

THE POWER OF CULTURE  
How regimes legitimate human rights violations

Christine Lynn Donovan

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Supervisor: Inger Sjørølev

University of Copenhagen

## **Table of Acronyms**

AAA- American Anthropological Association

DPRK- Democratic People's Republic of Korea

IACPPT- Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture

ICCPR- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

EU- European Union

OAS- Organization of American States

PRC- People's Republic of China

UN- United Nations

## **Abstract**

‘The power of culture: how regimes legitimate human rights violations’ presents culture as an integral component of the comprehensive political/economic/military programs of oppressive state regimes and should therefore be considered a hard tool for power. The cultural policies of oppressive regimes like the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, the People’s Republic of China, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and Chile under Pinochet, are characterized by meticulous control of institutions and cultural output as well as the indoctrination of the masses for the achievement of hegemonic nationalist ideologies that legitimate human rights violations. Surprising likeness to the model established by oppressive state regimes is embodied by the contemporary regime of neo-liberalism, which also harnesses the power of culture to legitimate human rights violations. The above arguments are made based on literary sources that describe cultural programs in the relevant regimes, citations of human rights violations perpetrated by said regimes and through interpretation by way of anthropological theoretical-analytical texts and concepts.

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## PREFACE

I had originally intended to write a normative argument calling for artists to join forces with human rights activists, to change the status quo in contemporary art from “art for art’s sake,” to art for a social purpose, to make art for the voiceless, for political causes. It should have come as no surprise that these arguments have been made before, and by the last people I would ever hope to quote with such zealous fervour. I was scandalized and honestly amused that the same arguments I was making, some of the exact words I was using, had been said by Hitler, Stalin and Kim Jong-il. A quote from *Totalitarian Art* by Igor Golomstock changed the goal of this project. When considering the impetus of contemporary artists to undertake political artistic projects, Golomstock states that,

A nostalgia for art’s lost social role, for its purposeful organization, for its direct link with social and political life, casts a pessimistic gloom over appraisals of the contemporary scene, forcing many artists and critics to flirt, albeit unconsciously, with totalitarian aesthetics (x).

Before I unwittingly embody the ideologies that I consciously oppose, I will instead explore the importance of cultural policies and simultaneous censorship for oppressive regimes that commit mass violations of human rights.

## INTRODUCTION

Opposition movements have sparked the 21st century world stage. People's rebellions in Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria have been echoed by protests against austerity in Spain and the worldwide Occupy Movement, among others. We have seen banners, posters, graffiti, photography and cartoons peppering media coverage of these movements, used by opposition groups to communicate their grievances.

The use of aesthetic-cultural media for a cause is not new; one might recall artistic manifestations in protests against the Vietnam War and in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. The effectiveness of the use of cultural mediums for a political purpose has been recognized not just by protest movements but by oppressive governments themselves, including (but not limited to): the Bolshevik Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, the People's Republic of China (PRC) under Mao Zedong, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and Chile under Augusto Pinochet. The critical importance that cultural policies had in the foundational cornerstones of history's most notorious regimes shows that culture is not only a 'soft' tool for power as some cultural researchers may claim, but that culture can be wielded as a 'hard' tool for power<sup>1</sup> by a state. National cultural policies of the above mentioned regimes were instrumental for the preliminary indoctrination of the masses in the formation of hegemonic ideologies and the subsequent control of all forms of artistic and intellectual expression that together, helped conceal and legitimate grave violations of human rights. The human rights violations I have chosen to include in this project by way of their prevalence in each of the above mentioned regimes include: violations of numerous economic, social and cultural rights, the freedom of expression, the freedom of association, the freedom from arbitrary detention, the right to a fair trial, the right to free and fair elections, the freedom from torture and the right to life.

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<sup>1</sup> Prins et al, 2008, p. 382.

## OUTLINE

This project will first outline the history of human rights, specifically in relationship to the above-mentioned regimes, leading us to the relationship between human rights and anthropology. I will present important anthropological discussions of the following concepts: ideology, purification, nationalism, culture, and soft/hard tools for power, followed by a brief aside on aesthetics. Next, the thesis will dip into the official cultural programs and human right violations in Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, the PRC (1949-1976), and the DPRK. The project will then delve deeply into the official cultural policies of the military junta that ruled Chile from 1973-1990, with the hopes of demonstrating the significance of cultural policies for the indoctrination of citizens in the construction of a hegemonic ideology rooted in the concept of purification, for the concealment and legitimization of grave violations of human rights and for the overall success of oppressive regimes. In closing, I will attempt to demonstrate how there are surprising characteristic similarities between neo-liberalism in the United States and oppressive state regimes in the context of this project. Briefly, neo-liberalism also relies on cultural policies, namely advertising and mass media, to seemingly indoctrinate the masses for the construction of a hegemonic ideology based on conceptions of freedom, which may help conceal and legitimate violations of human rights. To sum it up in a research question, this thesis will address: how oppressive state regimes conceal and legitimate human rights violations with cultural control and official cultural policies that indoctrinate the masses into adopting nationalist ideologies, and how comparable systems might be considered in a post-totalitarian world context under the regime of neo-liberalism in the United States. My research method is based on literary sources that describe cultural programs in the relevant countries, and an interpretation by way of anthropological theoretical-analytical texts and concepts.

I have chosen to delve deeply into the cultural program in Chile under the military junta and to then explore the cultural expression of neo-liberalism as a contemporary regime in the United States because they are inextricably linked. President Ronald Reagan and his administration supported the 1973 military coup in Chile. Reagan and Milton Friedman (who had a close personal relationship with Pinochet) are credited with the development of the neo-liberalist economic policies that were firmly instated in Chile and (less firmly) in the United States at the time. I am personally invested in the development of this (hi)story because of my United States citizenship and the seven months I spent living in Chile.

## **OPPRESSIVE REGIMES IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW**

Walter Kälin and Jörg Künzli open their book, *The Law of International Human Rights Protection*, acknowledging that the human race has questioned its meaning and entitlements throughout history<sup>2</sup> but only began discussing it officially on an international scale after World War II with the 1948 adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in direct response to the “horrors of the Second World War”.<sup>3</sup> The players most responsible for the “horrors” of WWII as cited by Kälin and Künzli, are two of the oppressive regimes included in this project that rose to power before the inception of international human rights standards. The Bolshevik Soviet Union officially began in 1922; and the German Nationalist Party established the Third Reich in 1933. This is not to say however, that conceptions of human rights had not been cultivated around the world long before this time.

Some of the first thinkers to conceptualize citizens’ rights were John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the seventeenth century. The first national declarations to include

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<sup>2</sup> Kälin & Künzli, 2009, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 13.



reference to the rights of citizens were the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the French Declaration on the Rights of Man and the Citizen in 1779.<sup>4</sup> The principle of basic inalienable rights of citizens was gaining prominence two hundred years before the Soviet and Nazi regimes absolutely disregarded the basic rights of millions of their own citizens. The protection of human rights continued to develop, most notably after World War One.

As World War One came to an end, the League of Nations was formed<sup>5</sup> under the Paris Peace Treaties and the Allies, along with the Republic of German-Austria committed to the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on 10 September 1919.<sup>6</sup> Article 63 states that the treaty was made “to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion” and that all inhabitants were “entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.”<sup>7</sup> Seeing as the treaty only called for state obligations to the League of Nations and provided collective rights rather than individual rights, the fact that Jews were not specifically indicated as a protected minority group,<sup>8</sup> the League of Nations had no choice but to consider Germany’s anti-Semitic racial laws an ‘internal affair’ and outside the reach of the international community.<sup>9</sup> While the basis for rights protection existed under the Paris Peace Treaties, Felipe Gómez Isa reminds us that few states were willing to recognize the individual rights of their citizens during the ‘interwar period’ and there was no mechanism to enforce that collective citizens’ rights be upheld.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Eide, 2001, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Gómez, 2009, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Kälin and Künzli, 2009, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich no 303/1920.

<sup>8</sup> Kälin & Künzli, 2009, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> Gómez, 2009, p. 22.

The existence of the League of Nations and additional treaties did not prevent World War II from starting in 1939. Many believe that if the League of Nations had had a mechanism to protect human rights, the atrocities seen during World War II could have been avoided.<sup>11</sup> Still, this was not the case and the Ally struggle became marked as a fight for human rights in response to the grave human rights abuses committed by the Nazi regime in Germany.<sup>12</sup> Thanks largely to, “Hundreds of political, academic, and religious organisations [which] spread the idea that the protection of human rights should be one of the objectives of the Allies.”<sup>13</sup> At this time, the mass human rights violations committed by the Soviet Union were largely ignored considering their Ally position in the war.<sup>14</sup>

On January 6, 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt made his State of Union Address as the President of the United States of America. This speech was recognized by Cassese as the major force that led to the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>15</sup> as it included four universal freedoms: the freedom of speech and thought, the freedom of worship, the freedom from want and the freedom from fear.<sup>16</sup> In the Atlantic Charter that followed the same year, the Ally powers identified the need to fulfil individual freedoms and rights as the main impetus to win the war.<sup>17</sup> The ‘Big Four’ (China, United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union) met at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 at which time the formation of the United Nations Organization was decided.<sup>18</sup> At the San Francisco Conference in 1945, Latin American countries supported the proposed inclusion of a “Declaration of Essential Rights of Man” in the United Nations Charter but the major world

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<sup>11</sup> Gómez, 2009, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Brunet, 1947, pp. 93-94.

<sup>14</sup> Snyder, 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Cassese, 1991, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Gómez, 2009, p. 28.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

powers shut it down immediately, seeing as they each still faced huge human rights problems in their respective countries, like the Gulags in the Soviet Union.<sup>19</sup>

The inclusion of the Soviet Union in the establishment of the United Nations and in the subsequent drafting of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights in 1948 was a blatant hypocrisy considering the mass human rights violations taking place in the Soviet Union at the time. As Manfred Nowak stated in 1988, the UN and the UNDHR “can only be completely understood as a reaction to the atrocities committed by the Nazi government and its absolute attack on human rights and human dignity”<sup>20</sup> and since the Soviets were on the ‘right’ side of the conflict against the Nazis, their behaviour was not scrutinized. The end of World War II and the formation of the United Nations may have meant the end for the Third Reich, but the Bolshevik Soviet Union maintained power for several more years, the PRC was forming, the DPRK was on the verge of existence and Pinochet wouldn’t take control of Chile until 1973. Neither Soviet Russia nor Nazi Germany were bound by the following Covenants and Conventions, the PRC’s lax signatures and ratifications left them unbound for a large period of Mao’s rule, and the DPRK notoriously ignored most international human rights law. Chile under Pinochet is the only nation in this discussion that was bound by many of the following Covenants and Conventions.

Three years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was only signed by Chile and the PRC (for the context of this project), the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), were created to comprehensively protect human rights under legally binding documents. The German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the PRC were slow to sign and ratify. The PRC made an unofficial claim to sign the ICCPR in 1967, but the UN did not officially accept its signature until 1998. The PRC did not sign the ICESCR until 1997, ratifying in 2001. The Soviet Union and Germany signed both Covenants in 1968 and

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<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> Nowak, Manfred, 1988, p. 67.

ratified them in 1973, long after the Bolsheviks and Nazis had fallen from power. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea signed both the ICCPR and the ICESCR in 1981 but tried to withdrawal from the ICCPR in 1997.<sup>2122</sup> On the other hand, Chile moved quickly, signing both the ICCPR and ICESCR in 1969 to later ratify in 1972, one year before the coup d'état and instalment of Pinochet as military dictator.

Following the ICCPR and ICESCR, the UN adopted three legally binding Conventions that integrated both civil and political rights and economic social and cultural rights into frameworks to protect specific groups; each of which can be applied for the purposes of this project.<sup>23</sup> The first being the 1966 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) that Chile signed in 1966 and ratified by 1971; Germany and the Soviet Union signed the CERD in 1967 and was ratified by both in 1969; CERD was signed by the PRC in 1981 and ignored by the DPRK.<sup>24</sup> The second applicable UN Convention is the 1979 International Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that was signed and ratified by Germany, the Soviet Union and the PRC in the early 1980's; Chile signed CEDAW in 1980, not ratifying it in 1989 (the last full year of Pinochet's rule), and it was later ratified by the DPRK in 2001.<sup>25</sup> The third relevant convention in relation to this thesis is the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) that was signed by Germany, the Soviet Union, the PRC, Chile and the DPRK in 1990 and ratified by all soon thereafter.<sup>26</sup> Thus, in the context of this thesis, the CRC only binds the DPRK over the past two decades. There are also regional mechanisms for human rights protection to take into consideration.

To this day, there exists no legally binding regional instrument for human rights protection in Asia. In reference to Germany and the Soviet Union, the 1950 European Convention for

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<sup>21</sup> UN, Status ICCPR.

<sup>22</sup> UN, Status ICESCR.

<sup>23</sup> Eide, 2001, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> UN, Status ICERD.

<sup>25</sup> UN, Status CEDAW.

<sup>26</sup> UN, Status CRC.

the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms is relevant international human rights law; it was signed and ratified by Germany in 1950 and 1952 respectively but was not signed by the then Russia until 1996, later ratified in 1998.<sup>27</sup> Again, long after the worst violations of human rights were perpetuated by these states. In reference to Chile, it signed the American Convention on Human Rights in 1969<sup>28</sup>, and later ratified it in 1990, recognizing the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights the same year;<sup>29</sup> this was also the same year that the Pinochet regime came to an end. As a member of the Organization of American States (OAS), Chile is and was immediately bound by the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man when it was created in 1948. Additional relevant Conventions include the Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture (IACPPT), signed by Chile in 1987, ratified in 1988.<sup>30</sup> The military junta interestingly signed and ratified this Convention during their last years of power, although this was a period of relative calm in Chile versus the years of violence that took place at the beginning of the regime. Another relevant regional instrument is the Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons, which Chile signed in 1994 and ratified in 2010<sup>31</sup>, clearly long after the violations of this kind had been committed.

Exploring the history of human rights in the context of the included oppressive regimes is relevant because it allows us to recognize the human rights norms that had been established internationally before these regimes committed mass violations of human rights and to acknowledge the establishment of human rights instruments as a result of the (and in hopes of preventing further) violations of the kind committed by these regimes. In order to establish a foundation for key terms used throughout this project, it will be useful to draw on certain anthropological understandings of ideology, purification, nationalism, culture, and soft/hard tools for power. These definitions will follow a discussion of how

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<sup>27</sup> EU, Status ECHR.

<sup>28</sup> OAS, Status American Convention on Human Rights.

<sup>29</sup> OAS, Status Signatures and Ratifications.

<sup>30</sup> OAS, Status IACPPT.

<sup>31</sup> OAS, Status Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons.

anthropologists have perceived human rights in a historical perspective, revealing its critical nature. The historically critical nature of anthropological conceptions of human rights is the very reason why building a foundation for a human rights centred thesis on anthropological perceptions is effective.

## **ANTHROPOLOGY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

The field of human rights is interdisciplinary, involving members of the judicial field, historians, social scientists and ever increasingly, anthropologists. More and more, anthropologists have become involved in international human rights discourse but they were either initially excluded or intentionally disassociated with human rights before and after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1945. Anthropologists at this time, especially anthropologists from the American Anthropological Association (AAA), considered human rights as biased towards Western ideals and inconsiderate of cultural relativism.<sup>32</sup> The AAA submitted a ‘Statement on Human Rights’ to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations in 1947. Essentially, anthropologists did not believe that any set of standards could be applied to all of humanity, which they had found through extensive fieldwork to be so very diverse. Since the AAA’s release of their ‘Statement on Human Rights’, anthropologists have supported and criticized its logic.

In his comment on the ‘Statement’, Julian H. Steward points out that “respect for cultural differences” certainly does not advocate tolerance of the values in Nazi Germany”<sup>33</sup> so where should the line be drawn? There is an obvious problem with espousing an official statement in favour of respect for different cultures when ‘cultural differences’ can be used to legitimize grave violations of human rights. In another response to AAA’s ‘Statement’,

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<sup>32</sup> Messer, 1993, p. 224.

<sup>33</sup> Steward, 2009, p. 27.

anthropologist H. G. Barnett asks what scientific research supports the three principles of the AAA's 1947 claims.<sup>34</sup> How can science measure a value like respect? It is enough to say that not all anthropologists agreed with the 'Statement on Human Rights' but the episode reveals the rifts between anthropology and human rights that have existed.

A few of the major breaking points between anthropologists and human rights practitioners are: cultural relativism v. universalism, collective rights v. individual rights, applied anthropology v. human rights approach to activism.<sup>35</sup> Despite these differences, anthropology has had and continues to have influence in human rights theory and practice. Mark Goodale characterizes anthropological influence on human rights practice and theory as something that will continue to improve and develop with time.<sup>36</sup> He describes anthropology as a field of study that simultaneously identifies universal patterns while also recognizing what is inextricable from a specific moment in a specific place, revealing details that should be most valuable to human rights practitioners and theorists. In regards to this thesis, I claim that there are universal patterns in the way that cultural programs have been carried out by oppressive state regimes while at the same time recognizing the inherent differences (historical, contextual, etc.) between said regimes.

Ellen Messer suggests that anthropology has made two significant contributions to human rights discourse regarding the questions: "What are rights?" and "Who is counted as a full 'person' or 'human being' eligible to enjoy them?"<sup>37</sup> Thanks in large part to the work done by anthropologists, the space for economic, social and cultural rights has broadened and the acceptance of collective and indigenous rights has been achieved.<sup>38</sup> She also believes that there is space to consider both cultural relativism and universalism within anthropology and human rights. In 'Anthropology and Human Rights, Ellen Messer reveals that within anthropology, it is now possible to

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<sup>34</sup> Barnett, 2009, p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Messer, 1993, p. 221.

<sup>36</sup> Goodale, 2009, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Messer, 1993, p. 221.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, p. 222.

proceed from cultural relativism to universals: to examine commonalities, as well as differences in judgements of fairness or permissible behaviours; to develop universal methods to measure particular rights, in order to know whether the rights are fulfilled; and to develop standard methods of comparison and translation.<sup>39</sup>

It is important to acknowledge the differences in time, place, context and actors, to recognize cultural relativism when discussing the cultural programs of oppressive regimes; thus, the integration and interplay between cultural relativism and universalism is important for this project.

It is interesting to explore anthropological scholarship that relates to the focus of this project, i.e. reflections on ‘ideology’, ‘purification’, ‘nationalism’, ‘culture’, and ‘soft/hard tools for power’. Definitions and reflections generated by anthropology are valuable because they are based on extensive fieldwork in communities all over the world, because anthropology is a scientific field that is sensitive to variations of truth based on history, context, actors and other important variables. In the discussion and practice of human rights in these times, it is especially valuable to engage anthropological discourse that is grounded in cultural relativism in order to develop arguments for universalism from a less idealistic perspective, and therefore, in a more concrete manner.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, p. 235.



## IDEOLOGY, NATIONALISM & PURIFICATION

nation: it is an imagined political community<sup>40</sup>

Benedict Anderson

In *Us and Them in Modern Societies*, anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen develops useful reflections on ‘ideology’ and ‘nationalism’. According to Eriksen, a ‘successful’ ethnic or nationalist ideology must one; propose a legitimate system of power and two; effectively address the needs and wants of a group.<sup>41</sup> For the purposes of this project in the context of oppressive state regimes, I will focus on nationalist ideologies in the formation of ‘nationalism’.

When nationalist ideology is successful at convincing people that the state can provide an acceptable system of power that can fulfil their needs and wants, nationalism is formed and nationalists are born.<sup>42</sup> When citizens see their own aspirations as one with the aspirations of the state, they become nationalists, granting the state their support.<sup>43</sup> According to Eriksen, a successful nationalist ideology will not focus solely on the political sector in proposing power systems and in addressing adherents needs and wants, but will consider the involvement of the cultural sphere as equally important for the complete development of said ideology.<sup>44</sup> This claim falls directly in line with a central tenant of this thesis, that the ‘cultural’ is important for the ‘success’ of an oppressive state regime, which relies on powerful nationalist ideologies. In the words of Thomas Eriksen, “A self-proclaimed nationalist holds that state boundaries should be identical with cultural boundaries”.<sup>45</sup> In other words, a nationalist would most likely not approve of cultural diversity within the state. Thomas Eriksen explains that the most common way to reduce cultural diversity in a

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<sup>40</sup> Anderson, 1991, p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> Eriksen, 1993, p. 49.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, p. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, p. 51.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem.

nationalist state is through ideological assimilation; however, assimilation is not always possible.<sup>46</sup> In the case that minorities cannot be integrated into the nationalist front, violence may be used.<sup>47</sup>

Disapproval, disdain or fear of cultural diversity in oppressive regimes can be seen in the examples of: Nazi Germany's disdain of the Jewish community, the Soviet Union's disapproval of factionalist Baltic communities, the PRC and DPRK's rejection of adherents of Western culture and Pinochet's abhorrence of Marxists. In all cases, ethical or political minority groups were considered either subversive threats or 'agent[s] of fission'; the two principle reasons cited by Eriksen for the destruction of cultural minority communities in nationalist states.<sup>48</sup> Another reason for the targeting of cultural minorities might be to further unify the nationalist movement. This concept was identified by Eriksen, "In order to unify diverse groups under nationalism, it has proven effective to identify an enemy and engage in warfare".<sup>49</sup> All of the above regimes identified an enemy within (and outside) of the state and declared literal or ideological war against them.

A critically important discursive similarity in the formation of nationalist ideologies in the battle against internal and external enemies in the above-mentioned regimes is the presence of the concept of *purification*, which is not merely an analytical concept used by me, but is a native, or emic concept used explicitly by the regimes themselves. *Purity and Danger: an analysis of concept of pollution and taboo*, by Mary Douglas provides important reflections on the concept of purity. While the concepts of purity and impurity in any given society may be perceived as derivatives of ancient tradition, Douglas believes that they are subject to change.<sup>50</sup> Considering this, it should not be surprising that conceptions of purity in oppressive regimes conflict with conceptions of purity from the same nation's past (i.e. the major rift between Confucianism and Maoism). Douglas describes how in societies that

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<sup>46</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, p. 55.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, p. 67.

<sup>50</sup> Douglas, 1966, p. 5.

recognize hierarchy, the people that hold positions of authority are often endowed with “powers to bless or curse”<sup>51</sup>; in other words, leaders are given the power to decide who (or what) is good and bad in organized societies. Any superficial study of the charismatic authority of leaders like Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mao, and Kim Il-sung reveal the captivating influence they had over not only political thought, but also over moral thought in their respective countries. In the case of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, Thomas Eriksen’s proposition that violence is necessary when ideological assimilation cannot be achieved is applicable here; Pinochet was not a charismatic leader with widespread moral authority, his ideological objectives were achieved through violence. In continuation with Mary Douglas,

Those holding office in the explicit part of the [social] structure tend to be credited with consciously controlled powers, in contrast with those whose role is less explicit and who tend to be credited with unconscious, uncontrollable powers, menacing those in better defined positions.<sup>52</sup>

Those who are perceived to have “uncontrollable powers” who fall outside of the organized societal structure and menace those in positions of authority, often times generate fear in the mainstream population; Douglas explains that these are the people who are accused of uncanny skills or “witchcraft”.<sup>53</sup> Douglas explicitly cites that Jews in this context, because they fall outside of the organized structure of ‘Christendom’, they are feared and accused of uncanny commercial skills, for example.<sup>54</sup> According to Douglas, the concept of pollution will only be present in a society that has formally established structural “outlines”, like a Christian society that “contain[s] power to reward conformity and repulse attack”.<sup>55</sup> ‘Pollution’ is that what goes against or exists outside of a defined societal structure, “Purity [on the other hand] is the enemy of change, of ambiguity and compromise”<sup>56</sup> in society.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, p. 100.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, p. 103.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, p. 104.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, p. 105.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, p. 115.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 163.

Therefore, in the context of this work, the concept of purification in oppressive regimes refers to the elimination of what is considered polluting by the regime ('pollution'), the removal of all people, symbols or cultural manifestations that do not conform to the regime's political ideology.

The Soviets, Nazis, Maoists, and North Koreans espoused nationalist ideologies heavily based on the purification of internal and external pollutions from society. The presence of the concept of purification culminates in Chile under Pinochet; this will become very apparent to readers in the later section on the official cultural policies in Chile from 1973 to 1990. Violence was used by all of the above-mentioned nationalist, oppressive regimes in the pursuance of purification. In order to legitimize the violent treatment of cultural, ethnic, or political minorities, Hannah Arendt argues that the citizenship and subsequently the personhood of these groups may be called into question.

In the, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt persuasively argues that the terrors of World War II have roots in the systematic legal and societal targeting of ethnic groups and minorities as non-citizens and subsequently non-humans.<sup>57</sup> By stripping groups of their citizenship rights, as the Nazis did to the Jews, state law and international law are no longer applicable protections of these peoples' rights. The refusal to acknowledge citizens rights can lead to what seems to be a refusal to acknowledge some minority groups as equally human. Similar to Hannah Arendt's argument, Talal Asad theorizes that modern conceptions of 'torture' are tied to "a more complex story of the modern secular concept of what it means to truly be human".<sup>58</sup> While the official stripping of 'enemy' citizenship did not take place in all oppressive regimes, the conceptions of unequal considerations of humanity presented by Arendt and Asad were and still are present in all regimes, many times based on the 'culture' of a group. Let us explore anthropological conceptions of culture.

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<sup>57</sup> Goodale, 2009, p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> Asad, 1996, p. 111.

## CULTURE

Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun.

I take culture to be those webs.<sup>59</sup>

Clifford Geertz

I would like to begin this anthropologically based discussion of culture by highlighting certain anthropological critiques of human rights theory and practice in regards to ‘culture’. In the book, *Culture and Rights*, Jane Cowan and other anthropologists do just this.<sup>60</sup> Put simply, human rights practitioners are criticized for espousing an “essentialized”<sup>61</sup> understanding of culture, one that defines culture by standardized components such as religion, tradition and the arts (I will later explain why this is now a superficial understanding of culture according to anthropologists). Human rights theorists on the other hand are criticized for understanding the relationship between culture and human rights through opposing “universalized abstraction[s]”.<sup>62</sup> Human rights practitioners and theorists are criticized by Cowan and others for ignoring the subtleties of time, space, actors, context, etc. that constitute a ‘culture’ and ‘human rights’.<sup>63</sup> The United Nations published a book on ‘culture’ in 1995 that was extremely sensitive to the above critiques.

The 1995 publication by the United Nations’ Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) called *Our Creative Diversity* floats between relativism and universalism, focusing on the ‘right to culture’.<sup>64</sup> The anthropological perspective so heavily present in the report can be largely contributed to Claude Lévi-Strauss, who is quoted throughout.<sup>65</sup> In his critical assessment of UNESCO’S report, Thomas Eriksen

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<sup>59</sup> Geertz, 1973, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Cowan et al, 2001, p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Goodale, 2009, p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> Cowan, 2001, p. 17.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.

<sup>64</sup> Eriksen, 2001, p. 127.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, p. 138.

proposes that *Our Creative Diversity* contains two central problems considering the concept of culture defined as the “relationship between culture as artistic work and culture as a way of life”.<sup>66</sup> It is important in the context of this thesis to clarify that ‘culture’ will not only refer to artistic production but will include everyday and often times subtle cultural manifestations.

Back to Eriksen and in reference to culture as a way of life, the UNESCO report emphasizes a point of view that culture is ‘difference’, that culture is constituted by things that separate one group from another, originating from ‘tradition’ and ‘heritage’.<sup>67</sup> According to Eriksen, the view of culture as artistic creation presented in the report is considered one in the same with the view of culture as a way of life and that the report focuses on ‘exotic’ examples of arts that may serve to concretize the differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’.<sup>68</sup> The report presents culture as difference while simultaneously recognizing the widespread influence of globalization, in this way demonstrating a cultural relativist perspective that seems to ignore contemporary examples of cosmopolitan societies, tending towards a tip-toed dance around the concept of culture and respect for culture of ‘unique’ or ‘traditional’ groups only.<sup>69</sup>

While Eriksen does not claim that the cultural relativist claims made in *Our Creative Diversity* are detrimental, he does believe that they are incompatible with the concurrent calls for universal value systems that are present in the report that promote “a relativistic view of development and a universalist view of ethics”.<sup>70</sup> According to Eriksen, the report neglects to recognize the inherent contradictions between these claims, largely ignoring identity politics and the very real threat identity politics can have on a nationwide or ‘sub-national level’.<sup>71</sup> In a world where most conflicts could be labelled ‘ethnic’ and in noting

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<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, p. 131.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>69</sup> Ibidem, p. 132.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, p. 133.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem.

the drastic ideological differences between groups, “to simply state, as [*Our Creative Diversity*] does in many places...that one is favourable to cultural rights simply will not do” because “it is not self evident what the term means, nor how it articulates with individual human rights”<sup>72</sup> and may unconsciously reinforce the legitimacy of identity politics.<sup>73</sup> ‘Respect’ and ‘tolerance’ are recurring themes in the report without sufficiently treating identity politics, “whereby culture is politicized and used to legitimize not just exclusiveness, but exclusion as well.”<sup>74</sup> As we see in the examples of Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, Communist China, North Korea, Chile under Pinochet and others across the world today, respect and tolerance for all cultures can prove extremely problematic when a culture practices and promotes violence and the perpetuation of other violations of human rights.

Eriksen makes a convincing argument that instead of using the blanket term ‘culture’ to define so very many social manifestations; the specific names of these manifestations (“local arts...language, ideology...children’s rights, food habits”<sup>75</sup>) should be used instead. Like Ingold said in 1993, “the concept of culture...will have to go”.<sup>76</sup> I absolutely agree with Eriksen and Ingold and in this sense could be criticized for my gratuitous use of the word culture throughout this thesis. I argue however that since the thesis specifically treats the cultural programs by oppressive regimes, most particularly in Chile under Pinochet, the inherent limitations to what can be considered cultural in this context and the detailed descriptions of the various programs, diminish the extent to which the term culture is used as a blanket statement.

With that said, how *should* culture be considered according to anthropologists? In 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn identified 164 different uses of the word culture by

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<sup>72</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, p. 134.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, p. 136.

<sup>75</sup> Ibidem, p. 142.

<sup>76</sup> Ingold, 1999, p. 230.

anthropologists<sup>77</sup> and in 1976; Raymond Williams said that the word culture was one of the most complicated in the English language.<sup>78</sup> In ‘The Politicisation of Culture’, Susan Wright explains that there was an ‘old’ conception of culture within anthropology largely credited to American anthropologist Franz Boas<sup>79</sup>, that was defined by traditions, religions, arts, rituals, clothes, etc. suggesting that all peoples had a culture.<sup>80</sup> In the 1970’s, Talal Asad criticized the concept that all peoples have a culture and that the Western tendency to observe, define and categorize these cultures and subsequently understand these cultures only led to a new form of subjectification and control.<sup>81</sup> Another problem with this conception of culture according to Wright is that nationalistic and xenophobic groups who were attempting to gain independence also readily adopted the term culture in order to legitimize their claims.<sup>82</sup> This leads us to the ‘new’ conception of culture.

Susan Wright says that, “the new idea of culture [is] a contested process of meaning-making”.<sup>83</sup> The construction of meaning can be considered through the following questions: How do various actors in a society determine the meaning of concepts or contest the meanings created by other actors? How are local, national and international influences used to create meaning? How is power used to create meaning? Are there established rules and practices associated with a generated meaning and does anyone contest them? How can any meaning become the norm and subsequently become institutionalised? What are the tangible outcomes of the institutionalisation of one particular meaning?<sup>84</sup> These questions are useful for this thesis and in the consideration of the construction of culture in oppressive regimes; I will focus most heavily on the last two questions posed: *How can any meaning*

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<sup>77</sup> Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 149.

<sup>78</sup> Williams, 1976, p. 87.

<sup>79</sup> Stevenson, 2013, p. 262.

<sup>80</sup> Wright, 1998, p. 8.

<sup>81</sup> Asad, 1973.

<sup>82</sup> Wright, 1998, p. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem.



*become institutionalized and what are the tangible outcomes of the institutionalisation of one particular meaning?*

In continuation with Susan Wright's valuable observations on culture, she lists three stages in the construction of meaning. The first stage is the definition of key terms, or in other words, the promotion of a particular ideology (the constructed definitions of purity and cleanliness are particularly interesting in this case). The second stage in the construction of meaning is when the above definition becomes institutionalized in one field of society. The final stage of meaning making as described by Wright, is when the definition of a key term from one field of society is diffused into another field of society, finally becoming the "prevalent way of thinking [about this key term] in everyday life".<sup>85</sup> In oppressive regimes for example, definitions may have been generated in the cultural field, to be institutionalized by the political field and were then diffused into all other fields of society, creating a hegemony of meaning, a hegemonic ideology. This 'new' conception of culture as the construction of meaning is reminiscent of Michel Foucault's concept of "regimes of truth" which essentially refers to the formation of hegemonies of 'truth' in specific contexts.

The question of whom or what has the power to define key terms influences meaning creation in societies. Wright admits that,

Anthropologists themselves had previously mistaken hegemonic ideologies for authentic culture and in the process, endorsed those in the community with the ascendant power to define the characteristics of their 'culture' and project it as timeless and objective.<sup>86</sup>

It has become clear to anthropologists that culture is not 'timeless and objective' but rather a concept that is constantly changing depending on who or what is constructing meaning in

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<sup>85</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

any given society at a specific time. Wright asks, “How are decision-makers politicizing ‘culture’ and deploying the concept in a range of fields of power?”<sup>87</sup> Along similar lines, anthropologist Thomas Eriksen claims that “culture has in other words, become ideologized; it has become a kind of symbolic system prone to conscious manipulation through politics.”<sup>88</sup> Susan Wright cites various examples of ‘decision-makers’ and how they politicize culture but I will cite just one.

Wright discusses how Margaret Thatcher’s New Right party in Britain constructed meaning in a way that promoted racist ideals. It became evident through studies of the primary literary journal of the New Right<sup>89</sup> that integral formulations of cultural studies were utilized, “That is, *ideology becomes hegemonic not only through the institutions of the state but by being diffused through all areas of everyday life*”.<sup>90</sup> Wright identifies political acts as those performed institutionally and cultural acts as those performed in everyday life. Wright’s detailed reflections on ‘culture’ are valuable and the issues raised above are useful considering the goals of this project. I argue, however, that her association of the ‘everyday’ with ‘culture’ as separate from politics is not always true. I would also like to argue that she ignores a very apparent and important form of ‘politicization of culture’. The move within anthropology, as described by Wright, from considering culture as hegemonic ideology to culture as everyday life and construction of meaning may have overlooked how culture can be hegemonic through strategic and powerful politicization by regimes.

The cultural programs of oppressive regimes constitute a blatant embodiment of ‘politicization of culture’ that is present in the details of everyday life but is also institutionalized politically to the highest degree. Susan Wright supports the conception that culture is separate from politics, an argument that reminds me of the identification of culture as a soft tool for power.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>88</sup> Eriksen, 1993, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> As cited in Wright, 1998, p. 13.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

## **SOFT TOOL FOR POWER &/or/v. HARD TOOL FOR POWER**

Cultural theorists often consider culture a soft tool for power. In, *Cultural anthropology: the human challenge*<sup>91</sup>, soft power is defined as “co-optive power that presses others through attraction and persuasion to change their ideas, beliefs, values and behaviours”.<sup>92</sup> Certain mediums that comprise the cultural programs of oppressive regimes can certainly be considered tools for soft power including: propaganda, artistic forms in general, architecture, imagery on stamps, financial notes, nationalistic songs and holidays, etc. Cultural manifestations that can be classified as soft tools for power are critical for the indoctrination of the masses and for the construction of nationalist ideologies that advocate the ‘purification’ of society. The cultural policies of oppressive regimes are not limited to manifestations of soft tools for power.

The definition of hard power given by *Cultural anthropology: the human challenge* is, “coercive power that is backed up by economic and military force”.<sup>93</sup> The oppressive regimes included in this thesis promulgated laws, instated government decrees, and developed official rules for the cultural sphere that were enforced by the military, by way of imprisonment, torture, violence and death. Military force was used to enforce certain cultural policies of oppressive regimes at the same time that regimes pursued economic and political objectives, their cultural, military, economic and political objectives working in unison. I argue that culture can be a “coercive power that is backed up by economic and military force” in oppressive regimes. One of the central objectives of this project is to demonstrate how ‘culture’ is politicized in oppressive regimes and is used as a tool for hard power.

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<sup>91</sup> Prins et al, 2008, p. 382.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>93</sup> Ibidem.

## ART AND OPPRESSIVE REGIMES

Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have several characteristic differences but for the purposes of this project, both categories will be recognized as ‘oppressive regimes’. Nazi Germany, Bolshevik Soviet Union, Communist China, and North Korea are considered totalitarian regimes, while Chile under Pinochet is considered an authoritarian regime. In spite of their differences it is significant that all above-mentioned regimes implemented pervasive cultural policies as fundamental tools of their political campaigns, established insidious mechanisms of comprehensive cultural control while perpetuating grave violations of human rights. Before delving into the specificities of the aesthetic-cultural programs of these regimes, it is interesting to briefly touch upon the ‘totalitarian art’ exemplified by all above mentioned regimes, that was so instrumental for the construction of an nationalist ideology, for the *indoctrination* of the masses (the first stage of meaning construction as indicated by Susan Wright).

A 1995 ‘scientific art project’ conducted by Alexander Maladmid from Moscow concluded that people all over the world prefer to see the same subject matter and colours in art: subjects from 17 countries preferred springtime landscapes with bodies of water, trees, animal life and the presence of a historical figure.<sup>94</sup> One fourth of subjects from China, Russia, Germany Denmark and other countries all answered that their favourite colour was blue.<sup>95</sup> The results of this study are interesting in relation to this project, because they show that when it comes to artistic taste, citizens of the world tend to agree as to what is beautiful. According to Igor Golomstock, totalitarian regimes “produced identical aesthetic conceptions and the same brand of official art”<sup>96</sup> that in many ways align stylistically to the international artistic preferences indicated by Maladmid’s experiment.

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<sup>94</sup> TED/NPR, 19 April 2013.

<sup>95</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>96</sup> Werner Haftmann, *Painting in the Twentieth Century*. As cited in Golomstock 1990 p. iv.

While Golomstock recognizes that it is impossible to generalize the style of totalitarian art, he suggests that despite extreme political, cultural and contextual differences among oppressive regimes, there are surprising stylistic similarities of most ‘totalitarian art’ produced.<sup>97</sup> The following section is based on Universalist conceptions of artistic style in totalitarian regimes. In his monumental book, *Totalitarian Art*, Igor Golomstock expands on six stylistic similarities among the ‘totalitarian arts’ produced in Bolshevik Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Communist China; I argue that these similarities can be seen in examples of government supported arts produced in North Korea as well. It is harder to place Chile within this argument, however, due to logistical roadblocks.

According to Luis Hernán Errázuriz, the subject matter of official art works produced during the dictatorship were generally military in nature, portraits of military heroes or depictions of battles<sup>98</sup>; and while one might assume that the style of these works is realist in nature, the inclusion of official art produced by the Pinochet regime in Golomstock’s framework of ‘totalitarian art’ is complicated because works of this kind in Chile are largely unavailable and not certainly not available on the Internet. When I asked the Chilean National Library if they could be of assistance in finding examples of official art produced during the military regime, I received the following response from the Director of User Services: ‘Unfortunately I revised the catalogue of the Library, Archives and Museums Directory and I have not found anything related to what you need’.<sup>99</sup> The significance of this answer will be treated in a later part of this thesis. Now, we will take a look at the six characteristics of ‘totalitarian art’ as highlighted by Igor Golomstock.

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<sup>97</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. xi.

<sup>98</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 73.

<sup>99</sup> Lucero, 17 June 2013. My translation.

In Golomstock's imagery inducing words, totalitarian art might be recognized by its:

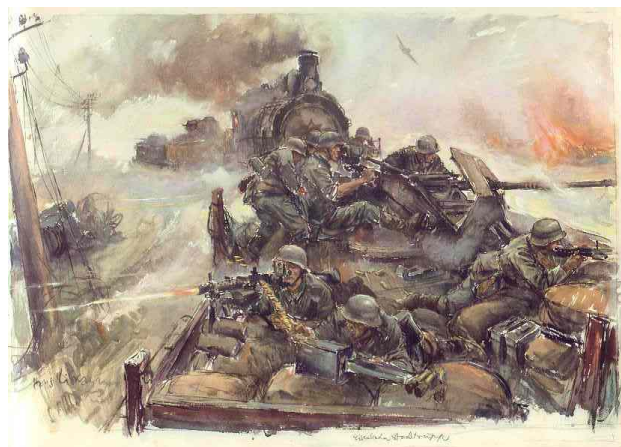
“Smoking blast-furnaces against the background of a symbolic dawn, zealous enthusiasm on the factory shop-floor, passionately motivated workers, muscular youths and heroic warriors, popular exultation, general prosperity, unanimous approval.”<sup>100</sup>

The common artistic themes noted by Golomstock include:

1. War:



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<sup>100</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. vii.

<sup>101</sup> Deineka, *The Defence of Sebastopol*, Soviet Union, 1942.

<sup>102</sup> Liska, *Panzerzug*, Germany.

2. Portrait of a leader:

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<sup>103</sup> Kim Il-sung, DPRK.

<sup>104</sup> Shurpin, *The Morning of Our Fatherland*, Stalin, Soviet Union, 1949.

<sup>105</sup> Heinrich Knirr, *Portrait of Hitler*, 1937.

<sup>106</sup> Mao Zedong, PRC, 1960-1966.



3. “Historical painting”:



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<sup>107</sup> PRC 1.

<sup>108</sup> Hoyer, 1937, Germany. Allusion to the Gospel of John, this piece could also fit in the following category, veneration of the leader as a deity or supernatural figure.



4. Veneration of the leader as a deity or supernatural figure:

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<sup>109</sup> Portal, 2005, p.100. DPRK. Kim Il-sung is often referred to using religious language and paintings capture him surrounded by children, “like traditional paintings of Jesus saying: ‘Let the Children come unto me’”.

<sup>110</sup> PRC 2.

5. Mythologizing” past or present events:



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<sup>111</sup> Schmitt, H. *Hitler-Ledendorff Putsch*. Germany. Depicts Hitler yelling triumphantly in the middle of his troops during the 1923 putsch, a very important moment in National Socialisms history, while in reality, Hitler fell to the ground after the first shots were fired and was carried away from the danger into a waiting car, abandoning his dying soldiers.

<sup>112</sup> Sokolov-Skalya, Pavel Petrovich. *Storming the Winter Palace on 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1917*. 1939. Soviet Union. Depicts the 1917 overtaking of a palace to be some military miracle, while only young, relatively unarmed schoolboys and a women’s contingent had been protecting the palace.

6. Labour:



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<sup>113</sup> Yablonskaya, Tatyana. *Bread*. 1949. Soviet Union. <http://www.passportmagazine.ru/article/941/>.

<sup>114</sup> DPRK.

The stylistic similarities among the above examples of official art from the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, Communist China and North Korea are striking. Igor Golomstock points out that despite drastically different political ideologies, both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia considered modern art (Expressionism, Cubism, Impressionism, Dadaism) as ‘degenerate’ by the former and ‘art of decay and putrefaction’ by the latter.<sup>115</sup> Comprehensive disapproval of abstract art was sustained in Maoist China and North Korea.<sup>116</sup> Mao himself acknowledged the influence that Marx and Lenin had in constructing his vision of art in a socialist society.<sup>117</sup> And in the words of Kim Jung-il,

A picture must be painted in such a way that the viewer can understand its meaning. If the people who see a picture cannot grasp its meaning, no matter what a talented artist may have painted it, they cannot say it is a good picture.<sup>118</sup>

In this way, Socialist Realism permeated into the official art forms of each of these totalitarian regimes.

By adapting uninteresting party ideology into powerful realistic images and legends, these regimes were able to inspire (or indoctrinate) the masses to adopt the nationalist ideology, forming widespread nationalism and self-identified nationalists. Considering the development of modernist cultural and artistic tastes around the world during the rise of these regimes, it may be surprising that the overwhelming artistic style chosen by each to ‘inspire the masses’, was total realism.<sup>119</sup> As Golomstock suggests, many oppressive regimes enter the scene disguised as revolutionaries but subsequently adopt traditional, conservative artistic programs.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, it may have also been important for the ‘official art’ to be set apart from art unaligned with government programs, making it easier to know which artists to institutionally support or censor. Although it may be

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<sup>115</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 20.

<sup>116</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>117</sup> Ibidem, pp. 122-23.

<sup>118</sup> Choe, p. 109.

<sup>119</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. xiv.

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem, p. 3.

interesting to note the stylistic similarities of the art produced under these oppressive regimes, one may ask what kind of tangible effect can visual media of this form and others really have on a population?

## **THE POWER OF AESTHETICS**

Propaganda often comes to mind when considering the visual media promoted by oppressive regimes. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines propaganda as ‘manipulation of information to influence public opinion’. Oppressive regimes promoted formal arts to advocate reverence towards leaders, satisfaction in labour and pride of the ‘fatherland’, simply put, art like the examples above were used in the creation of nationalist ideology. These regimes widely circulated propaganda to indoctrinate the masses for the same reasons and others, like instilling hate for the enemy and encouraging the purification of society from internal enemies. The relationship between propaganda and indoctrination is regularly discussed in academia (D. Welsh 1987, J.A. Brown 1964, W.H. Franklin 1961). Through the strengthening of national cultural programs, the above-mentioned regimes were able to indoctrinate people through the production of visual media but the question, ‘how does visual media successfully indoctrinate?’ looms large.

It is fascinating to consider how oppressive regimes gain systematic control over the minds and hearts of huge populations. Visual media is absolutely a tool used by these regimes to achieve control. While science and scholarship on how visual media affects the human brain have produced a wealth of knowledge on the topic, very few overriding truths have been established. In his impressive book, *The Age of Insight*, 2000 Nobel Prize winner in Physiology, Eric Kandel, not only maps out how images literally affect different parts of

the brain but also discusses some of the most profound discoveries into what impact visual media has on the human mind.<sup>121</sup>

There is a long list of studies on human response to colours that have produced varied and inconclusive results. Studies have shown (Nakshian, 1964, Clynes and Kohn, 1968), however, that the colour red elicits more psychological and physiological reactions than any other colour (I believe that this is because our blood is red). It is significant that the colour chosen to represent the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, Maoist China, and North Korea was red. Red was the only colour banned from the public sphere in Chile under Pinochet. Kandel proposes, based on his studies of the brain, that “we perceive colours as possessing distinct emotional characteristics, and our reaction to those characteristics varies with our mood”<sup>122</sup> meaning that context aside, a piece of visual media will illicit different emotional responses from different people. If Kandel’s theory that a person’s mood dictates how they emotionally respond to a certain colour is true, could it suggest that in a society experiencing an overwhelming ‘mood’ of excitement for ‘revolution’ or say a widespread movement for unification of ideological ‘brothers’ (as is common at the beginning and throughout oppressive regimes) more of the people in that society would react to a certain colour in a similar fashion? If the mood was right and widely felt, did the colour red inspire pride, nationalism and solidarity (or fear in the case of Chile) into the minds and hearts of the masses?

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<sup>121</sup> Kandel, 2012, pp. 225-442.

<sup>122</sup> Ibidem, p. 341.





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Kandel interestingly notes that a person perceives an object’s colour 100 milliseconds before its shape or place in space. He informs us that the human “brain processes aspects of the image that relate to emotional perception more rapidly than aspects that relate to form, thus setting the emotional tone for the form”.<sup>125</sup> This concept is supported by the late seventeenth century work of Carl Lange, a Danish psychologist, who believed that “unconscious emotion” characterized by physical reaction and emotional behaviour, “precedes conscious perception” of this emotion.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, a person will have an unconscious emotional reaction to the colour of visual input before they consciously perceive its form and content. These findings make me wonder, in the context of the above mentioned oppressive regimes, if propaganda that incites citizens to commit human rights violations against the ‘enemy’ were painted in red, the colour associated with pride of the fatherland, the onlooker could have experienced the unconscious emotional reactions inspired by the use of the colour red *before* consciously comprehending the content of the

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<sup>123</sup> ‘Those who dare insult our dignity face a mighty punishment’, DPRK.

<sup>124</sup> Soviet Union, 1920?

<sup>125</sup> Kandel, 2012, p. 345.

<sup>126</sup> Ibidem, p. 349.

propaganda itself. This would understandably lead to confusion for an upstanding yet pacifist Bolshevik or Nazi who would not consciously choose to perpetuate the human rights violations encouraged by propaganda but who unconsciously react to the propaganda with feelings of pride and reverence, enforced by the overwhelming ‘societal mood’.

In the 1960s, a social psychologist at Columbia University named Stanley Schachter, supported, through a series of tests, that the emotional response to exterior input does not only rely on the content of the input but also on the context of the situation in which the input is transmitted.<sup>127</sup> In times of great upheaval, fear of the enemy or national fervour (perhaps partly created by visual media), subjects may be more susceptible to external stimuli like propaganda and other forms of visual media in oppressive regimes. Freud proposed that input which incites fear or anxiety of an intangible form are much more effective at creating these emotions in people than if the threat were known and present.<sup>128</sup> The enemy of so many totalitarian systems were hidden infiltrators or distant outsiders that threatened national ideology or safety; in other words, they were intangible forms that prompted citizens to imagine a more terrifying scenario than what reality might prove true.

Another scholar from Columbia University, Amit Etkin, solidified findings by Charles Darwin “that irrespective of sex or culture, conscious perceptions of six facial expressions- happiness, fear, disgust, anger, surprise, and sadness- have virtually the same meaning to everyone”.<sup>129</sup> There are a great number of human forms and faces in the propaganda promoted by oppressive regimes. Using Etkin and Darwin’s findings, it can be inferred that the facial expressions of the subjects in propaganda were interpreted in the same way by everyone in society, easily transmitting happiness of the construction of a utopian society, but also transmitting fear, anger and disgust of the ‘enemy’ throughout the masses.

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<sup>127</sup> Ibidem, p. 351.

<sup>128</sup> Ibidem, p. 361.

<sup>129</sup> Ibidem, p. 360.



The results of scientific studies by Kandel, Lange, Schachter, and Etkin set the framework for interesting inferences and questions relating their findings to the emotional impact of visual media promoted by oppressive regimes. A preliminary application of these results may indicate that: colour used by regimes might have had a broad affect on their citizens because of shared societal moods, emotional responses to colours that were directly associated with regimes might have influenced reactions to contentious messages, the context in which visual media was transmitted to the masses may have influenced the success of its transmission, and that the facial expressions present in visual media promoted by regimes may have a universal emotional impact on the beholders.



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<sup>130</sup> Nazi Germany, anti-Semitic propaganda.

<sup>131</sup> Soviet Union v. Germany.

## **CULTURAL POLICIES OF OPPRESSIVE REGIMES:**

The German and Chinese variants...represent a further stage in the development of totalitarianism: from the very beginning Hitler had before his eyes the results both of Mussolini's cultural policies and of the Leninist- Stalinist programme, while Mao took the model of the Big Brother as the basis for cultural changes from as early as 1942.<sup>132</sup>

The leaders of oppressive regimes will almost immediately dedicate the arts and culture as an "ideological weapon and a means of struggle for power."<sup>133</sup> In order to accomplish this, based on arguments made by Igor Golomstock and Luis Hernán Errázuriz, the oppressive government will seize control of the universities, museums, media groups, and the like. They will then establish an institutional mechanism to enforce control over the country's cultural developments. From all existing styles of expression in the country, the regime will choose the most conservative model and declare it to be the "official" form, excluding all others. The final and most extreme phase of the process to control national arts and culture is to target and destroy all other forms of expression and those creating them.<sup>134</sup> I would like to briefly touch upon the cultural programs of the Bolshevik Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, the PRC under Mao Zedong and the DPRK; later in-depth analysis will focus entirely on the cultural of policies in Chile under Pinochet. In the following sections I hope to demonstrate how official cultural policies worked hand in hand with the political and military programs of these regimes, making culture a hard tool for power. By chronologically presenting official cultural policies and human rights violations taking place in the above-mentioned oppressive regimes, I hope to demonstrate that meticulous control of cultural output and cultural indoctrination for the development of hegemonic nationalist ideologies might have been used to conceal and legitimate human rights violations.

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<sup>132</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 3.

<sup>133</sup> Ibidem, p. xiii.

<sup>134</sup> Ibidem.

## THE SOVIET UNION: 1917-1953

The Bolshevik Soviet Union was not bound by any international treaties or obligations. Stalin abstained from signing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and not until 1996 did Russia become a party to the European Convention on Human Rights. Not only did the Soviet Union not take part international human rights developments, they disagreed with the norms being discussed by the West. The Soviet Union's lack of respect for Western conceptions of human rights could be one reason for their general negligence of human rights standards established by the United States and French Declarations. As opposed to Western States where Civil and Political Rights were paramount, 'human rights' in the Soviet Union meant Economic, Social and Cultural Rights including the rights to: adequate nutrition, work, healthcare and education. According to Marxist-Leninist ideology, the fulfilment of these rights was a prerequisite for the fulfilment of Civil and Political rights.<sup>135</sup> The beneficiary of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were not individual citizens, like in Western legal theory, but rather society as a whole.<sup>136</sup> Thus, programs to fulfil Soviet citizen's rights considered what was deemed 'best' for the entire society rather than consideration of individual needs.

From its inception in 1917, the citizens of the Bolshevik Soviet Union were subject to systematic violations of their most basic human rights and freedoms in regards to *future* international human right norms. Since international instruments protecting human rights did not yet exist, the human rights violations perpetuated by the Soviet Union will be discussed hypothetically and chronologically alongside a discussion of the official cultural policies of the Soviet Union. In order to conceal and legitimate human rights violations on a wide scale, the cultural policies instated by the Soviet Union were instrumental tools.

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<sup>135</sup> Shiman, 1999.

<sup>136</sup> Lambelet, 1989, pp. 61-62.

Art belongs to the people. It must penetrate with its deepest roots into the very heart of the broad working masses. It must be understandable to these masses and loved by them. It must unite the feeling, thoughts and will of these masses, it must elevate them.<sup>137</sup>

Vladimir Lenin

From the beginning of the Russian Revolution in 1917, ‘leftist’ and avant-garde artists not only supported Lenin and the new vision for a Marxist Soviet Union, they understood the need for state management of culture and the need for “ideological control” in order to fulfil a higher purpose.<sup>138</sup> Within the first few years of the Revolution, all private collections, museums and artistic educational institutions were nationalized and placed under the directorship of ‘leftist’ and avant-garde artists, including the: Department of Fine Arts, Institute of Artistic Culture, The Higher Artistic Workshops, Petersburg Academy of Arts, Moscow College of Painting and Architecture and Stroganov College.<sup>139</sup>

Golomstock makes an interesting observation that the Soviet avant-garde seemingly adapted one of Marx’s classic quotes on philosophy into a statement about art, “In the past artists depicted the world by various means, but the real task is to change it”.<sup>140</sup> The belief that art should be used as a real tool for dramatic social change generated by Bolshevik revolutionaries was destined to have enormous influence on nearly all oppressive regimes to follow. Some of the first manifestations of ‘art’ meant to change the ‘world’ were posters and other forms of propaganda like Lissitzky’s famous 1919 poster ‘Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge!’ (Figure 1) which utilized recognizable geometrical forms and symbolic colours to communicate a simple message.<sup>141</sup> Right after the revolution, major names in the

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<sup>137</sup> Tsetkin, 1955, p. 14.

<sup>138</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 22.

<sup>139</sup> Ibidem, p. 14.

<sup>140</sup> As quoted by Golomstock, 1990, p. 23.

<sup>141</sup> Lissitzky-Kuppers, op. cit., Ibidem, p. 340.

Soviet art world contributed to the production of propaganda posters; these images were then printed on buildings, trains, ships, kitchenware and large-scale banners.<sup>142</sup>

According to Golomstock, the Bolsheviks “saw it as more than everyday political propaganda; the art of the victorious proletarian revolution should be a kind of “social engineering” or an instrument “for the construction of the psyche”.<sup>143</sup> Here, there was no hiding the intention to indoctrinate.



Figure 1

What would have been in direct violation of Article 19 of the UDHR and Article 10 of the ECHR, which protect the freedom of expression, censorship was immediately institutionalized when Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks came to de-facto power in 1917, marking the beginning of the Soviet Union.<sup>144</sup> They made three important decrees: The Decree on Peace, the Decree on Land, and the Decree on the Press, which shut down “newspapers that published material hostile to the new revolutionary authorities.”<sup>145</sup> It is not only surprising but also extremely important to note that blatant censorship was one of the three major programs first undertaken by the Bolshevik regime. Conservative, liberal and even some socialist newspapers were shut down.<sup>146</sup> While the Decree on the Press dealt specifically with freedom of the press, the regime quickly took control of all forms of expression. Under the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, which sought to redeem the working class from decades of “bourgeois rule”, Lenin and the Bolsheviks not only planned to

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<sup>142</sup> Ibidem, p. 171.

<sup>143</sup> Ibidem, p. 26.

<sup>144</sup> Service, 2001, pp. 2082.

<sup>145</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>146</sup> Ibidem.

repress political and military opponents, but also planned a widespread system of indoctrination that would promote new Russian ideals while meticulously controlling cultural output.<sup>147</sup> Dissent would not be tolerated.

In order to assure that dissident voices were silenced, Lenin set up the *Cheka* in December of 1917, a police force specifically assigned to arrest opponents of the revolution.<sup>148</sup> The Civil War began in 1918 and the “Red Terror” brought an end to almost all non-state sources of media or public opinion.<sup>149</sup> The Soviet government began offering substantial payments to those writers willing to write in favour of the regime, many of whom had no choice.<sup>150</sup> Since food, health care, housing and fuel were nationalised, money no longer had value so many artists and writers were forced to work for the state in order to survive.<sup>151</sup> Those writers, artists or dissidents of the Bolshevik regime who refused to comply were sent to forced labour camps known as *Gulags* as early as 1918. There was great suffering and death as a result of the terrible conditions and executions were common.<sup>152</sup> Estimates on the number of people who died in Gulags or the result of the time they spent in camps or colonies range from 1,053,829<sup>153</sup> or 1.6 million considering deaths from disease after release<sup>154</sup> to up to over 10 million.<sup>155</sup> Although exact numbers are difficult to come by, it is safe to say that a large percentage of the people imprisoned were not granted a ‘fair public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal’ later provided without exception in Article 10 of the UDHR and Article 6 of the ECHR and were punished without law, prohibited by Article 11 of the UDHR and Article 7 of the ECHR. Forced labour is prohibited under Article 4 of both the UDHR and ECHR. The right to life is guaranteed by

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<sup>147</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>148</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>149</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>150</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>151</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>152</sup> Plamper, 2001, p. 2110.

<sup>153</sup> Getty, 1993, pp. 1017-1049.

<sup>154</sup> Rosefielde, 2009, p. 67.

<sup>155</sup> Conquest, 2007. p. xvi.

Article 3 of the UDHR and Article 2 of the ECHR and was denied to the unknown millions who died inside or as a result of these labour camps and colonies.

Another effective mode of silencing oppositional voices was the establishment of a national censorship authority in June 1922.<sup>156</sup> From then on, anything that was to be published needed prior consent from *Glavit*, the Main Administration for Affairs of Literature and Publishing Houses.<sup>157</sup> Similar organizations were established to censure cinema, theatre, and music. “In summer 1922 dozens of outstanding non-communist poets, philosophers, and scholars were deported en masse on the Moscow-Berlin train [Forced exile is prohibited under Article 9 of the UDHR and Article 3 of Protocol 4 of the ECHR]...Not a single non-communist newspaper survived and nearly all other cultural outlets were state-owned or state-subsidized.”<sup>158</sup>

The severity of censorship programs in the Soviet Union intensified when Stalin came into de-facto power in the mid-1920s. In his first Five-Year Plan, Stalin imposed more drastic limits on personal self-expression, controlling what was spoken, performed or posted.<sup>159</sup> The government monitored everything from sports, pastimes, movies and music. Robert Service said, “There was a systematic campaign to eliminate all surviving bodies of alternative opinion.”<sup>160</sup> By 1927, “the last remnants of creative freedom” were distinguished and by the thirties, Soviet Socialist Realism would become identical to the art and theory produced by the Third Reich.<sup>161</sup> Despite their deep-seated rivalry, the USSR and Nazi Germany were similar in the fact that “The “battle for art” in both Germany and Russia was waged parallel to the battle for political power”.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Service, 2001 p. 2083.

<sup>157</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>158</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>159</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>160</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>161</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 20.

<sup>162</sup> Ibidem, p. 69.

In 1932, the Central Committee made a decree that called for one national literary union, one national art union and so on for all cultural sectors; of course, banning all cultural unions that were not state affiliated.<sup>163</sup> Historians have called the promulgation of this decree the “turning point” in Soviet cultural development.<sup>164</sup> At the very same time, over five million people starved to death, mostly in Ukraine during the Soviet famine of 1930-1933, caused by Stalin-mandated collectivization.<sup>165</sup> Not only were millions of Soviet citizens denied their right to adequate food as later provided by Article 25 of the UNDHR, Article 11 of the ICESCR and General Comment 12; millions were also denied their right to life as later provided by Article 3 of the UDHR and Article 2 of the ECHR, due to the effects of state sponsored programs.

In addition to the approximately 5 million civilian casualties that resulted from starvation at the hands of government programs, around a million additional people died from state aggression against its own citizens.<sup>166</sup> There were several state mandated operations that killed hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens. National minorities were stigmatized as enemies and targeted in mass killings; around 111,091 Polish people were accused of spying and subsequently shot during the “Polish Operation” in 1937.<sup>167</sup> Timothy Snyder estimates that there were 247,157 total Soviet ethnic minorities shot by the NKVD in various operations. These operations constituted ‘The Great Terror’, a term popularized by Robert Conquest’s book by the same name, referring to Stalin’s purges of Communists, Red Army officials and rural peoples between 1936-1939. Some say that the most brutal period of the Great Terror was between 1937 and 1938, specifically known as the “Kulak Operation” in which 386,798 people were shot by the order of the Soviet government. In his 2011 article, ‘Hitler vs. Stalin: Who Killed More?’ Timothy Snyder proposes that,

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<sup>163</sup> *Sovetskoe iskusstvo za 15 let*, 1934, pp. 644-5.

<sup>164</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 81.

<sup>165</sup> Davies & Wheatcroft, 2004, p. 401.

<sup>166</sup> Snyder, 2011.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibidem*.



considering new information and increased access to government documents, the “total figure of civilians deliberately killed under Stalinism, around six million”.<sup>168</sup>

Not a year after the Kulak Operation, the Stalin Prize was inaugurated in 1939 and served to congratulate artists for their achievements and to recognize that year’s progress in the artistic field.<sup>169</sup> The winning works of art were displayed in national exhibitions and included in history textbooks as verified depictions of historical events and personas.<sup>170</sup> World-renowned Soviet artist, Pavel Filonov said, “Just like heavy industry and the Red Army, art must be organized and made into an effective instrument that can be used as part of an integral State plan.”<sup>171</sup>

The fall of Nazi Germany was simultaneously the most powerful and developed phase of the proliferation of ‘totalitarian art’ in the Soviet Union. According to Golomstock, it was between 1946 and 1953 “that the megamachine of culture was perfected” the ideologies of Socialist Realism were expanded upon and scrupulously implemented by massive new institutes then meticulously transpired into the “code of laws of Soviet aesthetics, philosophy and theory of art”.<sup>172</sup>

The Russian Imperial Academy of Arts that had been abolished by Lenin in 1919 was reinstated in 1947 with the function of controlling all artistic culture and education in the Soviet Union.<sup>173</sup> The most prominent educational institution to come out of the renewed Academy was the Institute of the History and Theory of Art, established to cultivate “a theoretical foundation for the new ideology”<sup>174</sup> against artists and theorists that praised Western culture and in support of artists who upheld themes of “patriotism, love of the fatherland and devotion to the State” (purification for the development of nationalist

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<sup>168</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>169</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 220.

<sup>170</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>171</sup> Misley & Bowlt, 1983, p. 226.

<sup>172</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 140.

<sup>173</sup> Ibidem, pp. 141-142.

<sup>174</sup> Ibidem, p. 142.

ideology).<sup>175</sup> The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, the only collection of Western art in Moscow, was shut down in 1949.<sup>176</sup> Stalin died in 1953 and the rule of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union came to a slow end.

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<sup>175</sup> Ibidem, p. 143.

<sup>176</sup> Ibidem, p. 145.

## NAZI GERMANY

Like the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany was not bound by international human rights instruments because the regime existed before the creation of such instruments. Lack of respect for human rights principles could be credited with the Nazi's negligence of the human rights standards that had been set by the United States and French Declarations and for their incompliance with the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye that Austro-Germany had committed to on 10 September 1919.<sup>177</sup> To repeat what many scholars have recognized (Nowak 1988, Gomez 2009, Kälin and Künzli 2009), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was created in response to the massive human rights violations perpetuated by the Nazi regime. The European Convention of Human Rights was also created after the fall of the Nazis. Therefore, 'human rights violations' perpetuated by the Nazi regime will be discussed hypothetically and chronologically, along with the cultural policies of said regime which were so important for the control of cultural media, the indoctrination of the masses and the legitimization of atrocities committed by the state.

To say that the Nazi regime utilized censorship to control intellectual and cultural expression in Germany is an understatement.<sup>178</sup> When the Nazi party began in 1919, it began programming methods of control, including of course, the censorship of ideas, which would have later been in violation of Article 19 of the UDHR and Article 10 of the ECHR.

Hitler wrote "25 points" in 1920:<sup>179</sup>

23. We demand legal opposition to known lies and their promulgation through the press...Publications which are counter to the general good are to be forbidden. We demand legal prosecution of artistic and literary forms which exert a

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<sup>177</sup> Kälin and Künzli, 2009, p. 9.

<sup>178</sup> Jelavich, 2001, p. 926.

<sup>179</sup> Ibidem.

destructive influence on our national life, and the closure of organizations opposing the above made demands.<sup>180</sup>

It can be seen that nationalism was the basis by which opposing forms of expression (especially any form of Marxism, socialism, communism) were demonized and labelled a threat to the common ‘good’ and a danger to ‘national life’.<sup>181</sup>

In the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties, propaganda posters reached a very high level of circulation in Germany, anti-Jewish propaganda is most likely the cause for the later inclusion of Article 20 of the ICCPR, which prohibits propaganda that incites religious hatred. In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler wrote, “The correct use of propaganda is true art”.<sup>182</sup> In 1928, Paul Schulze-Naumberg, a well-known German art critic wrote the book, *Art and Race*, declaring that only great races (like the ‘Aryan’ race) could produce great art; that all art made or inspired by inferior races was *entartet* (decadent).<sup>183</sup> According to Schulze-Naumberg, modern art was the most decadent because it was inspired by “Negro” arts like jazz and was being made by Marxist Jews.<sup>184</sup> The following year, 1929, the Nazi government made a decree “Against Negro culture, for German racial heritage”, and in turn took away the performance licenses of any venue that promoted “Negro” music, theatre or dance and removed ‘inappropriate’ literature from libraries, films from cinemas and material from museums.<sup>185</sup> When the film, *All Quiet in the Western Front*, premiered in Berlin in 1930, thousands of Nazi’s protested against the showing; the film was banned from Germany shortly thereafter.<sup>186</sup> As Nazism gained force in the early 1930s, leaders from the Nazi movement began to infiltrate local governments systems, taking control of cultural

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<sup>180</sup> Translation of Document 1708-PS.

<sup>181</sup> Jelavich, 2001, p. 926.

<sup>182</sup> Hitler, 1971, p. 176.

<sup>183</sup> Jelavich, 2001, p. 927.

<sup>184</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>185</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>186</sup> Ibidem.

and artistic institutions.<sup>187</sup> Around the same time, young artists of the Berlin national Socialist Union of Students held an exhibition of contemporary German art which was shut down in a matter of days; the organizers were expelled from the Union.<sup>188</sup> When the Berlin National Gallery attempted to organize a similar showing in 1933, the director of the museum was removed from his post.<sup>189</sup>

Hitler loved art, an amateur artist himself. When Hitler took power in 1933, he actively promoted the production of acceptable arts by: building museums<sup>190</sup>, holding exhibitions<sup>191</sup>, and awarding the annual State Prize to congratulate the most accomplished artists of the Third Reich.<sup>192</sup> Hitler's first formal cultural act when he came to power in 1933 was to set the foundation for the "The House Of German Art" in Munich that would house future Nazi art exhibitions.<sup>193</sup> Also very early in his career, Hitler established the Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, hoping to instil a 'spiritual mobilization' of the Aryan race in Germany.<sup>194</sup> In the words of Igor Golomstock, "No European political figure can have said so much about art as Hitler."<sup>195</sup> In Hitler's words,

"The artist does not create for the artist: he creates for the people...an art which cannot count on the readiest and most intimate agreement of the great mass of the people, an art which must rely upon the support of small cliques is intolerable".<sup>196</sup>

Once Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, the Third Reich set out to limit all forms of cultural and intellectual expression by controlling educational institutions, media sources and the arts sector. He soon convinced President von Hindenburg to "issue an emergency

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<sup>187</sup> Ibidem, p. 77.

<sup>188</sup> Ibidem, p. 78.

<sup>189</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>190</sup> "The House of German Art", Munich, 1937, as cited in Golomstock, 1990, p. 81.

<sup>191</sup> First Great Exhibition of National Socialist Art, Munich, 1937, as cited in Golomstock, 1990, p.132.

<sup>192</sup> Ibidem, p. 220.

<sup>193</sup> Ibidem, p. 81.

<sup>194</sup> Portal, 2009, p. 18.

<sup>195</sup> Ibidem, p. 82.

<sup>196</sup> Baynes, 1942, pp. 591-2.

decree” based on Article 48 of the Constitution that would forbid any publication or organization that “abused, or treated with contempt, organs, institutions, offices or leading officials of the state,” hoping to disable his opposition, the Social Democratic and Communist parties.<sup>197</sup> By the time Hitler called for Presidential elections later that year, the Nazi Party had such a strong hold on the media circuits that even non-political radio stations were airing “pro-Nazi propaganda.”<sup>198</sup>

Only one month after Hitler came to power, he announced that Dr. Joseph Goebbels would lead the new Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, which was to be “responsible for...spiritually influencing the nation, through propaganda on behalf of the State”.<sup>199</sup> Within the Ministry, Goebbels set up the Reich Chamber of Culture, which was separated into chambers for visual arts, music, press, cinema, etc. and obligated practitioners from all artistic branches to become members of the relevant Chamber. The capacity for systematic control was notable; by 1936 the Chamber of Visual Arts had nearly 42,000 members.<sup>200</sup> That same year, Goebbels banned any form of art criticism.<sup>201</sup> The Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda was dedicated to organizing touring exhibitions of theatrical performances, lectures, art competitions and musical concerts, the venue usually being a factory.<sup>202</sup> In his book, *Art Under a Dictatorship*, Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt states that before the war, all German citizens were “continuously exposed to some form of officially sponsored art activity”.<sup>203</sup> Dr. Goebbels called for artists to make art that even “the lowliest storm-trooper”<sup>204</sup> could understand.

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<sup>197</sup> Jelavich, 2001, p. 928.

<sup>198</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>199</sup> Hardy, 1967, p. 28.

<sup>200</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 92.

<sup>201</sup> Ibidem, p. 97.

<sup>202</sup> Ibidem, p. 101.

<sup>203</sup> Lejmann-Haupt, 1954, p. 181.

<sup>204</sup> Geller & Nekrich, 1982, p. 210.

Around the same time, about two months after Hitler became Chancellor, the Nazi's boycotted Jewish businesses<sup>205</sup> and then passed the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service which prohibited Jews from holding government positions<sup>206</sup>; these acts today would violate Articles 7, 18, and 21 of the UDHR that protect citizens against discrimination, provide for the freedom of religion and for direct participation in government, Articles 18, 25, and 26 of the ICCPR that protect the same rights, and Articles 9 and 14 of the ECHR protect freedom of religion and against discrimination.

The Nazi regime forced *all* artists join the National Chamber of Visual Arts<sup>207</sup>, banned all arts that were deemed “degenerate”<sup>208</sup>, shut down exhibitions<sup>209</sup>, and created the “Commissars for artistic manners”, a group that scrupulously monitored artistic activities.<sup>210</sup> Through cultural mediums, Hitler called for what was significantly understood as ‘purification’ of public and political life but also spoke of the ‘purging’ of cultural life including: films, literature, theatre, press and educational institutions.<sup>211</sup> In 1935, Jews were forbidden to join German armed forces, the Nuremberg Laws were promulgated, forbidding marriages between Jews and non-Jews; the “Reich Citizenship Law” denied all Jews (even half and quarter Jews) their citizen rights and in 1936 Jews were prohibited from holding any professional job (education, politics, medicine, industry)<sup>212</sup>. Today, these acts would constitute violations of Article 7, Article 16 and Article 21 of the UDHR that protect citizens against discrimination, allow for marriage between any adult man and woman, and allow for participation in one’s government; Article 23, Article 25, and Article 26 of the ICCPR that provide the same protections, and Article 12 and Protocol 12 of the ECHR that provide for marriage freedoms and protection from discrimination. In the following year

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<sup>205</sup> Rubenstein & Roth, 2003, pp. 123–124.

<sup>206</sup> Hentschel, 1996, pp. 25-26.

<sup>207</sup> 42,000 members. Golomstock, 1990, p. 92.

<sup>208</sup> Ibidem, p. 80.

<sup>209</sup> Ibidem, p. 78.

<sup>210</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>211</sup> Baynes, 1942, p. 568.

<sup>212</sup> Bankier, 1990 p. 1076.

1937, Hitler inaugurated the opening of the first ‘Exhibition of German Art’ at the House of German Art in Munich. Having personally chosen the exhibition pieces, Hitler “declared that the true artist should make his art into an instrument of the struggle for the future, putting it at the service of the people”.<sup>213</sup>

According to Golomstock, 1937 was a year of ‘cultural and political terror’ in Germany, marked culturally by an exhibition called, “Degenerate Art” and the First Great Exhibition of National Socialist Art in Munich.<sup>214</sup> This was also the year of the International Exhibition of Arts, Crafts and Sciences in Paris where Germany and the Soviet Union quite literally ‘faced off’ in the cultural sphere (despite their overwhelming similarities in the type and style of cultural production).<sup>215</sup> The International Exhibition of Arts, Crafts and Sciences provided a striking foreground for “two warring [totalitarian] systems”<sup>216</sup>, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, to present themselves on the international stage. Forty-two countries participated in the Exhibition, consisting of 240 pavilions that were stylistically modernist and “rational”<sup>217</sup>, except for the German and Soviet pavilions. In a fabulous setting on either side of the Eifel tower, the pavilions of these ideologically opposed regimes were strategically situated directly in front of one another. Despite their inherent political divergences, the massive block pavilions adorned with monumental statues represented an imposing struggle for power through strikingly similar aesthetic forms.<sup>218</sup> A commentary from *Art Digest* states “the German building with its frighteningly vast tower can only be seen as an expression of Fascist brutality. Russia is represented by another construction in the same spirit.”<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> As quoted by Portal, 2005, p. 18.

<sup>214</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 132.

<sup>215</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>216</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 132.

<sup>217</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>218</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>219</sup> *Art Digest*, 1 November 1937, p. 11.





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In 1938, healthcare was denied to Jews living in Germany (who had already been prohibited from being doctors) and Jewish children were not allowed to go to school;<sup>221</sup> today, this would constitute a failure to fulfil their rights to healthcare and an education as provided for by the ICESCR. The same year, around 12,000 Polish Jews were forced to return to Poland. On 9 November 1938, ‘Kristallnacht’ took the lives of 91 Jews while 30,000 more were arrested and sent to concentration camps. After this point, the extermination of millions of Jews, Poles, Soviets, Roma, disabled people and other minorities began in full force. Estimates of the total numbers of Nazi victims vary exceedingly, but I will use those proposed by Timothy Snyder,

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<sup>220</sup> Postcard from the International Exhibition of Arts, Crafts and Sciences, 1937. German pavilion left, Soviet pavilion right.

<sup>221</sup> Bankier, 1990, p. 1076.

All in all, the Germans deliberately killed about 11 million non-combatants, a figure that rises to more than 12 million if foreseeable deaths from deportation, hunger, and sentences in concentration camps are included.<sup>222</sup>

Approximately twelve million civilians were denied their most basic human rights by the Nazi regime including what today would be violations of: the freedom from arbitrary arrest, the right to a fair and public hearing, freedom from forced exile and the right to life as provided by the UDHR, ICCPR, and ECHR.

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<sup>222</sup> Snyder, 2011.

## PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: 1949-1976

Like the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) under Mao Zedong espoused a conceptualization of human rights based on collective rights over individual rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights over Civil and Political Rights. The PRC not only signed the UDHR in 1948 but also took a large part in drafting the iconic document. This is the only international human rights document that bound the PRC between 1949 and 1976, so any human rights violations perpetuated by Mao Zedong’s regime will be treated within the standards set by the UDHR.

The cultural methods used by the Soviet and Nazi regimes can be compared to the cultural policies utilized by Mao Zedong in generating support for his envisioned ‘new society’ and finally in the established People’s Republic of China. Mao Zedong wrote *The New Democratic Culture* in 1940, setting the groundwork for the destruction of all political, economic and cultural tendencies that could be considered ‘old’ or ‘imperialist’<sup>223</sup>, emphasizing that the “new culture” was “a powerful revolutionary weapon of the people”<sup>224</sup> that would unify art and politics in “form and content.”<sup>225</sup> Here, Mao was very clear that he considered art as a manifestation of the political and even suggested that the success of the revolution was in the hands of the cultural sphere.<sup>226</sup> At the Yan’an Conference on Literature and the Arts in 1942, Mao outlined the importance of art in the new society,<sup>227</sup>

Literature and art must become a component part of the whole revolutionary machinery, so that they can act as a powerful weapon in uniting and educating the people while attacking and annihilating the enemy, and help the people achieve solidarity in their struggle against the enemy.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Tse-tung, 1960, pp. 15-16.

<sup>224</sup> Ibidem, p. 35.

<sup>225</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>226</sup> Chao, 1955, p.1.

<sup>227</sup> Portal, 2005 p. 24.

<sup>228</sup> Zedong, 1967, pp. 69-98.

Here we see subtle reference to purification of society through the arts, the same ideology espoused by the Nazi regime. Here, culture was used as a tool to ‘annihilate’ the enemy and unify Maoists for the establishment of a new Communist state.

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Only five months after the establishment of the Peoples’ Republic of China in 1949, Mao created the All-Chinese Association of Workers in Literature and Art and organized a conference for 824 artists from across China. The conference culminated with the formation of the Literature and Art Federation within the Ministry of Culture, which was ultimately controlled by Chairman Mao himself; *participation was mandatory* for artists of all kinds.<sup>230</sup> According to Chung Chao, “it was only after the All-Chinese Conference of Artists and Writers in July 1949 that full control of culture was finally achieved”.<sup>231</sup> The Ministry of Culture also foresaw the activities of the Chief Academy of Arts, which controlled all national arts educational programs.<sup>232</sup> Here it should be clear that Soviet and Nazi programs heavily influenced the mechanism for control of the cultural sphere in the Chinese Peoples’ Republic.<sup>233</sup> Soon after the Conference, two to five million “counter-revolutionaries” were killed between 1950 to 1952<sup>234</sup> while up to six million were sent to re-education labour camps where many also met their fate<sup>235</sup>. Mao notoriously established “kill quotas” for the number of people to be executed during this time<sup>236</sup>. Wealthy business owners, landowners and employees of

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<sup>229</sup> ‘Protect our nation and our homes’ 1951.

<sup>230</sup> Chao, 1995, p. 1.

<sup>231</sup> Ibidem, p. 4.

<sup>232</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>233</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 124.

<sup>234</sup> Feigon, 2002, p. 96.

<sup>235</sup> Valentino, 2004, pp. 121-122.

<sup>236</sup> Changyu, 2005.

Western companies were targeted in these killings<sup>237</sup>, which clearly violated the right to life of up to around ten million Chinese citizens.

In line with Soviet and Nazi practices, State awards were granted to the writers and artists whose work best embodied Maoist principles.<sup>238</sup> The Federation published the first issue of its official journal, *Art*, in 1954 and became the primary medium for communicating Mao's cultural messages.<sup>239</sup> Throughout the next years, this message encouraged hard physical labour and idealized the struggles of the working class; the Great Leap Forward of 1958-60 romanticized even further the life in a Socialist State utilizing large banners with messages of the kind.<sup>240</sup> The Great Leap Forward was modelled on Stalin's agricultural reforms and had a similarly devastating effect in China, resulting in what is known as the Great Chinese Famine from 1959 to 1962 when approximately 30 million Chinese peasants died of starvation as a consequence of Mao's agricultural policies.<sup>241</sup> A staggering estimation of 30 million were denied their right to adequate food and subsequently their right to life as a result of The Great Leap Forward.

The *Cultural Revolution* took place from 1966 to 1976 and was characterized not only by exaggerated performances and widely distributed political posters but also the rigorous control of all artistic production.<sup>242</sup> Mao utilized China's youngest citizens as a tool of the Cultural Revolution. Six million students formed the group known as the 'Red Guards', their youngest members known as 'Young Pioneers', who terrorized their communities, destroying art, antiques, books, anything that could be considered 'Western' or 'feudal',<sup>243</sup> resulting in the widespread destruction of Chinese cultural patrimony. A Union of Art Workers was in charge of evaluating works of art and monitoring the arts scene in general

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<sup>237</sup> Mosher, 1992, pp 72-3.

<sup>238</sup> Golomstock, 1990, p. 124.

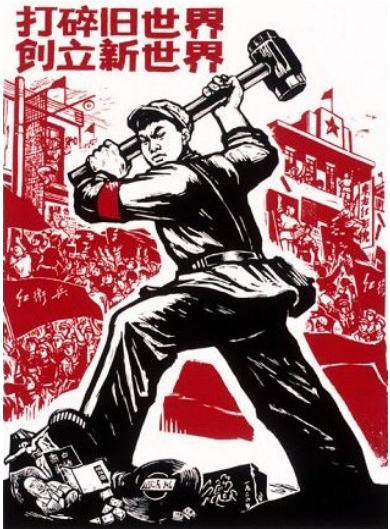
<sup>239</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>240</sup> Portal, 2005, p. 25.

<sup>241</sup> Smil, 1999, pp. 1619–1621.

<sup>242</sup> Portal, 2005, p. 25.

<sup>243</sup> Ibidem, p.126.



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in order to bring attention to deviations from Mao's ideology, down to the smallest detail.<sup>245</sup> Not only were works and art and books burned, their creators were beaten and publically humiliated; thousands of artists and writers at this time were placed in re-education camps in order to once again become 'one' with the 'masses'.<sup>246</sup> Estimates claim that hundreds of thousands up to several million were killed during the Cultural Revolution.<sup>247</sup> Estimates place the total number of civilian deaths at the hands of Mao Zedong's regime from 29 to 80 million.<sup>248</sup> An unbelievable number of citizens of the People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong were deprived of their basic human rights as provided for by the UDHR. North Korea's Kim Il-song was directly inspired by Mao Zedong's cultural policies (which was essentially a derivative of the Soviet Union and Third Reich's cultural policies).

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<sup>244</sup> 'Destroy the old world; build a new world', 1966. The man is shown smashing a Buddha, Confucian texts and a cross.

<sup>245</sup> Ibidem, p. 128.

<sup>246</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>247</sup> "Source List and Detailed Death Tolls for the Twentieth Century Hemoclysm".

<sup>248</sup> Ibidem.

## THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has never communicated an official stance on human rights, besides a statement released by the Korean Central News Agency that human rights are not an issue in the DPRK.<sup>249</sup> Due to the high level of difficulty that foreigners face in attempting to enter the DPRK, and the fact that national records are not available, the actual extent of human rights violations are hard to present; most of the information about human rights violations in the DPRK come from refugees who lack precise data. The DPRK has all but ignored international human rights institutions and documents but is technically bound by the ICCPR (1981), ICESCR (1981), CRC (1990) and the CEDAW (2001).

Before going into the details of the use of cultural policies by the North Korean government, I would like to first outline a bit of history that I consider interesting in context. Starting with just after WWII, both the Soviet Union and the United States had strategic interests in the Korean Peninsula. Considering the fall of Japan (which had previously controlled Korea) it was an uncertain time for Koreans besides the fact that they were happy to be free of Japanese control. The Soviet Union supported Kim Il-sung to lead Korea, while the United States supported Syngman Rhee. When the United Nations called for elections in 1948, the North refused to acknowledge the authority of the elections and two separate states were formed. Only two years later, the Korean War for reunification began.<sup>250</sup> The United States' intervention in the Korean War without United Nations approval set a dangerous precedent for following conflicts and demonstrated that the UN could do very little to stop the United States from acting as it pleased.<sup>251</sup> United States forces neglected international humanitarian law, killing any and all North Koreans with little shame; the use of Napalm and the destruction of dams, which flooded North Korean valleys, can be credited for most of the approximately two million Korean civilian

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<sup>249</sup> KCNA Refutes U.S. Anti-DPRK Human Rights Campaign, *KCNA*, 2005.

<sup>250</sup> Portal 2005 pp. 46-47.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid p. 49.

casualties during the war.<sup>252</sup> Unification of Korea was not achieved. It is hard not to question whether the United States government used cultural forms to legitimate the massive human rights violations perpetuated in North Korea. The answer of course, is yes; the films, *Inchon* and *Steel Helmet* are examples. Ideology during the Korean War included the standard call to protect the United States and their children from forces like the DPRK.



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After a period of unstable relationships with China and the Soviet Union, the DPRK began a process of intense militarization, accompanied by calls from Kim Il-sung for ideological indoctrination of the masses using arts and culture. All North Koreans “should be taught to hate imperialists and capitalist corruption and be armed with Socialist patriotism and Communist moral rectitude. This was where literature and art could help to influence people’s thinking.”<sup>254</sup>

The Socialist Realist art of the Soviet Union and China had a heavy influence on North Korea<sup>255</sup> but according to Jane Portal in, *Art Under Control in North Korea*, Kim Il-sung of North Korea was probably most influenced by the cultural programs of Chinese emperors

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid p. 50.

<sup>253</sup> U.S. Propaganda, Korean War

<sup>254</sup> As quoted by Portal, 2005 p. 62.

<sup>255</sup> Portal, 2005, p. 7.



who were notorious for burning books on Confucianism, and “defacing” art works that were deemed inappropriate. Desiring the people’s complete adoration, the first Chinese emperors and later, Kim Il-sung of North Korea, sought to indoctrinate the people absolutely.<sup>256</sup> There is no doubt that Kim Il-sung was a charismatic leader who garnered not only the support but also the love of North Korean people who had spent their entire lives reading about him, seeing photos of him and singing songs in praise of him. “Of course, this wholehearted support is a result also of the suppression of knowledge of any opposition”.<sup>257</sup> In his momentous book, *On Juche in Our Revolution*, Kim Il-sung wrote a chapter, ‘Let Us Develop Revolutionary Fine Arts: National in Form and Socialist in Content’ stating much the same on 16 October 1966 at the National Art Exhibition in Pyongyang, “Let’s develop our national form, with Socialist content”.<sup>258</sup>

Although the artistic style supported by the North Korean regime was directly inspired by Socialist Realism of the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany and finally China, it was known as Juche Realism, unique to North Korea.<sup>259</sup> Kim Il-sung’s words above still form the basis of Juche art today. Jane Portal agrees that the themes discuss by Igor Golomstock in *Totalitarian Art*, are repeated in North Korean art.<sup>260</sup>

In the 1970s, Kim Il-sung began an international campaign, courting heads of unaligned states like Mauritania, Mali and Yugoslavia. This political campaign was followed by cultural campaigns of travelling artists which visited twelve, mostly African, nations in 1975.<sup>261</sup> On Kim Il-sung’s 60<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1972, North Koreans began wearing pins on their jackets with Kim’s face, similar to the Mao pins worn by the Chinese.

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<sup>256</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>257</sup> Ibidem, pp. 98-99.

<sup>258</sup> Il-sung, 1977, p. 531.

<sup>259</sup> Portal, 2005, p. 124.

<sup>260</sup> Ibidem, p. 125.

<sup>261</sup> Ibidem, p. 66.



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of his all-pervading presence”<sup>265</sup>, there are photographs, sculptures and paintings in every village and public building.<sup>266</sup>

By the 1980s, all North Koreans wore a pin of Kim Il-sung.<sup>262</sup> In the same year there were over 500 statues or Kim Il-sung reported in North Korea, and interestingly, very few statues of any other historical figure.<sup>263</sup> According to Jane Portal in *Art Under Control in North Korea*, it is “difficult to escape anywhere from the images of the Great Leader of one of his quotations or some other physical manifestation

Kim Il-sung’s total control over the hearts and minds of North Koreans seems to reach unprecedented extremes. The memory of the ‘great leader’ is also upheld through dedication of numerous museums. Museums dedicated to Kim Il-sung include: the International Friendship Exhibition Hall (its one hundred rooms hold gifts from international leaders of the Communist party of heads of state<sup>267</sup>), Man’gyongdae (Kim’s birthplace, now a public park where school children are lectured daily), the Revolutionary Museum (built for his birthday in 1972, has 92 rooms and is full of possessions, clothes, historical photographs etc.), the Grand People’s Study House was built to commemorate Kim’s 70<sup>th</sup> birthday and houses the literary works of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. Portraits of Kim Il-sung and recently, Kim Jong-il hang in hospitals, schools, shops, offices, libraries and factories and it is a crime to show disrespectful attitudes towards a portrait.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Ibidem, p. 86.

<sup>263</sup> Ibidem, p. 12. By the time he died in 1994, there were probably many more.

<sup>264</sup> Pendant Kim Il-sung. Ibidem, p.

<sup>265</sup> Ibidem, p. 81.

<sup>266</sup> Ibidem, p. 82.

<sup>267</sup> Ibidem, p. 96.

<sup>268</sup> Ibidem, p. 87.

Kim Il-sung's son, Kim Jong-il, has continued many of the same cultural policies that his father began in North Korea; one major difference lies in the fact that Kim Jong-il spent much more energy cultivating cultural programs like filmmaking.<sup>269</sup> Kim Jong-il loved films to the point that he was personally involved in casting, script writing, giving titles and changing the endings of films.<sup>270</sup>

Film has been used very effectively by the North Korean regime as an ideological weapon because it is such a good way of reaching the masses, who have little choice whether to watch them or not. Kim Il-sung recognized the use to which film could be put in society as 'the most important and powerful mass educational means.'<sup>271</sup>

Another incredibly important mechanism for cultural education of the masses is the control over art institutes, companies and museums. The Party recommends students for the Pyongyang University of Fine Art, the biggest and most prestigious art institute in North Korea.<sup>272</sup> For accomplished artists of Juche Realsim, there is a Kim Il-sung prize for the arts; few artists even get named Hero, the country's top acknowledgement.<sup>273</sup> Control of the arts continues beyond education.

The Misul Changjaksas are art companies that fall under the direction and control of specific government organizations including the Central Art Bureau, the Central Industrial Art Guidance Bureau and the Department of Social Safety.<sup>274</sup> The largest company was directly advised by Kim Jong-il and was known as the best art company in the country. The Korean Artists Federation employs *all* of North Korea's artists who are never allowed to plan independent art projects. Any deviant forms of art like abstract art or other modern/contemporary styles are not permitted.

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<sup>269</sup> Ibidem, p. 102.

<sup>270</sup> Ibidem, p. 23.

<sup>271</sup> Ibidem, p. 136.

<sup>272</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>273</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>274</sup> Ibidem, p. 127.

Exhibitions in museums are commonly composed of propaganda, with names like: “The Military and the People are One”.<sup>275</sup> Jane Portal states that the Director of the National Gallery admitted to having very little knowledge or understanding of abstract art. It could be said that the arts in the DPRK have changed very little since the 1950s.<sup>276</sup>

There is no museum or gallery of contemporary art and no private galleries, but modern art is included in the displays of the National Gallery ‘because past tradition is a process by which the present can be understood.’<sup>277</sup>



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<sup>275</sup> Ibidem, p. 132.

<sup>276</sup> Ibidem, p. 84.

<sup>277</sup> Ibidem, p. 126.

<sup>278</sup> ‘Death to the US imperialists, our sworn enemy!’ DPRK

<sup>279</sup> Propaganda in the streets of DPRK.

## CHILE: 1973-1989

On **September 11, 1973**, a U.S. backed coup d'état led by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, overthrew the democratically elected, socialist government of President Salvador Allende, also known as the Unidad Popular (1970-1973). For the next sixteen years, General Pinochet and the military junta operated a military state dedicated to eradicating socialism and implementing a neo-liberal economic system in Chile.<sup>280</sup> Before making drastic alterations to the nation's constitution and adopting one of the purist examples of economic neo-liberalism in the world,<sup>281</sup> the military junta quickly instated a campaign for what was termed "reconstrucción cultural" (cultural reconstruction) in order to promote "purification of undesirable elements."<sup>282</sup> In line with the previous analysis of the use of art in totalitarian regimes, the following section hopes to demonstrate how the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet used culture to construct a new nationalist ideology, to evoke emotional reactions and ideally, to instil a sense of nationalism that could legitimate mass violations of human rights. With regards to chronology, the first and most apparent violation of human rights perpetuated by Augusto Pinochet was the coup d'état he led to overthrow a democratically elected government, leaving then President, Salvador Allende, dead.<sup>283</sup> The coup d'état inevitably led to the violation of Allende's right to life in violation of Article I of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (American Declaration from this point on), Article 4 of the American Convention of Human Rights (American Convention from this point on) and Article 3 of the UDHR. The coup d'état disregarded Chilean citizens' right to a democratically elected government, in violation of Article XX of the American Declaration, Article 23 of the American Convention and Article 21 of the UDHR.

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<sup>280</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 64. My translation.

<sup>281</sup> Oyola, 2011, p. 8 discusses the fact that Chile was not only the first country in the world to fully implement neo-liberal economic practices, neoliberal policies were instated "al pie de la letra" ("down to the tee"). Chile is "completely open, politically, socially and economically to the world market".

<sup>282</sup> Editorial in *El Mercurio* newspaper, April 29, 1974.

<sup>283</sup> There is no consensus on how Salvador Allende died. While some say he shot himself when the Presidential Palace was bombed, others claim that he was shot by invading paramilitary troops.

On **September 12, 1973**, the new cultural and ideological advisor to Augusto Pinochet, Enrique Campos Menéndez, was picked up from his home in a military jeep and brought to his new office at the Diego Portales Building in Santiago.<sup>284</sup> He was one of the first and most important advisors of the new regime. That same day, a violent military program was being implemented across Chile; Pinochet wasted no time in perpetrating grave human rights violations including the arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearance and execution of hundreds of Chileans.

The first three months after the coup d'état were the most critical with regards to human rights violations as the military regime arbitrarily arrested, kidnapped, 'disappeared' or killed thousands of Left Wing dissidents, a culture of fear was instated almost immediately.<sup>285</sup> Arbitrary detention and the Chilean state's violation of the right to a fair trial became commonplace after September 11, 1973 in Chile. The military government utilized large public spaces, like the National Stadium, as mass detention centres for political dissidents, artists or anyone who posed a threat to the regime. Popular folk singer, Victor Jara, was detained along with approximately 5,000 others at the National Stadium immediately after the coup d'état. Amnesty International reported counting over 7,000 prisoners at the National Stadium on 22 September 1973.<sup>286</sup> The CIA reported that by 1975, 3,811 prisoners still remained detained in the National Stadium.<sup>287</sup> All of the approximately 35,865<sup>288</sup> detained Chileans from 1973 to 1989 were denied a fair trial. In committing these atrocities, the Chilean government at the time violated Article XXV of the American Declaration, Article 7.3 of the American Convention, and Article 9 of the UDHR which protect against arbitrary detention, in addition to violations of Article XVIII of the American Declaration, Articles 7 and 8 of the American Convention, and Article 10 of the UDHR which provide for the right to a fair trial of over 35,865 Chilean citizens. In April, 1973, the Chilean

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<sup>284</sup> Garcia, 2005.

<sup>285</sup> Reynolds, 2009.

<sup>286</sup> Chile: an Amnesty International report, 1974, p. 16.

<sup>287</sup> Tigar, 2007, pp. 37-38.

<sup>288</sup> The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report, 2005, p. 307.

bishops presented a document to the press called ‘La Reconciliación en Chile’ (Reconciliation in Chile) that called for reconciliation but only on the grounds that human rights be respected.<sup>289</sup> The document includes the following statement:

It worries us, finally, in some cases, the lack of effective legal safeguards for national security, that translates into arbitrary or excessively prolonged detentions, of which neither the affected nor their families know the concrete charges held against them; the interrogations with physical and moral constraints, the limitation of possibilities for legal defence, in unequal sentences for the same reasons in different places; in restrictions for the normal use of the right of appeal.<sup>290</sup>

Once in detention, Chilean political prisoners most likely underwent torture.

Torture is a signature characteristic of regimes hoping to instil terror in greater society; the government program led by Augusto Pinochet was no different. According to the National Commission on Political imprisonment and Torture (Valech Commission), around 35,865 Chilean citizens were tortured by the military regime (most detainees were tortured), in violation of Article 5 of the American Declaration, Article 5.2 of the American Convention on Human Rights and Article 5 of the UDHR. The torture of political prisoners in Chile ranged from severe beating to the removal of extremities. While in the National Stadium, Victor Jara was tortured in front of the other prisoners. Stories from surviving detainees tell that as the bones in Victor Jara’s hands were broken and his fingers cut off, soldiers heckled him to play a song on the guitar; Jara lay on the ground and sang out part of a popular song, ‘We will overcome!’<sup>291</sup>

The most important and earliest of all publications condemning the detention and torture of Chilean citizens was *Memories* by Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez. On a visit to the National Stadium, thirteen days after the military coup, the Cardinal spoke with detainees,

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<sup>289</sup> Ibidem, p. 8.

<sup>290</sup> Henríquez, 1994, p. 29.

<sup>291</sup> ‘Victor Jara’. My translation.

asked the authorities to respect the rights of the prisoners, recorded the physical characteristics of the bodies he found piled in the Stadium and later wrote in his diary that he could never have imagined such a “vision of pain, humiliation and fear” as he experienced at the National Stadium.<sup>292</sup> Cardinal Silva Henríquez and other church officials set-up a widespread organization of lawyers, professors and other volunteers to keep record of each case of disappearance; the work of the church became the battle to defend human rights.<sup>293</sup>

Tejas Verdes was another detainment and torture centre where the writer, Hernán Valdés was sent in 1974.<sup>294</sup> The personal diary he kept as a political detainee of the Pinochet regime was one of the first published of its kind and has been translated into several languages.<sup>295</sup> He describes the state of utter disregard for basic human dignity present in the camp, from soldiers and fellow prisoners, who fought for bread and lost all respect for one another. Valdés describes Tejas Verdes as a place bereft of humanity.<sup>296</sup> Testimonies did not only come from victims. One of the most famous testimonies of the time was by soldier and torturer, Osvaldo Romo, who in an interview with journalist Nancy Guzmán, described how he destroyed Viviana Uribe’s family, claiming responsibility for the disappearance of her sister and brother-in-law, whose legs were amputated without anaesthesia and was later infected with gangrene because of the filth of his prison cell, dying slowly and painfully.<sup>297</sup> In addition to instating a culture of fear through arbitrary detention and torture, Gonzalo Leiva notes that one of the other early missions of the Junta after the coup-d’état was an “aesthetic operation”.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Henríquez, 1994, p. 295.

<sup>293</sup> Benítez, 2003 p. 7.

<sup>294</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>295</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>296</sup> Hernán Valdés, 1974, p. 113.

<sup>297</sup> Guzmán, 2000, pp. 153-154.

<sup>298</sup> Leiva, 2005, p. 152.



One of the first formal non-violent actions of the Pinochet government was to “take absolute control of Chilean culture”<sup>299</sup> by taking over media circuits, educational institutions and museums.<sup>300</sup> Censorship was widely implemented by the military junta. The Pinochet regime censored all forms of expression, from individuals’ personal image to the national media in direct violation of Article IV of the American Declaration, Article 13 of the American Convention, and Articles 18 and 19 of the UDHR. After the military coup on September 11, 1973, hundreds of journalists were detained or executed while approximately 150 escaped into exile.<sup>301</sup> As all ‘leftist’ newspapers were shut down, the newspaper, *El Mercurio*, which has been the media group most opposed to former President Salvador Allende, became one of two newspapers allowed by Augusto Pinochet and the Military Junta.<sup>302</sup> Media control after the initial period of terror became more discrete, relying mostly on the self-censorship of fearful journalists.<sup>303</sup> A similar procedure was followed for broadcast media. In the case of emergency, all media sources were shut down until further notice and all media outlets mandatorily avoided a list of taboo subjects.<sup>304</sup> According to Green, the television was the medium that was most tightly controlled by the Pinochet regime.<sup>305</sup> Everything released in the public realm was censored according to the dictatorship’s demands.

On September 17, 1973, General Gustavo Leigh, who was a member of the military junta and commander of the air force, explicitly stated that “the labour of the government consist[s] in exterminating the Marxist cancer that threatened the organic life of the nation”.<sup>306</sup> In order to destroy Marxism, the military government set out to eradicate all things associated to the Unidad Popular of President Salvador Allende with its ‘operation

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<sup>299</sup> Green, 1990, p. 49.

<sup>300</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>301</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>302</sup> Errázuriz, 2009, p. 139. The other being *La Tercera*.

<sup>303</sup> Green, 1990, p. 49.

<sup>304</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>305</sup> Ibidem, p. 50.

<sup>306</sup> Bando No. 30 del 17 de septiembre de 1973, Gobierno de Chile, 1973.

limpieza' (or 'cleaning operation').<sup>307</sup> Here, the concept of cleanliness and purification are powerful tools for the construction of the anti-Marxist ideology espoused by the military junta. Augusto Pinochet and the Junta first set out to destroy Marxist alliances and the political, social and cultural ideologies of the Unidad Popular with "cleaning and cutting operations".<sup>308</sup> Most of the initiatives of the 'cleaning operation' had to do with changing the aesthetics of the public environment. In the words of Chilean scholar Luis Hernán Errázuriz, after the coup overthrowing socialist President Salvador Allende and the Unidad Popular, Pinochet's

cleaning operation symbolically represents, on the one hand, the *disinfection* of a Marxist past, and on the other, the promotion of a militarized notion of everyday aesthetics, characterized by details like *purification*, order and fervent restoration of patriotic symbols.<sup>309</sup>

The 'cleaning operation' began within days of the coup d'état with the burning of all ideologically threatening books.<sup>310</sup>

The junta undertook a vast initiative to destroy huge amounts of 'subversive' literature. Continued censorship of literature was implemented by two government organizations: the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) and the Dirección Nacional de Comunicación Social (DINACOS).<sup>311</sup> DINACOS ran a censorship board within the Ministry of the Interior that *censored all publications* (domestic and foreign); this was made mandatory by two military decrees in 1977 and 1978. The price of books was also increased by 20 percent over the cover price. An important example of censored literature is the case of "los libros buenos" (the good books), personal testimonies of abuses and experiences under the military dictatorship that were found in any budget bookshop or book stand in Chile, until

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<sup>307</sup> As referred to by Errázuriz, 2009, p. 139.

<sup>308</sup> Ibidem, p. 138. My translation.

<sup>309</sup> Ibidem, p. 152. My translation and emphasis.

<sup>310</sup> Ibidem, p. 139.

<sup>311</sup> Ibidem.

they were absolutely banned by the Pinochet regime.<sup>312</sup> The extent to which censorship ruled cultural distribution was extremely high during the dictatorship. Those authors, artists, or dissidents in general, who were perceived as political threats risked arbitrary detention, torture and execution. The works of many artists, whether they were musicians, visual artists or literary authors who challenged the government's ideology, were banned on the radio, on television, in museums, libraries and bookstores.

The musical sphere was another area of artistic expression that was controlled by the military Junta. Music became a welcome ally of the Pinochet regime and an active part of the governments' cultural programs. After the military coup, folk music was regarded the "authentic" form of Chilean music, superior because it upheld and promoted traditional morals. *El Mercurio* praised folk music because it was free of political ideology, focusing instead on "simple things, the landscape, [and] romanticism".<sup>313</sup> The band, "Los Huasos Quincheros", was recognized as the finest example of traditional Chilean music,<sup>314</sup> they openly supported the military regime and became like international "ambassadors" for Pinochet<sup>315</sup> (It is important to note, however, that folk music was not limited to those who supported the military regime, but had been an extremely powerful genre of music in support of the Unidad Popular and the previous government as well<sup>316</sup>). In an effort to transmit as much 'authentic' Chilean music as possible, the 'Agrupación de Cantantes de Chile' (Group of Chilean Singers) succeeded in establishing a minimum rule for all radio programs to play as least 25 per cent folk songs.<sup>317</sup>

While the military government promoted 'authentic' traditional Chilean folk music as the sound of choice, another form of folk music was banned. Folk music was a very popular genre before the coup d'état, but at that time it was made in solidarity with the socialist

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<sup>312</sup> Benítez, 2003. p. 5.

<sup>313</sup> *El Mercurio* 1975d, 39.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibidem*, 1975a.

<sup>315</sup> Errázuriz, 2009, p. 149.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 150. See following section for more details.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibidem*.

programs of President Salvador Allende.<sup>318</sup> Bands like Inti-Illimani, Los Jaivas and Quilapayún had supported the Unidad Popular and were touring abroad in 1973, to later find that they could not return to Chile and were forced into exile.<sup>319</sup> Another band named Illapu tried to return to Chile in 1981 but due to a government decree calling them “Marxist activists” they were not permitted to enter the country.<sup>320</sup> Other musical artists like Patricio Manns, Isabel and Ángel Parra also went into exile; musical artists of an opposing ideology to Pinochet and the regime risked their lives by staying in the country (as we will see in the case of Victor Jara).<sup>321</sup> Music was not the only form of artistic expression that was censored by the military dictatorship, murals were painted over as soon as the military dictatorship took over.

In 1972, a long series of murals were painted along the Mapocho River that flows through Santiago.<sup>322</sup> The murals continued for some two hundred meters and depicted the “history of the Chilean Workers Movement and the Communist Party, participating artists included Pedro Millar, Luz Donoso, Hernán Meschi, José Balmes, Gracia Barrios and students of the University of Chile’s School of the Arts”.<sup>323</sup> It was painted over with grey paint early in the dictatorship. Errázuriz mentions that another mural, partly created by Chile’s most internationally renowned artist Roberto Matta, was also painted over by the military government in 1973.<sup>324</sup> Aesthetic cleaning went far beyond the painting over of street art.

Citizens were not allowed to paint their homes red, the colour associated with the Communist Party. Along the same line, a sculpture that stood outside of the Diego Portales Building (the headquarters of the military junta) was repainted from red to pale green, the military colour of choice of the Pinochet regime.<sup>325</sup> The ‘cleaning operation’ continued

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<sup>318</sup> Ibidem, p. 150.

<sup>319</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>320</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>321</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>322</sup> Ibidem, p. 141.

<sup>323</sup> *El Mercurio*, 1973c, 3. My translation.

<sup>324</sup> Errázuriz, 2009, p. 141.

<sup>325</sup> Ibidem, p. 143.

with mass firings of political and educational workers that had been associated with the previous government.<sup>326</sup> The names of towns (a town named ‘Lenin’ was changed to Lanin)<sup>327</sup>, streets, buildings and monuments were changed, and walls everywhere were cleaned or painted to remove traces of Marxist ideas from the streets.<sup>328</sup> Public workers, students and citizens were called upon to sweep through communities to clean the streets, parks, buildings, everything in order to “restore the image of cleanliness and order”<sup>329</sup>. General Leigh used the term “disinfect” to describe this process.<sup>330</sup>

The ‘cleaning operation’ also included a ‘cut operation’ or the widespread cutting of long hair and facial hair, which were considered symbols of ‘leftist’ ideologies.<sup>331</sup> Luis Hernán Errázuriz emphasizes the invasiveness of what he terms ‘operación corte’ (cut operation) that required young men to cut their long hair and beards.<sup>332</sup> He calls the process that swept the country a “humiliating ritual of purification from past Marxism and/or assimilation to new times after the coup d’état”.<sup>333</sup> While some members of the military literally went around with scissors in hand forcing men to comply, other men shaved their heads or even joined the army out of fear and the desire to assimilate.<sup>334</sup> The newspaper, *El Mercurio*, in line with its support for the military regime, discussed the new ‘trend’ of clean, short hairstyles, adding that barbershops would be glad to service those “who want to be the first to exteriorize, in the own appearance, the virile spirit of renewal that was spreading throughout the Republic.”<sup>335</sup> ‘Operation cut’ was adapted into the school system based on directives from the Office of Secondary Education that provided guidelines including: no long hair on boys, no make-up, no necklaces or other jewellery and generally

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<sup>326</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>327</sup> Ibidem, p. 144.

<sup>328</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>329</sup> *El Mercurio* 1973c, 3.

<sup>330</sup> Errázuriz, 2009 p. 140.

<sup>331</sup> Ibidem, p. 139.

<sup>332</sup> Ibidem, p. 145.

<sup>333</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>334</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>335</sup> *El Mercurio* 1973k, 25.

conservatively styled hair in school.<sup>336</sup> These regulations were one of the direct ways that the military government injected fear into the hearts and minds of young people.<sup>337</sup> The operation culminated with the kidnapping, imprisonment, torture and elimination of Marxist, ‘leftist’ or seemingly ‘leftist’ Chilean citizens with long hair.<sup>338</sup> Luis Hernán Errázuriz points out the paradoxical way that the regime used the cultural sphere to promote its ideology while simultaneously restricting and censoring conflicting ideals. We will now go into the official cultural programs promoted by the military regime.

An article published in the national newspaper *El Mercurio* in April of 1974<sup>339</sup> describes cultural advisor Menéndez as driven by a “futuristic vision of Chile...that corresponds to the contemporary concert”<sup>340</sup> purported at the time by Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, and Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. In order to sway Chilean society away from socialism and towards the ‘contemporary concert’ of capitalism, Campos Menéndez organized expositions and educational programs in universities and other educational institutions. ‘Cultural Advisor’ became an official government post as decreed by law in December of 1974,<sup>341</sup> at which time the Military Government published, *Política Cultural del Gobierno de Chile* (Cultural Policies of the Chilean Government).<sup>342</sup>

*Política Cultural del Gobierno de Chile* and the Cultural Department of the Secretary General of the Government emphasized the importance of culture and the arts, stating, “cultural activity...is contemporary and complementary to all social development policies”<sup>343</sup>. Errázuriz argues that the primary cultural goals of the regime at the time were to eradicate roots of socialism in Chilean society, to promote a greater sense of nationalism

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<sup>336</sup> Errázuriz, p. 146.

<sup>337</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>338</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>339</sup> *El Mercurio*, April 29, 1974.

<sup>340</sup> My translation.

<sup>341</sup> *Diario Oficial*, 19 December, 1974.

<sup>342</sup> Junta Militar de Gobierno, 1974.

<sup>343</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

(partly by generating interest in Chile's economic development opportunities), to instate national moral principles and to change the negative perceptions of the Military Junta, which were commonplace abroad.

The government publication, *Politica Cultural del Gobierno de Chile*, reveals intentions to use cultural programs to combat the socialism espoused by the previous government and to promote new 'principles', 'responsible conduct' and the 'generation of antibodies'.

A country that wants to destroy Marxism should be fully conscious of the dangers that threaten it, and strengthen, precisely, the field of culture, where beliefs arise, principles are formed, words are ennobled, tastes are overcome and conduct is made responsible. In pragmatic terms, the field where antibodies are generated.<sup>344</sup>

A thoughtful work by Katya Mandoky addresses the impact of political influence on everyday life aesthetics; her arguments apply to the above examples and to other less severe examples. 'Prosaic' details of day to day life like imagery on stamps, coins, financial notes, the style of new architectural projects among other seemingly benign details can also be powerful modes of government infiltration into the lives of its citizens.<sup>345</sup> It is clear that the Military Government under Pinochet was imposing strict aesthetic regulations in the public sphere and in the 'prosaic' details of everyday life for the "indoctrination and ideological control"<sup>346</sup> of Chilean citizens, a fact that becomes even more clear when reflecting up the foundational changes in the aesthetics of daily life that served to promote national pride and unity.

In order to reinvigorate national pride, the regime placed a heavy emphasis on "recuperating cultural patrimony and the vindication of "chilenidad"(Chilean-ness)".<sup>347</sup> This purpose was included in the first paragraph of the Constitution of the Government

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<sup>344</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

<sup>345</sup> Mandoky, 2007, p. 20.

<sup>346</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 72. My translation.

<sup>347</sup> Errázuriz, 2009, p. 138. My translation.

Junta released on September 11, 1973, expressly promising “the patriotic duty to restore Chilean-ness”.<sup>348</sup> The fundamental aesthetic initiatives to restore traditions included large-scale military parades and marches through the capital Santiago and other large communities throughout Chile. It became mandatory for children in school to perform rituals to the national flag; these flag rituals were also mandatory before events and in other large gatherings. During the celebration for the first anniversary of the military coup, a mass public pledge to the flag read, “Do you swear before God, the Nation and Justice to fight to preserve freedom even with your life, if it were necessary?” According to Errázuriz, the resounding ‘Yes, I swear’ was the “loudest ever heard” and many were seen wiping their tears.<sup>349</sup> Other celebrations included commemorations of historical military events and the fabrication of new national holidays to remember historical figures, most of them military leaders. An initiative of the Cultural Advisor to the Junta, Campos Menéndez, was to install a series of monuments to honour the armed forces, like those built in memory to the soldiers who died during the military coup on September 11, 1973 and those built in memory of the policemen and soldiers killed during the first few months of the military dictatorship.<sup>350</sup> Katya Mandoky suggests that the most effective state propaganda is aesthetic in form because it is

designed to inspire and mobilize the sensibilities of the subject...If adhesion to the State were natural, [the State] wouldn’t have to invent and implement so many repetitive strategies (like flag rituals, heroic versions of history, national holidays, parades and marches).<sup>351</sup>

The success of the military government’s aesthetic cultural programs was mostly due to the establishment and participation of a nationwide network of *Institutos Culturales Comunes* (Community Cultural Institutes) that functioned to create “political and geographic

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<sup>348</sup> Decreto de Ley No. 1, Gobierno de Chile, 1973.

<sup>349</sup> Errázuriz, 2009, p. 151. My translation.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 148.

<sup>351</sup> Mandoky, 2007, pp. 204-205. My translation.



unity".<sup>352353</sup> Community Cultural Institutes were established in every municipality across Chile, integrating the participation of local military leaders, university officials, youth groups and other organisations.<sup>354</sup> Each institute was expected to follow rules regarding aesthetics and cultural programs as indicated by the government publication, *Política Cultural de Gobierno de Chile*. The buildings were to be painted white, the “color that symbolizes clarity and cleanliness,” and were to be decorated with the national flag (“hand-made by local women”), the national shield and oil paintings of national heroes and authorities.<sup>355</sup> The aesthetic environment of these institutes can be characterized as militaristic and nationalistic, figuratively placing the state at the centre of each Chilean community.

According to Errázuriz, the extent to which community governments participated in the above mentioned ‘cleaning operation’ was based on geographic zone or region of Chile.<sup>356</sup> Some municipalities strictly implemented and enforced new government policies as evidenced by the following a decree, promulgated on 26 September 1973 by the municipality of Las Barrancas:

All slogans, posters, symbols and any other political or party propaganda should be eliminated, so that the town acquires an appearance of orderliness and cleanliness, in general.<sup>357</sup>

In municipalities like Las Barrancas that actively implemented government limits of expression, the rule prohibiting citizens from painting their homes red would have also been enforced. Government control of expression ran from the national level, the local level to homesteads and finally to the individual him/herself.

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<sup>352</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 74. My translation.

<sup>353</sup> Ibidem, p. 69.

<sup>354</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>355</sup> *Política Cultural de Gobierno de Chile*, p. 77. My translation.

<sup>356</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 142.

<sup>357</sup> According to Errázuriz, 2009, p. 142, official documents, decrees and orders from the former town of Las Barrancas from before 1995 have disappeared.

The Cultural Department of the Secretary General of the Government provided community cultural institutes with books to fill their libraries, musical programs, and conferences; it even organized awards ceremonies to honor the communities' most exemplary citizens.<sup>358</sup> Above all, however, the Cultural Department monitored the activities of the community institutes to prevent "the enemies of Chile" from using these spaces. The government exercised its control over individual communities through the Cultural Department's periodic revision of local activities, "to ensure that they achieve[d] their true purpose;"<sup>359</sup> being the generation of patriotism and the creation of a Chilean collective identity that refused to be swayed by 'foreign' ideas like Marxism. The Cultural Department of the Secretary General sought to incite the creation of a "new moral society"<sup>360</sup> in which its artists would serve as a "clarifying symbol of the new spirit that motivated Chileans."<sup>361</sup> This rejection of outsider influence and emphasis on a purely Chilean society is quite a paradox, as indicated by Errázuriz, because at the same time, the Pinochet regime was embracing the economic and political ideals of the Chicago Boys under the influence of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and U.K. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.<sup>362</sup>

Outside of its goals to dismantle socialist tendencies, invigorate patriotism and instill a purely Chilean moral code, the military junta also sought to increase attention to Chile's economic potential. Many of the activities organized by community cultural institutes were festivals paying tribute to regional products like wine, wheat, cherries, etc.<sup>363</sup> (many of which continue to this day). It was important to the Pinochet regime that citizens recognized the varied richness of Chile's geographic zones, one rich in minerals, another in fisheries, the next in produce. In this way, the government succeeded in "instigating regionalization and awakening the consciousness that it was necessary to capacitate a

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<sup>358</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>359</sup> *Política Cultural de Gobierno de Chile*, p. 83. My translation.

<sup>360</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 76

<sup>361</sup> *Política Cultural de Gobierno de Chile*, p. 40. My translation.

<sup>362</sup> Errázuriz, 2006, p. 75.

<sup>363</sup> Ibidem, p. 73. My translation.

highly efficient human workforce to promote the development of the country.”<sup>364</sup> In order for Chile to integrate itself in the ‘contemporary concert’ of free-market capitalism, a large labour force was required in all fields of goods production intended for foreign markets. The most severe and institutionalized restrictions of the ‘cultural’ in Chile occurred when Pinochet and the Junta passed a new constitution in 1980.

In 1980, General Augusto Pinochet and the military junta instated a new constitution (the same constitution rules Chile to this day); article 19, clause 12 provides for the freedom of information, freedom of expression and the prohibition of government monopoly of media sources. These freedoms can be effectively disregarded, however, under Article 24 that allows the President to control freedom of information and assembly without restriction by the courts, and Article 41 that gives the President the power to control freedom of information “during a state emergency...[and] can be proclaimed by the president at any time and allows for complete censorship if necessary”<sup>365</sup> Additionally, article 24 makes the censorship of new literary publications mandatory.<sup>366</sup> The military junta promulgated additional laws prohibiting libel, slander and invasion of privacy in the media.<sup>367</sup> The Law for Internal Security bans all anti-government public manifestations or publications.<sup>368</sup>

Through its cultural programs, the military regime not only succeeded in influencing Chilean ideology but also its political and economic imagination. Taking his office on September 12, 1973, Enrique Campos Menendez and the work of the Cultural Department of the Secretary General could be recognized as one of the greatest comprehensive successes of the Pinochet regime in the sense that it was able to infiltrate all layers of society. In this way, as noted by Errázuriz, the military regime was not only perceived by society as a military and political force but was also perceived through its aesthetic cultural

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<sup>364</sup> Ibidem, p. 76. My translation.

<sup>365</sup> Green, 1990, p. 49.

<sup>366</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>367</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>368</sup> Ibidem.

programs that permeated into the “visual, auditory and spatial” spheres of society.<sup>369</sup> The Junta’s doctrine of building a ‘Grand Nation’ (with the help of cultural programs) was one of the aspects that blinded many Chileans to the extensive human rights abuses taking place.

According to the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (Rettig Commission) and the National Commission on Political imprisonment and Torture (Valech Commission) there were 35,865 tortured, 1,248 disappeared, and 2,279 executed by the military junta.<sup>370</sup> These numbers have been widely contested however as conservative estimations. Most affected Chilean citizens were poor, residents of small rural communities who had associations with socialist movements, or having had supported the government of Salvador Allende. Victor Jara died in the National Stadium; some accounts say that he was shot in front of the entire stadium of prisoners, his body strung up as an example.<sup>371</sup> Victor Jara’s body was thrown onto a street in the outskirts of Santiago, and was found riddled by 44 machine gun bullets.<sup>372</sup> In addition to these crimes, some 200,000 Chileans were forced into exile during the military government.<sup>373</sup> In this way, the Pinochet government violated the most basic human rights of approximately 231,527 people.

After the military junta fell from power in 1990, newly elected President Patricio Aylwin Azócar and the rest of Chile began a long transition to democracy.<sup>374</sup> Lawyer, Raúl Rettig was placed in charge of an initiative to hear testimonies from families effected by the military dictatorship, resulting in the publication of the *Informe Rettig* (Rettig Report) in 1991, which marked the first step to open up history and rightfully acknowledge the human rights violations that took place under Pinochet.<sup>375</sup> The Report accounts for

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<sup>369</sup> Errazuriz, 2009, p. 137. My translation.

<sup>370</sup> Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation. 1993.

<sup>371</sup> Styron, 1974.

<sup>372</sup> ‘Victor Jara’.

<sup>373</sup> The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report, 2005.

<sup>374</sup> Benítez, 2003, pp. 1-34.

<sup>375</sup> Ibidem.

“institutionalized violence, detention centres, [and] torture”<sup>376</sup> under the military dictatorship and confirms that government institutions perpetuated mass violations of human rights especially the right to life (disappearances and assassinations).<sup>377</sup> Mario Aguilar Benítez informs the readers of ‘La Historiografía de los Derechos Humanos en Chile’, that Chileans are divided into two groups: those who don’t believe that these violations occurred in Chile, and those who believe that the Rettig group did not uncover the whole truth of what happened between 1973 and 1990.<sup>378</sup> Other reports were published to supplement the Rettig Report with expanded evidence and additional cases of human rights abuses and in 2006, there was a roundtable discussion including survivors of disappearance and detainment.<sup>379</sup> Finally, in 2004, Bishop Sergio Valech confronted the lingering silence head on by forming the Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura (National Commission of Political Imprisonment and Torture), later publishing a report that includes over 35,000 testimonies of torture and other abuse.<sup>380</sup> The previously mentioned “libros buenos” are another critical source of ‘unofficial’ accounts and testimonies of abuse experienced under the Pinochet dictatorship.<sup>381</sup>

The conclusion of Luis Hernan Errázuriz’s 2009 article, ‘Dictadura militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estetico-cultural’ brings up essential reflections on the mode that culture was used in conjunction with the perpetuation of grave violations of human rights during the Pinochet regime and the lingering affects this period of terror had on Chilean society.<sup>382</sup> The immediate arbitrary detentions, disappearances and deaths of oppositional voices of the dictatorship set a tone of terror that was reinforced with every act of censorship and control, leading Chilean society to censor itself and to reconstruct a permissible culture. The ‘scars’ from the time of the dictatorship are so deep that despite

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<sup>376</sup> Ibidem, p. 4.

<sup>377</sup> Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, 1993.

<sup>378</sup> Benítez, 2003, p. 4.

<sup>379</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>380</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>381</sup> See Benítez, 2003 for an expanded study of “libros buenos”.

<sup>382</sup> Errázuriz, 2009, p. 154.

the opening of society during the transition to democracy, society is still marked and crippled to a certain extent by the wounds inflicted by Pinochet and the military Junta.<sup>383</sup> Some impacts of the dictatorship are not scars at all, but are alive and well in Chilean society, such as the present national Constitution, established under Pinochet, and an economical, political and cultural climate heavily centred on neo-liberal principles.

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<sup>383</sup> Ibidem.

## NEO-LIBERALISM AS A CONTEMPORARY REGIME

Igor Golomstock closes the introduction to the book, *Totalitarian Art*, with this probing question:

Will the megamachine of totalitarian culture now be destroyed completely, or will it simply be transformed into some new, post-totalitarian, phenomenon?<sup>384</sup>

I believe that the ‘megamachine of totalitarian culture’ has not been destroyed, but has been converted into a ‘post-totalitarian phenomenon’ present not only in post-totalitarian states like Chile, but can be seen around the world under the regime of neo-liberalism, which also relies on ‘culture’ in order to conceal and legitimate human right violations, often times perpetuated extraterritorially.

It is no secret that the 1973 military coup to overthrow socialist Chilean President Salvador Allende and the military regime led by Augusto Pinochet was backed by both the United States and British governments led by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Reagan and Thatcher are attributed with the formal institutionalisation of neo-liberalist policies in their respective countries and in Chile, with the help of Nobel Prize winning economist, Milton Friedman and the Chicago Boys (a group of Chilean economists who went to study neo-liberal economic policy at the University of Chicago). In the words of Peck and Tickell, “roll-back” neo-liberalism is the economic project purported by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher that was imposed on Chilean society by the U.S. and British backed dictator, Augusto Pinochet.<sup>385</sup> Peck and Tickell then discuss “roll-out” neo-liberalism as a social and cultural project, not only an economic one. This is demonstrated by evolving World Bank discourse that ‘involves’ civil society through participatory methods and is described as a “formidable and robust pattern of proactive statecraft and pervasive

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<sup>384</sup> Golomstock, 1997, p. xv.

<sup>385</sup> Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 383.

metaregulation”<sup>386</sup> in economic, social and cultural areas of life. The extent of government regulation of culture in neo-liberal states like the United States, while perhaps less overt, is reminiscent of the absolute control of social and cultural spheres of society in totalitarian and authoritarian regimes; this concept will be developed later. First, it is important to define neo-liberalism and to provide important contextual background in order to build an argument for neo-liberalism, specifically in the United States, as a contemporary regime.

My chosen definition of neo-liberalism comes from David Harvey’s 2007 book, *A Short History of Neo-Liberalism*, and has four parts:

1) the “privatization and commodification” of public goods; 2) “financialization,” in which any kind of good (or bad) can be turned into an instrument of economic speculation; 3) the “management and manipulation of crises”; 4) “state redistribution,” in which the state becomes an agent of the upward redistribution of wealth.<sup>387</sup>

These four components can be seen in Chile and the conversion of its economy into one of the purest manifestations of neo-liberalism ever established through the masterful management of a terrifying crisis, or ‘shock’ as described by Naomi Klein.<sup>388</sup>

Neo-liberalism is a regime. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines regime as a ‘mode of rule or management’. It should require no persuasion for neo-liberalism to be understood as an economic ‘mode of management’. Some scholars, like Peck and Tickell, also regard neo-liberalism as a *social* and *cultural* ‘mode of management’, referring to the non-economic facet as ‘roll-out’ neo-liberalism.<sup>389</sup> In *Globalization Unmasked*, Petras and Veltmeyer call neo-liberalism the “new regime”. As we have seen throughout this thesis, regimes construct and espouse ideologies that become hegemonic.

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<sup>386</sup> Ibidem, pp. 384-385.

<sup>387</sup> Ortner, 2011, quoting Harvey, 2007, pp. 159-164.

<sup>388</sup> See *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* by Naomi Klein.

<sup>389</sup> Peck and Tickell, 200,2 pp. 384-385.



I will now refer to anthropologist, Thomas Eriksen's previously developed conceptions of 'ideology' and 'nationalism' to help formulate an argument that neo-liberalism has constructed an ideology not unlike the nationalist ideologies espoused by oppressive state regimes. Once again, the two requirements cited by Eriksen for the success of an ideology are one, the proposal of a new system of power and two, responsiveness to the needs and desires of group members. Let us begin by discussing the power system before neo-liberalism and the new social order established by neo-liberalism.

Before neo-liberal policies took off in the United States, Great Britain and Chile during the 1970s-1980s<sup>390</sup>, the Fordist model of protected labour and the Keynesian theory of government economic regulation and support for social programs were in place.<sup>391</sup> After World War II, 'Fordism' was the driving force behind a booming U.S. economy. The industrial model brought rural folks to the cities to efficiently mass-produce standardized goods. The state was heavily involved and even officially sponsored specific products, which were "designed with an eye to uniformity".<sup>392</sup> Families happily filled their homes with standardized washing machines and television sets at affordable prices! Factory workers began to rebel and unionize around the same time that customers began demanding more variety of goods.<sup>393</sup> The 1970's rolled around, and with a looming financial crisis the state's designated answer was to make goods less standardized and to convert the system from mass-production to "large-scale boutique production."<sup>394</sup> This transition from a "need-supplying to a want-supplying economy"<sup>395</sup> encouraged customers to pay more attention to their individual wants (marketing did a fabulous job not only perceiving these desires, but forming them as well<sup>396</sup>). The state backed off and neo-liberalism was born. In her piece, *On neoliberalism*, Sherry Ortner suggests that the shifts

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<sup>390</sup> Streeck, 2012, p. 33.

<sup>391</sup> Ortner, 2011

<sup>392</sup> Monsen & Downs, 1971, p. 65.

<sup>393</sup> Streeck, 2012, p. 29.

<sup>394</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>395</sup> Ibidem, p. 28.

<sup>396</sup> Ibidem, p. 32.

away from the Fordist model and Keynesianism marks the birth of neoliberalism, when labour became “dispensable, disposable, and replaceable” and when governments were no longer supposed to monitor the economy or provide for social programs.<sup>397</sup> The first requirement for the creation of a successful ideology as described by Thomas Eriksen, i.e. the establishment of a new system of power, was achieved.

Just as neo-liberalism began to take hold in the United States, Wolfgang Streeck claims that respect for traditional families and communities was waning, creating a social void that could be filled by the markets; this was a process that “contemporary liberation theorists had mistaken for the beginning of a new age of *autonomy* and *emancipation*”.<sup>398</sup> Instead of an ideology based on *purification* from internal enemies or foreign influence (as seen in oppressive regimes), neo-liberalism waves the flag of *freedom* and *independence* through consumerism; professing that through unrestrained interaction with the market, all people shall have the agency to fulfil their own individual needs and wants. Here we come to Eriksen’s second requirement of a successful ideology, the satisfaction of adherents needs and wants. It is hard for anyone to argue that they do not want to be *free* (*free*-markets should be a good thing, right?).

Neo-liberalism transforms any society into a “market society” based on the construction of individuality and identity through consumerism and is supported by an ideology that professes *freedom* through purchasing power. In the pursuit of success, people are told how to “market themselves” in accordance with economic trends and engage in a kind of “production of personhood, identity and social life” in accordance with fashion, technology and other cultural trends.<sup>399</sup> The sheer diversity of goods available provides endless “opportunities for the individualized expression of social identities.”<sup>400</sup> In a market society, consumers conceive of the purchasing process as a meditative reflection of their

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<sup>397</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>398</sup> Ibidem p. 33. My emphasis.

<sup>399</sup> Gledhill, 2005, p. 89.

<sup>400</sup> Streeck, 2012, p. 33

preferences, needs and wants, as a way to set themselves apart from some or unite themselves with others. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Thorstein Veblen calls “pecuniary emulation”, or the “Law of Consumer Differentiation”, the most pervasive manifestation of economic motives. “Pecuniary emulation” is the idea that people want to be like those “above” them but also want to differentiate themselves from those “below” them.<sup>401</sup> Expensive goods become “status badges” in neo-liberal societies<sup>402</sup> rather than intellectual, creative, mechanical or social achievements (among other non-material achievements). By creating an expansive consumer freedom for self-identification and societal differentiation, neo-liberalism forms a kind of individualism that is almost entirely dictated by market forces.<sup>403</sup> In the case of the United States, the strength of a neo-liberal ideology based on freedom is reinforced by the fact that the same ideology drives United States nationalism. United States citizens are made to believe that they are free politically, economically and culturally (these spheres are intrinsically tied) enforced by the protection provided by the military sphere. An unwavering belief in their freedom as citizens, consumers and social actors makes United States citizens dangerously vulnerable to manipulation by each of these spheres.

Up to this point in our discussion of neo-liberalism, we have seen how neo-liberalism is a regime that fills Thomas Eriksen’s requirements for the construction of a successful ideology. The first requirement, the formation of a new power structure, was done in the shift from Fordism to private manufacturing and the shift from Keynesianism to a *laissez-faire* economic government model. The second requirement of fulfilling the needs and wants of adherents is achieved by the *independence* and *freedom* provided to citizens by their interactions with free-markets. Thomas Eriksen suggests that when the objectives of the state and the objectives of the people are perceived as one, nationalists are born. I would like to adapt this concept to this discussion on neo-liberalism. I would like to suggest that

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<sup>401</sup> Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1899.

<sup>402</sup> Monsen & Downs, 1971, p. 65.

<sup>403</sup> Streeck, 2012, p. 35.

when the objectives of the free-markets (de-regulation, differentiation of goods, profits) are perceived as one with the objectives of the people (sneakers in any color, *convenience*), capitalists are born. Now that we have established that neo-liberalism has constructed a successful ideology, let us consider how neo-liberalism's ideology has become hegemonic, or a "regime of truth".

We have seen, through ample examples of ideological construction in oppressive state regimes, that propaganda, visual media and general aesthetics are incredibly important for the establishment of a hegemonic ideology. In, 'Publicity, Advertising and Propaganda in the United States of America', William Albig states "The criterion of good propaganda [is] successful indoctrination".<sup>404</sup> I believe that advertising is a form of propaganda used to indoctrinate the masses while simultaneously serving as a comprehensive mechanism for the control of media content. The collective all-pervasive presence of advertising represents similar objectives under the regime of neo-liberalism than to objectives of the cultural programs developed by oppressive regimes: to persuade the masses into espousing the hegemonic ideology, to inspire the masses into becoming nationalists/capitalists, to control media content and finally, to distract from or legitimate human rights violations.

First, I will address how advertising is propaganda. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines propaganda as "the spreading of ideas, information or rumour for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person." A company or corporation is an institution. The sale of their products helps a company; it is what keeps a company alive. In order to sell products, a company pays to place advertisements for their products in public space. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, advertising is "the action of calling something to the attention of the public especially by paid announcements". If advertisements exist to increase sales of products to the public, through the spreading of ideas and information about a product, all for the benefit of companies, advertising can be considered propaganda.

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<sup>404</sup> Albig, 1958, p. 31.

Critics may consider this an extreme statement. Mr. Paul Rutherford defines public service announcements as propaganda in his book, *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*, without associating commercial advertising to propaganda. I find this amusing and am I am surprised by the lack of scholarly research associating commercial advertising with propaganda. One exception is William Albig who discusses the prevalence of multiple forms of propaganda present in society; it is used by authoritarian regimes, democratic governments, private industries, and the public sector, and is used for political, commercial, and social purposes. When Albig wrote, ‘Publicity, Advertising and Propaganda in the United States of America’ in 1958, increased wealth in the United States resulted in an economic boom allowing “efficient production of masses of consumers’ goods”,<sup>405</sup> a fact that called for more advertising than ever before. With the advent of new forms of mass media, “vast publics were informed, instructed and then manipulated”.<sup>406</sup> Albig describes how advertising (for goods and services) and publicity (for a cause, a person, group or institution) began gaining increased visibility starting nearly twenty years before World War I, and that the word ‘propaganda’ (or what he calls ‘special pleading’) was not used until after the war.<sup>407</sup> According to Albig, the word ‘propaganda’ in the West gained a negative connotation because of its relationship with the political media of oppressive regimes; it became important for publicists and advertisers living in ‘democratic’ states to set themselves and their work apart from propagandists.<sup>408</sup> Propaganda, however, remained ‘any organized or consistent group effort to spread a particular doctrine’ for most of the world.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Albig, 1958, p. 29.

<sup>406</sup> Ibidem p. 23.

<sup>407</sup> Ibidem p. 24.

<sup>408</sup> Ibidem p. 25.

<sup>409</sup> Ibidem p. 30.

In the democracies, thousands of business, reform and other types of special-interest groups found propaganda a valuable adjunct to publicity, and the United States became notable as having the highest propaganda density in the world.”<sup>410</sup>

William Albright continues by suggesting that *advertisers today have more actual power to shape people’s perceptions than political propagandists* for three major reasons.<sup>411</sup> The first reason that contemporary propaganda is so powerful is because it is not considered propaganda; society is much less critical or wary of the potential effects of advertisements as compared to political propaganda.<sup>412</sup> The second reason that advertising is so powerful is because of the extensive time and effort put into studying advertising subjects; market studies measure societies’ values, desires and weaknesses so effectively that the public’s “taste” can be controlled.<sup>413</sup> A third reason for the power of advertising is the fact that “it concerns uncontroversial issues, namely the purchase of one product over another, versus the contentious battles between political parties or for certain political ideologies.”<sup>414</sup> Reason number three echoes reason number one, people are not suspicious of advertisements like they are of political propaganda.

Advertisements are meant to sell products, while they are constructed to be persuasive on conscious and unconscious levels, they are not *individually* intended to help construct a hegemonic ideology like the political propaganda promulgated by oppressive state regimes. The relatively new standard for the allowance of high quantities of unregulated advertisements by the governments of neo-liberal societies like the United States raises my personal suspicion that the *collective* invasion of public aesthetic space by advertising is the force that is imposing the neo-liberal ideology upon society to the extent that it has become hegemonic. The United States government became lax in monitoring and regulating

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<sup>410</sup> Ibidem p. 31.

<sup>411</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

<sup>412</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>413</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>414</sup> Ibidem p. 27.

advertising during the Reagan administration, alongside the birth of neo-liberalism, and has been continued by both Democratic and Republican administrations since that time.

Mathew McAllister states that in the 1980's, thanks to technological innovation, political and economic changes based on deregulation by Republican administrations, advertising came into a new era of promotional potential.<sup>415</sup> Government deregulation meant (and still means) a hands-off policy when it comes to the content being disseminated into society by media corporations. "During the Carter administration the chair of the Federal Trade Commission, Michael Pertschuck, was quite aggressive in attacking incomplete or inaccurate advertising."<sup>416</sup> President Reagan followed Carter; and within the next decade, the Federal Trade Commission was cut in half and the new chair of the Federal Trade Commission was much less scrupulous in monitoring advertising.<sup>417</sup> The federal agency in charge of monitoring broadcasting also adopted a "free enterprise" perspective during this time.<sup>418</sup> Since then, advertising seems to have no limits, and is present in films, sporting events, and schools through place-based advertising.<sup>419</sup> According to McAllister, place-based advertising is "the systematic creation of advertising-supported media in different social locations (including doctor's offices and airports)".<sup>420</sup>

The extent to which advertising is increasingly invading public space is demonstrated by the 2007 work of a market research institution named Yankelovich, which claims that a 30-year-old living in a city is exposed to as many as 5,000 advertisements per day, up from 3,000 advertisements per day 30 years ago (at the time that study was done, this would have been 1977).<sup>421</sup> So, since the birth of neo-liberalism, the amount of advertising in public space has increased by two thirds. Thanks to deregulation of the advertising field since the

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<sup>415</sup> McAllister, 1996, p. 6.

<sup>416</sup> Ibidem, p. 33.

<sup>417</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>418</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>419</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>420</sup> Ibidem, p. 8.

<sup>421</sup> Story, 2007.

Reagan administration, the available venues have also increased substantially. “According to Supply Marketing, a company that gives doctors free supplies in exchange for using branded products,”<sup>422</sup> Walt Disney distributed examination table liners with advertisements for “Little Einstein” DVDs to 2,000 pediatricians’ offices. The company Clear Channel Outdoor installed video screens for running advertisements and NBC programs in about 5,000 New York taxicabs in 2007. In her 2007 article in the *New York Times*, Louise Story describes how “Toyota projected ads for its Scion cars on the sides of buildings in 14 cities, including Chicago, Atlanta and Dallas. Unilever also projected ads, for its Axe men’s fragrance, on buildings in places like Tampa and Milwaukee.”<sup>423</sup> We previously established that propaganda is used for indoctrination of the masses for the adoption of an ideology. I believe that the all-pervasive presence of advertising in today’s world is meant to indoctrinate the masses into garnering their support for the neo-liberal ideology that freedom and individuality are attainable through consumerism. Next, I will address how advertising is simultaneously a mechanism for the control of media content.

In *Advertising and a democratic press*, C.E. Baker states:

Despite the potential danger and occasional occurrence of government censorship, private entities in general and advertisers in particular constitute the most consistent and most pernicious ‘censors’ of media content.<sup>424</sup>

Media is a moneymaking business like any other; it is a business that is overwhelmingly funded by advertising.<sup>425</sup> McAllister credits the overall loss of power and agency of television and newspaper companies to the open perspective taken by the United States government in regards to advertising.<sup>426</sup> With the expansion of television channels, viewership of the major networks dropped by almost one third, making major television

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<sup>422</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>423</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>424</sup> Baker, 1994, p. 3.

<sup>425</sup> McAllister, 1996, p. 6.

<sup>426</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.



broadcasting companies more vulnerable and more willing to appease advertisers, on whom they began to depend for sufficient funding.<sup>427</sup> The new niche television networks were even more willing to appease advertisers because they were desperate to make money and establish themselves.<sup>428</sup> The same trend is true for newspapers and magazines, which are not only threatened by new literary media but are threatened by the accessibility of information online. If print media was on, what McAllister calls, “an advertising crutch”<sup>429</sup> in 1996, imagine the importance of advertising to the survival of newspapers and magazines today. Media sources rely on money provided by advertising, some sources rely completely on the revenue provided by advertising.<sup>430</sup> Newspapers make 75% of their revenue from advertising while television and radio make nearly 100% of their revenue from advertising.<sup>431</sup> According to economic critics of advertising, “how a media industry makes its money will influence the types of messages that it produces”.<sup>432</sup>

So, television broadcasting, newspapers and magazines have become increasingly dependent upon the funding they receive from advertising, making them vulnerable to the desires of advertisers who have specific requirements for content that can be associated with their advertisements. In this way, advertisers control the content of programming on television and the content of information found in newspapers and magazines. Advertisers need an audience and media needs funding from advertisements, therefore, media must work to provide an appropriate and profitable audience for advertisers.<sup>433</sup> Advertisers believe that certain moods are ideal for the susceptibility of customers. The content of a broadcast media program or literary article is what sets the mood for an advertisement. One basic way that advertising affects the content of programming or print is by supporting

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<sup>427</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>428</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

<sup>429</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>430</sup> Ibidem, p. 37.

<sup>431</sup> Ibidem, p. 38.

<sup>432</sup> Ibidem, p. 39.

<sup>433</sup> Ibidem, p. 41.

media content that communicates the proper selling mood.<sup>434</sup> Advertisers discourage media content that could make viewers uncomfortable because advertisers want to attract as many customers as possible. Controversial or alienating topics like political partisanship are often avoided in favour of middle of the road perspectives (this of course has other serious implications for a society).<sup>435</sup> According to McAllister, “Advertising’s economic presence significantly influences the view of the world that media present, a view embedded in and influenced by social power and social relations.”<sup>436</sup>

Advertisers will pay high dollar for the combination of ideal audience type, size and vulnerability.<sup>437</sup> Media programming, is thus, shaped by the desires of the advertisers. Kodak and Procter and Gamble have media guidelines for acceptable content of programs that their advertisements can be associated with, i.e. not insulting the church, not too much sexual content, and no violence are examples.<sup>438</sup> A specific example of media control by advertisers was in 1970, when NBC aired a documentary on farm workers that criticized Coca Cola; the beverage company soon removed most of its advertisements from NBC broadcasting.<sup>439</sup> Baker notes that it was a long time before NBC dared to air another program that criticized one of its big advertisers. Another important detail is that big corporations advertise for more than one product. For example, despite the fact that cigarette commercials have been banned, Philip Morris paid for advertisements for its other products, making it the number two advertiser in the U.S. in 1993.<sup>440</sup> What affect could this have? Well, media corporations that are heavily funded by Philip Morris advertisements would most likely not air programs that criticize cigarettes.

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<sup>434</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>435</sup> Ibidem, p. 43.

<sup>436</sup> Ibidem, p. 47.

<sup>437</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>438</sup> Ibidem, p. 50.

<sup>439</sup> Ibidem, p. 49.

<sup>440</sup> Ibidem, p. 51.

The survival of media sources relies on funding; funding does not come from educational programs, which do not attract the viewership that entertainment programs do. Entertainment programs have therefore drowned the media.<sup>441</sup> This is even true for news programming that risk the viewers changing the channel if material is too long or boring. One may claim that there are so many different kinds of advertisers and different channels of media that can align according to interests, that people then have the freedom to choose which media outlets to expose themselves to and in turn, to choose, to some extent, what kinds of advertisements to expose themselves to. This is a fallacy.

Since the 1980s, media organizations have grown extensively and joined together into large media groups with streamlined relationships to advertisers, highly increasing the control that advertising guidelines have over media content. Since the 1980s, the United States government has also become much more lenient in regards to the potential growth of media corporations; in the words of Mathew McAllister, “The size of media industry leaders has increased tremendously since 1980.”<sup>442</sup> For example, Warner Communications Inc. combines television programming, with literary publishing, with film production, and record production all under one massive corporation. Rupert Murdoch and his News Corp. is a notorious master of an enormous media domain including newspapers, magazines and television networks. McAllister astutely points out that information can be easily diffused through different mediums that are controlled by the same umbrella media corporations<sup>443</sup>, creating monopolies on information. Not only have media corporations grown in size, but they have also merged together into massive media groups.

Approximately 15 of the top 20 advertisement agencies in the world were involved in a merger during the 1980s, a process that was called the “Big Bang” of media company mergers which integrated management, marketing, advertising and promotional services

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<sup>441</sup> Ibidem, p. 43.

<sup>442</sup> Ibidem, p. 32.

<sup>443</sup> Ibidem, p. 33.

into singular, massive companies (Saatchi and Saatchi, WPP Group, Interpublic Group).<sup>444</sup> These mammoth media groups end up having an enormous influence over all media content. These media groups have streamlined relationships with advertisers, thus implementing the same standards for content across the board within all sub-corporations that are composed of broadcast, print and other entertainment media. Advertising's control over the cultural sphere does not end with control of television, newspaper and magazine content, but includes control of sport, film, music, all spheres of a neo-liberal society.

Aptly highlighted in Dr. Wolfgang Streeck's fascinating 2012 piece, *Citizens as Consumers*, one of the most apparent examples of the drastic affects of widespread commercialization since the 70s can be seen in the world of sport. Most specifically in regards to the Olympic Games. Once and not long ago, an athletic realm of 'amateur' athletes competing for nothing more than the love of the sport, or for the pride of their country, the Olympic Games have become mega-performances costing and generating massive amounts of money for athletes, advertising agencies, media groups, sponsors and other corporations who supply the world with a baffling array of 'sports wears'.<sup>445</sup> In Streeck's words,

one cannot but be struck by the stark difference between the austere ethos of strict discipline and self-control, rewarded by nothing [more] than the honor of being allowed to participate, and the atmosphere of hedonistic entertainment with a strong smell of money that surrounds today's sporting events.<sup>446</sup>

Streeck cites Adidas and Puma as specific examples of 'multi-billion-dollar global companies' that began as small-scale shoemakers, now making most of their profits on fashion items including perfumes for men and women.<sup>447</sup> This example is also closely

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<sup>444</sup> Ibidem, p. 31.

<sup>445</sup> Streeck, 2012, p. 34.

<sup>446</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>447</sup> Ibidem p. 35.

related to the overwhelming presence of sponsorship in sports in general. Corporate logos are seen on uniforms, fields, and equipment.<sup>448</sup>

The film industry is another venue that has become increasingly commercialized and controlled by advertising. Product placement in films in the year 2013 is a pervasive practice that generates enormous profits for film agencies.<sup>449</sup> While the people and their tastes have a large role in shaping the kinds of films being produced, the growing “reliance on the revenues” from in-film advertising “may actually limit the types of films considered for production”. Big advertisers express their guidelines for the kinds of films they will be associated with and film agencies often comply in order to benefit from the grand profits earned from product placement in their films.<sup>450</sup> The same story applies for popular music and their associated music videos in a neo-liberal society like the United States.

In his song, ‘Gold Watch’, United States musical artist Lupe Fiasco condemns those who wear expensive jewellery and drive luxury cars in what seems like an anti-commercialist message, but then lists the products that he considers cool, “In MY Fall of Rome jeans, my Head Porter wallet My Neighborhood shirt and my Eddie Chen CLOT”.<sup>451</sup> Whether or not the products that Lupe Fiasco lists are expensive or mainstream, they are still products that he is advertising for through his music. Lupe Fiasco’s message in ‘Gold Watch’ reminds me of Velben’s concept of “pecuniary emulation”, or the desire to be like those ‘above’ while differentiating oneself from those ‘below’. In much of contemporary neo-liberalism, this is related to the concept of what is cool. In another example, we will dip into the importance of music videos within the contemporary music industry. Miley Cyrus, once a young Disney Channel sitcom star, released a music video for her song, ‘We Can’t Stop’ this June 2013. The video opens with a plug (or advertisement) for a portable stereo device and soon shows a table covered with colourful lip-glosses of a specific brand, which Cyrus

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<sup>448</sup> McAllister, 1996, p. 249.

<sup>449</sup> Wasko, 1993, p. 288.

<sup>450</sup> Ibidem, p. 288.

<sup>451</sup> Fiasco, Lupe, ‘Gold Watch’, <http://rapgenius.com/Lupe-fiasco-gold-watch-lyrics>.

applies seductively. The first 20 seconds of the music video are enough to see that it is not only made to visualize a song, but the video also provides space for place-based advertising. There are very blatant examples of the integration of the cultural with the economic spheres within neo-liberal society.

According to the authors of 'Hollywood Meets Madison Avenue: The Commercialization of US Films', the Chief of the United States Census Bureau of Economic Programs named the entertainment industry the greatest multiplier for the sale of other goods and services like "toys and games, consumer electronics, fast food, etc.", noting its hugely important role in stimulating the US economy.<sup>452</sup> Within neo-liberal societies, it is hard to know what is art for the sake of art, music for the sake of music, film for the sake of film (or for the sake of love, humanism, or hate for that matter), or what is above all else, a money making tool. "Everything from the cartoons kids watch to the comics they read, from school studies to sports activities, from movies to malls, is colored by the consumptive bias of commercialism."<sup>453</sup>

Advertising has been allowed to infiltrate our lives to such an extent that it should be considered the propaganda of neo-liberalism. The ideology of freedom through consumerism espoused by neo-liberalism has become a "regime of truth" in the United States. The United States government's deregulation of advertising and media corporations may very well be a strategic partnership with these actors for the comprehensive control over the cultural sphere of society, not unlike the absolute control over this sphere by oppressive state regimes. Neo-liberalism in the United States is a regime that has constructed a hegemonic ideology through the collective pervasion of mass advertising schemes, which indoctrinate the masses into aligning themselves with this ideology while simultaneously controlling cultural manifestations. This cultural control is backed up by political and military force, as I will now demonstrate. The cultural manifestations of neo-

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<sup>452</sup> Wasko, 1993, p. 288.

<sup>453</sup> Collins & Skover, 1990 p. 7.

liberalism are also a part of a strategic alliance between the political, economic and military spheres of American society, like they were in the oppressive regimes elaborated upon above.

Since September 11, 2001, the United States government has legitimated mass violations of human rights in the name of protecting the freedom espoused by its *nationalist and capitalist ideologies*. “Freedom isn’t free”.<sup>454</sup> In the name of protecting freedom, other basic freedoms of United States citizens and citizens of the world are at stake including but not limited to: the right to privacy, the right to a fair trial, freedom from torture, the right to life, migrants rights, the right to health among other economic, social and cultural rights.

The United States Government is watching and listening to everyone. Based on information from official National Security Agency (NSA) documents leaked by whistleblower Edward Snowden, the German newspaper *Der Spiegel* published a report that reveals widespread international U.S. spying programs.<sup>455</sup> Using planted bugs to listen to conversations and email hacking, the U.S. government has targeted EU offices in Brussels, Washington and the United Nations and at least 38 embassies worldwide including those of Mexico, India, Turkey, Japan and South Korea.<sup>456</sup> President of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz called for the United States to ‘justify’ its actions, also stating

It is shocking that the United States take measures against their most important and nearest allies, comparable to measures taken in the past by the KGB, by the secret service of the Soviet Union.<sup>457</sup>

The President of the European Parliament has compared the United States to the Soviet Union, one of the oppressive regimes elaborated upon in this thesis. These acts are in violation of the 1946 United Nations Convention on the Privileges and Immunities. It is

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<sup>454</sup> U.S. Army slogan.

<sup>455</sup> *Democracy Now*, 1 July 2013.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibidem*.

absolutely important in the context of this project to note that these developments have been uncovered just before the United States and the European Union will undertake discussions for a massive trans-Atlantic trade deal; *violations of international law in the name of neo-liberal policy making?* Spying and unwarranted surveillance is taking place within the United States as well.

Drones are being used to watch American citizens on American soil according to FBI Director Robert Mueller on Wednesday 19 June 2013. When asked by Senator Chuck Grassley “Does the FBI use drones for surveillance on U.S. soil?” Mueller responded, “Yes...In a very minimal way...very seldom”.<sup>458</sup> In a detailed interview with *Democracy Now* on 21 June, 2013, the Director of the National Lawyers Guild, Heidi Boghosian describes how research at Johns Hopkins is focusing on how butterflies move in order to develop drones the size of “birds” or “mosquitoes” that can hover in the air for extended periods of time, hold infrared cameras and heat sensors and can enter personal homes, where Americans and their right to privacy should be protected by the United States Constitution. Senator Mark Udall from Colorado released this statement; “I am concerned the FBI is deploying drone technology while only being in the ‘initial stage’ of developing guidelines to protect American’s privacy rights” which must be developed soon, as *billions of dollars* are poured into the effort to push drones into domestic law enforcement. Mayor of New York City, Michael Bloomberg said

It’s just we’re going into a different world, uncharted. And like it or not, what people can do or governments can do is different, and you can, to some extent, control, but you can’t keep the tides from coming in. We’re going to have more visibility and less privacy. I don’t see how you stop that.

In her book, *Spying on Democracy: Government Surveillance, Corporate Power and Public Resistance*, set to be released in August 2013, Heidi Boghosian discusses the

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<sup>458</sup> *Democracy Now*, 21 June, 2013.



extremely close relationship between the U.S. government and corporations in the development and deployment of drones in the United States and abroad. Boghosian says “It benefits large corporations who have a very snug relationship with government intelligence agencies to develop drones and to deploy them wide scale over United States airs”. The information collected by corporations is stored in “fusion centres” where new analytics make sense of mass data samples and the results are shared with the U.S. government, specifically with the NSA. One of the most threatening aspects of this government/corporate partnership in drone building, deploying and information collecting is that the “private sector can work with impunity in terms of skirting the Constitution”. In 2011, the former NSA-CIA Director General Michael Hayden, who watched as the NSA become increasingly more privatized from 1999 to 2005, released the following statement,

We may come to a point where defense is more actively and aggressively defined...How about a digital Blackwater? OK? I mean, we have privatized certain defense activities, even in physical space.

General Hayden now works for the Chertoff Group, another former head of the CIA, McConnell now works for Booz Allen Hamilton, the former Chief Security Officer for Facebook, Max Kelly, has been working for NSA since 2010. It is apparent that the political, military and neo-liberal economic forces in the United States are working together in the monitoring of U.S. citizens and the citizens of the world. Journalists and attorneys are being targeted with phone tapping and other measures to create a ‘chilling affect’ to prevent government and corporate criticism. Under the Obama administration, more and more has become classified information. I agree with Boghosian when she says “without free exchange of information we become a very repressive state”. But, considering the 46,417,374 views of Miley Cyrus’ ‘We Can’t Stop’ video on YouTube as of 2 July, 2013, the distracting force of the cultural manifestations of neo-liberalism is succeeding; keeping us from thinking too hard about the violations of our right to privacy by the United States government. Drones are not only used for surveillance purposes.

The May 2010 Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Philip Alston presents a study on targeted killings in which drones are used. For the purposes of this project, I will refer to Alston's comments pertaining to the United States government, although a large portion is also dedicated to Israel, a major world ally of the U.S. and Russia, one of the oppressive regimes discussed in an earlier section of this thesis.<sup>459</sup> Alton defines targeted killing as

The intentional, premeditated and deliberate use of lethal force, by States or their agents acting under colour of law, or by an organized armed group in armed conflict, against a specific individual who is not in the physical custody of the perpetrator.<sup>460</sup>

Philip Alston highlights the use of drones in this new type of "warfare" or what the U.S. government calls "armed conflict". He also highlights the problematic nature of these killings within existing legal frameworks on human rights, war and inter-state force because there are no clear lines regarding how targeted killings should be classified. Alston pleads that the states involved, including the United States, have not legally justified targeted killings (besides claims of self defense under International Humanitarian Law), developed mechanisms to monitor violations, or released the names of those killed or collateral damage caused. "The result has been the displacement of clear legal standards with a vaguely defined license to kill, and the creation of a major accountability vacuum."<sup>461</sup> When the report was released in 2010, 120 drone strikes had been carried out by the United States government under CIA initiatives in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan that collaterally killed hundreds of civilians.<sup>462</sup> The right to life of targets and other innocent victims of targeted killings initiated by the United States government is violated in the name of self-defense, in the name of the protection of *freedom*.

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<sup>459</sup> Alston, 2010, p. 2.

<sup>460</sup> Ibidem, p. 3.

<sup>461</sup> Ibidem, p. 3.

<sup>462</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

The protection of *freedom* for United States citizens is also the reason cited for the unlawful imprisonment of terror suspects in the Guantánamo Bay Prison. Since 2002, approximately 779 Muslim men have been held in Guantánamo Bay Prison, 166 remain there today (86 of whom have been cleared for release), and nine have died while in custody.<sup>463</sup> Most of the inmates in Guantánamo Bay have been held for ten years without charge or trial. Imprisonment without charge is in violation of Article 9.1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which protects against arbitrary arrest or detention. Article 9.3, which states that any detained person is “entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release”, has been violated. The nine men who died in Guantánamo have been deprived of their right to life, protected under Article 6.1 of the ICCPR, in the hands of the United States government, who ratified the ICCPR in 1992. Torture is common practice in Guantánamo Bay Prison as well as domestically.

Former United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak, was denied entry to Guantánamo Bay Prison but it did not stop him and others of the UN Committee against Torture from issuing recommendations to the United States government in 2006 on acts to be taken at the prison in Cuba due to widespread evidence that torture was taking place in the prison.<sup>464</sup> The United States is a party to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment of Punishment. The United States violates its obligations under the Convention against Torture domestically as well through the extensive use of TASAR electronic stun guns in everyday law enforcement procedures. The United Nations has declared, “TASAR electronic stun guns are a form of torture that can kill”.<sup>465</sup> Since 2009, 187 people have died from TASARs in the United States.<sup>466</sup> Torture is also widespread in U.S. prisons. According to the Center for Constitutional Rights, tens of thousands of inmates in United States prisons are held in solitary confinement for “22 and

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<sup>463</sup> Seton Hall University School of Law, 2006.

<sup>464</sup> Committee Against Torture, 2006.

<sup>465</sup> *AFP*, 2007.

<sup>466</sup> Electronic Village, 2009.

24 hours a day”.<sup>467</sup> The common use of TASARs and solitary confinement in the U.S. is in violation of the Eighth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution protecting against cruel and unusual punishment and the UN Convention against Torture. Torture is not the only right be denied in relation to the U.S. prison system.

The prison system in the United States is a huge money making business; immigration detention centres very much included. The prisons and detention centres themselves, the beds, foodstuffs and uniforms are all sourced by private companies; countless small towns in the United States rely on the revenue produced by prisons and detention centres.<sup>468</sup> On January 25, 2009 there were 32,000 immigrants being detained in the United States, 18,690 had literally no criminal conviction on their records, 400 of those had been held for over a year without trial, dozens had been held for three years or more.<sup>469</sup> A 2001 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court provides Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 6 months to “deport or release immigrants after their case is decided. But immigration lawyers say that deadline is routinely missed.”<sup>470</sup> Considering its legal obligations under human rights law, however, holding immigrants without charge and for extended periods of time is in direct violation of Article 9 of the ICCPR. The United States regularly violates the right to life of its citizens by allowing the death penalty.

On June 28, 2013, United Nations Security-General Ban Ki-moon called for the comprehensive abolition of the death penalty.<sup>471</sup> According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics of the United States, 1,226 people have been executed in the United States since 1976; in 2005, 3,254 inmates were on death row in 36 U.S. states.<sup>472</sup> The death penalty is in direct violation of international human rights law in the protection of the right to life. The right to life is impacted furthermore by the limited access to healthcare in the U.S.

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<sup>467</sup> Center for Constitutional Rights.

<sup>468</sup> Gorman, 2009.

<sup>469</sup> *Associated Press*, 2009.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>471</sup> UN News Centre, 2013.

<sup>472</sup> Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005 (last available year).

According to PBS, around 44 million Americans do not have health insurance while 38 million Americans have insufficient health insurance.<sup>473</sup> In the United States, healthcare is privatized. According to Dr. Sherry Glied, Associate Professor of Public Health at Columbia University,

The people who are most at risk today are those who have no health insurance at all. They're at risk of not getting regular care when they need it. They're at risk of not catching real problems before they get serious enough to not be treatable...And they're at tremendous financial risk. They could lose everything that they've saved in their lived because of some even fairly minor health problem.<sup>474</sup>

The United States signed the ICESCR in 1977, which provides for the right to health in Article 12. The limited access to healthcare is tied to overall poverty in the U.S. According to the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan, 15.1 percent of Americans are living in poverty.<sup>475</sup> Living in poverty in the United States implies the violation of numerous economic, social and cultural rights as provided for in the ICESCR, which I unfortunately have no space to treat here.

In summary, human rights violations perpetuated by the United States government under the regime of neo-liberalism are extensive. The violations listed here have been chosen solely through my personal discretion and in consideration to space limitations; they are not exhaustive to any degree. The extent to which American citizens and people of the world consider the United States under the regime of neo-liberalism an oppressive regime may be affected by the cultural means (advertising and subsequent control of media content) that neo-liberalism uses to indoctrinate the masses into espousing the hegemonic ideology that freedom is attainable through interaction with the market, which in turn serves to conceal (through distraction) and legitimate human rights violations in the name of freedom.

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<sup>473</sup> 'The Uninsured', *PBS*.

<sup>474</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>475</sup> 'Poverty in the United States', National Poverty Center.

Under the contemporary regime of neo-liberalism, the ‘cultural’ sphere is inextricably tied to the economic, political, and military spheres. Thomas Hobbes’ Leviathan has evolved from the one-headed political giant, into a four-headed economic, political, military and cultural beast, and we are all a part of it. If we again consider Michel Foucault’s concept of “regimes of truth”, we can see that whatever reactions (or inaction) of the masses to the effects of neo-liberalism, whether consciously or not, support the system. There is always time and space however, to change a “regime of truth”. John Gledhill says, “The limit of neo-liberalism is the resistance of popular culture to total colonization by power.”<sup>476</sup> Will we accept the ever-increasing power of the four-headed Leviathan? If not, how is the power to be offset? I believe that the cultural sphere is that which citizens can most easily influence. Where are the mainstream artists of today who will stand up against the contemporary oppressive regime of neo-liberalism?

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<sup>476</sup> Ibidem.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this thesis has tried to show: 1) that culture is an integral component of comprehensive political/economic/military programs of oppressive state regimes and should therefore be considered a hard tool for power that can help conceal and legitimate human rights violations (propaganda is used to indoctrinate the masses into espousing hegemonic ideologies that reject and/or promote certain political beliefs, cultural/ethical practices, affiliations etc.), 2) there are surprising likenesses to this model embodied in the contemporary regime of neo-liberalism. Now, what can be done?

The use of culture in opposition to regimes is and always has been present. I will not go into the many examples of anti-Soviet, anti-Nazi, anti-fascist, and anti-Communist artistic, literary, theatrical, cinematic ‘cultural’ projects. In Chile, artists, musicians and social actors risked their lives to produce protest art and other forms of cultural protest of the military dictatorship. The ‘Arab Spring’ has produced a wealth of cultural manifestations of protest to human rights violations by oppressive regimes. The ‘Occupy Movement’ and anti-austerity protests in Spain and Cyprus produced cultural displays that challenged human rights violations caused by the regime of neo-liberalism. One thing that all of these demonstrations and cultural manifestations have in common are their ideologies based on respect human rights. Respect for human rights is an ideology. Now, let us consider the difference between the culture utilized by civil society and the culture used by oppressive regimes.

In oppressive regimes, cultural, economic and military forces are used simultaneously. The definition of a hard tool for power as described in *Cultural Anthropology* is: ‘coercive power that is backed up by economic and military force’<sup>477</sup>. The cultural policies of oppressive regimes were and are coercive by way of indoctrination, formation of

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<sup>477</sup> Prins, et al, 2008, p. 382.

hegemonic ideologies, restrictions of basic civil liberties and punishment by way of military force. Culture can be a hard tool for power.

Manifestations of culture by civil society, on the other hand, are soft-tools for power because they are not backed up by economic and military force. Cultural programs promoted by civil society are examples of ‘co-optive power that presses others through attraction and persuasion to change their ideas, beliefs, values and behaviours’.<sup>478</sup> The state has the upper hand when it comes to harnessing power from culture, which is a part of the greater machine of the comprehensive state system.

The lack of economic and military force behind the culture of civil society constitutes an obvious disadvantage for citizens around the world. Governments have a monopoly on military force and thus, on hard tools for power (governments do not have a monopoly over economic force, however, because we have control over how we spend our money). We have seen through the course of this project that, cultural manifestations help construct ideologies that become one with a nation’s political, economic and military objectives. Culture can be a hard tool for power. Ideologies can become hegemonic. Cultures based on respect for human rights can become hard tools for power. The ideology of respect for human rights can become hegemonic.

Nations committed to the protection of human rights must produce cultural manifestations that promote the ideology of respect for human rights, making it one with their political, economic and military objectives. Nations committed to the protection of human rights must show how human rights can be a hard tool for power.

Meanwhile, we have control of the cultural manifestations in our homes, neighbourhoods and greater communities. We must actively produce cultural manifestations that promote the ideology of respect human rights until it becomes hegemonic, until respect for human rights becomes our “regime of truth”.

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<sup>478</sup> Ibidem.



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