

Torture and Torment

Transform the Body

Among the often-cited passages in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1979) is his vivid description of the execution of Robert-François Damiens, who was drawn and quartered in 1757 for attempting to assassinate the King of France, Louis XV. As the ordeal begins, Damiens is taken to the main door of the Church of Paris wearing nothing but a shirt and holding a torch of burning wax. He is carted off to the scaffold erected at the Place de Grève, where flesh is ripped from his body with red-hot pincers and sulfur is poured into the open wounds. To complete the brutal task, four horses are harnessed to dismember the body, leaving his torso to be consumed by fire and reduced to ash. What Foucault omits from his account of Damiens is the interrogation that took place prior to his execution. On display at the Conciergerie, in Paris, is an exhibit titled "Un Lieu de Memoire" (A Place of Memory), which attends to the diverse symbols of politics, including the fate of Damiens. An engraving shows the body of Damiens securely fastened to a torture platform, enduring an excruciating inquisition.

Curators at the Conciergerie—as well as Foucault—also do not mention another important extension of the punishment of Damiens. His relatives were deprived of their surname and banished from France. To eliminate all traces of their existence, the family house was razed to the ground (McManners, 1981). Damiens had an accomplice, Auguste-Claude Tavernier. He was spared from death but confined to the Bastille. In a remarkable twist of events, Tavernier was freed upon the storming of the Bastille and ceremoniously joined the six other prisoners as they paraded through the streets of Paris. Five days after being liberated from the Bastille, Tavernier was declared mad and transferred to the insane asylum at Charenton (Godechot, 1970).

The execution of Damiens is analyzed by Foucault (1979) to illustrate how torture—"the art of inflicting pain"—disappeared from the public spectacle, giving

way to a redistribution of an entire economy of punishment. The prison, of course, emerged as the hub of that new configuration of penality. Still, the body remains a principle focus of state intervention even as confinement serves to conceal that part of the penal process. In this chapter, political imprisonment is explored by way of torture and torment aimed at re-forming the body. With critical attention to the sites and symbols of bodily—and psychological—cruelty, discussion relies primarily on examples from the dictatorships in the southern cone of Latin America as well as the Troubles in Northern Ireland. In the process, further conceptualizations of power and their cultural representations are brought to light. The first segment situates power, technology, and the body within the strategies of social control. Attending to those lessons, the analysis benefits from a reworking of Foucault's paradigm. Most notably, Beth Lord (2006) demonstrates that museums—and memorial spaces—are capable of shedding their previous status and becoming institutions for progressive commentary. Also rethinking Foucault, C. Fred Alford (2000) proposes that power should be understood as moving along underground axes rather than in purely panoptic forms.

POWER, TECHNOLOGY, AND THE BODY

"The human body," from the standpoint of Foucault, "is the ultimate material which is seized and shaped by all political, economic, and penal institutions" (Garland, 1990: 137). Accordingly, transformations of the body are contoured by external as well as internal forces. In the first instance, forced labor takes aim at the body from the outside. In the second, a "self-controlled" body is subjugated through the influence of what Foucault calls "the soul"—or what is better recognized as "the psyche, the self, subjectivity, consciousness, or the personality" (Garland, 1990: 137). Hence, the psyche becomes the target of disciplinary technology that renders it the "prison of the body" (Foucault, 1979: 30). Those strategies of power constitute a "discernable pattern of institutional practices or political actions which operate across a number of sites" (Garland, 1990: 137). To be clear, power is not an entity possessed by any individual or group; rather, it is a capacity of domination exercised across multiple fields. Foucault chronicles power as it becomes increasingly modernized, departing from the classical age and the penal excesses of the *ancien regime* (see Spierenburg, 1995, 1984). Toward that end, technology—the application of science—stems from knowledge, thereby providing the "know-how" to re-form the body. The more that is known about the body (and psyche), the more controllable it becomes, giving rise to what Foucault (1979, 1980) calls "power-knowledge." The transition from the gothic scaffold to the modern penitentiary is grounded in "power-knowledge" as well as the "sciences of man" that inform techniques aimed at the body (Foucault, 1979: 305; see also Burchell, Gordon, and Miller 1991; Garland, 1990: 137–39).

As trajectories of power transfer the body from the spectacle to the prison, it becomes embedded into the body politic, where that force creates a political technology controlling the general population, or the entire social body. In his conclusion, Foucault (1979: 297) meditates on “the carceral,” in which modern society is marked by a series of institutions beyond the frontiers of criminal law, constituting a carceral archipelago. That immense punitive continuum is reduced to a subtle, graduated carceral net in which there are compact sites as well as separate and diffused methods of control. Garland is indeed correct to point out that *Discipline and Punish* should not be treated primarily as a historical text (1990: 162). Rather, it provides a source for theoretical and cultural critique, initiating new ways to think about social institutions. Garland also insists that Foucault’s account of penal history is “perspectival”—that is, it views phenomena through the lens of power-knowledge and the body (152; see also Spierenburg, 1984):

Foucault’s description of Western liberal democracy as a society of surveillance, disciplined from end to end, is deliberately reminiscent of totalitarianism which is usually ascribed to others. And in case anyone should miss this implied reference to the Gulag and its confinements, he coins the phrase “carceral archipelago” to describe the chain of institutions which stretches from the prison. (Garland, 1990: 151),

As we segue to the southern cone in Latin America, it is important to note that each of the dictatorships studied here relied on a vast network of clandestine detention and torture centers. In Argentina, for example, the military junta established as many as 500 such sites nationwide, including at least 50 in Buenos Aires (Welch, 2020b). That “carceral archipelago” reached beyond the individual bodies of prisoners to control the larger social body. Whereas Foucault’s analysis seems to suggest a smooth refinement of power, case studies elsewhere offer evidence of multiple manifestations of dominance being exercised simultaneously. Across the southern cone, military regimes developed an array of technologies, including the spectacle, surveillance, imprisonment, torture, and disappearance. Those techniques were used to re-form the body at the individual as well as the societal level. In Buenos Aires during the “dirty war,” corpses occasionally dotted the urban landscape, hanging from bridges or tied to the landmark obelisk in the Plaza de la Republica (Pitt, 2010; D. Taylor, 1997). Those grotesque spectacles of state terror symbolized the power within a wider campaign to eliminate what the junta referred to as “subversives” (Bilbija and Payne, 2011). “The practice of torture,” according to Foucault, was not so much “an economy of example” but rather “a policy of terror to make everyone aware, through the body of the criminal, of an unrestrained presence of the sovereign” (1979: 49). By way of a different technology, the “fishbowl” (*pecera*) hidden deep inside ESMA served as a key site for forced labor, or a “recovery process” intended to “reconvert” the political ideology—or psyche—of certain detainees (Gras, 2010).

FOUCAULT'S MUSEUM: PERFORMING CRITIQUE

The task of rethinking and reanalyzing Foucault's work is part and parcel of a broader intellectual field known as Foucault studies. Just as Garland (1990) and many others have so eloquently revisited Foucault, so too has Beth Lord (2006) with her insightful essay on the museum. In "Of Other Spaces," Foucault (1986) explores the museum as a space of difference and space of representation (see Welch, 2015: 55–60). Lord points out that "Foucault's work has been used to promote a negative view of the museum as an Enlightenment institution that embodies state power and strives to order that world according to universal rules and the concept of total history" (2006: 1). In a direct challenge to that characterization of "Foucault's Museum," Lord contends that such institutions are positive, drawing on the Enlightenment values of critique and freedom. Toward that end, museums are genealogical and have the potential to perform their own critique through an interpretation that conceptually explicates items in its collection.

In the realm of prison museums, many institutions navigate visitors down a progressive *walk through time* that explains how penal practices became increasingly humane (Welch and Macuare, 2011). Among the subsets of prison museums are sites devoted to the display of torture instruments. In London, the Clink Prison Museum is housed in a former dungeon for debtors as well as religious and political dissenters. With its horrific past put safely to rest, the Clink is currently a place for learning, not without some amusement. Storyboards depict the Clink as a "hands-on torture chamber," thereby allowing visitors to participate. The space consists of a series of subterranean galleries featuring a vast collection of torture devices: stocks, pillories, cat-o'-nine tails, and the rack. In support of Lord's (2006) thesis that museums can offer positive and progressive lessons for humanity, curators at the Clink engage tourists by asking them to consider the pain and suffering of those subjected to torture (Welch, 2015, 2013). Similarly, the Torture Museum in Amsterdam focuses on medieval practices of inflicting bodily harm. The assortment of instruments range from whips to the heretic fork consisting of sharp points pressed under the chin as a painful reminder of the consequences of blasphemy. Even more so than the Clink, the Amsterdam Torture Museum delivers a didactic commentary on contemporary human rights:

Anyone reading the newspapers will know that torture has never been banished. In their persecution of political dissidents, the Security Services of authoritarian regimes have little to learn from the Spanish Inquisition of olden times. Yet even in the centre of Western democracy, executioners have remained in employment. In the United States of America, the very country where the Constitution first guaranteed inviolability of human life, death sentences are still executed. (See Torture Museum, n.d.)

In her critique of "Foucault's Museum," Lord explains how museums perform genealogy and in doing so foster the expansion of capabilities and "contribute to

the work of liberation . . . helping societies to heal” (2006: 11). As a case in point, she cites Constitution Hill in Johannesburg, where a museum stands within the former prison complex. The site narrates the campaign against apartheid and the epic turn in history toward democracy in South Africa (see Welch, 2015). Similarly, in Buenos Aires, debate over how to transform ESMA from a former clandestine detention, torture, and extermination center into a memorial space considered many points of view. Most prominently, in planning a space for critique, the performative option advocated wresting the site from its executioners by handing it over to artists and human rights activists, thereby enhancing its signifying-value for greater effect. And, as noted previously, that transformation has allowed a formerly profane place to enter the sphere of the sacred.

GOTHIC TO MODERN TORTURE: THE PARADOX OF PROGRESS

“Torture is a technique . . . [an] art of maintaining life in pain” that is quantitative and calculative by “subdividing [life] into a ‘thousand deaths’” (Foucault, 1979: 33–34; see also Scarry, 1985). While Foucault associates torture with the classical age, he concedes that it has persisted well into the modern era, creating a paradox of progress. A critique of torture and other atrocities carried out by military operatives is among the unifying themes at memorial spaces in the southern cone. Curators reveal how the refinement of torture techniques adapted modern advances in technology and science—such as electric shock—to complement otherwise Gothic forms of barbarity (see Welch, 2017b). In Asunción, the Museo de las Memorias, a former detention site, reflects on the Stroessner dictatorship (1954–89) and the vulnerable detainees subjected to torture. The manner in which torture instruments are displayed conveys a paradox of progress, from the archaic to the modern. A spike ball symbolizes a retention of the medieval: the weapon is swung by a chain to strike the body of the prisoner, leaving indelible marks. From a cultural standpoint, the device is enclosed in a locked display case, suggesting that its inherent danger needs to be contained.

At the other end of the spectrum, portable shock generators exemplify modern technology. During the dictatorship, torturers would apply electrical current to sensitive parts of the male and female anatomy, inflicting humiliation as well as irreparable physical and psychological damage. Unlike the visual scars produced by the spiked ball, electrocution leaves no marks on the body, thus concealing evidence of torture (see Welch, 2011c, 2009b). The collection also includes syringes used to inject “the drug of truth” into the bodies of those detained. Interrogators presumed (falsely) that in this way they could obtain valuable confessions while also inflicting intense mental anguish. Curators refer to those instruments as “techniques of State Terror.” With respect to a diffusion of knowledge, captions apprise visitors that those techniques were taught to Paraguayan agents by Robert

K. Thierry, a US military adviser. When the “Archives of Terror” were discovered in 1992, documents were found in it that confirmed that Colonel Thierry had “helped draw up the apparatus of the police state as he trained police officers for the Technical Section soon after General Stroessner seized power here in 1954” (Schemo, 1999: A-10). Correspondingly, the exhibit confirms that Stroessner dispatched Antonio Campos Alum, director of the main clandestine detention center, to the US in 1955 to learn a variety of torture techniques (ABC Paraguay, 2012; see also McSherry, 2005).

In line with Lord’s (2006) notion of “Foucault’s Museum,” the Museo de las Memorias boasts large storyboards from the Commission of Truth and Justice (2004–2008), a testament to Paraguay’s genuine progress toward a post-dictatorship society. Medical information outlines the physical and psychological effects of torture, including trauma as well as cardiovascular and neurological disorders. References to Amnesty International and the United Nations International Day in Support of the Victims of Torture mark a global commitment to human rights. Those messages are coupled with sculptures capturing the “body in pain” (see Neier, 1995; Scarry, 1985). In its entirety, the Museo de las Memorias is more than a place for learning. With evidence of a Bastille Effect, its transformation from a profane place of state violence into to a sacred site serves as a dynamic metaphor for human rights.

In Santiago, at 120 Santa Lucia, the Director of National Intelligence, Manuel Contreras, operated a torture center from 1977 to 1980. Its code name “Clinica” signifies the extent to which medical practices were integrated into the torture protocol. After Pinochet’s regime, the unassuming townhouse was transformed into an office for the Chilean Commission of Human Rights, which, among other things, hosts meetings and related events. The otherwise plain interior is contrasted by posters and drawings illustrating the abuse inflicted on detainees, creating a somber and surreal aura. One sketch in particular highlights the joint cooperation of paramedical staff and military personnel; it shows a detainee restrained to a metal bed frame supervised by two nurses and an armed soldier. At “Clinica,” interrogation and torture were administered under close medical attention to expand the limits of pain without imposing death. Empty bed frames were commonly used by torturers in the southern cone as a means to conduct electric shocks through the bodies of prisoners (see Feitlowitz, 1998). In their afterlives, those objects have abandoned their past violence so as to project messages about the value of humanity. Parallel expressions of justice are delivered inside a conference room at “Clinica,” where a painting features an ex-prisoner appearing before a judge at a trial. His shirt is partially removed to reveal torture scars inflicted on his body.

Elsewhere in Santiago, the former detention and torture center known as “Villa Grimaldi” has been transformed into a “park for peace.” The tranquil surroundings, however, are challenged by reminders of state terror and other strands of Operation Condor. Makeshift prison cells once used by the dictatorship were



FIGURE 19. "The Basement." At ESMA (Buenos Aires), the basement, known as "Sector 4," served as a torture chamber. © retrowelch 2022.

demolished by the military. Those sites of confinement have been reconstructed so that visitors can witness a history of violence. As a memorial, curators rely on a series of drawings by survivor Miguel Montecinos to condemn the torture chambers equipped with metal bed frames and electrical equipment for shocking restrained prisoners. Similarly, the National Stadium, a former detention and torture site, also serves as a memorial to its victims. Tours remind visitors of the horrors that occurred in the stadium during the early phase of military coup. Clearly aware of the power of images, tour guides wear blue T-shirts bearing the logo of the organization for ex-political prisoners. The stark design contains an illustration of a prisoner strapped to a torture chair.

In Buenos Aires, a profane history of prisoner abuse, torture, and electrocution resonates in the collective consciousness. The memorial space at ESMA provides a space where survivors offer detailed testimonies of inhumanity. Lengthy storyboards inform visitors of the role of the basement, a torture site known as "Sector 4" by the repressors (see figure 19). There, detainees were first initiated into a complex ritual of brutality. It was also the last place they were held before they were "transferred"—a euphemism for extermination. In what might be described as a modern dungeon, the otherwise "dim space was constantly lighted

by fluorescent tubes. The air circulation was limited since there were only small skylights facing the parking lot” (Strazzeri, 2010). In the words of Angel Strazzeri, who survived his ordeal at ESMA:

They take me out of the car and made me sit on a chair and then they hit me in the stomach. Then I go few steps down the staircase, they took me to a room that looks like a white infirmary. There were three or four people in there, I had a hood on. Suddenly someone lifts up my hood and tells me ‘here you have to tell the entire story, you have to collaborate, if not I’ll shoot you and you’ll die’. As I deny collaborating with them, they take my clothes off, tie my feet and hands, they make me lie on a metal stretcher and start torturing me with an electric prod. (Strazzeri, 2010; see Testa, 2010)

“Sector 4” was rife with cruelty fueled by sarcasm. Along a row of numbered torture cells, a sign read “Avenue of Happiness.” During the interrogation—and torture—sessions, a phonograph played the same Rolling Stones song, again and again (Coquet, 2010; see also Vieyra, 2010). Filthy conditions of confinement, beatings, rape, sexual abuse, and “submarino” (waterboarding) combined for a larger constellation of torture (Milia, Marti, and de Osatinsky, 1980). At the infirmary within “Sector 4,” doctors monitored vital signs of detainees to keep them alive during the sessions. In some instances, doctors injected detainees with sedatives (see Basterra, 2010; Girondo, 2010; Lewin, 1985). As Foucault observed, the modernization of punishment was streamlined through the individual inspection and classification of prisoners. At ESMA a similar procedure was followed—with appalling consequences. In what has been described as “Terror Planning” and the “Clandestine Bureaucracy,” military documents were stored in filing cabinets with folders alphabetized by name, followed by the designation: D (detention), L (liberation), T (transfer—extermination) (CONADEP, 1986).

Inside one of the many galleries devoted to cultural representations of human rights at ESMA, a collection of political posters are arranged across a long table. Themes of torture are prevalent. An insignia sponsored by an association of former detainees shows a hooded prisoner whose body is contorted into a grotesque position. The upper- and middle-income sections of Buenos Aires appear scrubbed of any graffiti condemning the last dictatorship (e.g., Recoleta, Barrio Norte). In contrast, working-class neighborhoods, such as San Telmo, contain political graffiti to remind the community of the profane past of the last dictatorship. One such stencil parodies the “James Bond” of torture, who is shown equipped with a pistol and electric prod along with the caption “a license to shock.” As post-conflict cultures, the cities in the southern cone rely on former detention centers to condemn the military dictatorships. In their afterlives, those sites activate memory so as to remember the victims of tyranny. As we segue to Northern Ireland, similar controversies over torture are critiqued in ways that advance an understanding of state violence in an otherwise democratic society.

FIVE TECHNIQUES OF DEEP-INTERROGATION

In *Formations of Violence*, Allen Feldman offers a narrative on the body alongside the political terror in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. His extensive analysis spans from urban guerrilla warfare to state rituals of torture practiced in interrogation centers and maximum security prisons. Toward that end, Feldman uses Foucauldian concepts to advance a performative theory of social life—and conflict. *Formations of Violence* is a study of surfaces, representing “sites, stages, and templates upon which history is constructed as a cultural object” (1991: 2). Much like Lotman (2000), who recognized the dynamic significance of the boundary, Feldman finds that surfaces and sites of hostility are “frequently located at the edge of social order” (1991: 2). Still, those surface expressions of political violence are symptomatic of deeper socio-economic and ideological conditions.

In Belfast during the Troubles, the noise of British military vehicles patrolling Catholic enclaves was unmistakable, an ominous signal of impending house raids. Predawn arrests were “spectacles . . . a display of colonizing power and the command of territory. . . . [They functioned] as a disciplinary incision onto populations and topographies” (Feldman, 1991: 89). Arrest is indeed a performative projection of power, and Feldman is keen to recall Foucault’s example of public execution as a “policy of terror to make everyone aware through the body of the criminal, of the unrestrained presence of the sovereign. The public execution did not reestablish justice; it reactivated power” (1979: 49). Arrest, according to Feldman, is “the political art of individualizing disorder” (1991: 109). The body of the subject becomes the “walking panoptic presence of that state in a community that wishes to evade full panopticism” (1991: 109). Feldman draws parallels with Argentina’s death squads and disappearances, which injected fear into the social body so as to background violence as the assumed basis for an entire domain of social interaction (1991: 109–10; see also Timerman, 1982: 52).

During the Troubles, powers of arrest and interrogation were means of collecting information on individuals and communities perceived as a threat to social order; those targets were then systematically monitored and surveilled (Hillyard, 1983). The interrogation became one of many rituals of state power, which Feldman (1991) refers to as ceremonies of verification. In the early 1970s, officers in the Special Branch in Northern Ireland received elite training from the British army and intelligence services. The techniques they learned had been in use in other societies under British colonial occupation (e.g., Kenya, Cyprus, Malaya) (Taylor, 2001). Their aim was to “soften” the subject during interrogation in ways that would unfasten personality and impede resistance (see Welch, 2017b, 2016c). In Northern Ireland, those techniques were modeled on methods refined by the KGB. By contrast to Soviet procedures, Ulster methods were “more severe versions of the isolation technique. . . . The components of the process [included] isolation, sleep deprivation, non-specific threat, depersonalization, inadequate diet and

in many occasions physical brutality” (Shallice, 1973: 390; see also Adams, 1997; Campbell, McKeown, and O’Hagan, 1998).

As a ceremony of verification, that protocol would come to be known as the Five Techniques—or Deep-Interrogation—administered during a series of mass arrests and imprisonments without trial. The campaign was launched by Operation Demetrius, between August 9 and 10 (1971), over the course of which the government detained about 350 men, mostly Catholics. To reiterate, arrests are displays of colonizing power and the command of territory (Feldman, 1991: 89). On August 9, Jim Auld was strolling home in his Nationalist neighborhood in West Belfast after a night of drinking pints and dancing to rock tunes. When he reached his parents’ house at 3:30 a.m. the lights were still on and the door was open—and inside awaited a man with a rifle. Soldiers ambushed Auld and transported him to a secret interrogation facility (Eldemire, 2018).

Auld and 13 other Irish Catholic men were selected for special treatment authorized by top British intelligence officers, becoming guinea pigs for the Five Techniques (i.e., hooding, stress positions, white noise, sleep deprivation, and deprivation of food and water) (Eldemire, 2018; McGuffin, 1974). The ceremony of verification rested on the presumption that Auld—and the other detainees—knew the identity of IRA volunteers. As an initiation ritual to interrogation, Auld was hooded by his captors and loaded onto a helicopter. Once airborne, a soldier kicked him out and seconds later he hit the ground. The aircraft was hovering just six feet off the ground. Once inside the interrogation center, a doctor examined Auld and determined him fit for interrogation. “To this day, Auld is still in disbelief. ‘A human being looked at me and approved me to be tortured’” (Eldemire, 2018). In addition to the other techniques, Auld was subjected to wall standing, a form of stress position in which detainees were forced to lean against a wall with their fingers spread. If they moved or fell, they were beaten and placed back into position. After a while, Auld said that he didn’t mind the beatings, as they “were allowing your blood to circulate and giving you a relief from the heavy numbness . . . this went on for at least seven days and nights” (Eldemire, 2018).

Auld had a hood placed over his head throughout much of his captivity. Along with the others subjected to “Deep-Interrogation,” he became known as one of the “Hooded Men.” Auld recalls having the hood removed only once and that a bright light was shined into his eyes. A voice repeated the same question: “Who do you know in the IRA? . . . It was something out of a movie” (Eldemire, 2018). During his confinement, Auld lost consciousness and hallucinated. He did not have access to a toilet, was fed only once, and was not given water for three days. Compounding his ordeal, industrial noise swirled in the background. Auld attempted suicide by bashing his head against a heating pipe. When he awoke, he realized he could not escape the nightmare. “He was still alive” (Eldemire, 2018). Auld was later transferred to another facility for nine months then to a mental hospital to treat his frequent blackouts, symptomatic of post-traumatic syndrome. With more than

350 men rounded up, it is not clear why Auld, from West Belfast, was targeted. However, there is some speculation that geography was considered. McGuffin (1974) reports that initially men from different provinces were selected for “Deep-Interrogation.” Hence, the motives behind the roundup are a reminder that colonizing power operates to command territory (Feldman, 1991; Taylor, 1980).

The Five Techniques have been duplicated elsewhere. Citing the 1978 decision *Ireland v. United Kingdom*, 1978, which stated that the methods did not constitute torture, the US defended its “enhanced interrogation” program for the global war on terror. The policy subjected detainees to an American version of the Five Techniques in Afghanistan, Iraq, Guantanamo Bay, and other black sites (Welch, 2009b, 2016c, 2017b). Also in Iraq, British troops reinvigorated the Five Techniques against civilians, resulting in fatal injuries (Corrigan, 2014). More than 20 years after undergoing the Five Techniques, Jim Auld was disheartened to learn that other detainees had been similarly victimized. When he learned about the fate of Moazzam Begg, a former Guantanamo detainee, he reached out to him. Auld and Begg exchanged their inner thoughts and experiences in captivity. This was a rare opportunity, since Auld had been reluctant to discuss his past with anyone else: “It’s not great dinner conversation” (Eldemire, 2018). Begg, a British national, has lectured extensively about his years being detained—without charge—by the US military in Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay (2007; see also Slahi, 2007). His London-based group, Cage, campaigns against abuses of counterterrorism powers. Auld still regrets the original decision by the European Court of Human Rights: “It could have set a precedent, establishing that any use of the Five Techniques after 1978 amounted to torture” (Eldemire, 2018). In Belfast, Auld facilitates conflict resolution, persuading dissident Republicans from resorting to the rituals of reprisal. In one such instance, Auld traveled to Derry to “dissuade someone from delivering a ‘kneecapping,’ the trademark paramilitary punishment of shooting someone in the knee” (Eldemire, 2018).

Memory of the “Hooded Men” resonates in human rights activism and also threads through other cultural representations, such as the visual arts. In 2016, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Brussels) hosted a major retrospective titled “Uncensored Photographs” by Andres Serrano, whose work critiques inhumanity by scanning the imagery of intolerance and barbarism (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 2016). When the Abu Ghraib prison scandal erupted in 2005, Serrano thought about reenacting scenes of medieval torture that would illustrate the persistence of cruelty into the modern age. Juxtaposed with staged photographs of Iraqi detainees is a series of portraits of the “Hooded Men,” whom Serrano invited to participate by having them photographed while hooded. “I brought a black hood with me, like the ones placed over their heads during the entire time of their detainment,” says Serrano. “They were shocked, because it was reliving something they never wanted to go through again. We talked for a while and then they said, ‘Let’s do it.’ I was very grateful to them—that was very difficult” (Terziyska, 2019).

In Belfast the legacy of the “Hooded Men,” the Five Techniques, and internment (detention without trial) resides in the collective memory. At the Irish Republican History Museum, a reminder of the ceremony of verification is expressed through a copy of a local newspaper resting inside a glass display case. Under the banner headline “Torture Resumes at Castlereagh,” the article explains that the RUC interrogation center had reopened after a seven-month period during which the government ceased the Interim Custody Orders for internment. Security forces had now resumed the “screening” process:

“Screening” is a euphemism for the arrest and interrogation of persons from Catholic areas for intelligence-gathering. Despite their innocence, their release is made to depend on their giving information about their neighbours. This blackmail is often carried further by threats that unless they feed information regularly to the security forces, they will be interned or charged or “dumped” in hostile areas or handed over to the paramilitary organizations in their own areas with the label “informer” attached to them. (*Republican News*, 1975: 1; see also Taylor, 1980)

Also in the Irish Republican History Museum, a mock prison cell replicates the Armagh prison that held women political prisoners during the Troubles. On a T-shirt unfurled on a prison cot is the message “Stop Strip Searches,” with a sketch of a naked female prisoner being kneed by a guard. The museum’s collection also holds a widely circulated poster with a photograph of then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher captioned “Wanted for murder and torture of Irish prisoners.” Another poster announces that “Over 100 Republican Prisoners in Belfast” are being held in the Crumlin Road Jail, 70 of them confined to the “A” wing of that “Bastille” serving sentences of penal servitude ranging up to 15 years. These images and messages constitute a cultural space for collective memory that condemns political oppression of the Irish people in Northern Ireland. As Feldman (1991) observes, resistance to colonial power and its command of territory inflicts a disciplinary incision on populations and topographies.

POWER UNDERGROUND

As another example of rethinking and reworking Foucault, Alford (2000) asks this bold question: What would it matter if everything Foucault said about prison were wrong? Alford begins by noting that Foucault called *Discipline and Punish* his first book, not because it was actually his first but because it best embodied his theory (see Macey, 1993). In particular, *Discipline and Punish* provided a platform for Foucault’s notion of capillary power, which reaches so deep into individuals that it shapes who they become (see Foucault, 1980). Capillary power also implies that control migrates from the margins to the center of society. That perspective departs from the classical Weberian concept of power, which argues for a top-to-bottom trajectory. Alford intervenes, proposing that with respect to the prison, false dichotomies have derailed both prevailing theses: capillary versus

centralized power, Foucault versus Weber. Moreover, the distinction between margin and center is also faulty. “Margin to center, or center to margin, each assumes that center and margin are places from which one moves, one way or another. What if they are not? What if center and margin are the axes along which power constantly travels?” (Alford, 2000: 126).

Testing that phenomenon, Alford outlines his fieldwork, which he conducted inside a maximum security prison consisting of a series of tunnels (Patuxent Institution, Maryland). There, he observed: “All life is underground. So is power. . . . The real power is exerted underground, in and through the tunnels that connect buildings, making it unnecessary for guard or prisoner to set foot on the surface of the earth” (2000: 130). Alford theorizes that prisons represent not power originating at the margins, but “power that has been moved to the margins from the center, while losing none of its centrality” (2000:139). For instance, relocating a public execution to the prison basement is not a refinement of power; rather, it is a veiling of it. And it is the veil that best exemplifies modern power. The veil not only intensifies reality but also conceals it. Alford does not refute Foucault together. Instead, he simply explains that capillary power moves in both directions and that, consistent with the curve of civilization, brutality and tyranny are displaced to the margins of society, where their inhumanity is less visible (see also Elias, 2005):

Power has not therefore become more subtle. Power has just gone underground, like the tunnels at Patuxent prison. The ruler still rules, he rules underground. This means that he is able to emerge anywhere in an instant, but generally does not have to, precisely because we know he is there. This is not the same thing as internalizing the gaze, but more like swallowing the sword. (Alford, 2000: 140)

Even Foucault recognized the tyranny of incarceration, embarking on an inquiry to expose the horrific conditions inside French prisons, where men were literally chained in their cells. Foucault and his colleagues were less intent on challenging the tyranny of the panopticon and more committed to uncovering the tyranny of the dungeon (Groupe d’Information sur les Prisons, 1971; see also Welch 2011b, 2010b). Alford reiterates that it is important to realize that power is on the move and that its pathway is the axis connecting the center and margin. For him the tunnel is a better metaphor than the gaze. Alford emphasizes that disciplinary power is very real and very significant, especially since it is attached to political power—“the power to rule. This too is what the tunnels represent” (Alford, 2000: 142).

Throughout the southern cone of Latin America during its dictatorships, kidnappings in broad daylight served as brazen spectacles to inject fear into the civilian population. Still, most human rights atrocities occurred out of public view: victims vanished into clandestine detention, torture, and extermination centers. Notions of underground power are particularly relevant. Recall that the basement at ESMA was reserved for torture sessions in tiny rooms arranged down a corridor that perpetrators named the “Avenue of Happiness.” In *The Condor Years*, Dinges

describes “El Sepulcro de los Vivas”—the “tomb of the living”—in Asunción just a few blocks from the Paraguayan Parliament. That prison was *ruled* by Pastor Coronel, who took great pride in administering ruthless—medieval—torture techniques:

The fifteen or so prison cells were to the rear, in what once had been a separate building crudely joined to the headquarters building by narrow doors carved out of walls and ramps bridging the differences in floor elevations. The prison space had a bizarre, disorienting effect. Walls stopped short of the ceiling, columns left over from some previous construction supported nothing. Stairways dead-ended in brick wall. There were no windows to the outside. Cell doors were covered with sheets of iron with a small slit as the only opening. There was only one bathroom, on the ground floor, but prisoners were not allowed to use it. Instead each cell had a large tin can. (Dinges, 2004: 96)

Dinges (2004) reaffirms previously noted aspects of torture in Paraguay under the Stroessner regime, calling them routine but hardly scientific. Coronel fashioned a crude whip—a *tejuruquái*—consisting of heavy cable wrapped in leather. Cast-iron shackles, leg irons, and various other devices immobilized prisoners. While those methods “had changed little since the dungeons of the Dark Ages in Europe,” interrogators also modernized their sessions with electric shock (Dinges, 2004: 96–97).

Also in Buenos Aires, the former detention center that served as a transit hub for those abducted in Operation Condor, Automotores Orletti, is identified by a large sign at the entrance: “Here Crimes against Humanity were committed during State Terrorism.” Its profane past is palpable. The “dungeon”—or “central cave”—is located upstairs, accessed through a series of winding staircases (“Automotores Orletti,” n.d.). Upon entering the torture chambers, the tour guide instructs visitors not to photograph certain rooms, including a shadowy space fitted with a metal hook once used to hoist victims for physical abuse. In one such incident, a detainee “was hung from a hook over a tub of filthy water and repeatedly lowered into it. He appeared to have lost his mind from torture, raving in delirious manner” (McSherry, 2005: 115). Victims reported being injected with drugs and subjected to rape and sexual sadism (see Dinges, 2004; Feitlowitz, 1998). As a place of memory, the curators rely on storyboards to narrate the testimony of survivors. The exhibit recognizes the duality of injustice vis-à-vis justice by also posting mugshots of perpetrators who were tried and sentenced to prison.

In Santiago, 38 Londres remains a riveting place. The elegant townhouse situated in a now posh *barrio* keeps its large double doors open during the day, catching the eye of passersby as they stroll down the pedestrianized street. Upon reading the large posters at the entrance, many visitors somewhat reluctantly step into the former detention and torture center. Inside, curious visitors are navigated by diagrams showing the floor plan and how the space was used by intelligence



FIGURE 20. "This Brit." At the Irish Republican History Museum (Belfast), a poster from the period of the Troubles is a reminder of how much suspicion pervaded certain communities.
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agents. One such drawing identifies the bathroom that interrogators repurposed for torture. In the evening when 38 Londres closes, so too do its double doors. Spray painted on the door panel is this grim message: “Aqui Torturaron A Mi Hijo” (“Here They Tortured My Son”).

CONCLUSION

Adding some weight to Alford’s (2000) theory that power has the capacity to move along underground axes, Palloy’s plans to demolish the Bastille “were expedited by the anxiety among the electors that royal troops might retake the citadel through underground passages that were rumored to extend all the way from the Château de Vincennes” (Schama, 1990: 411). That subterranean unease was felt by residents living near the Bastille, who often imagined hearing groans and voices emanating from deep below ground. Ex-prisoner Mirabeau returned to the Bastille to inspect the dungeons and underground vaults for signs of a labyrinthine connection with Vincennes. He found no such tunnel (Schama, 1990; see also Funk-Brentano, 1899; BnF, 2010). In Northern Ireland during the Troubles, suspicion of underground power was pervasive in cities like Belfast, where residents (correctly) believed that British agents operated undercover (see Feldman, 1990; see also Taylor, 1997, 1999, 2001). A well-circulated poster served as a cautionary tale. It shows a man divided between an army soldier with a weapon and a civilian holding a pint of beer. According to the caption, “This Brit could be standing beside you. Loose talk costs lives!” (see figure 20).

Much of this chapter has meditated on the ways in which the economy of punishment had become redistributed, particularly in the realm of techniques aimed at transforming the body. Discussion of state violence offers sobering evidence of the persistence of inhumanity. However, through Lord (2006) there is reason to appreciate “Foucault’s Museum” as an institution that performs critique. In their afterlives, many former torture centers emanate a Bastille Effect by advocating human rights campaigns to hold perpetrators accountable. Past crimes, to be sure, are still being investigated. In 2019, international lawyers finally succeeded in having Mario Sandoval—who had been a professor at the Sorbonne in Paris—extradited to Buenos Aires to face prosecution for torture and crimes against humanity during the last dictatorship. “In the dungeons of the regime, Sandoval was allegedly known as ‘Churrasco’—a play on words referring not only to his good looks (‘churro’ is Argentinian slang for handsome) but also to his alleged skill with an electric cattle prod (a ‘churrasco’ is a barbecued steak). Political prisoners were routinely strapped to a metal bed frame and electrocuted in the basement of infamous navy mechanics school (ESMA)” (Goñi, 2019). Under his command, many of those victims were subject to being “transferred,” a cold euphemism for execution. In the next chapter, similar technologies of power are further examined, especially in light of the dictatorships that resorted to extermination in an effort to reengineer and transform society according to their vision.