pdf>

hodet eller kroppen, valgte å kaste seg foran bil eller tog.

Denne studien er nylig offentliggjort i det amerikanske fagtidsskriftet The Journal of Traumatic Stress.

Førstehåndskunnskap

Han har selv førstehåndskunnskap om Pinochet-regimets metoder. Han var med i motstandskampen, men ble raskt arrestert etter at Pinochet tok makten. Ferrada-Noli ble internert på fotballstadionen i byen Concepcion og siden sendt til forskjellige fengsler og fangeleire i Chile i 1973-74.

- Jeg så med egne øyne at mennesker ble henrettet. Mange av disse har jeg aldri funnet igjen navnene på i de senere offentliggjorte oversiktene over drepte, forklarer han.

Han mener det er store mørketall om drepte i Chile. I perioden 1974 til 1980 ble det registrert svært mange uoppklarte dødsfall. Ifølge offisiell statistikk 35,6 per 100.000 innbyggere.

- Et svært høyt tall, sier professoren. Han mener at forklaringen ligger i at mange flere ble drept eller begikk selvmord som følge av tortur enn det som er offentlig kjent.

Ifølge Ferrada-Noli bekrefter amerikanske etterretningsrapporter at tallet på drepte og forsvunne er høyere enn det den spanske dommeren Baltasar Garzon har lagt til grunn for sitt krav om utlevering.

(NTB)

[Aftenposten Interaktiv](#) - [Nyheter](#) - [Utenriks](#) - oppdatert 2. november 1998 kl. 22:41

Flere ut mot eksdiktatoren

Bakgrunn

- [Professor anmelder Pinochet](#) - 03.11.98

Eksilchilenerne i Oslo og Stavanger vil i løpet av ettermiddagen anmelde Pinochet for forbrytelser mot menneskeheten. Marcello Ferrada-Noli var først ute, nå følger flere landsmenn hans eksempel, opplyser Amnesty Norge. Ifølge advokat Berit Reiss-Andersen, som representerer Ferrada-Noli, kan anmeldelsene først og fremst betraktes som verdifulle symbolske handlinger. Det finnes imidlertid en brukbar paragraf i det norske lovverket.

- Ifølge straffelovens paragraf 12, nr. 4, kan straffbare handlinger begått i utlandet av utenlandske borgere straffefølges i Norge, hvis det gjelder særlige alvorlige forbrytelser, sier Reiss-Andersen.

- Har anmeldelsene noen praktisk verdi?

- Det er ikke realistisk å tro at Oslo politidistrikt vil etterforske Pinochet, men jeg tror at disse spontane reaksjonene som har kommet fra eksilchilenerne i mange land, likevel er viktige. "

De kommer fra et land som ikke har vært villig til å ta et rettsoppgjør med fortiden. Jeg tror reaksjonene oppfattes som en støtteerklæring til Spania og Sveits, som har tatt initiativet til utleveringsbegjæringen, sier Berit Reiss-Andersen.

<http://tux1.aftenposten.no:8080/nyheter/uriks/d57941.htm->

⁷⁶ <http://ferradanoli.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/flere-ut-mot-eksdiktatoren.pdf>

Epilogue

From Pinochet's prisons to exile battles

(written in 2008)

In these days I become 65 years old (the 25th of July). The Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) had recently an article about some of the aspects mentioned above, in a public congratulation for my 65 birthday.

The article was authored by DN staff-journalist Per Mortensen and published the 17th of July. The article ⁷⁷ is titled "Professor has sailed in dangerous waters". In the article is also mentioned my Italian bond, Noli, and my Italian ancestors.

As well, it tells about the sailing / navigation that I have done along the Swedish coast issue in the article and thus the title and the connection the journalist made at the end of the text with Antonio Noli and Cape Verde. I marked for you in red one text of the article relevant to Allende and your specific question.

Following the translated text of excerpts in the article authored by Per Mortensen.

"The one who understood in which ethical frame is within, and after that made up his decision, has thereafter no choice".

⁷⁷ "*Professor har seglat i farliga farvatten*", DN, 17 Jul 2008.
<https://www.dn.se/arkiv/familj/professorn-har-seglat-i-farliga-farvatten/>

Facsimile: <https://ferradanoli.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/dn2008-07-17.jpg>

So reasons Marcello Ferrada de Noli, one of the founders of the militant left organization MIR in Chile. Although a majority democratically elected Allende as their president, which was killed thereafter, it was only a minority of Chileans which confronted Pinochet with active resistance.

Where the courage to do this does comes from?

Marcello Ferrada de Noli resumes after a long reflection:

– “It is a question of honour to act according one’s conviction, which is not to be confounded with martyrdom. It is also a question of instinct, an altruistic behaviour such as the person who risks his/her life in saving the life of another.”

– “The perspective should be to see mankind as something bigger than only the ego of our own, and not like the amoeba, whom –in Einstein’s words– experiences the drop of water in which she lives as being the all universe.

And finally:

– “When there is no other available alternative, the one who fights has nothing to lose but his own oppressed existence”.

Professorn har seglat i farliga farvatten

Marcello Ferrada-Noli kom som politisk flykting efter sitt aktiva motstånd mot militärjuntan i Chile. Den från Sydamerika bördige professorn med rötter i Italien seglar med förtjusning sina äldre träbåtar utanför Öregrund.

– DEN SOM INSETT vilka etiska ramar han rör sig inom och efter detta gjort sitt val har sedan inget val. Så resonerar Marcello Ferrada-Noli, en av grundarna av den vänsterradikala och militanta rebellrörelsen MIR i Chile. Trots att en majoritet demokratiskt röstat fram den sedermera mördade Allende som president, var det bara en minoritet av chilenerna som bjöd Pinochet aktivt motstånd.

Varifrån kommer kuraget att göra detta?

Marcello Ferrada-Noli sammanfattar efter lång eftertanke:

– Det är en fråga om ädret att handla efter sin övertygelse, vilket inte ska förväxlas med martyrskap. Det handlar också om instinkt, ett altruistiskt beteende som när en människa riskerar sitt liv för att rädda någon annans.

– Perspektiv måste vara att se mänskligheten som något större än bara det egna jaget, och inte som anömban, med Einsteins ord, uppleva vattendroppen den lever i som hela universum.

Och slutligen:

– När det inte finns några alternativ har den som kämpar inget annat att förlora än sin förtrodda existens och sina bojar. Jag gjorde helt enkelt vad jag måste, punkt slut.

Att vara i opposition mot diktatorn Pinochet var inte ofarligt, fick den unge professorn i filosofierfara.

Tortyr och skenavrättningar i militärjuntans koncentrationsläger gjorde att han kände sig "tacksam för att bara få andas" när han val kom (som en av de åkta politiska flyktingarna) till Sverige 1975.

Att myndigheterna ville att han skulle utbilda sig till svetsare, trots att han var filosofiprofessor, tog han med ro. Han såg det som en möjlighet, inte en motgång.

– Jag är konstnär också, och svetsade skulpturer på verkstaden i Liljeholmen.

Utöver att lära sig svetsa och meka med bilar ägnade han sig också åt MIR:s underrättelseverksamhet i norra Europa för att motarbeta Pinochets likvidationer av oppositionella i landsflykt (till exempel mördades bland många andra utrikesministern Orlando Letelier).



Professor Marcello Ferrada-Noli seglar svenskt men kör och äter gärna italienskt. FOTO PER MORTENSEN

DN GRATULERAR

Marcello Ferrada-Noli

65 Gratuleras till: Fyller 65 år den 25 juli 2008.

Firar: "I två dygn med familj och vänner på gården. Jag lagar en strikt italiensk meny med hjälp av min dotter Caroline som bidrar med det konstnärliga anslaget."

Familj: Livskamrat, en dotter, sex söner, två barnbarn. Tre katter.

Bor: På sin gård norr om Uppsala, som också rymmer konstnärsateljén.

Gör: Professor emeritus i folkhälsovetenskap, gästprofessor i internationell hälsa i Gävle, medicine

doktor i psykiatri vid Karolinska institutet, där han också leder en forskargrupp i internationell och transkulturell skadeepidemiologi, Forskarutbildad vid Harvard Medical School i socialmedicin.

Intressen: Bilar, segling, målngr, golf, italiensk matlagning, hälsor på familj i Genoa varannan månad.

Aktuellt: Arbetar på en bok om den av juntan dödade Pinochetmotståndaren och vännen Miguel Enríquez som ska komma på engelska, spanska och italienska.

Motto: La lotta continua – kampen går vidare.

Den sedan många år vänsterliberale Marcello Ferrada-Noli hävdar med eftertryck att varje människa bör ta ansvar för sitt liv. Den som flyttar till ett nytt land ska veta vad han eller hon gör, och varför.

– ALLT VAR KANSKE INTE en dans på rosor här de första åren. Men jag älskar Sverige, onekligen, som det bästa landet att leva i, och för.

Marcello Ferrada-Noli lärde sig språket och disputerade i psykiatri vid Karolinska institutet i Solna. Som forskare har han uppmärksammat att självmordsfrekvensen är påtagligt högre bland invandrare än bland infödda, och att detta kan bero på bemötandet i det nya landet.

Mer kontroversiellt var det när han som professor i hälsovetenskap på DN Debatt avfärdade så kallad utbrändhet som en modetrend och ifrågasatte att själva begreppet ens var vetenskapligt. Han anser att detta ställningstagande kostat honom forskningsanslag, men säger sig vara lika kompromisslös i dag som i sitt tidigare liv.

Ett liv får inte sakna njutningar. Marcello Ferrada-Noli hyllar, så italienskt som möjligt, sydamerkan

han är, Volvo Amazon som en av världens genom tiderna vackraste bilar. Förutom en sådan äger han bland annat en trix äldre Jaguare, och tycker över huvud taget om bilar som inte kräver datautrustning för felsökning och omvårdnad, men kör till vardags en Alfa Romeo.

ATT SEGLA LÄRDE HAN SIG redan som tonåring i Chile, och länges Sveriges kuster navigerar han gärna äldre träbåtar som han själv renoverat. Sjöfart kanske ligger i blodet. I ett av de kyrkliga arkiv utanför Genoa som överlevde Napoleonskrigen hittade Marcello Ferrada-Noli uppgifter om sin anfader Antonio de Noli, italiensk uppäktresenande som för femhundra år sedan fann en av Kap Verde-öarna utanför Afrikas västkust.

– Världen, universum, är verkligen mer än en vattendroppe.

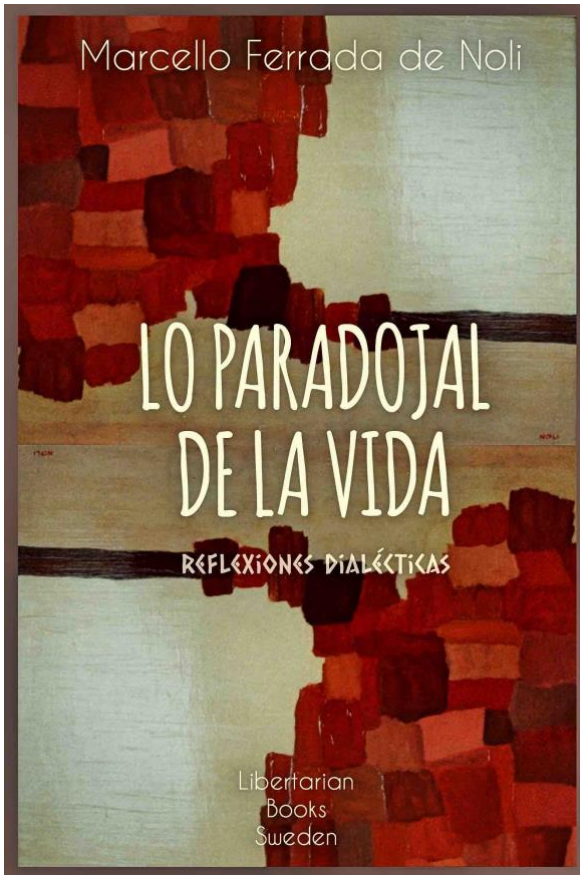
PER MORTENSEN

per.mortensen@dn.se 08-738 11 36

VEN BORDE VI FIRA?

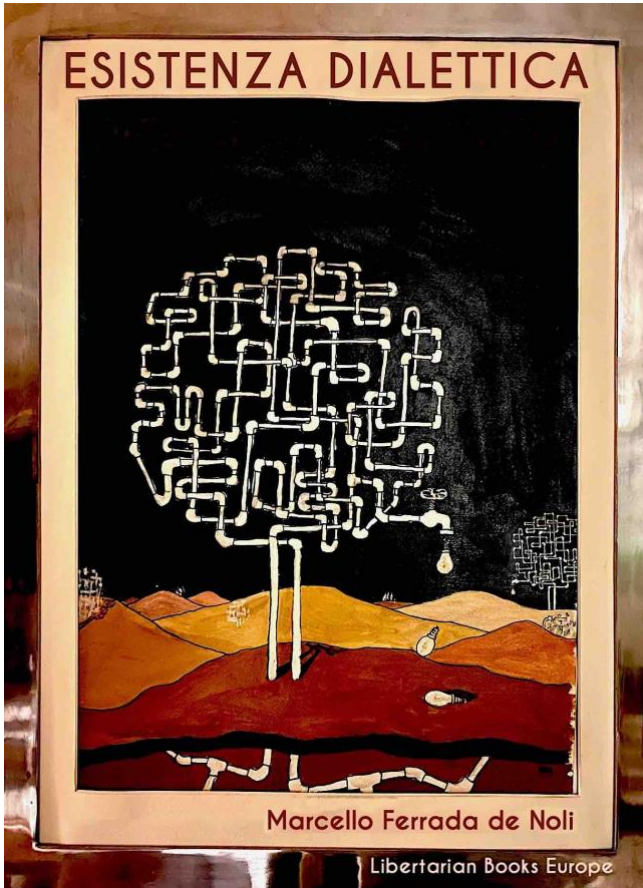
Känner du någon som fyller sju år? Eller 18? Eller kanske 60? Eller vet du någon som är värd att firas av annan orsak? Skriv till familj@dn.se

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REBELDES CON CAUSA

Mi vida con Miguel Enríquez, el MIR,
y los Derechos Humanos. Por Marcello
Ferrada de Noli, fundador del MIR



Bautista van Schouwen, Marcello Ferrada de Noli, y Miguel Enriquez Espinoza

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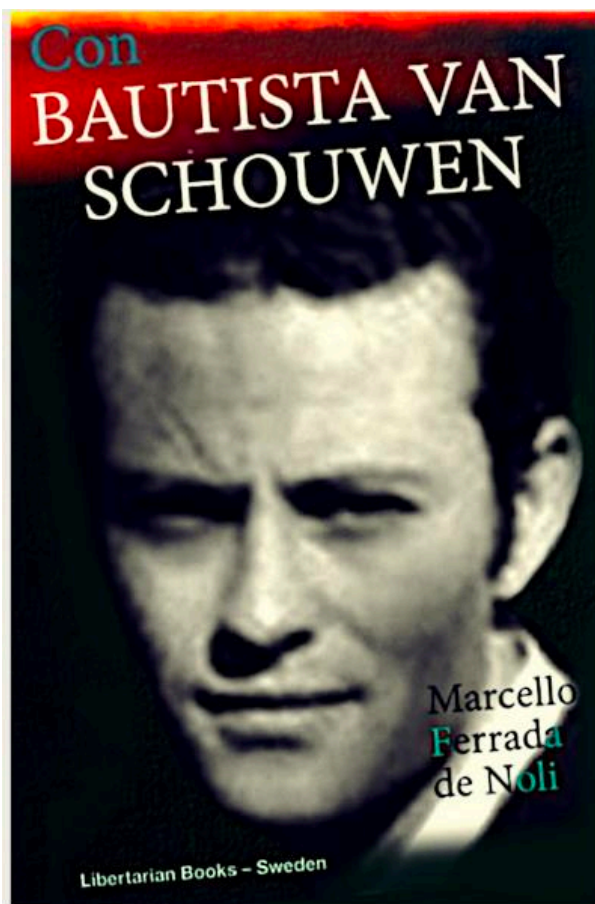
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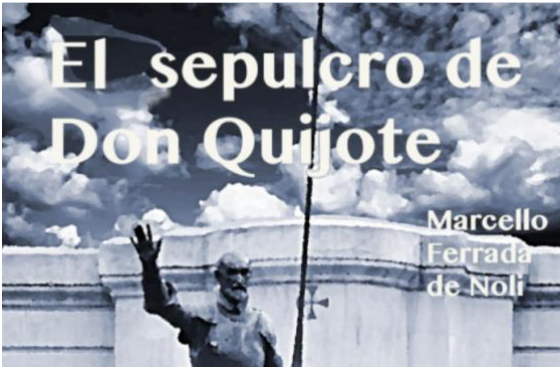


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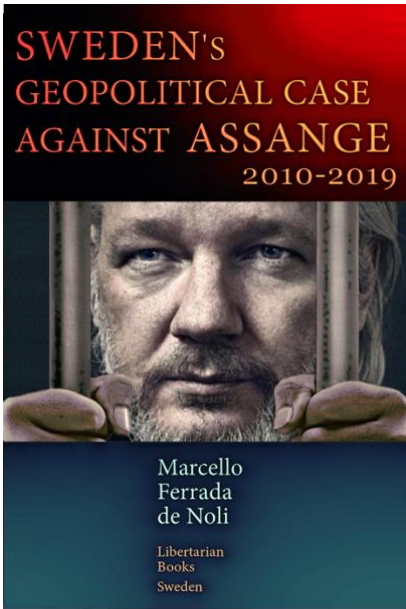
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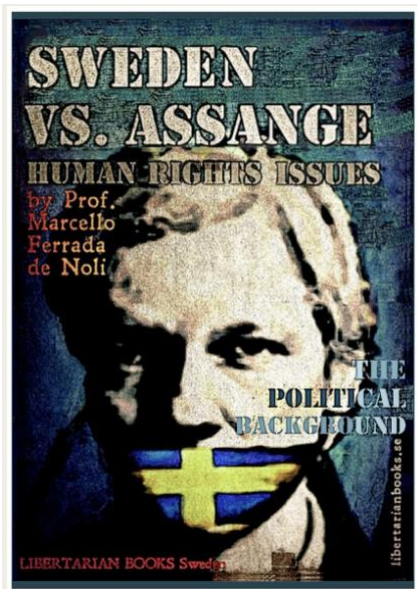
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FIGHTING PINOCHET

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