

**The Chilean
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Exposed
and Condemned**





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On the Work of the First
Session of the International
Commission of Inquiry into
the Crimes of the military
Junta in Chile



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РАЗОБЛАЧЕНИЕ И ОСУЖДЕНИЕ
ЧИЛИЙСКОЙ ХУНТЫ
на английском языке

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INTRODUCTION

In the second half of March 1974 the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile was held in Dipoli Hall in Helsinki. The Commission was established on the decision of the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Chile held in September 1973 in the capital of Finland, and on the recommendations of the World Congress of Peace Forces held in October 1973 in Moscow.

Prominent jurists, parliamentarians, scientists and public figures from all continents were invited by the preparatory committee headed by Ulf Sundqvist, Minister of Education of Finland, to take part in the work of the International Commission. The Commission is comprised of over 50 members from nearly 30 countries. Although they do not represent any specific organization or state, they do represent the broadest sections of the world public. They come from different social strata, have different political and religious views and adhere to different points of view on many contemporary issues. But in their attitude to fascism they all have a common platform: they hate fascism and regard struggle against fascism as the sacred duty of each honest-minded person regardless of his country.

Man's conscience cannot reconcile itself to the crimes of followers of nazism. The arbitrary rule of the military junta in Chile, its persecution of democrats, its lawless and criminal actions are a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the international covenants on human rights adopted by the United Nations.

That is why among the members of the International Commission who gathered in Dipoli Hall, bound by the common desire to help the Chilean people in their struggle against the criminal military junta, were Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Portugal; Stanley Faulkner, a prominent US lawyer; Heinrich Dürmayer from Austria, General Secretary of the International

Mauthausen Committee; Pham Van Bath, Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Senator George Jardges, a prominent leader of the Australian Labour Party; Amar Bentumi, Chairman of the Algerian Lawyers' Association; Stepan Shalayev, Secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and Chairman of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Chilean Democrats; Raymond Goor, a canon from Belgium; Yvonne Tolman from France, Chairman of the International Federation of Women Lawyers; Senator Luis Beltran Prieto Figueroa from Venezuela; Romesh Chandra from India, Secretary General of the World Peace Council; Duchess Luisa Isabel Alvarez de Toledo from Spain; Hans Göran Franck, a prominent Swedish lawyer and Social-Democrat; Professor Friedrich Karl Kaul, Vice Chairman of the Lawyers' Association of the German Democratic Republic, and many others.

Among those taking part in the work of the first session of the International Commission were leaders of Left political parties of Chile including those of the left-wing of the Christian Democratic Party, and Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of the late President of Chile slain by the junta, and their younger daughter Isabel.

Chileans and citizens of other countries, witnesses and victims of the fascist junta's terror, arrived in Helsinki to give evidence before the members of the International Commission.

The following three items were on the agenda of the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile:

VIOLATION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS (MURDER, TORTURE, MASS POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PERSECUTION);

PROBLEM OF CHILEAN POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLITICAL REFUGEES AND THEIR FAMILIES;

CONSPIRACY, INCLUDING FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF CHILE.

The members of the Commission heard reports of authoritative jurists which covered all points on the agenda, the opinions of experts and evidence of witnesses; they looked through thousands of feet of documentary films and numerous photographs, analyzed many written documents and testimonials in order to present to the world an objective picture of the military junta's crimes.

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the work of the International Commission in the general movement of international solidarity with the people of Chile. It has become one of the guiding centres of this movement. The Commission will continue to take measures to obtain new information on the crimes which have been and are still being perpetrated by the military junta, in order to spread without delay throughout the world documentary evidence and other materials on the situation in Chile.

A verbatim report of the Commission's work would fill many volumes. This book tells only of the main aspects of the work carried out at the first session.

To Leave the Crimes Unpunished Means to Encourage Them

from the speech by Mr. Ulf Sundqvist, Minister of Education of Finland and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile

Despite the important progress made towards détente and world peace, there have been events of a serious nature recently in the international field.

In his recent New Year speech, the President of the Finnish Republic, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, considered it necessary to draw attention to the birth of fascism in various parts of the world. President Kekkonen spoke of the tragic events in Chile and severely condemned them in the following terms: "In Chile, democracy and civil liberties have been drowned in blood, in defiance of world opinion." Anxiety has also been expressed on this subject by other government leaders, religious dignitaries, including the Pope, by politicians of various persuasions and from various countries.

It can certainly be said that the unity which has sprung up around the Chilean cause is one of the broadest ever realized in the history of our age.

Such a unity stems from an awareness that fundamental human values are at present being trampled underfoot by the fascists in Chile and that such crimes, because they go unpunished, are encouraged.

The peoples of the world demand that what is happening in Chile should be made known and that a group of personalities of high moral standing and internationally recognized experience should be brought together to undertake the task of conducting an enquiry and informing the world about the truth of the situation.

It Is Difficult to Believe that Such Cruelty Is Possible in Our Time

from the speech by Mr. Kalevi Sorsa, Prime Minister of Finland

The struggle for a more just world order can be successful only if we show firm solidarity with those who fight for their rights. Here the solidarity of private citizens, mass movements and governments is needed.

There are moments in world history when the fate of a nation draws the spontaneous attention of the entire world. In Finland we have with great interest followed events in Chile, especially after the accession of the government of President Salvador Allende in 1970. The problems that the People's Unity government was confronted with were enormous, but in three years it was able to carry out major reforms which gave rise to great hopes about the possibilities of democratic development in Latin America.

On September 11 last year Chile was thrown from the road of democracy into the abyss of military dictatorship. It is still difficult to believe that such cruelty is possible in our time. The democratically elected president was killed with thousands of other victims. Regardless of world opinion democracy and civil rights were crushed under the heels of military boots, as the President of the Republic, Dr. Urho Kekkonen said about the tragic events in Chile.

It is useful that a complete picture is drawn about the events in Chile, to be distributed all over the world. Wishing every success to the work of this authoritative commission I would underline that persistent work is needed for solidarity with the internal affairs of Chile. According to the principles of the United Nations it is the responsibility of the international community to safeguard basic human rights.

Chile Is an Open Wound in the Flesh of the World

from the speech by Señora Hortensia de Allende, widow of the President of Chile Salvador Allende murdered by the Junta

During the six months of the dictatorship, the fascist military junta has abolished all freedoms, has committed atrocious crimes against Chile and against humanity—and is continuing to commit them. Lawlessness reigns. The state of internal war has been extended for another six months. And the military junta cynically admits this, with the contempt typical of fascism.

As General Pinochet openly admits, the military putschists had long been plotting against the constitutional government. I have here a cable from the Spanish News Agency which I would like to read

out to you. It says: "Santiago de Chile, 13th March. General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, President of the Military Junta, has revealed in exclusive statements to the weekly *Ercilla* that as early as April, 1972, the armed forces were aware of an insoluble conflict within the government and that on 28th May 1973, the defence plans of the armed forces were replaced by others of a defensive-offensive nature, 'discreetly camouflaged.' (These are Pinochet's actual words; the direct confession of the conspiracy). The cable goes on to say: "General Pinochet's revelations are the most important and precise made by an official of the armed forces and reveal that they were preparing for a breakdown of the country's institutions much earlier than any of the political sectors imagined. The military takeover was called 'Plan Alborada' (Plan 'Dawn') and the plan to take over control of communications was known as 'Plan Silencio' (Plan 'Silence'). The General told how he ordered the Military Academy to prepare the plans for action and to avoid letting them fall into the wrong hands. These plans were known as 'Appraisal of the State of Internal Security of the Chilean Army,' in the context of internal security. General Pinochet indicated that the success of the operation was due more than anything to the total secrecy which surrounded it. 'Until the 10th, I didn't say a word to anyone. On the 10th, I had a meeting with the commanders of the armed forces and on that day they were sworn to secrecy and the problem was presented to them. As usual, I worked until very late. I sent someone to buy some sandwiches for my wife, because on the following day she was to invite some ladies for elevenses. The sandwiches were bought and paid for, as if everything were normal. . . .'"

Why go on? This is a document for the trial of the Chilean hangmen which mankind has initiated. But Mr. Pinochet's trivial confession has other consequences too. Because the spokesmen of the military junta have continually emphasized that they took the decision to act only at the end of August when they became aware of the so-called "Plan Z," a dreadful plot which, according to them, had been woven by the Left in order to liquidate the military chiefs. As is well known, Plan Z never existed. Pinochet himself admits it. But this doesn't prevent the courts-martial from continuing to condemn patriotic civilians and soldiers in the name of Plan Z.

But this is not all. This is the visible part, fragments of the Chilean reality which the international press has managed to piece together. But the full, awful truth is hidden behind the walls of cells, of barracks, of police jails, of the stadiums where the only "sport" taking place is torture. We do not know the full figure of the dead and of the prisoners, of the concentration camps, the prison-ships, the crimes committed with impunity against helpless victims, on the banks of the rivers, in the fields and even in the hospitals.

The junta is afraid of this reality as if it were death itself. Because this truth spells death for the junta. It is doing everything it can to hide it, to suppress it, but in vain. The eyes of the peoples,

of mankind, who have lived through so many tragic experiences see right through the veils of secrecy and hypocrisy. The number of courageous men and women who are not afraid to openly denounce the crimes and the criminals is increasing all the time.

This is the singular courage of the International Commission which today, in Helsinki, is beginning the task of investigating the crimes of the junta against Chile and against mankind. We know that this first session cannot (and does not aim to) give a full account of all the atrocities nor draw the whole picture of a regime which, in six months, in a small country like ours, has already reached the worst extremes of fascism. But the impartial examination of the facts, the legal analysis of the lawless reality in Chile by this panel of eminent international personalities, will enable us to deepen our knowledge of this reality, the revelation of which strikes fear into the hearts of the junta.

The dissemination of this truth to world public opinion will contribute to staying the hand of the hangmen, to opening the prison gates and to closing the concentration camps.

The investigation will also provide the opportunity to make known the details of the machinations of foreign intervention, of the great multi-national corporations and of the intelligence agencies which are capable of organizing genocide in order to serve specific interests. Because it's clear now that through its anti-national economic policy, the military junta is unreservedly serving the interests of US imperialism and of the national oligarchy.

Let these facts serve as a dramatic warning to all nations, especially to the developing countries!

Chile owes a tremendous debt to the peoples of the whole world: to many governments, to many democratic men and women from a whole range of political and religious persuasions, who have made our tragedy their own. We are certain that this gigantic solidarity is already having some effect. It has contributed to saving lives and will soon put an end to the murderous fury of the treacherous generals.

We understand that in the cause of Chile, this powerful democratic world opinion is defending its own cause. Chile is not an island.

A deeper knowledge of the facts will contribute to the release of the prisoners on Dawson Island, that accursed spot which Charles Darwin, a century ago, baptised the "Island of Death." Chancellor Clodomiro Almeida was brought from Dawson Island, seriously ill, to the Tacna Barracks in Santiago. Luis Corvalan and many others are still on Dawson Island. We have to make a supreme effort to get them off the island before the terrible southern winter sets in and to get the concentration camp closed, because it is a cause of shame for humanity. Allow me to add one more detail: Senator Hugo Miranda, a high official of the Radical Party, imprisoned on Dawson Island, is the official Latin American representative in the UN Commission for Refugees.

The list is endless. It includes also the women of my country who are being subjected to the most humiliating and degrading harassments. For instance, Lucia Neira, widow of the assassinated Deputy General Secretary of the Government, Arsenio Poupin, is serving a 20-year sentence in a reformatory. There too is Ines Figueroa, a member of the staff of the University of Chile, an outstanding figure in the intellectual and artistic world. The wives of the Ministers, in addition to having their husbands imprisoned on Dawson Island, have spent long periods under house arrest. Female Popular Unity Members of Parliament have also been persecuted. The MP Amanda Altamirano has been arrested. Gladys Marin, Julieta Campusano, Carmen Lazo, Mireya Baltra are still in the embassies where they have sought refuge, having been denied safe-conducts to leave the country.

And then there is the situation of the simple working woman, the peasant woman, whose husband is out of work or persecuted, who must wage a daily struggle for the survival of her children. This in itself is an act of heroism, a daily sacrifice, due to the poverty and hunger which the Chilean people are suffering today as a consequence of the economic disaster into which the junta has plunged the country. Its main victims are the workers.

Yes, my friends, Chile is an open wound in the flesh of the world. But we have not lost faith.

Today, face to face with fascism, a broader and more deep-seated unity than ever before will be created. No force will be excluded. In the resistance struggle which is growing and multiplying, the light of the unity of Chile is growing brighter day by day.

In support of Chile, the peoples are creating a massive bulwark of unity which, despite the diversity of political viewpoints and structures, will be an insurmountable barrier to the rebirth of fascism.

As Comrade Allende put it in his last address: "They may have the weapons, but the social process cannot be held back by crime nor by force of arms. History belongs to us. It is the people who make history."

For Whom the Bell Tolls

from the speech by Mr. Jacob Söderman, former Minister of Justice of Finland, who was elected Chairman of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile

Why is this Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile needed? What services can the Commission render to the Chilean people and the humanity? We know that the

Commission neither has the sanctions nor the capacities of a court. But we know the ever-increasing power of world opinion. In other words, our most important and effective sanction is the moral verdict of mankind.

Let us bear in mind those famous lines by John Donne, which Ernest Hemingway cited in his novel about the Spanish Civil War, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*: "No man is an island, entire of itself, every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main . . . , any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

I think this quotation will exemplify the concern for democracy and freedom the people of the world share today.

Sanction at the Disposal of the Commission Is the Moral Verdict of Humanity

Statutes for the International Commission of Inquiry Into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, constituted on this day March 21, 1974, in Helsinki, shall be ruled and guided by the following provisions:

Article 1.

The Commission is an independent body responsible for its own activity. Its members, though drawn from various organizations and institutions and comprising a wide range of professional experience, take part in the Commission as concerned individuals, not as representatives of organizations or nations.

Article 2.

Being an inquiry body the function of this Commission is to elucidate and evaluate facts and events within the scope of inquiry set forth in these statutes by means of conscientious investigation. Thus, the Commission shall not be regarded as a court. It has neither the power nor the competence of a court. Its authority lies in the quality and in the integrity of the work it performs. The only sanction at the disposal of the Commission is the moral verdict of humanity.

Article 3.

The Commission shall deal with all questions it deems proper, concerning

(a) the violent overthrow of the legal government and the unlawful seizure of power by the military junta in Chile in 1973, and

(b) the violation of fundamental human rights and other unlawful and criminal measures and acts of the junta against Chileans and non-Chilean residents, including violations of established diplomatic rights and immunities.

Article 4.

In its scrupulous examination and evaluation of the acts and events indicated in Article 3 the Commission shall be guided by generally recognized principles of international law as embodied in various international instruments, as well as by the dictates of international and public conscience. This general guideline shall not be construed as a limitation upon the Commission's capacity to evaluate the situation in Chile on the basis of other relevant legal sources, such as the Constitution of Chile, or to present humanitarian proposals and appeals.

Article 5.

The Commission shall elect from among its members its chairman and vice-chairmen and shall appoint a permanent secretariat headed by a secretary-general. The proceedings of the Commission shall be chaired by its chairman, a vice-chairman or a person especially appointed for this purpose by the Commission.

Article 6.

The Commission has the right to co-opt new permanent members. The Commission has the power to co-opt special members to participate in any specific session. All members shall have equal rights during the respective session. All decisions of co-optation require a 2/3 majority of those present at the session.

Article 7.

The Commission shall use all methods of work enabling it to draw conclusions on the basis of comprehensive and reliable information about the occurrence and extent of acts and events within the scope of the subject matter referred to in Article 3 of these statutes.

Article 8.

In its work the Commission shall:

- a) receive reports, documents, interrogation proceedings, etc. from any international or national organizations as well as from individuals;
- b) hear witnesses and experts;
- c) verify written items of proof, documentation and other material;
- d) send observers for investigation and inspection.

Article 9.

The Commission may appoint any of its members or other individuals adequately prepared as reporters, who by summarizing the material obtained as a result of investigations, make reports to the Commission.

Article 10.

The Commission may form standing or temporary subcommittees on any aspects of its activity. Standing subcommittees shall be headed by persons elected by the subcommittee itself. Heads of temporary subcommittees shall be appointed by the secretariat after consultation with the Chairman or one of his deputies.

Article 11.

The preparations for the sessions of the Commission shall be carried out by the secretariat of the Commission. The secretariat is responsible for the execution and implementation of the instructions of the Commission. Between the sessions, decisions on behalf of the Commission are taken by the secretary-general assisted by the other members of the secretariat, after consultation with the chairman or one of the vice-chairmen. The secretariat of the Commission shall in all its activity be guided by provisions of the present statutes and the instructions of the Commission.

Article 12.

The proceedings of the Commission shall be public, with the exception of meetings concerning organizational matters or meetings devoted to the evaluation of evidence material and to the formulation of the findings of the Commission. The findings of the Commission shall be made public.

Article 13.

The Commission shall hold sessions in appropriate places in different parts of the world. The headquarters of the Commission shall be in Helsinki.

Article 14.

These statutes may be amended by a 2/3 majority of the permanent members.

Helsinki, March 21, 1974.

FROM A DOSSIER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

8756

A Hundred and Twenty Days of Massacre and Lawlessness

One hundred and twenty days is one hundred and twenty times twenty-four hours, just a moment to those who are free, and eternity to those being tortured and persecuted.

What were the tragic developments of those first 120 days?

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile quotes the following laconic reports by international news agencies * covering daily events since the fascist coup:

September 11, 1973

Associated Press: At about 1 a.m. a formation of Chilean warships which, according to an official report, had left the day before to take part in the exercise "Operation Unitas" that was being carried out jointly with the US Navy, returned to Valparaiso. The coup d'etat was started. At 4 a.m. regiments of the local garrison were ordered by the Ministry of Defence to seize radio stations and government buildings. At 6 a.m. the 2nd Armoured Division in Santiago was alerted. At 8:30 the troops were ordered to move on the capital.

Prensa Latina: At 8:45 the Radio Corporación of the Popular Unity bloc was bombed.

* Quoted here are reports by the following news agencies: UPI and Associated Press (USA), France Presse (France), Reuter (Britain), DPA and DDD (Federal Republic of Germany), TASS (USSR), Prensa Latina (Latin American agency centred in Havana), ADN (German Democratic Republic), TANJUG (Yugoslavia), Latin (a news agency connected with big reactionary Latin American newspapers). All material has been translated from Spanish.

Fighting began. At 11:00 the organizers of the coup delivered their ultimatum. The President declared he would not give himself up. The Hawker-Hunter planes fired rockets at La Moneda palace, then other weapons were fired at the palace. President Allende fired back from a submachine gun. He died between 13:50 and 14:15.

France Presse: According to military reports, fierce fighting took place in La Moneda, Allende's residence in Tomas Moro Street, at a number of factories, the Central Bank buildings, the Technical University and the *Clarín* newspaper offices. Six hundred people are reported to have been arrested at the Technical University.

Associated Press: A list of names of 68 leading figures from the parties belonging to the Popular Unity bloc has been released. Those listed have to report to the Ministry of Defence. The military who led the coup have formed a junta and have declared martial law.

Prensa Latina: The military have seized the Cuban Embassy. A Cuban merchant vessel was attacked in international waters.

TASS: The crew of the Soviet ship *Ekliptika* has been arrested and is being subjected to tortures and abuse.

September 12.

Associated Press: Armed resistance to the military authorities is going on. Explosions and shooting can be heard in various parts of Santiago. It is forbidden to appear in the streets after 6 p.m.

The military authorities have given the Popular Unity government supporters who are still resisting until 3 p.m. to surrender. "Those who continue to resist will be attacked immediately and shot on the spot."

UPI: The working people who are in opposition to the seizure of power by the military engage in skirmishes with soldiers on the outskirts of Santiago.

France Presse: The junta has passed a decision to dissolve both chambers of Parliament.

According to *El Mercurio* reports, some 130 people have been detained in Chillan. Mass arrests are reported from Concepción. There is information that those arrested have been moved to Quiriquina Island. Eighty people were arrested in Punta Arenas and sent to Dawson Island.

All the provincial governors appointed by the overthrown government have been arrested. *El Mercurio* reports over 1,000 people killed or wounded.

September 13

France Presse: The military radio station reports air and land forces engagements with resistance fighters south of Santiago.

September 14

Associated Press: More skirmishing is reported from Santiago. The city presents a sad picture: house and administrative buildings bear

the marks of shelling, and thousands of windows have been broken by bullets. There are blood stains in the streets.

France Presse: Police have broken into the Mexican Embassy in Chile and seized 300 people who were taking refuge there.

ADN: By now the junta has issued 29 orders on restoration of "law and order." The last of them dissolved the National Congress and annulled all deputy mandates.

September 15

Prensa Latina: At least 4,000 people have been victims of the fascist coup.

September 16

Associated Press: Three thousand prisoners are being held in two stadiums in Santiago. According to reliable sources, many prisoners, including foreigners, have been sentenced to death and executed.

DPA: General Bonilla, the junta's Minister for the Interior, revealed that nearly 4,000 people had been detained in the capital.

September 17

ADN: The junta radio station announced that persons failing to show up for work today will be discharged.

September 18

France Presse: The body of Victor Jara, the famous folk singer, has been identified in the crematorium by his wife. The man had been arrested immediately after the coup and was being detained at one of the stadiums. He was brutally murdered by frenzied army men.

DPA: Minister for the Interior, General Bonilla, has stated on television that 5,200 Chileans have been arrested in mass operations. He justified the action by saying: "We cannot permit ourselves the luxury of being careless as we do away with the supporters of former President Allende."

September 19

Reuter: The Chilean military have detained Jose Gregorio Liendo and 17 of his comrades in the south of the country.

September 20

DPA-Reuter: There was fire exchange last night between Allende supporters and junta troops in the capital where mass arrests have been made by the army and police. A high-ranking army official confirms that a large number of foreigners have been detained or killed.

ADN: Colonel Ewing, the government's General Secretary, has told a news conference that the official list of deaths includes only identified persons.

September 21

France Presse: The military junta has banned all the "Marxist parties." They include the Communist, Socialist, Radical, MAPU and Left Christian parties. The Left movement MIR has also been dissolved.

DPA: According to the Mexican *Ultimas Noticias*, Chilean Nobel Prize poet Pablo Neruda is under home arrest and completely isolated because of his friendship with the late President Allende and his connection with the Communist Party.

September 22

Associated Press: The military authorities in Antofagasta report that Carlos Desidero Quiroga and Doctor Jorge Antonio Cerda were court-martialled and executed.

September 23

Associated Press: General Gustavo Leigh, member of the junta and commander of the Air Force, announced that about 7,000 prisoners are being kept at a Santiago stadium awaiting interrogation.

DPA: Hundreds of Marxist books and publications have been burned.

Reuter: The military commandant's office in the port of Antofagasta reported that it had shot three men.

DPA: Pablo Neruda, Nobel Prize poet and former Chilean Ambassador to Paris, has died.

September 24

ADN: Five hundred prisoners have been questioned on board the *Lebu*. The trial of 40 former government leaders and activists is due to begin in Valparaiso.

Associated Press: Army units have surrounded ten residential blocks in search of leading figures of the socialist regime overthrown by the coup. Heading the list of wanted people are Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party.

DPA: Twenty-seven ministers and other Allende government leaders are being detained on a small isle in the vicinity of the Strait of Magellan.

France Presse: The coffin with the body of Pablo Neruda lies in the poet's ruined home amid bullet-splintered window glass, broken furniture and burnt books.

DPA: The military authorities report six persons killed "while attempting to escape" in San Antonio.

September 25

Reuter: A huge crowd was present at Pablo Neruda's funeral. People shouted their support for Allende's cause, and the Internationale was sung.

DPA: After banning the Marxist parties in Chile, the junta has now prohibited all the other parties for an indefinite period of time. A special junta decree closed down the United Trade Union Centre of the Chilean working people.

DPA-Reuter: The *Newsweek* magazine reports that 2,796 people who died from bullet wounds in the throat were brought to a Santiago morgue during the two weeks following the military coup.

September 26

Reuter: Roberto Theme, General Secretary of "Patria y Libertad", and four of his close associates have been released from prison ("Patria y Libertad" is a fascist organization which incited the most reactionary forces in Chile to stage a coup d'etat—Ed.)

September 27

DPA: Troops armed to the teeth continue combing many districts of the capital. There is shooting between the navy men and the population of the poor quarters in Viña del Mar.

Reuter: The punitive troops have killed the governor of Talca province and one more Chilean.

September 28

Associated Press-UPI: Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, was arrested in Santiago last night.

DPA: The military junta has declared a reward for the capture of 17 top leaders of the Popular Unity parties. In addition the informers are promised all the money found on the persons they point out.

September 29

ADN: Pablo Rodriguez, the ring-leader of the fascist organization "Patria y Libertad," has told a news conference that he "fully sides with the junta."

September 30

DPA: Six persons are reported killed "while attempting to escape" in the district of Las Barrancas in Santiago.

October 1

DPA: A court martial has sentenced David Silberman, former director general of the nationalized Chuquicamata copper mines, to 13 years imprisonment, and Haroldo Cabrera, head of the financial department of the mines, to 17 years, on charges of "going into hiding on September 11."

October 2

Reuter-DPA: The General Secretary of the military junta has stated that Luis Corvalan is to face a military tribunal for "high treason," a charge that carries the threat of a death sentence.

October 3

France Presse: Any person guilty of "violating public order" is immediately tried by court martial behind closed doors. There is no appeal.

Six hundred Chileans and foreigners have been detained and delivered to the military authorities in Concepción during the last few days.

October 4

Reuter: According to the residents of a Santiago district, 13 people were killed there in night round-ups.

DPA: Ten Universidad del Norte teachers have been arrested in Antofagasta. Thirty-five activists of the Communist and other Left parties have been detained in Coquimbo province.

Reuter: Soldiers stopped a delegation of six representatives of the Socialist International from laying a wreath on Salvador Allende's grave. They threatened the delegation with weapons and then detained them.

October 5

France Presse: It has been officially reported that another sixteen "extremists" have been executed, eleven of them in Valdivia. Four prisoners have been shot at Temuco trying, it is claimed, to seize weapons. One person was killed in Arica when he resisted search by a military patrol.

October 6

France Presse: The military have reported another six executions. According to an official statement, four "extremists" were shot in Linares and two in the Punta Arenas barracks. Besides, eight young "extremists" were killed in clashes with troops. Army units have detained 60 people in different parts of the country. The air force is calling up the reservists. A large number of soldiers will be mobilized to guard strategic points and conduct searches.

October 7

France Presse: Radio and television report that soldiers killed six persons in Rio Bueno "while attempting to escape" from camp and arrested another 13 "Marxists." About 50 people were detained when trying to cross the border to Argentina. Four hundred "Marxists" have been arrested in this zone during the last few days. In Iquique 14 "Left extremists" are to be court-martialled.

The Home Ministry reports the shooting of 50 people.

October 8

France Presse: Colonel Ewing, General Secretary of the junta, has admitted at a press conference that 10,000 people have been imprisoned in Chile.

France Presse-Associated Press: Official reports say that eight

people have been killed in clashes with junta troops in Santiago outskirts.

October 9

France Presse-DPA: Forty to fifty people daily fall victim to repressions.

Ivonne Delien, a Belgian who has recently returned from Chile, said in a Belgian radio broadcast that according to information sent in by employees at the Santiago Institute of Forensic Medicine, the Institute was sent "ten thousand corpses" by the beginning of October. Almost all of them were buried in common graves.

October 10

Reuter-DPA-France Presse: According to reports by the military authorities, "six Left extremists" have been killed while attempting to escape. They included three representatives of the "Left revolutionary movement" sentenced by a Talcahuano court-martial to prison terms of 20 to 45 years.

October 11

France Presse: The police have reported the shooting of four persons. According to the military authorities, another two "extremists" were shot.

October 12

DPA-UPI: Addressing a press conference in Santiago, three lawyers (two French and one Spanish) accused the military junta of torturing and murdering political prisoners. "We have uncovered numerous facts of brutal victimization," said Leopoldo Torres Bour-sault, the Spanish secretary of the Movimiento Internacional de Abogados Católicos.

October 13

France Presse: The military authorities have shot two more "extremists." The official statement says that they were trying to escape during an interrogation in Concepción.

October 14

ADN: A junta decree added four hours to the work week as a "contribution to the cause of the country's restoration."

October 15

France Presse: A decree has been published whereby people accused of Marxist propaganda, oral, written or in any other form, are to be sentenced to imprisonment, exile or expulsion.

October 16

UPI: Fifteen courts-martial are beginning to try 1,200 prisoners of the concentration camp of Nacional stadium.

Associated Press-TASS: Fifteen prisoners have been shot in La Serena on the order of General Arellano Stark, and buried in a common grave. The bodies bore burns and other signs of torture. Among the dead was Jorge Peña, director of a music school and organizer of a youth symphony orchestra which had performed under him in Europe and Cuba. The fifteen victims included 8 Socialists, 5 Communists and 2 MAPU members.

October 17

Reuter: The military authorities have banned all political activity. The ban also applies to the former opposition parties.

TASS: On orders from General Arellano Stark 13 people were shot in Copiapó province while "escaping" from prison.

October 18

TASS: Twenty-six people were shot in Calama in the presence of General Arellano Stark for "attempted escape."

October 19

Associated Press: Six people have been executed by the military at Puerto Montt.

October 20

DPA: The junta has expelled two foreign journalists from the country, after keeping them under arrest for several days. They are the *Dagens Nyheter* and *Unita* correspondents.

October 21

France Presse: According to a junta spokesman a large group of people has been arrested and court-martialled in Valparaíso. In all, another 100 people have been arrested during the last 24 hours.

October 22

France Presse: More and more specially trained dogs are used in pursuing opponents of the new regime.

October 23

France Presse: The army has started an extensive combing operation in the vicinity of Osorno. The operation is also intended to suppress peasant unrest.

October 24

TANJUG: Four Chilean Communist Party members have been executed in Concepción. Seventeen Chileans have been sentenced to hard labour for up to 20 years and two to life imprisonment. The trial of 70 people has started in Los Angeles in the south of Chile. They are accused of high treason.

Prensa Latina: Monseñor Sotero Sans de Villalba, the papal nun-

cio, has reported that 30 foreign priests have left the country following arrest on the junta's orders.

October 25

France Presse: Three young Chilean Socialist Party sympathizers have been shot in Antofagasta.

October 26

DPA: Papers close to the junta report that 7,000 students have been expelled from Concepción University during "purges of undesirable elements."

October 27

ADN: The junta leader Pinochet has stated that the state of siege will probably be extended for another eight months and martial law for an even longer period.

October 28

France Presse: Two enemies of the military regime have been killed in Victoria as they "attempted to escape" during an interrogation. Military detachments have carried out numerous roundups in this region during the last few days.

October 29

TANJUC-ADN: According to Chilean anti-fascists, the dictators are going to have another blood bath after they have staged an attempt on the life of one of their generals and in answer to an alleged call to overthrow the junta by an "underground radio station."

October 30

ADN: *Unita* reports that Galvarino Araya, a teacher in the village of Arica, has been sentenced to 30 years imprisonment for exerting a "political influence" on his pupils.

October 31

France Presse: Three political and trade union leaders from Concepción have been executed in a concentration camp on Quiriquina island.

DDD: An Austrian vicar reports that about 50 priests have been compelled to leave Chile. He said that the military were conducting searches even in the homes of the clergy.

France Presse-DDD: An official report says that a military patrol shot three political prisoners who escaped from a concentration camp in the vicinity of Punta Arenas.

November 1

Associated Press: A large number of "extremists," including Santiago Cautin, a Communist, have been sentenced to imprisonment for terms of 10 to 30 years in Iquique and Pisagua.

November 2

TASS: Rear Admiral Castro, Minister of Education, has announced the closing of all schools which train public education teachers.

November 3

ADN: The curfew has been extended throughout the province of Santiago on General Brady's order. On weekends it will start two hours earlier, at 8 p.m.

November 4

Reuter: Cadets of the Santiago Army School have been carrying out reprisals without letup against the Left forces in San Bernardo.

November 5

DPA-UPI: Military patrols have killed 10 people, six of them in Puerto Montt, during the last three days.

November 6

Reuter-DPA-France Presse: According to the present Minister for the Interior Bonilla the prisoners at the National stadium are being moved to other places. Following the coup the junta made the stadium into a prison of 7,000 Chileans and citizens from other countries.

November 7

ADN: General Bonilla stated that 736 of the Nacional stadium prisoners will be moved to the Chacabuco concentration camp in the desert in Antofagasta province.

November 8

TASS: The body of Dewet Bascuñan, director of the magazine *Al Andino*, has been found in a deserted area in the outskirts of Antofagasta.

November 9

France Presse: The Valparaiso provincial military intelligence service has published a new list of "Marxists" being sought.

November 10

Reuter-DPA: The military government has dissolved the Constitutional Tribunal, Chile's highest democratic institution set up during the Frei administration. The official document asserts there is no need at present for such an institution.

November 11

DPA: General Pinochet has reported the execution of six opponents of the military regime in Temuco.

November 12

DDD: Bishop Frenz of the Chilean Lutheran Evangelic Church has stated that "all priests harbouring Left views are being indiscriminately arrested".

November 13

France Presse: General Augusto Pinochet, head of the military junta, believes it would be "impossible" to restore the civil government in Chile.

November 14

Associated Press: The military tribunals have been granted the powers of a court of the first and highest instance. They are empowered to pass death sentences and often act like real courts-martial.

November 15

Associated Press: The junta has confiscated the buildings belonging to the parties which had been represented in the Popular Unity government.

November 16

TASS: Daniel Vergara, Communist Deputy Minister of the Interior under the Popular Unity government, is gravely ill as the result of tortures and forced labour on Dawson Island. The junta denies him any medical help.

Associated Press: General Nilo Flody, commander of one of the junta's special units, has told journalists that all opponents of the military regime who are discovered by his men are "immediately killed by the armed forces."

November 17

ADN: Armymen continue night searches in Santiago, papers close to the junta report. Another eight "extremists," mostly Communists, have been detained.

November 18

Associated Press: More than a thousand soldiers have been combing the region between Osorno and Concepción in the Andes, looking for supporters of the Allende government.

November 19

Associated Press: A large group of people have been detained in Santiago during military operations. Ten people have been arrested in Temuco.

November 20

TANJUG: General Merino, member of the junta, has reported that nearly 3.5 thousand people died during the coup against the constitutional government of President Allende.

November 21

France Presse-DPA: Almost all those working on the construction of the underground railway in Santiago have gone on strike demanding higher pay and shorter working hours. The strike was caused by a considerable rise in prices. The government put military units into action and arrested 14 workers. Those determined to continue the strike are threatened with discharge.

November 22

Reuter: The military junta has destroyed the lists of voters.

ADN: Numerous arrests have been reported in Santiago as a result of an extensive military operation in the province of Concepción in the south of Chile.

November 23

TASS: The life of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, is in danger. To undermine his health he is forced to walk undressed in the prison court at night when it is very cold.

November 24

TANJUG: A special military patrol is blocking Santa Lucía, one of the most frequented places in Santiago. All passers-by are thoroughly searched.

November 25

France Presse: It has become known in well-informed Santiago quarters that the army has arrested hundreds of people in the last twenty-four hours.

DDD-DPA: The Swedish Ambassador in Chile, four staff members of the Swedish Embassy and the French Ambassador were forced by the police to lie on the ground several times en route to a hospital where they were accompanying a 30-year old Uruguayan woman under diplomatic protection of the Swedish Embassy. The woman who had recently undergone an operation in connection with an internal haemorrhage was being dragged along the ground by the police.

November 26

DDD: An appeal addressed to the world at large says that at present about 13 thousand foreigners are being detained in Chilean concentration camps and not allowed to return to their own countries.

November 27

France Presse: The Commander-in-Chief of the second naval zone of Talcahuano (Concepción province) has ordered a military tribunal to be set up to try 49 opponents of the military regime.

November 28

DPA-UPI: In spite of world-wide protests the Santiago military authorities continue to hold under arrest the Uruguayan woman whom they seized despite the diplomatic protection of the Swedish Ambassador.

November 29

Reuter: General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalan, has been transferred to Dawson Island where nearly 30 former ministers have been detained since the middle of September. The former Minister of the Mining Industry, Pedro Felipe Ramirez, Radical Senator Anselmo Sule, and former Radical MP Camilo Salvo were taken to Dawson Island together with Luis Corvalan.

November 30

ADN: Pinochet, head of the military junta, addressed an audience of 800 soldiers and carabineros in Punta Arenas, saying that "the war has not been finished yet because there are traitors still to be found in the country and outside it."

December 1

France Presse: Socialist Deputy Luis Espinosa has been killed near Puerto Montt. The murder was committed when the prisoner was being taken for questioning from one barracks to another.

December 2

France Presse: Two hundred and eight people have been arrested for curfew violations. The police have once more started their regular searches of the residential districts.

December 3

ADN: General Brady has imposed a categorical ban on "meetings, celebrations and other gatherings at homes, hotels and clubs during the curfew."

December 4

Associated Press: The Swedish Ambassador to Santiago has been declared *persona non grata*. His banishment is regarded as the junta's reaction to the Ambassador's resolute actions in defence of persons persecuted on political grounds.

December 5

TASS: Enrique Perez, an Argentine engineer, was subjected in Chile to cruel tortures and repeated simulated executions by shooting, reports the Buenos Aires newspaper *Opinion*.

December 6

Prensa Latina: Former Mayor of Valparaiso, Sergio Vuscovic is being subjected to torture on Dawson Island.

December 7

Reuter: Between November 28 and 30 the Antofagasta military tribunal passed a death sentence on a political prisoner; the execution took place on December 1. Another 24 were sentenced to exile or imprisonment ranging from 3 to 15 years.

Latin: Nicolás Vega, former secretary of the Socialist Party and prorector of Osorno University, has been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by a military tribunal.

December 8

Latin: Ex-Secretary of the Osorno Provincial administration, lawyer Victor Rosas has been sentenced to several years imprisonment for "insulting the army and police."

December 9

France Presse: It is reported from diplomatic circles that the number of people applying to foreign embassies for political asylum has not decreased in the past few weeks.

December 10

France Presse: Nineteen people have been detained by the junta army and police patrols on political grounds during the last two days.

December 11

DPA-Associated Press: The Swedish Ambassador in Chile, declared *persona non grata* by the junta, has told a press conference in Stockholm that by now 15,000 people have died a violent death in Chile and that 7,000 are under arrest; 30,000 children have lost their parents; 100,000 Allende supporters are jobless.

December 12

ADN: The military tribunal in Curicó province has sentenced eight Socialists to prison terms of up to 14 years.

December 13

Latin: The military tribunal of the centre of Cautin province is trying another 35 people. Two students who were distributing anti-junta leaflets have been arrested in Talca.

December 14

DDD: The Santiago military government has not permitted a delegation of the Inter-parliamentary Union to study the situation of the former Chilean MPs on the spot.

December 15

France Presse: Dr. Absalón Werner and Rigoberto Achu Liendo, Communists who held important posts in the Allende government, have been killed trying to escape on the way to a prison in the north.

December 16

Prensa Latina: Another two members of the Popular Unity government, Orlando Cantuarias and Jaime Concha, have been brought to the concentration camp on Dawson Island.

December 17

ADN: Junta men have thrown more than 50 journalists into prison.

December 18

Prensa Latina: Ten employees at a large copper mine in Chuquicamata have been threatened with a military tribunal if they fail to obey the junta order to leave the province of Antofagasta.

December 19

Latin-ADN-France Presse: The Talcahuano military tribunal examining the cases of Popular Unity supporters is going to pass a death sentence on two people and sentence another 41 to imprisonment of up to 22 years. Two hundred and twelve people were arrested in Santiago in one night.

Rolando Calderón, former Minister of Agriculture and secretary of the trade union centre was seriously wounded in the courtyard of the former Cuban Embassy which is under the protection of Sweden. The police took him to the Santiago military hospital.

December 20

DPA: About 300 Chileans who have taken refuge in the embassies have gone on a hunger strike to demand the release of Rolando Calderón.

December 21

TASS: Eleven railway workers were arrested by junta men in San Bernardo, brutally tortured and then shot.

December 22

Latin: More than 160 Chileans are to be shot before the New Year under a military tribunal sentence; 49 Popular Unity supporters have been sentenced to hard labour; more than 100 people are arrested every day.

December 23

France Presse: Five "extremists" have been killed by a military patrol in a northern district of Santiago.

December 24

France Presse: The junta expelled Erik Kagstrom, the Swedish doctor, for trying to help Rolando Calderón, secretary of the trade union centre, who had been seriously wounded in the head.

December 25

France Presse: Two hundred and nine persons have been detained in Santiago during the curfew.

December 26

Prensa Latina: Beatriz Allende has stated in an interview given to the Argentine newspaper *La Opinión* that 150,000 families have been affected by killings, imprisonment and exile.

December 27

France Presse-Latin: It has been officially announced that 302 Popular Unity adherents are being held at the Concepción stadium.

December 28

Associated Press: The military junta reports that 12 women in Pisagua have been sentenced to imprisonment or exile for political activities.

December 29

Latin: A group of Argentine journalists who visited Chile recently told a news conference that tens of thousands of people there are being held in prisons and concentration camps. The prisoners are not allowed to hire lawyers or see their relatives.

December 30

Associated Press-DPA: President Allende's sister and former MP, Laura Allende de Pascual, and her daughter Miriam, who have been under house arrest since September 11 were arrested when the president's sister tried to see her son who had taken refuge in the Mexican Embassy.

December 31

France Presse: Military patrols have been strengthened in Santiago. Military units are putting up barricades in some of the city districts. They have taken combat positions in several streets in the eastern part of the city.

January 1, 1974

DDD: Among the 252 people arrested in Santiago on New Year's eve alone are a number of students of the medical department at Santiago University and director of the psychiatric clinic of the university Andrés Varela, all known for their Left views.

January 2

ADN: Ninety women charged with "terrorist acts" are being kept in a Santiago prison.

January 3

DDD: A Santiago tribunal has passed death sentences on Jorge Albino Sosa Gil, a Mexican, and David Quintanillo, a Chilean.

January 4

TASS: Eighteen Young Communist League members have been executed in Santiago.

During raids of schools the soldiers and carabineros have arrested dozens of schoolchildren, killing three in the village of San Bernardo.

January 5

Latin: Twenty-eight-year-old Sergio Leiva Molina, who was given political asylum in the Argentine Embassy, has been shot dead by a policeman.

January 6

Latin: The newspaper *La Segunda*, supporting the junta, reports that the personnel of the military tribunals is to be enlarged to permit a more thorough examination of the cases of those arrested.

January 7

Reuter-France Presse: Eighty political prisoners were executed during Christmas.

January 8

France Presse: The Argentine government has lodged an official protest with the junta in connection with the killing of Sergio Leiva Molina, a political refugee shot by the police on the territory of the Argentine Embassy.

January 9

France Presse: Thirty-five workers at the Sumar textile mills on the outskirts of Santiago have been arrested and brought to the police department.

January 10

France Presse: The junta has confirmed it is going to make the press an obedient tool of the government. It has banned foreign news agency reports concerning Chile and the military junta.

* * *

Such is the chronicle of the crimes committed by the Chilean military junta during the first 120 days after seizing power. The crimes are continuing. But not one of them is going unnoticed. Humanity will not allow a single criminal to escape unpunished.

The International Commission Carefully Studies the Extensive Documentation Exposing the Crimes of the Chilean Junta: Considerable Evidence from the World Press, Photographs, Films and Written Depositions of Eyewitnesses and Victims of the Fascist Terror, Both Chileans and Foreigners. The Following Are Excerpts from Some of the Statements.

One document testifying to the crimes of the Chilean junta is the book "Chile—Extermination of the People," recently published in Venezuela. Its authors are nine young Venezuelans, mostly students, who know the horrors of fascism from their own experience.

Americo Gomez, who studied sociology at the National University of Santiago:

"All foreigners were gathered in one place. We were constantly told we could be executed any minute. The officers kept saying: 'These are Latin-American scum. Allende paid them to kill us.'

"The carabineros amused themselves by shooting at the windows of the place where the prisoners were kept. The prisoners were literally torn to pieces by stakes and tortured by other horrible methods which defy description."

Manuel Perez, film-maker:

"After the military-fascist coup I was arrested and sent to the barracks of carabineros in the La Reina district of the capital. The barrel of submachine gun was put against my chest and the carabineros shot over my head. My hair was all singed after the shots. I saw six workers executed by a firing squad in the same barracks. Then I was transferred to the Nacional stadium where I witnessed a scene that Dante could have conceived. I saw hundreds of victims with faces swollen from beating. Those who fell and could not get

up were killed on the spot. At night we would hear automatic fire and then the lorries which carried away the corpses."

Enrique Duran, a student:

"Together with hundreds of other prisoners I was sent to the island of Dawson to build concentration camps. In these camps, which can be compared only with nazi concentration camps, the prisoners were treated viciously. Many times we were driven to the cells where we heard soldiers beating Chilean Ministers and MPs. Once I was led out of the cell and, shouting that I was a Cuban and not a Venezuelan, they brought me to a room specially equipped for tortures. They ripped off my trousers, and I was firmly tied so that I could not move. Then electric contacts were connected to my genitals, to the lobe of one ear and to my left hand. Since I was silent they began to close the contacts more frequently. They pried open my mouth and put a wire between my teeth. I lost consciousness from the terrible pain. Later I was put in a sack, and they began to prod me with their bayonets. Then they simulated my execution by a firing squad."

Elena Amaro Castillo, a second-year engineering student, described in detail how she searched in a Santiago morgue for the body of her countryman Henrique Mesa who had been killed on the day of the fascist coup. She said:

"Gathered in front of the morgue was a huge crowd of people who had come to search for the bodies of their friends and relatives. A morgue employee told me that the average age of the dead was 22. I knew a woman who came to the morgue every day to look for the bodies of her three sons who had been shot by the carabineros before her very eyes. They were 14, 16 and 20 years old.

"Every day six sheets of paper with the names of the dead were pasted at the entrance to the morgue. Unidentified bodies were marked NN. But the lists contained only a small portion of the names of the dead brought to the morgue. I hung around the morgue for a whole week looking for Henrique's body. One day entry to the morgue was prohibited because of a search for employees suspected of being sympathetic to Popular Unity.

"Army lorries filled with corpses kept arriving at the morgue. At night bodies were brought in big buses. The horrible cargo was checked by the carabineros posted at the entrance. I will never forget one of them, a mere teenager, who seemed to have gone mad. Each time he unbolted a lorry he broke into laughter and sang. I will never forget the tune—the imitated Charlie Chaplin...

"During my first visits to the morgue the dead were brought in their clothes. Later they were brought naked—they had been stripped in search of valuables."

Testimony by Raul Fernando Castellano Lopez, a Uruguayan: "Carabineros arrested me together with three other Uruguayans on September 28th. We were brought to the barracks of an engineer battalion in Puente Alto. At first I was beaten and then tortured with electric current. After an hour and a half of torture I lost con-

sciousness. When I came to the torture was resumed. I was fired at from a pistol with blank cartridges, they set fire to my clothes and threatened to run me through with a bayonet. On September 30 I was taken to the Nacional stadium. One of my companions was a young woman, Carmen Morador. She told she had been hanged by her feet and hands for seven hours, then she was beaten and kept without food for two days. When she asked for medical assistance she was taken to a hospital and raped. I had the impression that Carmen Morador became mentally ill. As for my three comrades—Juan Pobaschu, Luis Fossati and Carlos Putchi—they were shot to death.”

Testimony by Ubiramar Peixoto, a Brazilian student:

“I was arrested on September 12th by carabineros. Then I was taken to the barracks of an air-force school. We were pushed naked into the school yard and forced to stand with our hands to the wall. Then they beat us and burned us with cigarettes.

“The next day they took us to the Nacional stadium.

“Next to me was Luis Alberto Corvalan, son of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. He was subjected to cruel torture for approximately 6 hours on October 12th. When he was cast back in our cell, he was unconscious, with marks of torture by electricity on his face and body.”

Testimony by Marta Olivares Gomez:

“My husband and I, together with our three children, lived in Valparaiso. My husband worked at the local Customs House. On September 11 the carabineros broke into our house and turned everything upside down. Our house was searched several times a day, and what was not destroyed was stolen. My husband had been given political asylum at the Swedish Embassy in Santiago, so our family was made to suffer. All of my husband’s relatives were dismissed from work. His seven brothers were savagely tortured, and one of them was shot to death. The carabineros interrogated my nine-year old son and threatened him with a submachine gun. Another son, Eduardo Morris, who had just turned three, was beaten up during an investigation. The navy men who came to live in the attic of our house used it as a target for firing practice. Once they fired at my mother-in-law. She carried a grandson in her arms and she escaped death by a miracle. On September 21 soldiers shot a young man before my eyes in Viña Square.”

Testimony of a Brazilian citizen recorded on tape in Valdivia by Swedish journalist Gudrun Blom:

“Those who suffered most were the peasants of this southern region of Chile. For example, four peasants were arrested in a place called Malahue, and one of them died after having been savagely tortured. As the other three were witnesses, they were taken to Valdivia and shot to death there. The next day the local newspapers wrote that ‘four terrorists attacked a police post and were killed while attempting to escape.’ Many more peasants were killed. One hundred peasants were detained in the Lago Ranco area; nothing

has been heard about them since the arrest, and there is reason to believe they have been killed.”

Testimony by N.N. who asked that his name be given only in case of dire necessity. Chilean, First Detective in the General Investigation Division for ten years. Now living in Mexico. He was ordered to arrest his brother and was threatened with death by the General Director of the Service, General Baeza Michaelsen, if he did not do so after 48 hours. He tells of many tortures suffered by his colleagues (Juan Bustos Marchant, former Head of Information Department; German Salvador Contreras, assistant to the General Director, and others). He also describes the torture and death of persons who formerly occupied high positions in this service during the Popular Unity government: Eduardo Paredes, Arsenio Poupin, Litre Quiroga, Waldo Paredes. In all these cases the order was given personally by General Baeza Michaelsen.

Testimony by Ignacio da Silva, a Bolivian who had worked in Chile at ENDESA electric power company:

He described the demolition of the small settlement El Espejo near Santiago, how the military plundered, beat up and tortured him and other people at the air-force barracks in El Bosque, how they interrogated children. The entire settlement of el Espejo was destroyed on the morning of September 23. Many of the residents were arrested. All houses were searched, and men, women, aged persons and children were treated with extreme cruelty. “I was kicked and beaten with rifle butts and forced to climb into a lorry. All this took place before my wife and four children. In the lorry I was made to lie down and keep my hands on the back of my head. I was blindfolded and kicked all through the trip. When we arrived I was stripped naked and bound to an arm-chair. My hands and feet were tied and electrodes were attached to my head. I was tortured with electricity for 20 or 30 minutes. . . .”

Testimony by Ariel Caggiani, Uruguayan:

He presented himself to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to get out of the country legally, was arrested and taken to a carabineer barracks.

“On arriving at the carabineer headquarters eight or ten carabineros threw themselves at me beating me with their weapons and kicking me. This lasted for nearly an hour during which I stood up and fell down again with this severe beating. I remember a carabineero made me stand up holding me by the hair and another one made me stand up, putting a belt around my neck. . . . A soldier told me that he was stationed in Antofagasta, that the day of the coup d’état was a normal day. The soldiers did not know what was going on. On the 11th of September they were ordered to get into an airplane. They were given blankets, food and weapons. They did not tell them where they were going, but on arriving at Santiago they were ordered into a jeep and told they were going to a factory where there was resistance. Any soldier who did not obey would be immediately executed. . . .”

Testimony by Juan Alarcon, formerly a Bolivian: student at the Technical University in Santiago:

He was arrested at the Technical University, taken to the Chile Stadium and afterwards to the Nacional stadium. "During the night we could not sleep because of the powerful floodlights. At the slightest noise, we immediately heard the sound of the guns to threaten us. We were very badly treated, we had food only once a day... Only after three days could I go to the toilet. In the bathroom, together with another comrade, we could see the walls covered with fresh blood and bits of brain. I never thought I would ever see such a thing in my whole life..."

Testimony by Francisco Obregon, a Venezuelan student of the Technical University:

"When I was in a cell at the Nacional stadium, a man with his face covered came in. He took persons away who never appeared again. At first I thought this man might be a traitor but I concluded that he chose persons by chance. In one of the interrogation rooms I could see tall, blonde and blue-eyed men. They never spoke and they were dressed as civilians. They just indicated the persons."

Testimony by Luis Accosta Neira:

"It happened at about 2:30 p.m. on January 4, 1974. We were on the second storey of the Argentine Embassy in Santiago, where we had been granted political asylum.

"Suddenly we heard rifle shots and bursts of automatic fire. When we ran up to the window we saw a comrade who called for a doctor. It was Sergio Leiva; his nose and mouth were bleeding. We looked out of the window and saw a military man with a sub-machine gun in his hands. Next day we learned from the junta's newspapers that his name was Ismael Gustavo Martinez Mendez.

"Together with other comrades we cried: 'Murderer!' The Chargé d'Affaires of the Argentine Embassy watched everything from a balcony. Meanwhile Sergio was brought into the room and the doctors hiding in the embassy tried to help him. At 6 p.m. we were told he was dead."

Testimony by Mr. Adam Garret Schesch and his wife Patricia, US citizens who had been in Chile for three years preparing for their doctorates in history and sociology:

"We were eyewitnesses to the shooting of four hundred to five hundred prisoners in groups of 30 or 40, at the Nacional Stadium where we were detained."

Testimony by Rev. Frederick A. McGuire, leader of the US Catholic Confederation (published in the "National Catholic Reporter"):

"At the present time in Chile there is widespread, systematic repression of human rights... The motivation for these human rights violations is political rather than military. Chileans have been executed, tortured, imprisoned, exiled, beaten, intimidated, fired with no possibility of finding work, expelled from universities and deprived of their constitutional rights for political reasons."

Testimony by the French newspaper "Le Monde":

"At La Serena, 400 kilometres north of Santiago fifteen persons, including Jorge Peña, composer and conductor, were shot to death after being sentenced by court martial. Jorge Peña had dedicated his life to musical education. In 1950 he had formed an adult orchestra in La Serena, then he started a music school and, after studying musical training methods for children in the United States in 1964 at the invitation of the State Department, he founded a musical school in 1965 of a type unique for Chile, where along with their regular studies the children obtained musical training. He was a member of the Socialist Party. His two lawyers were not allowed to attend the trial and were told about the sentence after Jorge Peña had been shot, this being a flagrant violation of the procedure established for Chilean military courts even in time of war.

"...According to an eyewitness, those who resisted the junta on the island of Quiriquina in southern Chile were subjected to savage punishment: they had their fingers, hands, arms, ears and genitals cut off and their eyes gouged. Then, bleeding, they were run through with bayonets."

Testimony by the British magazine "World Medicine":

Sixty-five doctors have been killed since the military coup in Chile. Some were shot by the military junta, others have died from torture. Several hundred medical workers have been thrown into jails or concentration camps, says a letter sent by a group of Chilean doctors to the London magazine *World Medicine*.

Testimony of the Argentine newspaper "Opinion":

Clodomiro Almeida, former Foreign Minister in the Popular Unity government, is now being held in the military academy in Santiago and his condition is such that his wife could not recognize him at once. Clodomiro Almeida is a mere skeleton of himself, his clothing is in tatters and his only possession is a leather belt that the junta soldiers left him. The warders told Almeida's wife that they have nothing to feed the prisoners with.

Testimony of the Argentine newspaper "Nacion":

In his Easter sermon Cardinal Raúl Silva Enríquez, Archbishop of Santiago, condemned the repressions which resulted in the death or imprisonment of many Chileans. The cardinal said that he himself had been threatened with death. The head of the Chilean church made a dramatic plea for unity. Observers regard the cardinal's sermon as a direct appeal of the Catholic church to the government urging it to change or mitigate its actions against those who cooperated with the Allende regime.

Testimony by Reuter:

Cardinal Raúl Silva Enríquez, Archbishop of Santiago and head of Catholic church in Chile, said at the Easter service that he had been threatened and that now he was accompanied by bodyguards. In his appeal the 67-year-old cardinal known for his controversial views sharply criticized the junta for ignoring the opinion of the church in regard to the repressions against the adherents of the Allende government. "We told the people and the authorities that re-

spect for man cannot be flouted, that human rights are sacred and no one can violate them. We expressed this in various tones but we were not heard," said the cardinal.

Testimony by "Time" magazine:

In a commentary on the life under the military junta in Chile, Rudolf Rauch of *Time* magazine writes that people who talk too much or ask too many questions are simply not to be found in Chile any longer.

He goes on to say that silence has fallen on what used to be a busy Santiago. People do not dare talk on the telephone even about such things as the soaring prices, let alone the political issues. The reporter describes the following incident: A patrol stopped to ask a peasant something. The latter touched the brim of his hat very politely, as though saluting, and said, "Yes, Señor." Apparently that was not enough for the Pinochet bandits in uniform. According to the Pinochet code of behaviour now in force in that neofascist country, the peasant should have said, "Yes, Señor Major." He was arrested for displaying lack of respect for the Pinochet army and imprisoned for 70 days.

It is clear that such an incident is a common occurrence in the Chile of Pinochet. The junta makes every effort to uproot any opposition. Torture by electricity and beatings are a standard procedure. Many women prisoners have been raped.

Testimony by "Le Figaro": "Chile Still Lives in the Grip of Fear."

Under this heading the French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, printed on February 23 and 24 a report by its special correspondent in Santiago, Georges Dupoy, of which extracts are given below.

It is quite obvious that politics is no longer a commendable occupation. A decree issued by the junta more than a month ago prohibits parties to engage in any activity other than administrative; this ban also applies to non-Marxist parties. Senator Bulnes (Right Liberal) said on television that he did not see why a more normal situation could not be created. General Pinochet replied in a speech made a few days later, saying: "Those who imagine that the military measures can be repealed are nurturing illusions ... There will be no election for at least four or five years."

Christian Democrats also got a slap in the face when some of them meekly asked in their letter to the junta leader to consider certain innocuous proposals. "I shall limit my reply to this letter to acknowledging its receipt", said General Pinochet.

The above-said is in keeping with present government's policy. The Christian-Democratic Party behaves like a person pretending he is doing something while in reality he is not.

By the end of December some 15,000-17,000 people were held in about 120 prisons and military camps.

Denunciations became a common occurrence soon after the coup d'état. The new regime encouraged denunciations playing them up as acts of patriotism. A son is said to have denounced his father. A

man who had been arrested twice said he would not be able to stand a third arrest. "I would rather kill myself," he exclaimed.

You can pound yourself on the chest protesting your innocence. This is useless, for it has to be proved. But how? Lawyers are useless. Detention has no limit. Most prisoners have been awaiting trial for more than five months.

The newspapers have discovered a wonderful red herring in the case of Solzhenitsyn. The authors of several articles permitted by the junta were at a loss for words strong enough to brand the Marxist outrage. To be sure, certain newspapers have used this opportunity for hinting obliquely at the lack of freedom in Chile itself, but the majority shamelessly described in detail the imaginary repressions by the Soviet government. There was even one Chilean, a resident of Punta Arenas (not far from the prison island of Dawson), who urged the junta to grant Chilean citizenship to the Russian writer.

The press was much less voluble, or to be more exact, it suddenly lost its voice, when the body of Tran Huynh Phuong, a 33-year-old doctor, was found in a Santiago bar on November 27. I saw the photograph: burns on the forehead and temples, the nose and fingers smashed, the skin on the forearms ripped off. The whole body was covered with cigarette burns and the buttocks were one raw wound.

Dr. Tran Huynh Phuong was a biologist whom the Popular Unity government invited to help start a shrimp-processing plant. He also worked in a hospital. One more detail—Dr. Tran Huynh Phuong was a Communist.

... New grass has sprouted from under the ruins of the Popular Unity coalition after the "four horsemen of Apocalypse" had ridden over—an allusion of a journalist from the (silent) opposition to the four leaders of the Chilean junta.

Whole armies of gardeners restored the lawns in Santiago's parks trampled by demonstrators. They planted fresh flowers and generously water the seedlings. House walls and fences have been cleaned of inscriptions and slogans. Everything has been thoroughly scrubbed or painted over. Not a single announcement or a slogan is left not even "Long live Pinochet!" Only occasionally one sees a faultlessly executed white poster with the inscription in blue and red: "Every soldier is a Chilean. Every Chilean—a soldier."

The facade of La Moneda palace has been restored, and the windows are shuttered with brown tar paper. But hidden behind the front are ruins and the inner courts still show traces of the September 11 fighting.

The city has never been so clean. It can be likened to a barracks.

Workers, petty office employees and slum dwellers were first to suffer from the downfall of the Allende government. Of course, life was not always easy in Allende's time, the endless demonstrations were not all festivals and the future was uncertain and then grew alarming, but at least the poorest enjoyed privileges.

Testimony by the magazine "Stern":

"Chile Six Months After Allende" is the title of an article by

Heinrich Jaenecke in the West-German magazine *Stern* of March 21, an abridged version of which is given below.

You can't help seeing the submachine guns in Chile, for they are everywhere. Men with submachine guns meet passengers disembarking at Santiago airport and stop them on their way to town. Submachine guns accompany a visitor, as they do all Chileans, from morning till late at night all the way from the Cordillera to the ocean. You run across submachine gunners in all streets, all parks, all soccer stadiums and sports grounds, in front of movie houses and churches, schools, universities and hospitals and of course before prisons and barracks where soldiers sit behind stacks of sandbags.

The submachine guns are always at the ready, always fully loaded. Anyone who tries to photograph a submachine gunner risks his life, as was the case with Francisca d'Allessandri a 19-year old Italian tourist. At the seaside resort of Viña del Mar a friend sitting in Francisca's car tried to photograph a marine on guard duty. The sentry immediately fired, not at the tires of the car but at the driver, hitting her in the back. Francisca d'Allessandri died several hours later.

The soldier acted according to instructions. The fact is that since the overthrow of the constitutional government the 10-million Chilean people have been living in a state of siege under martial law imposed by Decree No. 5 of the junta. Every soldier has the right to fire whenever he thinks that "the security of the armed forces is threatened." Since the decree was issued Chile looks like an occupied country.

What has taken place was not intended even by most of Allende's opponents. The recent events have been quite unprecedented in the "most civilized country on the American continent," as the Chileans used to call their country. It is bloodshed unparalleled in history, an end to law and order, a reign of brutal terror.

The generals did away not only with the Popular Unity, but with the entire "politiqueria," or political activity. They prohibited all the Popular Unity parties, put a temporary ban on other parties, dissolved parliament, the constitutional courts and the trade union organizations, closed all Chilean newspapers which refused to do their bidding and banned the sale of foreign newspapers. They dismissed all university rectors and all officials down to the rank of mayor, replacing them with officers (mostly retired) or civilians loyal to them. The courts practically ceased to function, since all crimes came under the jurisdiction of military tribunals.

Membership in one of the former government parties or even sympathy for such a party have served as sufficient grounds for arrest. Nearly 50,000 men and women—practically the entire leadership of Left parties, trade unions, students' organizations and sympathizers from among the intellectuals—have been thrown into overcrowded prisons and newly set up concentration camps.

The stories told by eyewitnesses about tortures list every type of brutality possible in the 20th century. The progressive singer Victor

Jara was tortured to death before 5,000 fellow prisoners at a stadium in Santiago . . . According to the cautious estimates of clerical circles, the total number of victims of the first wave of terror which lasted from September till November is about 8,000. Up to now the junta has refused to give information on the number of dead and jailed.

The wife of Manuel Francisco Donoso, a trade union leader in Arica, in the north of Chile, who herself had been arrested, tortured and raped, learned upon her release that her husband was dead. A non-commissioned officer at the commandant's office told her that her husband had died of an accident when the prisoners were moved to another place. She managed to see his body in a morgue. "There were bullet holes on his forehead and neck. His finger and toe nails were pulled out as well as the hair on his chest, his ears were nearly torn off, the soles of his feet were burned and there was a great wound on his back and traces of handcuffs on his hands."

Dr. Alberto Neumann from Valparaiso, of German descent, who had been imprisoned in a concentration camp in Pisagua in northern Chile, was ordered by the camp commandant Ramón Larraín to attend shootings of prisoners (see testimony of Alberto Neumann on pp. 58-59 of this book—*Ed.*)

No Chilean, regardless of his political convictions, had expected terror on such a scale, so inhuman and so prolonged; no one even dreamt it could be possible. The whole country was paralysed by mute horror which has not been dispelled to this day.

The whole of Chile is still under curfew which in Santiago lasts from 1 a.m. till 5 a.m. Whoever goes out at this time risks his life. Military patrols shoot without warning. Even long before 1 a.m. Santiago begins to look like a ghost city.

After 1 a.m. Santiago which once had been brimming with life into the small hours of the night resembles a grim prison. At this time Chileans are usually in bed. When they hear a car in the street these days they know this can only be the "milicos" patrolling the streets, and when they hear a car pull up they know that they have come to take someone away.

The "control centre" of the terror is located, ironically, in the UNCTAD building put up under the Allende government, where the 1972 World Conference on Trade and Development was held. It is now the seat of the military government. Each visitor is checked three times before he hands over his passport or identification card and then thoroughly searched. Even the lift operators are armed police agents. On the 22nd floor are the offices of four members of the junta—General Augusto Pinochet, Commander-in-Chief of the ground forces and junta leader, General Gustavo Leigh (the Air Force), Admiral José Merino (the Navy), and General Cesar Mendoza, Commander of the carabineros.

For half a year now they have been governing Chile as if they were in command of a fighting army, and their inspection tours around the country are very much like trips to the front. Representatives of *Stern* wanted to accompany General Pinochet on one of his trips. On

the day before the trip we were ordered to go to the provincial capital Rancagua, a copper mining centre, south of Santiago. We were warned to say nothing to anyone about the forthcoming trip of the junta leader "for reasons of security."

On our arrival in Rancagua, we were ordered to report immediately to the local commandant, Colonel Christian Ackerknecht, Commander of the Lautaro Chasseur Regiment. The Colonel greeted us in excellent German. He is a grandson of a German emigrant from Württemberg and a typical representative of those Chilean Germans who far away from their homeland carefully preserve memories of the Germany ruled by the Kaiser which perished in 1918. The colonel, who four years earlier completed a course at the Academy of Supreme Commanding Staff of the Bundeswehr, said to us: "Here (in Chile—Ed.) reigns the spirit of the old German Wehrmacht, and we are proud of that."

Colonel Ackerknecht is not only a typical example of Chilean Germans who worship the Kaiser's Germany but also a personification of the entire Chilean army. Since the Prussian military mission under General Emil Körner undertook to train the Chilean officer corps in 1896 the Chilean army has become an exact replica of the Prussian army. And since the Chileans, unlike the Germans, have not lost a single war but, on the contrary, have won their present territory from their neighbours in three devastating wars, the same spirit has been preserved in the Chilean army that existed in Germany in 1896. This army has been always underestimated by its political opponents within the country. It is organized on the basis of blind obedience, iron discipline and boundless contempt of "civilians," "politiqueros" who endlessly argue about problems that can be easily solved by means of a simple order.

This army's loyalty to the constitution has always been legendary and not once been in doubt while Chile was ruled by conservative elements.

On that same day—September 11 last year—Colonel Ackerknecht took over the functions of military governor of the O'Higgins province and its capital Rancagua. He ordered the residence of the government representative in the province to be surrounded and all officials to be removed. Since then the colonel has been running the province all by himself. The entrance to the commandant's office is heavily guarded by submachine gunners.

The former representative of the government, Luis Baeza, who was arrested on the colonel's orders, was a member of the Communist Party of Chile.

"Where is the government representative now?" I asked.

"He is still in prison."

"What is he accused of?"

"This is a matter for the military tribunal, it is none of my concern."

"How many prisoners are there here in Rancagua?"

"About 150."

As in all Chilean towns, the prison is right in the centre of the city. An inscription in chalk on a blackboard at the prison gates reads: "Visiting days for war prisoners Tuesday and Friday; visiting days for ordinary prisoners Wednesday and Saturday." Of course, prisoners may be visited only by members of their families.

Colonel Ackerknecht who commands a "state of siege zone" and is thus the arbiter of life and death for all residents of the O'Higgins province, is in a special position. Under his jurisdiction are the El-Teniente copper mines, the world's largest. When the miners strike the country's main source of foreign currency stops. In 1973 they struck against the Allende government which sought to cut their excessive wages. Trade union leaders, including many organizers of the strike against Allende, have been arrested, 700 activists have been summarily fired, and the entire managerial staff has been replaced. "In the period since the coup," said the colonel proudly, "I have not had a single case of strike or sabotage."

And now General Pinochet, the junta leader, comes to the mines for the first time. He flies in by helicopter from Santiago. There are no slogans, no banners, no cries of enthusiasm. The helicopter field, situated on the extensive territory of the mines, in the heart of the Cordillera, reminds one of a divisional combat position.

Colonel Ackerknecht's chasseurs have blocked all the neighbouring funicular railways and roads. They are reinforced by paratroopers, marines, carabineros and secret police agents with submachine guns at the ready.

On one side of a square, crowded by soldiers, are a half dozen workers' representatives who came to greet the general. They dart apprehensive glances at the paratroopers as I ask them if the trade union organization has survived. "Many members are gone," one of them says finally and adds: "for reasons well known to everyone." We are approached by an officer. "In general everything is all right here," the worker says loudly.

The general's helicopter lands. The general, his face impassive above the collar of his Prussian uniform, inspects the mine as he would inspect troops. The production process is explained to him, figures are named and his attention is drawn to production records. The General acknowledges the information with barely perceptible nods. The workers silently regard his escort with submachine guns. Not once during the hour-long inspection was there heard a single "viva," not a single burst of applause.

The junta evidently sees the future structure of the state as a kind of neofascist dictatorship. Admiral Ismael Huerta, the junta's Foreign Minister, stated at the last pan-American conference in Mexico: "I don't know how the word 'fascism' is understood today. When I was young I visited Europe where this word was applied to authoritarian, strong governments capable of competent guidance. If this word is applied to us because we are a strong government, then we are fascists."

These views of the military have, evidently, antagonized their potential allies, the Christian Democrats, who had been the largest group in the parliament, and hoped to take over government after Allende's overthrow.

This party cannot engage in political activity and its last newspaper, *La Prensa*, was closed four weeks ago "by decision of the management." A prominent member of the Christian-Democratic Party told a *Stern* correspondent: "I don't know how many Chileans still support the junta today, but certainly not more than half of those who were on its side on September 11, 1973."

The junta has lost a great many sympathizers because the "economic miracle" which it promised when it seized power has never materialized. Six months after Allende's overthrow most Chileans are worse off than before.

Inflation continues at the same rate as previously. In the first two months of this year alone the purchasing power of the escudo has dropped 40 per cent. The prices of the staple foodstuffs have risen many times over in the past six months: bread by 1,200 per cent, sugar by 1,150 per cent, cooking oil by 1,300 per cent. Unlike Allende who had all the time adjusted wages to the inflation, the generals froze wages which are now being raised only at great intervals, with the result that the wage-price gap is widening and the purchasing power of money is falling.

Workers are the hardest hit by the falling living standard.

The military react to the mounting dissatisfaction with more repressions. In reply to the *Stern's* question why the curfew still was not lifted though the country was shrouded in sepulchral silence, Federico Willoughby, the junta's press secretary, stated: "Our security agencies need several quiet hours in a day to carry out purges."

Lack of all civil rights is the basic characteristic of the current situation in the country. Arrests are made day after day and night after night—without warrants, without giving reasons, without letting the relatives know of the location and destiny of the prisoner. *Testimony by the French newspaper "L'Humanité" (March 11, 1974):*

Various sources confirm in Santiago that over sixty officers and non-commissioned officers, mostly of the Air Force, will soon be "judged" by courts-martial. According to Reuter, the junta proposes to ask for twelve death sentences and numerous life sentences to be passed. (According to other sources, the junta will demand death sentences for six servicemen—*Ed.*)

General Alberto Bachelet and several high-ranking officers as well as a large number of non-commissioned officers and men opposed the fascist putsch of 11th September. They were arrested and tortured. (General Bachelet died as a result of savage tortures—*Ed.*) According to the Buenos Aires paper *Noticias*, Generals Bachelet and Poblete, together with officers Ernesto Galaz, Patricio Corbacho, Raul Vergara, Bernardino Constanzo, Mario Oyran and Rolando Miranda have been kept under secret guard for forty-five days at the

Colina Air Base, near Santiago, from where they were transferred to the Aeronautical School.

They were subjected to atrocious torture. Their heads covered with a hood, they were hung up by the wrists while their torturers tried to extract ... confessions from them. "When they were not being tortured," says *Noticias*, "they were forced to sleep with their hands tied and were always watched by a guard who tried to dazzle them with a floodlight."

Further, according to the Buenos Aires paper, the Socialist Senator Frich Schnake and the former Vice-Chairman of the State Bank, Carlos Lazo—accused of having taken part in action against the putschists in collaboration with the officers mentioned above—will also be court-martialled.

Testimony by the British news Agency Reuter (April 17, 1974):

Fifty-seven officers and men of the Chilean air force and ten civilians went on trial before a court-martial today. The court-martial is the first of a series of trials the junta are expected to stage to "purge" the armed forces of supporters of the late President Salvador Allende.

The 67 men on trial in the Air Force Academy in a Santiago suburb are accused of crimes including "treason", "espionage" and collaboration with "terrorist" plans during the period of President Allende's administration—from November 1970 to September 11 of last year.

The prosecutor bases his charges on the fact that the Allende government was not constitutional. The key issue is whether or not the Popular Unity coalition led by Allende was lawful, defence lawyer Alberto Garreton told correspondents. If the court-martial proceeds on the assumption that the Popular Unity coalition was the "enemy", this will "justify" the retroactive application to the men on trial of the laws of "internal war" proclaimed by the junta immediately after the coup.

Testimony by the Argentine Newspaper La Nacion (May 12, 1974): "The 'Chilean Council for the Defence of the State' is amassing material to start the trial of 37 former Ministers and leaders of the Popular Unity bloc who were recently transferred from Dawson Island to Santiago for their trial. Among those arrested are General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalan, Chairman of the Radical Party, Anselmo Sule, and also former Ministers Clodomiro Almeida, Fernando Florez and Sergio Bittar."

Testimony by a TASS correspondent from Buenos-Aires (May 23, 1974): Relatives of Popular Unity leaders transferred from Dawson Island to Santiago said that the prisoners' health had been "undermined." A group of relatives was allowed to meet the patriots when they were brought from Dawson and to talk with them for an hour. The relatives stated that during the conversation the arrested told them of brutal tortures to which they had been subjected. The relatives point out that "all the prisoners look very emaciated, due to bad food and to the hard labour they were forced to do on Dawson."

They believe that the Popular Unity leaders are now in the air base Quinteros, a hundred kilometres north of Santiago. But no one is given permission to visit them there. So far no one knows the opening date of the trial. Among the political prisoners whom the military junta intends to put on trial are Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeida, Fernando Florez, Sergio Bittar and Anselmo Sule.

Communist Ideology Cannot Be Destroyed

Interview given by Luis Corvalan to the Brazilian journal "Visão"

Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, imprisoned by the military junta on Dawson Island, gave his first interview there to Antonio Alberto Prado, a correspondent of "Visão," a magazine published in Brazil, which was printed on February 21, 1974. It is reproduced below.

When Luis Corvalan came out of the barracks—a crude affair of boards—a deep silence fell upon the soldiers who quickly formed a semi-circle around us. There was nothing threatening in their faces, no hatred, merely curiosity for the man who walked with a firm step, whose movements were full of dignity.

I greeted the ex-Senator and asked him if he could give me an interview in these conditions. I looked at Major Fellay who nodded his consent. Corvalan, too, looked at the officer and the latter moved away a few steps. We began our talk. Corvalan stood before me surrounded by the group of curious armed soldiers.

Visão: Do you know that in a number of countries an extensive campaign is under way to save your life?

Corvalan: No, news does not reach us here. But I am not in the least surprised. With Communists international solidarity has always been a tradition. And not only with Communists. True liberals all over the world support solidarity.

Visão: Is it true that force was used on your family to make you surrender to the police?

Corvalan: We have heard nothing about this. We are completely isolated from the outside world. We have no short-wave radio and we are only allowed to listen in to a small transistor which receives

broadcasts from Punta Arenas. Papers, magazines, and particularly letters from our families undergo the strictest censorship...

My son has been arrested and confined in Chacabuco (former nitrate mine near Antofagasta in northern Chile, now turned into a concentration camp for political prisoners—*Ed.*) He is an agronomist and did not take part in political activities. He was tortured for the sole "crime" of being my son.

I want this to be utterly clear. I did not give myself up to my jailers. They discovered me in a house in Santiago where I was in hiding and arrested me. I repeat: I did not surrender, I was discovered.

Visão: What are the junta's charges?

Corvalan: I do not know what I can be charged with. But recently the island was visited by a certain gentleman who is investigating tax "frauds." They probably want to ascribe that to me too. But they will never be able to bring any serious charges against us. We have always defended the Constitution and it was not we who violated it.

Visão: Do you know that the Socialist Party was practically destroyed after the coup but that the Communist Party, on the contrary, has been able to preserve its organizations in the country almost intact?

Corvalan: I do not receive information on what has been or is going on in the political parties. I have no contact with the outside world. But these gentlemen (present military rulers—*Ed.*) are deceiving themselves if they think they can destroy Marxism. The communist ideology cannot be destroyed. This has been proved as many times as the enemies of the working people and the traitors of the people have attempted to destroy it. And it will be proved again, as many times as necessary.

Visão: Did the Communist Party foresee what happened in Chile?

Corvalan: We had a presentiment that it would be so or, to be more precise, we were aware that this could happen.

Visão: And did you ever warn President Allende of this possibility?

Corvalan: Yes, we warned him.

Visão: Were the Communists ready for the coup?

Corvalan: The Communists were ready ideologically but not from the military point of view.

Visão: Viewed from the present situation, how do you see future developments?

Corvalan: I believe that the present situation is a temporary one. Those who think that it will be preserved are deceiving themselves. I am firmly convinced that we will emerge from this dark tunnel, regain our freedom and the working people will be able to take the place in history that is theirs. But it would be premature to make forecasts. In any event, those who usurp power in any country should never forget that life holds in store many different possibili-

ties for the future. They would be making a grave mistake if they forgot this.

Visão: What are the conditions like here on Dawson?

Corvalan: We are not allowed to talk to the soldiers. The conditions of life are very difficult. The buildings have not been completed and the health of several prisoners has been undermined. The food is very bad.

Visão: Was your life threatened at any time after September 11?

Corvalan: I am not afraid for myself. I love life, but I do not fear death in the name of our common cause. When I was held under arrest at the Military Academy in Santiago where I was kept in solitary confinement for five days and accused of treason against the state the soldiers there threatened me. They told me I would be liquidated. But I never took any heed of these threats. The gentleman who said he was from the tax department also told me my life was in danger. But I do not consider these threats serious. What right have they to threaten me? I am responsible only to the working people.

Illegal Practices of the Junta and Its Patrons

from the speech by Mr. Hans Göran Franck, a prominent Swedish lawyer and Secretary General of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile

In what way did the political and legal structure of Chile change with the military takeover? The simplest answer is to say that democracy ceased to exist, to be superseded by the dictatorship of a handful of officers. The arbitrary rule of the junta, carried out on a day-to-day basis through decrees and personal decisions, has replaced democratic political and legal procedures.

The military junta in Chile has been characterized by xenophobic outbursts against foreigners. Everything considered "foreign" to the true spirit of Chile is stigmatized. This feature, which is so typical for classical fascism, clearly has racist elements. Thus, there have been persecutions of Mapucho Indians.

It has been contended by the junta that President Allende was trying to impose a "Marxist dictatorship" on the Chilean people and that the insurgents intervened in the affairs of state to defend the political constitution of the country. But the junta, which professes to defend the constitution, actually has suspended it and taken steps to draw up a new constitution which will obviously limit the democratic rights enjoyed under the present constitution.

No adequate evidence has been presented to substantiate the allegations that the Allende government had prepared for civil war. Had the Allende government been involved in such preparations, one would have expected resistance on quite a different scale than ac-

tually occurred. The singular acts of resistance that did occur were reactions to the military coup and did not precede the coup.

The most significant instrument of the junta policy is, perhaps, the courts-martial. These tribunals, composed of officers without legal training, are empowered to try and sentence persons accused of political offences and acts of violating public order as defined by the junta. The sentences are without appeal but may be altered by the junta. In a number of cases members of the junta have personally intervened to change a sentence of imprisonment to a sentence of death. As a rule these military trials are summary proceedings. The person being tried is, in actual fact, without defence. The defence lawyer is frequently a military person ("nombrado por officio"). When civilian lawyers have been engaged, they have been unable to attend the proceedings.

The aim of the Allende government was to ensure social and economic justice for the people of Chile. It sought to transform society by peaceful means and to achieve general welfare and better conditions for the poor. The military junta has also proclaimed that it wants to attain justice in Chile. But social justice means something different to the generals than to the Allende government.

One of the first moves of the junta was to freeze wages while leaving prices free to rise. With rapidly rising prices, it is obvious that this measure is designed to undermine the economic position of the poorest members of society. Moreover, the workers have been required to work an extra day a week without any compensation.

The steadily rising unemployment rate is a consequence of the junta policy. This rise is due to the dismissal of workers believed to be pro-Allende or workers who are known to have been engaged in strikes or have taken part in trade union activities.

Although there are considerable difficulties in finding direct evidence in the case of Chile, a number of facts appear to produce a rather consistent pattern of circumstantial evidence to merit the contention of foreign involvement in the military takeover.

The general US policy vis-à-vis Chile under President Allende's government is well known. It was a policy of economic strangulation.

Strictly speaking any government is, of course, free to decide upon its foreign-economic policy, to choose the governments with whom it wants to maintain economic, commercial or financial relations. It is nevertheless a grave affront to international morality and to the idea of peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states when the economic policy of a state assumes such proportions that it threatens the well-being and political stability of another state and particularly so when the former is very powerful and the latter is weak. Such a policy further constitutes a denial of one of the main purposes of the United Nations, namely the promotion of friendly relations between states. In this context it might be well to remember that from the outset President Allende declared that his government

wished to maintain friendly relations and mutual cooperation with the United States.

During President Allende's term of office US enterprises, multinational corporations controlled by US capital, and US banking groups were involved in economic warfare against Chile.

After unsuccessfully trying to stop Salvador Allende from taking office as Chile's president the staff of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation directed its efforts to the overthrow of his government. In a confidential letter to the president of ITT the general strategy was outlined as a "solution" resulting from "massive internal disorders, strikes, urban and rural warfare" which "would morally justify an armed forces intervention for an indefinite period." Later the general strategy developed into a detailed 18-point plan designed to create economic and political chaos in Chile in order to provide justification for a military takeover.

Various sources have asserted that agents of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) infiltrated Chile in 1970 to sabotage the general election campaign of the Unidad Popular. After President Allende was installed, a new plan, similar to the ITT plan, complemented by a number of specific actions was allegedly worked out by the CIA officers. It is said to have included infiltration in all important political parties, active support and advice to groups hostile to the Allende government, assistance in staging demonstrations against the government and financial help to the oppositional news media. This plan was to have led to a military takeover under the code name "Plan Centaur."

The facts that have been revealed seem to support the presumption that units of the US armed forces were prepared to intervene should the takeover develop in a manner critical to the junta. Circumstances clearly indicate that the United States was informed well in advance of the date of the coup.

According to various sources US Air Force experts were also sent to Chile before the coup to instruct Chilean pilots. A number of US Air Force pilots identified by name and rank are also said to have flown over Chile in a flying "telecommunications central" to assist in the coordination of the operations.

In addition, the coup coincided with manoeuvres and movements by the US Navy along the Chilean coast, separately and jointly with units from the Chilean Navy. Thus, the day before the coup five cruisers and destroyers of the Chilean Navy put to sea to join units from the US Navy in a fleet manoeuvre. Later, however, their course is reported to have been altered by orders of the insurgent junta. At the same time an additional squadron of the US Navy is reported to have been cruising the Chilean coast. During takeover, US battle-ships scheduled to leave for a fleet manoeuvre some days before the coup were anchored outside the port of Valparaiso. The reason for not anchoring as planned was said to be an engine failure.

A week before the takeover persons in the staff of the US Embassy in Chile and their families were sent home. Some twenty-four hours before the coup some sources claim that a "crisis meeting" was held with participants from the US government, the CIA and the ITT to discuss the situation in Chile. Ambassador Davis, who, according to the same sources, took part in the meeting, returned to Santiago immediately before the coup with what has been assumed to be clear instructions for members of the political opposition and the conspiring officers.

Thus a host of circumstances form a rather consistent pattern that suggests active US involvement or collaboration in the military takeover in Chile. Such interference in the internal affairs of Chile would undoubtedly constitute a serious violation of the political independence and sovereignty of the country, which cannot be justified by any motives. In addition to being completely contrary to general international law, such a policy amounts to a grave breach of United States obligations under the United Nations Charter which demands respect for the political independence of all states and which forbids the use of force or the threat of force in international relations.

The terror and persecution unleashed by the junta through the coup raise a number of questions of law and justice relating to international conventions and pledges, that call for evaluation and action, to protect the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of individuals and groups in all societies.

No impartial observer will deny that human rights were extended in Chile under the government of President Allende in the sense that larger groups of people were given the opportunity to influence their future and their conditions of living. At the same time, economically or socially privileged groups who felt that their positions were being threatened, tried to retard or obstruct the development towards greater equality in the name of liberty.

Immediately after the coup a number of foreign embassies in Santiago offered diplomatic asylum to great numbers of Chileans and foreigners. While it was very difficult for foreigners and persecuted Chileans to safely reach the premises of the embassies at the time immediately after the coup because they were guarded, a major problem has been to secure safe-conducts for all persons actually taking refuge in the embassies. The trade union leader Luis Figueroa, for instance, took refuge in the Swedish Embassy and was promised political asylum in Sweden but the junta has refused to grant him safe-conduct out of Chile and instead put a price on his head.

A number of governments have shown great hospitality in granting asylum, diplomatic and territorial. These governments have, however, in several cases been intimidated by the military junta through various outrages against their embassies in Chile. Junta troops have not only acted threateningly outside embassies but have also shot and wounded persons under the protection of diplomatic missions.

Further, diplomatic personnel, including ambassadors, have been molested in indefensible ways in contradiction to the provisions of the Vienna Convention which state that the state receiving the diplomatic agent must treat him "with due respect and shall take all appropriate steps to prevent any attack on his person, freedom or dignity."

Documentary Evidence of the Junta's Crimes Would Fill Volumes. But Even a Drop of Water Reflects the Ocean. This Drop in the Ocean of Human Sorrow and Anger Was the Evidence of the Eyewitnesses of the Mass Scale, Bloody Terror in Chile, Who Managed to Escape, Came to Helsinki and Testified Before the Members of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile.

Jose Nobrega Araujo:

"I am a Brazilian by nationality who had been invited to work in Chile as a technical specialist for helping to design a maize-harvesting machine. I was arrested on September 20. Before that, our enterprise had not worked for a week and fascist provocateurs had planted several rifles into empty premises. Then, my friends and I were arrested under a pretext of terrorism. We were brought to the Nacional stadium where we were severely beaten. Once at night I and four other comrades, two workers among them, were put into a Mercedes bus and brought to an out-of-the-way place far from Santiago. Later on I found out that the place is called Cajon del Maipo. Imagine a highway with a mountain on one side and a deep rocky ravine on the other, beyond which is a river. The five of us were brought to our knees under the blinding glare of headlights, in front of a line of carabineros.

I was in the middle of the group to be executed by the firing squad. Instinctively, I jumped up and seized the barrel of the submachine-gun held by a carabinero. My friends jumped, too, and then, not waiting for the soldiers to fire, I plunged into a ten-metre deep ravine, on its stony bed. My friends, shot to death, were also thrown down there. Though I was wounded in one leg, I managed to get to

the road. The bus was gone. I walked 20 kilometres and at dawn I arrived in Santiago on a bus. Do not ask me how I got to Helsinki. Those who gave me shelter and helped me to flee from Chile continue to fulfil their sacred and patriotic duty. I shall only add that at the moment of execution standing beside me was my friend and colleague, Jorge Carlos Ruz, a Chilean. He graduated from the Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow and spoke enthusiastically about the Soviet Union even in conditions of our terrible imprisonment.

The widow of Jorge Carlos Ruz was one of the witnesses who testified before the International Commission.

Alberto Neumann:

Alberto Neumann is a doctor specializing in kidney diseases. He lived and worked in Valparaiso. After the military coup sentries were posted at the entrance to the hospital, but the doctors continued their work.

Alberto Neumann was arrested immediately after junta officers had a talk in the hospital with two reactionary-minded doctors. He was beaten up and then taken to the *Esmeralda* which had been made into a prison ship. The prisoners were thrown on the deck face down and were ordered to keep their hands on the back of their heads. The guard changed every four hours, and each shift beat the prisoners. The prisoners were made to sing military marches. They were beaten if they sang badly and also if they sang well. Some time later Alberto Neumann was transferred to another prison ship, the *Maipo*. The prisoners were kept in the hold. Twice a day they were given meagre rations and a bucket of coffee for fifty persons.

After that the doctor was transferred to the prison of the Pisagua concentration camp, where 15 prisoners were kept in 3×5 metre cells. The officers of the guard told them: "You are war prisoners, and you will be treated like prisoners captured during war." The prisoners were allowed to leave the cell for 15 minutes twice a day. In fifteen minutes they had to wash, eat and go to the toilet.

On the fifth day Alberto Neumann and two other doctors were summoned to the camp commandant Ramon Larraina and ordered to examine "these dogs," as the warden called the prisoners. Alberto Neumann said that on orders from Ramon Larraina he was forced to attend shootings: "I was brought in a jeep to a specially allotted place two-three kilometres north of the camp. A punitive unit of twelve men was already there. Another jeep brought three blindfolded prisoners. They were ordered to stand about 60 metres from the beach. There was one prisoner for every four soldiers. The lieutenant gave his order by dropping his raised hand. Not a single word was said lest the prisoners should know what was to be done with them. They were evidently not prepared for the execution. They did not die at once but had to be finished off by shots in the back of the head. The people who were shot were thrown into a grave which

already contained six corpses. Another jeep brought two more prisoners. The execution was repeated in the same order. The commandant ordered me to officially certify their death."

Ruth Criss:

Her husband Hernan Enriques was in charge of a hospital in Temuco, in the southern part of the country. He was a fine doctor. On an World Health Organization scholarship he had received scientific training in the USA. He was also an enthusiastic medical man who sought to improve health services in the southern rural areas. But doctor Hernan Enriques earned not only love, but also hatred. The leadership of the medical association had long been known for its extreme reactionary views. It opposed tooth and nail the intention of Salvador Allende, who was himself a doctor by profession, to place medicine at the service of the people, to bring treatment within the reach of the working people. This meant infringing on the privileges of those who wanted to serve only members of the ruling classes. It is not accidental that the leadership of the medical association turned out to be in the fore of those who gave their blessings to the military to mutiny. They had engineered a strike that spread to Temuco, too. Hernan Enriques, his wife, also a doctor, and many of their colleagues came out against such an inhuman action as a strike of doctors. Then came threats: "You'll soon get Djakarta!" Putschists from among the intellectuals knew of the scale of the massacre which had been perpetrated at the other end of the planet.

On the day of the coup the chair of Dr. Enriques was occupied by one of the organizers of the doctors' strike, Jorge Verdugo, as a "military representative." In Spanish his name means "hangman," and this proved to be no mere coincidence. Jorge Verdugo sported the uniform of an army captain. A lawyer of the latifundistas, a bitter enemy of the agrarian reform, Alfonso Podelch, who also put on a uniform, attended the first interrogation of Dr. Enriques in the military procurator's office even before his arrest. Then came house arrest, the telephone was disconnected, the house searched and, finally, carabineros took Dr. Enriques to a prison at an air-force base where Major Andres Pacheco was the commander. He cynically told Ruth Criss that her husband had been retaken by "guerillas" who had seized 20,000 carbineer uniforms. The lie was so obvious that Ruth Criss kept insisting that she be told where her husband was. Then the furious major spat out the words: "Your husband is a murderer, he is the worst enemy of the armed forces and he will get his deserts."

Meanwhile, friends told her the truth in confidence: as a result of tortures Dr. Enriques was in grave condition, he even had to be operated on. Then came the news that Dr. Enriques had been beaten to death and had died from a fracture of the spine. Together with him other doctors were also murdered. But the junta went on fabricating lies. Temuco radio officially announced that five prisoners, including Dr. Enriques, had tried to seize a helicopter and were kil-

led "in an attempt to escape." Under this false pretext the junta has murdered thousands of people.

The family of Dr. Enriquez asked for his body. Lawyer Alfonso Podelch, by that time a procurator, declared: "As a war criminal he was buried in a secret place."

Doctor Hernan Enriquez is gratefully remembered by his compatriots. He also left behind four children, the youngest of whom, Marcelo, was born after his father was slain. . .

Juventino Velazquez:

Juventino Velazquez, a broad-shouldered, bronze-skinned Mapuche Indian with coal-black hair, accuses the junta on behalf of those most lacking in rights in Chile. The life of the Mapuche had been unbearable under all governments. Racist law declared them to be "inferior." The huge area over which the Mapuche live is economically the most backward, with the highest death rate. The government of Salvador Allende decided to put an end to the many-century-long drama of this courageous and freedom-loving people. They became citizens of the republic with equal rights. One of the best colleges in the country was built for the Mapuche. Many Chileans, doctors, teachers, agronomists, came to the aid of their Indian brothers. Among them was Dr. Hernan Enriquez who lived, like Juventino Velazquez, in Temuco, centre of Cautin province.

Juventino Velazquez, the son of a poor peasant, had joined the Socialist Party and became one of the leaders of the peasant movement, the chief aim of which was to attain agrarian reform.

The fascist putsch shattered the Mapuche's cherished hopes for happiness. The schools for the abolition of illiteracy were declared to be "partisan centres." The land again became the property of the landlords, and its legitimate owners, the peasants, were declared to be "thieves." The peasants, defending their land and their homes, fought with sticks against tanks and artillery, against three army regiments. Mapuche prisoners were tortured: their nails were torn out, their bodies burned, they were castrated. Many were killed: shot, burned, dropped from helicopters. Before Juventino Velazquez' eyes a group of peasants were put into a boat and drowned in the river. "The junta is pursuing a policy of real genocide against my people," said Juventino Velazquez. "I accuse the junta not only of violating elementary law and order but also of abolishing the social achievements of the government of Salvador Allende. This is a double crime against Chile and its people."

Along with the peasants, people who had helped them to build a new life—Socialists, Communists, Radicals—were killed. Gaston Lobos Barientos, a veteran of the Radical Party, Deputy to Parliament and a representative of the government in the province of Cautin was treated savagely. They shaved his head, stripped him to the skin, threw a rope around his neck and led him several times through the streets. After torturing him he was killed. Doctors were killed for treating peasants, teachers for teaching their children. "Tell me,"

Juventino Velazquez asked the member of the International Commission, "how can such cave-man barbarity reign in the last quarter of the 20th century? But this barbarity is an indisputable fact and it is the moral duty of all honest people on earth to brand fascism, to struggle for the restoration of democracy in Chile."

Dina Cabrera:

Dina Cabrera, a Yugoslav citizen, lived in the Chuquicamata mining district with her husband, the manager of a local bank. Right after the fascist putsch Haroldo Cabrera was arrested and without trial was "sentenced" to 17 years imprisonment. Haroldo Cabrera was falsely charged with stealing 980,000 escudos. Since this man had an impeccable reputation and was highly respected by the people, donations started to come in spontaneously and the money thus collected was handed over to the junta representatives. But this did not help. After inhuman tortures Haroldo Cabrera was shot together with a group of 26 people.

Dina and her four children were told to go to Santiago, allegedly to be handed over to the Yugoslav Embassy. At the airport she was arrested, separated from her children and taken to the Defence Ministry where brutal interrogations began: "Say what you know about the terrorists in Chuquicamata," demanded the officers. But Dina did not know anything. She was cruelly beaten up, each of the men trying to be the first to hit her and inflict the most pain. She fell, lost consciousness and when she came to, she was beaten again. And this continued day after day.

Then Dina Cabrera was sent to the concentration camp at the Nacional stadium. She was questioned by Major Lopez. "Where are my children?" repeated Dina. Sometimes the major answered that they were living comfortably in Chuquicamata, sometimes that they had been in a car accident and sometimes that they were in prison, depending upon his mood. Most probably the semi-literate Chilean hangman knew little about his predecessors—the hangmen of the nazi concentration camps. But he was scrupulously and successfully copying their methods. In the evenings Major Lopez sat down at his desk and, knitting his brow, began to write. He had to make up the lists of prisoners to be shot the next night.

"The Nacional stadium became a terrible hell," says Dina Cabrera, "with blood, hunger and tortures being the rule. We, the fourteen women foreigners, were kept in one crowded cell together with 70 men. Whenever a person fell down, he was not given any aid. One day an Argentine doctor who was among the prisoners, tried to help a woman who had fainted. After this he disappeared without any trace. Doctors appeared at the stadium only once when the junta allowed journalists to enter it and even staged a TV show. Of the 25,000 prisoners not more than 1,000 people were in the stadium field, that day, while the others were hidden from the eyes of strangers."

The hangmen often amused themselves. One day a gang of criminals armed with knives was brought to the cell where the women were kept. . . One night all the searchlights were put out and shooting started in the stadium. In this connection the papers wrote that "terrorists" had tried to free the prisoners. "My tortures lasted almost a whole month until I was finally ordered to leave the concentration camp," said Dina Cabrera. "And then I said that I would not leave until I saw my children near the prison gates. You know, the persistence of a woman and mother can have an effect even on hangmen. My children—the oldest was at that time 8 and the youngest 4—were also kept in prison. The world must learn about the crimes of the junta—the murders of innocent people, the tortures and violence, it must help to free the prisoners of Pinochet's hangmen.

Joan Turner:

She is the widow of a wonderful Chilean, a poet and singer of the revolution, Victor Jara, who was widely known in Chile.

An exhibition on the subject, "Prevent Civil War," was to have opened at Santiago Technical University the morning of September 11. Salvador Allende was to have attended the ceremony, and Victor Jara to have sung his songs there.

On hearing the first news of the coup, Jara did not yet understand how serious it was. He made up his mind to go to the university just the same. He kissed his wife and two daughters and, taking his guitar, went away.

Joan thought that her husband would not get to the university, that he would be stopped by soldiers. But he did get there. She learned about this from him. Victor phoned home at four o'clock and said that he was in the university and everything was all right but that he could not return home that day because of the curfew. Victor said he loved her and told her to stand firm.

Victor Jara did not tell his wife that the university was already surrounded by troops of the junta and that soldiers were shooting at everyone who tried to leave the building.

It was the last time Joan talked to her husband.

She and her daughters listened to the radio. She phoned her friends and acquaintances, trying to find out where her husband was. Next day they heard on the radio that the troops of the junta had occupied the university and "neutralized a large group of extremists." The word "neutralize" could mean arrest or killing. In the evening of September 13 some woman phoned Joan Turner to say that Victor Jara had been arrested and brought to the stadium. The woman immediately hung up after saying this.

Joan rushed to the British Embassy, asking for help. She was politely told that the embassy was ready to help her as a British subject but that it could do nothing for her husband.

On September 18 in the morning Joan Turner was visited by a man whose name she could not reveal. The man, who worked in the municipal office in charge of the registration of deaths, told her that

her husband was dead and had been lying for three days in the central morgue of Santiago. Thanks to this man, she was let into the morgue. At first she got into a room, about 100 square metres in size, on the ground floor. It was full of corpses, all with bullet wounds. The hands of many were still tied behind their backs. The corpses lay in disorder, one on top another in the corners. Joan did not find her husband on the ground floor. She was allowed to go up to the first floor. The staircase was heaped up with corpses and she walked carefully, trying not to step on them. On the first floor bodies lay in the corridors and in rooms where typewriters stood on office desks.

At last Joan found her husband.

His face was blood-stained, a deep knife wound ran across one cheek, his feet were tied, his chest was riddled with bullets: he had been fired at from a submachine-gun. There was a gaping wound in his right side and his hands had been smashed by something heavy—either a hammer or a rifle butt. A number and a notice stuck to the breast by adhesive tape said that the "unidentified body had been found in a street in the Rinco district" (a poor area of Santiago). Joan Turner filled in some papers and received her husband's body.

At four o'clock of the same day she buried Victor Jara in the cemetery near the morgue and told the daughters about the death of their father only in the evening.

Much later she learned from the people who were at the stadium how Victor died. He was tortured, but not for the sake of wringing any information from him. What information could a poet and singer have? Victor Jara was tortured because the junta hated his songs and feared that the poet could die without fearing them, without betraying his ideal. But this is exactly how he died. An officer demanded that the poet shout: "Long live the junta!" But, instead, Victor Jara began to sing his song of the revolution. His hands were smashed so that Victor Jara understood he would never be able to hold a guitar even if he remained alive. Bloodstained, with his hands smashed, he sang in the cell before the last questioning, and all who stayed with him picked up the song.

Victor Jara was killed in the stadium and then taken to the Rinco district and left in a street. This was done so that they could say later that Jara was killed by soldiers whom he attacked with a submachine-gun. The same thing happened to many of those killed in the stadium.

Indeed, a few months later, an official emissary of the junta, Leon Villarin, said at a press conference in Paris that Victor Jara had been killed in a street by a military patrol which defended itself from his attack.

However, coordination of propaganda by the junta is far from perfect. One of the generals recently explained the killing of Victor Jara and other poets in this way: "It was necessary to stop their songs. For this purpose some of them had to be killed."

A simple solution of the question of freedom of creative work! If you do not like the song, kill the singer.

A month after the death of her husband Joan Turner, with her daughters aged 9 and 13, left Chile for Britain. In their home country they learned that very few people knew about Victor Jara and his ruthless murder and about the true events in Chile. A month and a half or two months later, the papers, radio and television stopped all reports on the situation in Chile.

After Joan Turner finished speaking at the session of the International Commission in Helsinki, a British member of the commission came up to her. It was a respected man, Arthur Booth, a member of the Society of Friends. Arthur Booth said he was struck by the story of the death of the Chilean poet as told by Joan Turner.

"Did you not know about his death before?" Joan asked. "No," Arthur Booth replied, making a helpless gesture.

* * *

The participants in the session of the Commission confirmed that very few people in the West know about the situation in Chile.

We leafed through the London *Times* copies for the days when the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile was in session. We also looked through the *International Herald Tribune*—not a word about the work of the Commission in any of them. It will be recalled that the *International Herald Tribune* is published by the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, which are well informed papers. One of them asserts that it "prints all the news that's fit to print." We did not see correspondents from these newspapers in Dipoli hall, where the session took place. Incidentally, nobody saw a correspondent of the Hsinhua news agency at the session, even though he did not have to fly to Helsinki from Peking, since Hsinhua has its own correspondent in the Finnish capital.

Vasily Medvedik:

Soviet people who were in Chile during the fascist coup and personally experienced the barbaric methods of the putschists have also expressed their readiness to give evidence to the Helsinki International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile.

This is why Vasily Medvedik, 24-year-old boatswain of the Soviet vessel *Ekliptika*, came to Helsinki. He told APN correspondents the following:

"Our vessel was taking part in joint research with Chile. On September 11 of last year, on the day of the fascist coup, we were in the port of Valparaiso which in Spanish means "valley of paradise." For us Soviet citizens Valparaiso turned out to be a dungeon of hell. We were beaten, stripped of our clothes and thrown face down onto the wharf. If we made the least movement they again began to beat us. Then we were transferred to a prison-ship, the military transport

Maipo. Incidentally, the word "transferred" is the interpretation given by the jailers. I was thrown seven metres down into a metal hold and lost consciousness. Only after two days was I taken to hospital, more exactly, the "German hospital," with both arms and a leg broken. The official medical diagnosis signed by Dr. Adolfo Reixius, indicated severe physical injuries. My comrades and I succeeded in returning to our homeland. The Central Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics arrived at the conclusion, signed by Academician M. Volkov, chief traumatologist of the USSR Ministry of Public Health, and five other authoritative Soviet physicians, that I would be an invalid for a long time. I am prepared to submit all these documents to the International Commission in Helsinki."

Testimony about the death of José Tohá:

Not only people who survived by a miracle but also the dead testify to the crimes committed by the military junta in Chile. The ghosts of tortured Chilean patriots are invisibly present on the rostrum in the Dipoli hall. Among them is one of the latest victims of terror, José Tohá, an outstanding political leader of Chile, former Minister of the Interior and Minister of National Defence. His death evoked world-wide response. However, not everything was clear when the news of his death came, because the junta faked a "suicide." But here is what Señora Hortensia Bussi de Allende told correspondents of the Novosti Press Agency:

"José Tohá was not just a close comrade-in-arms of Salvador Allende, he was also a close friend of our family. Ten years ago my husband and I were at his wedding. Last December, the junta was compelled to transfer José Tohá from the concentration camp on Dawson Island to a military hospital at Punta Arenas, because he was seriously ill. I shall note in passing that on Dawson Island, in the Antarctic, the temperature does not go up to more than two degrees Centigrade even at the height of summer. The wife of Tohá, Moi de Tohá, was allowed to see her husband for ten minutes. She humbly pleaded with General Torres de la Cruz, commander of the military zone, to be allowed to visit her husband once more. To humiliate her, the general allowed a meeting for eight seconds. Tohá's wife travelled 4,000 kilometres to the place and back, 500 kilometres per second of the rendezvous."

"Shortly afterwards," Hortensia Bussi de Allende went on to say, "José Tohá was again sent to Dawson, the Island of death. A meagre prison ration—a piece of bread and slops called coffee—was intolerable for a man seriously ill with a kidney disease. Food parcels did not reach him, though José Tohá was forced to sign that he received them. The prison warders combined their sinister work with ordinary thievery. In January, when the state of José Tohá's health became critical, the authorities were compelled to transfer him to a military hospital in Santiago. By that time the man, almost two metres tall, weighed under 50 kilograms. He looked like a skeleton and could not walk on his own. On February 8, when José Tohá was 47, he was vi-

sited by his wife and mother. The meeting took place in the presence of General Arellano Stark, a junta leader known for his special cruelty. To encourage her elder son, whom she tenderly called Pepe, the diminutive for José, she asked: 'Pepe, what are you going to do after you are discharged from the hospital?' Almost speechless, José Tohá whispered: 'What are you talking about? The junta regards us as criminals.' He no sooner said this than the general gave a rude shout.

"A few days before he died, José Tohá said to one of the men in the hospital staff, who had remained a human being: 'Take me out of here, they are killing me.' An infamous version was soon spread that José Tohá had committed suicide, that he had hanged himself in the prison cell. This version was fantastically absurd: a man almost two metres tall could not hang himself in a cell. What's more, José Tohá could move only in a wheel chair. Then the junta hastily fabricated another version of his alleged suicide, no less absurd than the first one. The truth is, however, that one of the former comrades-in-arms of Salvador Allende was killed in cold blood. General Alberto Bachelet who remained loyal to the constitutional principles was also brutally murdered. This patriot who suffered from a heart disease was subjected to countless tortures. He was tortured even on the day before he died."

Notification from Helsinki to Señor Daniel Ivaceta

by G. Borovik and K. Khachaturov, "Komsomolskaya pravda,"
March 24, 1974

Open letters are not written to hangmen. It would be unworthy of a man to admonish the commandant of Auschwitz, to appeal to the conscience of those who opened the gas cylinders in Majdanek, to ask for clemency those who burned children in the Dachau furnaces.

We do not write a letter to Señor Daniel Ivaceta. Let him regard this document, which we are sure will reach him from Helsinki, as a *notification*.

A notification that we know, Señor Ivaceta, how you interrogated and tortured Ana Alicia Flores, 25, a physical training teacher in Santiago, a Chilean woman, wife of Manuel Matamoros who was a bank manager in Chile under the government of President Allende.*

At first you interrogated her in the former office of her husband. You wanted to learn where he was. She was silent. Then you took her to the Zañartu police station, where you continued to interrogate

* The facts described below were testified by Ana Alicia Flores, member of the International Commission.

her in the presence of several soldiers. Apparently you thought that these soldiers would scare the young woman. But she continued to keep silent. Then you tried something else. You put the same question: "Where is your husband?" You waited for a few seconds, and when she did not answer, you stripped off part of her clothes. You hit her on the head and on the chest. You wound her hair around a fist, threw her head back and struck her in the face.

She did not answer you. Only once she asked you not to strike her on the head because a few months previously she had had a delicate eye operation.

She no sooner said it than she understood her folly—from that moment on you, Señor Daniel Ivaceta, began to strike her right on the head.

All of a sudden you and the soldiers left the room, and she was left alone, thinking her sufferings ended. But she was mistaken again. You left her alone only for ten minutes, and then you brought her to another room a storey or two downstairs—she does not remember now. She was led there only in an undershirt and shoes—all other clothing was left upstairs.

You, Señor Daniel Ivaceta, and five officers were in the room when she got there. The other five were getting on in years, grey-haired and about your age.

Before continuing the interrogation you and your friends forced the young woman to walk stark naked around you, elderly, filthy, disgusting creatures. Then you ordered her to run and dance. Ana Alicia Flores could not dance, of course. You ordered her to lie on the floor. Then you put her on the table before you, and you, Señor Ivaceta, were the first to begin to undress.

She found strength to jump off the table, to run to the corner of the room and to shout in your glossy dirty mugs what she thought of you, what you deserved.

You did not expect this. All of you rushed and beat her in hatred, out of breath and pushing each other, trying to inflict the strongest blow.

Then you again put her on the table, and three of you raped her. She remembers three of these rapists, including you, Señor Ivaceta. What followed she does not know—she fainted.

She came to herself only next day in the morning and saw that she was in the same room. She was given nothing to drink. No one heard her moans. She was too weak to get to the door and knock.

Some time later you, Señor Daniel Ivaceta, re-entered. You ordered the woman to get up. She did so, but fell down—she could not stand. Nevertheless you ordered her to rise again and began to show her photographs of different people, each time asking her: "Know this man?" "Did he come to your home?" "Was he a friend of your compañero?"

The woman said "no" to all your questions. Every time she said "no", you beat her, trying to hit her head and eyes. You proved to have a good memory, you remembered about the operation Ana Flo-

res had undergone. But you failed to wring a confession from her. You got tired and went out, and then returned with three of your pals.

You again beat Ana Flores and raped her. She again lost her consciousness.

But the will of this woman proved stronger than your will, Señor Ivaceta. The next day you threw Ana Flores out of the police station, having understood that you would not force her to confess.

Half-dressed and bleeding, she was thrown into a car and, on your order, driven several blocks away so that she would not lie on the pavement in front of the police station. Ana Flores was then thrown out of the car.

People she did not know helped Ana to get home.

This is all that we know, Señor Ivaceta. Quite possibly, you will get surprised why we notify you of this two-day atrocity, because these two days are merely a tiny fraction of the months of violence and torture practised by you.

Quite possibly, you do not even remember this episode very well.

But we remember, Señor Ivaceta. We remember and notify you that we shall remember forever. Your crime has been recorded in the documents of the International Commission which is holding its session in Helsinki to investigate the crimes of the fascist junta in Chile.

At your home, in Santiago, you will perhaps try to find consolation in the feeble thought that Helsinki is too far from you and that nothing threatens you from there.

Indeed, the International Commission has not yet the possibility of subpoenaing you, your friends and masters to its sittings as defendants. The International Commission is not a court. It is only investigating the crimes committed against the Chilean people, including your crimes, Señor Ivaceta. This is merely a moral notification on behalf of humanity.

But the time will come. . .

No, we are not intimidating you, Señor. We are not threatening. It would be foolish to threaten. We are simply *notifying* you that your name has been recorded in the documents, and this means that, sooner or later, you will not evade punishment.

Even now your children and those of your friends who have not yet learned of your crimes will damn you and will be ashamed of you. We do not know your home address now, Señor Ivaceta, and therefore we are addressing this notification to the police station Sañartu. At the same time, we are asking the announcers of free radio stations which can be heard in Chile, all those who will read these lines and will be able to convey these words to Chile, to do so.

Even if you, Señor Ivaceta, refuse to accept in Santiago the letter sent from Helsinki, even if you switch off your radio, you will inevitably learn from your neighbours, from your hangmen friends, and from the victims of your brutality that your name was mentioned in Helsinki and that it was included in the list of criminals.

A Flagrant Violation of Legality

from the speech of Arkady Poltorak (USSR), Professor of International Law, an expert

The first witness interrogated by the International Commission in Helsinki was asked by Mr. Booth, a Commission member:

"Do you believe, witness, that the crimes of which you spoke here and of which you were an eyewitness were the consequence of lack of discipline on the part of individual soldiers or officers of the Chilean army or the result of corresponding orders of the military junta?"

After the Second World War it so happened that I participated in the Nuremberg trial of the chief nazi war criminals. I remember well that the question put by Mr. Booth was one of the main questions which the International Military Tribunal had to answer, as the answer characterized the very nature of the crimes committed.

We can say with confidence here, at the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, that these crimes were neither an accident nor excess but a direct consequence of the criminal decrees and orders of the military junta.

As a rapporteur I must submit to the Commission a number of the junta decrees and instructions and provide the legal qualification.

The first document to be submitted to the Commission is the junta Decree No. 5 which supplies the answer as to the essence of the crimes being committed in Chile.

Decree No. 5 was published on September 22, 1973 and declared Chile to be "in a state of internal war." But any war is a conflict of two or several sides. What are these sides in the "internal war" in Chile? One side is obviously the military junta which seized power,

the military. And the other? This is also obvious. It is the courageous people of Chile, courageous but unarmed and helpless in the face of the gangster terror. And this predatory attack on the people, this massacre of helpless civilians is described by the junta as an "internal war."

Of course, this war is a fiction, but a fiction which gives a free hand to the junta which strives to suppress the people.

Each country has its constitution, its basic laws. Could the junta issue its decrees without undermining the very spirit and letter of these laws? Are such actions in conformity with the standards of international law?

The Commission received an answer to the first question from Mr. Sergio Insunza Barros, a prominent Chilean authority on state and criminal law, who was Minister of Justice in the government of President Allende. This expert proved by analysing appropriate provisions of the constitution and the criminal legislation of the country that Decree No. 5 was in direct contradiction to the internal law of Chile.

What is the position with regard to international law?

I will allow myself for a minute to act as devil's advocate and recognize that Chile is really in a state of "internal war."

In the junta's opinion this enables it to make short work of democratic legislation and all personal guarantees so loathsome to the military.

The junta believed that the Hague and Geneva conventions and the like are applicable only in the event of an international war, i.e., an armed conflict between two or more states. In Chile, they held, there was an internal conflict which does not come under international law.

This contention was true before the Second World War. But the year 1949 saw the signing of the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims whose Article 3 extended the protection of international law to the civilian population not only in the event of international war but also in the case of an armed conflict on the territory of a single state.

I would like to repeat that a war is not going on in Chile, and any declaration by the junta of the country's being in a state of "internal war" is a fiction created as a legal pretext for suppressing the Chilean patriots. But the junta insists that such an "internal war" is taking place and has accordingly issued Decree No. 5 and other pursuant to it.

One step entails another. Once the junta has declared the country in a state of "internal war" it should realize that in this case certain provisions of international law which have been recognized by Chile come into play.

Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions explicitly states that in the event of an internal armed conflict the authorities must treat the civil population in a humane manner and prevent any encroachments on the life, physical inviolability and human dignity of the

citizens. Conviction and punishment are impermissible without a prior court decision subject to the observance of legal guarantees recognized by civilized nations.

The junta chose to ignore another important document, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which has been signed and ratified by Chile.

The Covenant specifically refers to human rights in the event of a so-called "internal armed conflict."

In all circumstances, the Covenant rules, even in "emergency" conditions, the right to life is the inherent right of every human being, which is protected by law. No one may be deprived of life arbitrarily.

The junta's decrees following from the so-called "state of internal war" proscribe death and other kinds of punishment for actions performed by Chilean democrats before the junta seized power, i.e., under the legitimate rule of President Allende. But Article 15 of the Covenant explicitly states that no one can be held guilty of any criminal offense on account of any act which did not constitute a criminal offense under national or international law, at the time when it was committed.

According to the Covenant, even in emergency conditions (or state of internal war), no one may be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Even in these conditions every person has the right of freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Article 18), every person has the right to hold opinions without any interference (Article 19).

It follows from the documents submitted to the Commission of Inquiry that the Chilean military consider all Chilean patriots they have arrested as prisoners of war. This is understandable on formally logical grounds—once a state of war has been declared, persons captured in the course of such a war are war prisoners.

But the junta regards every legal concept in a one-sided manner, from the standpoint of using it for the purposes of its policy. The junta "forgets" that the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War states unequivocally that prisoners of war should always be treated in a humane manner, that prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation, and against insults (Article 13); that war prisoners are entitled in all circumstances to respect for their persons and their honour (Article 14); that no physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion may be inflicted on prisoners of war (Article 12).

No one in the world except the Chilean junta regards the peaceful Chilean citizens kept in concentration camps and prisons as prisoners of war. Yet the junta has no intention of observing the humane standards of international law with regard to war prisoners.

Among the other decrees I am handling over to the Commission there is Decree No. 23 which stipulates there shall be no legal prose-

cution of soldiers and officers of the Chilean army who acted "in self-defence."

It is well known that the most heinous crimes against Chilean patriots have been committed and are still being committed under this pretext; in this sense Decree No. 23 which promises impunity beforehand is, in terms of criminal law, an appeal and an incitement to commit crimes.

This is exactly what was done by the nazi clique when it issued an order on May 13, 1941, of which the junta's Decree No. 23 is in essence a copy.

Many other decrees and orders of the junta could be cited. However, it is quite obvious that each of them separately and all taken together testify that the crimes now being committed against Chilean patriots are not excesses of individual law-breakers but a result of a deliberate and purposeful policy of the junta.

The Junta Speaks

General Pinochet: "Those who imagine that the military measures can be repealed are nurturing illusions... There will be no election for at least four or five years."

General Leigh: "No elections will be held in Chile. This is just a waste of time, energy and money... Neither political parties nor freedom of the press will be restored... This is no time for discussion, dialogues, meetings, forums, and debates in the Congress..."

General Pinochet: "We give them (the forces of opposition—*Ed.*) a chance to grow up so that we can settle their hash without more ado."

General Leigh: "The Chilean military junta will have no trouble in dealing with those who try to hinder its actions."

General Pinochet: "The Chilean military code is among the world's harshest."

General Leigh: "Military tribunals will punish Chile's enemies without mercy."

General Pinochet: "There have been no executions in Chile."

General Leigh: "We are acting in this way because we prefer to have 100,000 dead within three days rather than one million dead within three years, as was the case in Spain."

General Pinochet: "The junta is against legalized abortions because this is in sharp contradiction with the Christian principles by which we abide."

General Leigh: "We do not want to stay in power forever. But we feel that since we have shed so much blood we should leave our successors and all Chileans a country which is free and democratic."

General Pinochet: "The year 1974 will be a very hard one."

General Pinochet: "Democracy carries within its breast the seed of its own destruction. There is a saying that 'democracy has to be

bathed occasionally in blood so that it can continue to be democracy.' Fortunately this is not our case. There have been only a few drops of blood."

General Pinochet: "I have the honour of conveying to you a thousand congratulations and wishes of personal happiness on the occasion of your birthday" (a cable to Mao Tse-tung on his 80th birthday).

General Florian Silva, Director of the Chilean Tourist Company: "Chilean women are the most ardent advocates of the curfew introduced in Chile by the junta, because now their husbands come earlier and spend the evening with their families."

Their hobbies: "The four generals of the junta are four ignorant and rabidly bourgeois men, typical of people with a low cultural level and great power. Leigh who commands the Air Force and is the most thick-headed and most hated, has insolently stated that he loves Beethoven and makes no major decision without listening to his 5th Symphony. Admiral Merino Castro, who dares not appear in public with all of his decorations for fear of assassination, collects postage stamps and cigarette packages." (From the Italian magazine *l'Europeo*.)

"Why We Have Come to Helsinki"

Novosti Press Agency correspondents interview members of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile

Colonel Rol Tangui, renowned French Resistance fighter, who hoisted the tricoloured flag of France over Paris when it was liberated from nazism:

When I arrived in Helsinki, I was already well informed about the situation in Chile.

However, when I listened to the evidence of witnesses at the Commission's meetings, I went through the whole drama in Chile again. On listening to the testimonies, and especially the testimony of women, we came to realize the extent of the baseness, barbarity and crime that people had sunk to who had once called themselves the defenders of the Constitution, people who had been under the command of President Allende, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. That is why we are in complete solidarity with those Chilean servicemen who remained true to their duty, to their oath of allegiance, and it is precisely for this that the fascist junta ruthlessly persecutes them.

I believe that the Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Chilean Junta can do a great deal. Firstly, it started to collect affidavits and, of course, will inform the world public about them. This will help to make the movement of solidarity with the Chilean people more active.

The courage and staunchness of the people who have given testimony here can serve as a spiritual weapon in the struggle for the cause of solidarity. The facts brought to our attention here are very concrete. They constitute the sufferings of people and have a tremendous accusatory force. They make it incumbent upon all honest peo-

ple to join the campaign of widespread assistance to the Chilean people. On the other hand, these facts show that it is imperative for all peoples to display vigilance. The threat of fascism has not disappeared. The events in Chile must make all of us vigilant. All who are now fighting for world peace must fight for Chile's just cause.

I have read the latest statements by Leonid Brezhnev and know full well that the Soviet Union is playing an honourable part in the struggle for peace, against fascism, in the struggle for the cause of the Chilean people.

Public opinion plays an ever increasing role in the world today. And no matter how cruel and insolent the junta is, its leaders can be forced even now to reckon with world public opinion. And in this sense the work of the International Commission is of paramount importance. The crimes of the junta, as described by evidence at the Commission's meetings, are so monstrous, and the testimony of witnesses so appalling and irrefutable, that they will make many people, who were so far in doubt or sceptical about the possibilities of the solidarity movement, realize that it is a matter which concerns not only the Chilean people. They must be helped. But there is the question of the threat of fascism in other countries. On the one hand, the Commission will help consolidate and expand the movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people. And it will again remind the peoples of the world, including the French people, that the fascist danger still exists, and that they have to be vigilant and bar fascism.

Pham Van Bath, Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

"We feel that the crimes committed in Chile by the military junta and its masters concern not only the Chilean people but all peoples of the world. Fascism is a blow at democracy, a blow at all progressive conceptions of civilized mankind. Therefore, it concerns all, and mankind must act most energetically in order to stop Chilean fascism, in order to save what can still be saved in Chile: people, their homes, their rights, the future of the Chilean people. . .

"We Vietnamese people wholly endorse the organization and activities of the Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile. It can rouse public opinion to such an extent as to make the military junta stop its crimes.

"It must be said that the work of such commissions helped to put an end to the criminal activities of US imperialism against the Vietnamese people, it helped to create a widespread international front of protest.

"This is happening with regard to Chile, too.

"The question is frequently asked what public opinion can do, what an international organization, like our Commission which has no executive bodies, can do. The following example, however, may be given: when an international conference demanding that an end be put to the use of chemical means of warfare began to work in

Paris, at the end of 1972 the Pentagon was forced to stop using toxic chemicals in Vietnam.

"In their time the peoples of many capitalist countries forced their governments to officially censure the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people. If we promote the organization of a wide front of struggle against the fascist barbarity in Chile, this will lead to a change in the attitude and behaviour of many people, irrespective of their political or religious convictions.

"The people of Vietnam attach great importance to the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile. It is the international duty of all honest and conscientious people on Earth to support the work of this Commission."

Stanley Faulkner, noted US lawyer, who defended the first American soldiers who refused to fight in Vietnam:

"Even if I were not formally invited, I would have come to Helsinki by all means, because I regard all that is happening here as extremely important. Some people say that Chile is too far away to be concerned over the events that are taking place there. Today there is no place on earth which would be too far away from somewhere else, where violence is being committed against man. There are no two places on earth which would not have an influence on one another.

"What is happening in Chile represents, besides everything else, a threat to peace. I am afraid that the reactionaries in my country will try to create the kind of situation in the Chile-Bolivia-Peru triangle where a war could be started against Peru, a country where the revolutionary process of social reforms is making headway. This process is frightening the American monopolies which fear that the idea of socialism is coming to win over the thinking of more and more working people in all countries of Latin America."

Arthur Booth, a leading British Quaker:

"A lot of news from Chile appeared in the Western newspapers right after the overthrow of the Allende government, but now the major Western papers carry no news from that country," Arthur Booth said.

"I have a feeling that the West is trying to slur over the question of Chilean fascism, to make it appear that the situation is quiet in that country and that nothing is happening there. The duty of every honest and peace-loving man is to raise his voice and condemn evil and inhumanity wherever they appear. If the Commission manages to quite objectively establish and show to the world the real situation in Chile, and I am sure this will be so, it will render an invaluable service to those who hold dear peace and eternal human values."

Segundino Torres, L.L.D., Panama University.

The Chilean junta flouted the elementary principles of law and unleashed a veritable civil war against their own people. All people of Latin America should learn the essential lessons of the Chilean tragedy. In particular, Latin America's people should be extremely

vigilant as to their own armed forces which, with a rare exception, are an instrument of the extreme reactionaries. As long as Latin America remains in the clutches of an alien influence and under the dominance of the US monopolies our countries are constantly threatened by US imperialism.

The people of Panama strongly denounce the Chilean junta's actions, particularly as they themselves have been repeatedly subjected to acts of ruthless violence. Let me remind you that ten years ago Panamanian students were being shot at in the Canal zone by foreign soldiers. We were extremely grateful for an international campaign of solidarity with the struggle of our people for their legitimate rights over the Panama Canal zone. Public attitudes to both Panama and Chile are part of a single campaign of international solidarity with the just struggle of peoples of Latin America. Therefore, the defence of the flouted rights of Chilean people is also the defence of human rights in all other countries of Latin America.

Luisa Isabel Alvarez de Toledo, Duchess of Medina Sidonia:

"To me fascism is any fascism, be it in the Pyrenees, in Greece or in Chile. The question of the number of victims of a fascist regime is a matter of quantity than quality. It is necessary to fight actively against fascism in Chile, to stir up world public opinion not only by means of the moral authority of resolutions but by the concrete strength of political manifestations and solidarity strikes of the working people in the West-European countries."

From a cable sent by the United Nations' Human Rights' Commission to the Chilean Junta:

"The Human Rights' Commission has unceasingly expressed its consternation at violations of human rights and urges your Government to immediately put an end to any type of violation of human rights committed in contravention of the principles of the United Nations' Charter and other international documents, including International Treaties on Human Rights. The Commission expresses its special concern about those persons whose lives have been reported to be in immediate danger. Amongst these are outstanding personalities from political, social and cultural circles such as ex-Ministers, Senators, University Rectors and Professors, such as Clodomiro Almeyda, Luis Corvalan, Enrique Kirberg, Pedro Felipe Ramires and Anselmo Sule who are said to be at present in the greatest danger, due to health reasons or conditions of imprisonment.

"The Commission insists that there should be no impediment to the above-mentioned persons and other Chilean and foreign citizens in a similar position leaving the country, if they so wish.

"The Commission demands that the Chilean authorities should urgently inform its President of measures taken in conformity with this telegram and of the fate and wellbeing of both the persons mentioned and others who, according to information received, are in danger."

The Flouted Constitution

from the speech by Professor Friedrich Karl Kaul, Member of the International Commission, Vice-President of the Lawyers' Association of the German Democratic Republic

Legally elected President Salvador Allende gave no cause to doubt that he respected the Constitution and would continue to do so.

On the other hand, the actions taken by the opposition against the Popular Unity government were anti-constitutional. For example, Article 22 of the Constitution of Chile states that the Chilean armed forces are committed to unconditional obedience, and that no military unit is allowed to manifest its position in regard to any political events in the country. In defiance of this article, in August 1973 the opposition called upon the armed forces to fight the government.

As stated in the declaration of Pablo Rodriguez, leader of the "Patria y Libertad" organization, "At present our country has come to an impasse. There is no traditional way out for us, we must destroy the classical forms of liberal democracy. Everything is decided by the vigilance and patriotism of our armed forces, without whose aid all of our efforts will be futile and even self-destructive. The party system has exhausted itself, the future must be determined by people with private initiative."

In their attempts to undermine the activities of the government and control of the country the opposition circles stopped at nothing. Here are the recommendations that were worked out by "The System of Organized Actions by Civilians" in April 1973:

Recommendations for pupils:

A Marxist teacher is a backward person with mediocre ability. Do not go to his classes but demand another teacher.

Prepare yourself for struggle against the Marxists, for an ideological struggle and physical struggle in the full sense of the word. Prevent them from getting jobs. Keep interfering with them. Make out lists of Marxists and hand them over to democratic-minded teachers.

If your teacher is a Marxist, be inaccurate, make noise, distract him with foolish questions. Hide the chalk and board eraser, wax the blackboard, undermine the teacher's authority.

Rip off and destroy everywhere the government's propaganda material or alter them so as to distort their meaning. Use chalk and pen for this purpose. Wherever possible act constantly on your own, but at night, always in groups.

Recommendations for employees of state institutions:

Develop the plan of your work by making the maximum use of meaningless general phrases and give as little information as possible. Increase manpower redundancy, for example, the number of auxiliary workers, the administration apparatus, temporary workers, etc. Make no attempts to rationalize your work or mechanize it. Hide working instructions and make a muddle of clerical work. If you take part in planning, try to make estimates and calculations as indefinite as possible.

Recommendations to retailers:

Do your best not to sell goods to persons sympathizing with the government, or supply them with spoiled or low-quality goods. Inform your regular customers of the day and time you receive new goods.

Recommendations to landowners:

Give false information to state agricultural bodies on your crop yields and possibilities of obtaining agricultural products. Single out active members of the ruling party and keep them under permanent control by exerting psychological and physical pressure.

Recommendations to women:

It is imperative to conduct campaigns for achieving a psychological effect by means of rumours and propaganda concerning members of the ruling party, and to spread stories which will intimidate women and their children from the ruling party camp.

Acting in collusion with the unions of employers, the medical association organized strikes of medical workers in October 1972 and in 1973. The doctors who did not cease work of their own accord were threatened with expulsion from the association and loss of the right to practice medicine.

In August 1973 Roberto Thieme, General Secretary of the "Patria y Libertad" organization declared: "To rid the country of Allende we shall not stop at the use of force. Our aim is to cause chaos until the time when the military circles are able to take power into their hands."

All aspects of social and economic life in Chile were also systematically undermined by the imperialist forces. Everything was geared to spreading chaos and paralysing the economy.

On October 1, 1971 William P. Merriam, Chief of the ITT Washington bureau, submitted to Peter G. Peterson, the US President's special advisor, an 18-paragraph programme for overthrowing Allende's government, which stated the following:

"The situation in Chile should be regarded by our administration as a matter of the utmost importance... We must see to it that the Allende government ceases to exist in the next, decisive six months. For this purpose the White House should set up within the framework of the National Security Council a special headquarters for exerting pressure on Chile. This group could take certain measures in this direction:

"1. Limit credits to Chile... 2. Negotiate with foreign banks to reduce their credits to Chile... 3. Stop or delay copper purchases in Chile in the next six months. 4. Take steps to reduce the dollar reserves in Chile. 5. Discuss with the CIA the possibilities of its pressure on Chile. 6. It may be necessary to render dollar assistance to the weakened mass information media, for this sector has been sadly neglected; *El Mercurio* is liable to close down at any moment. 7. Chile's annual exports to the USA amount to 154 million US dollars. Hence the need to deprive Chile of many US markets. US deliveries to Chile which are of special importance to the Allende government should be delayed or discontinued"... , etc.

After the nationalization of Chilean copper the US copper mining concern Kennecott Copper Corporation sent the following circular to its clients in other countries:

"We have learned that you are negotiating (or intend to do so in the future) for the purchase of copper from the El Teniente Mine in the Republic of Chile, which is our property. We draw your attention to the fact that any purchase of this copper... without our consent would be contradictory to the legal provisions in force."

The great German poet Goethe once said, "As you start so shall you finish." This is true of the military junta in Chile. Having gained power through crimes and murder, it will continue to kill and multiply its crimes in order to retain power.

From different witnesses we have learned of the terror suffered by the Chilean people even now, six months after the junta's coming to power. On March 11 the junta marked its six-months' reign. That day it published a declaration on the principles of governing the country, which shows that the junta's aim is to turn Chile into a peculiar ideological cemetery.

In this connection General Pinochet said that every person employed in government service and even in private enterprise, must have no party affiliation. Anyone violating this principle would be dismissed from work, Pinochet threatened (Document 052).

In conclusion I put the following question: where is the law in Chile, where are the country's statutes, where is the respect of the norms of state and international law observed by all civilized peoples? They have been flouted by the military junta in Chile.

Press Reports on the Complicity of Outside Forces in the Overthrow of the Allende Government

The "Washington Post" of March 21, 1972 carried an article by Jack Anderson who writes the following:

Secret documents which escaped shredding by International Telephone and Telegraph show that the company, at the highest levels, manoeuvred to stop the 1970 election of leftist Chilean President Salvador Allende.

The papers reveal that ITT dealt regularly with the Central Intelligence Agency and, at one point, considered triggering a military coup to head off Allende's election.

These documents portray ITT as a virtual corporate nation in itself with vast international holdings, access to Washington's highest officials, its own intelligence apparatus and even its own classification system. The papers bear a variety of security labels, including "Confidential," "System Confidential," and "Personal and Confidential." The originals, presumably, were shredded along with the "many sacks" of documents that ITT has now admitted destroying to keep them out of our hands. Nevertheless, we have obtained copies.

They show that ITT officials were in close touch with William V. Broe, who was then Director of the Latin American division of the CIA's Clandestine Services. They were plotting together to create economic chaos in Chile, hoping this would block Allende from coming to power.

ITT Director John McCone, himself a former CIA head, played a role in the bizarre plot. He received a confidential report on Oct. 9, 1970, from William Merriam, Vice President in charge of ITT's Washington office.

"Today I had lunch with our contact at the McLean agency (CIA), and I summarize for you the results of our conversation," wrote Merriam. "He is still very, very pessimistic about defeating Allende when the congressional vote takes place on Oct. 24.

"Approaches continue to be made to select members of the Armed Forces in an attempt to have them lead some sort of uprising—no success to date. . .

"Practically no progress has been made in trying to get American business to cooperate in some way so as to bring on economic chaos. GM and Ford, for example, say that they have too much inventory on hand in Chile to take any chances and that they keep hoping that everything will work out all right.

"Also, the Bank of America had agreed to close its doors in Santiago but each day keeps postponing the inevitable. According to my source, we must continue to keep the pressure on business."

The plot to bring about a military coup by applying economic pressure is spelled out in a confidential telex, dated Sept. 29, 1970, to ITT's President Harold S. Geenen from one of his vice presidents, E. J. Gerrity. Here is Gerrity's description of the plot:

"1. Banks should not renew credit or should delay in doing so.

"2. Companies should drag their feet in sending money, making deliveries, in shipping spare parts, etc.

"3. Savings and loan companies there are in trouble. If pressure were applied, they would have to shut their doors, thereby creating pressure.

"4. We should withdraw all technical help and should not promise any technical assistance in the future. Companies in a position to do so should close their doors.

"5. A list of companies was provided, and it was suggested that we approach them as indicated. I was told that of all the companies involved, ours alone had been responsive and understood the problem. The visitor (evidently the CIA's William Broe) added that money was not a problem. He indicated that certain steps were being taken but that he was looking for additional help aimed at inducing economic collapse."

Next day, Gerrity sent a memo to ITT's Washington office telling of advice from an anti-Allende source in Chile to "keep cool, don't rock the boat, we are making progress."

An editorial in the "New York Times" of September 16, 1973, entitled "The Chilean Tragedy," says, in particular:

"In light of the disclosure last year of schemes by the Central Intelligence Agency and the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation to block Dr. Allende's election in 1970 or to bring down his Government, Washington's denials of involvement in last week's coup inevitably have encountered worldwide skepticism, enhanced by recollections of the boorish behaviour of this Administration toward the Allende regime and its successful effort to block sources of credit for Chile with international lending agencies."

Associated Press correspondent Alfonso Chardi reported on September 15, 1973 from Mexico City:

Hugo Biguerena, former Chilean Ambassador in Mexico, stated that the overthrow of Salvador Allende had been organized by the US Central Intelligence Agency. "I learned of the CIA plan, code-named 'Centaur', only a few days before the coup", Biguerena said at a press conference.

The "Washington Post" of September 16, 1973 carried an article by Laurence Stern who writes:

The overthrow of the Allende government as a result of the military coup inevitably suggests US complicity in the Chilean events.

"Involvement," in the popular imagination, suggests Marine landings, cloak-and-dagger operatives, gunboats and paramilitary espionage teams. There has been no evidence, as yet, that any such operations were carried out under US auspices in Chile.

Nonetheless since its inauguration in 1970, the government of the late Salvador Allende has been the target of economic policies that have squeezed the fragile Chilean economy to the choking point.

The instruments for carrying out the sustained program of economic pressure against Allende were the US foreign aid program, the Inter-American Development Bank, the US Export-Import Bank, the World Bank and also private US banking institutions.

Allende himself, in a speech to the UN General Assembly last December 4, complained that from the day of his election, "we have felt the effects of a large-scale external pressure against us, which tried to prevent the inauguration of a government freely elected by the people and has tried to bring it down ever since."

The effect, he said, has been "to cut us off from the world, to strangle our economy and paralyze trade in our principal export, copper, and to deprive us of access to sources of international financing."

The US economic hard line against Chile was adopted in mid-1971 when the question of compensation for expropriated American properties was still in doubt.

The expropriation of the major US copper companies was voted unanimously by the Chilean legislature—right, left and centre—in July, 1971. It was not until the following October that the decision on terms of compensation was made. During this period of uncertainty the hard economic line was already being applied against the Chilean government.

In August, 1971, the Ex-Im Bank notified Chile that it would no longer be eligible for loans and that loan guarantees would be terminated to US commercial banks and exporters doing business with Chile. The bank also cut off disbursements of direct loans that had been previously negotiated by the Frei government, which preceded Allende's.

Meanwhile, in the Inter-American Development Bank, a \$30 million loan application for development of a petrochemical centre was

stalled after the US director protested plans to send a technical mission to Chile to evaluate the request. The mission never left.

IADB financing for Chile came to a virtual standstill in 1971 and thereafter, with the exception of two loans of \$7 million and \$4.6 million to the Catholic and Austral universities.

Because the United States contributes the lion's share of the Inter-American Bank's development fund kitty, it exercises a virtual veto over loan requests.

The World Bank pattern was much the same.

Early in 1972 the private banks followed the lead of the international lending organizations. Chile's short-term credit float plummeted from \$220 million in 1971 to \$35 million in 1972.

Nonetheless, in 1971 the United States granted a \$5 million line of credit to the Chilean military for purchase of C-130 four-engine transports and in December, 1972, extended an additional \$10 million in credit for military activities in 1973.

US government credibility, in professing its non-involvement in the Chilean change of government, may tend to be undermined by the disclosures of the ITT case. In Senate testimony last March and in prior press revelations, representatives of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. and the Central Intelligence Agency acknowledged that they sought to promote economic chaos in Chile, first to block Allende's election and then to bring about his downfall.

The Buenos Aires newspaper "El Mundo" reported on October 31, 1973 some details of the part taken by the US Air Force in the overthrow of Salvador Allende government:

According to *El Mundo* an airplane of the WB-57-S type (No. 631-3298) commanded by Majors V. Duenas and T. Schall and carrying Captains M. B. Lemmons and D. C. Baird of the Air Force Reserve coordinated all the operations of the armed forces before and during the coup. On the day of the coup d'état this plane engaged in espionage missions and equipped with the latest communications facilities played the role of an "airborne radio station."

Its zone of operation was the area between Mendoza and the Chilean cities La Serena and Puerto Montt. In compliance with the military plans the plane could use three airdromes on Chilean territory in the event of emergency—in Padahuela, Serrillos and Serro-Moreno; the last airdrome is located in Antofagasta province in northern Chile. The spotter plane which was based in a neighbouring country began to operate in that area on September 7. From September 11 to 13 it was to help maintain communications between the troops of the coup instigators. The US plane helped maintain radio contact between the Chilean Navy, an army unit and the Air Force. Its zone of operation included the naval radio stations in the ports of Valparaiso and Talcahuano and radio stations aboard ships cruising off the Chilean coast. The Air Force radio stations serviced the bases Serro-Moreno, Quintero, El Bosque and Serrillos in central Chile and the base Puerto Montt. This system was at first connected with the units of the First and Sixth Divisions stationed in the ex-

treme north, while the Fifth, Fourth and Third Divisions were responsible for the area between the extreme south and Concepción.

In the central area of the country this system was linked with units directly controlled by the putschist officers—an engineer unit, the 2nd Armoured Battalion, the “black beret” battalion in Pudahuel, the cavalry school in Quillot and a non-commissioned officers school and military academy in Santiago.

The popular Colombian newspaper “El Espectador” carried an article on February 19, 1974 entitled “Chile: Military Coup and Gringos” which gives the following facts:

In late 1969 Colonel Gerardo Lopez Angulo, the Chilean Air Force Attache in the United States, gave a supper at his villa, which was attended by three US generals and four representatives of the Chilean Army: General Carlos Toro Masote, commander of the Chilean Air Force School; General Ernesto Baeza, head of the National Investigation Service, who directed the capture of the presidential palace and gave orders to set it on fire; Brigadier General and the present Minister of Public Works Sergio Figueroa Gutierros, and Admiral Arturo Troncoso.

In the course of the talk which concerned the forthcoming presidential elections one of the US generals asked his Chilean colleagues: “What will the Chilean army do if the Left candidate Salvador Allende comes to power?” General Toro Masote replied: “We shall take La Moneda palace in half an hour, even if we have to burn it doing so.”

The supper was the Pentagon’s first direct contact with representatives of the Chilean army. Then followed other meetings in Washington and Santiago, which resulted in an accord and the adoption of a plan whereby Chilean generals loyal to the United States were to take power if the Popular Unity won the elections.

The implementation of the plan, codenamed “Contingency Plan” and worked out by the Defense Intelligence Agency of the Pentagon, was entrusted to the Naval Intelligence Agency under the direct supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Shaking Hands with the Junta

Following is an abridged version of an article from the British newspaper “Financial Times” of November 15, 1973:

Probably no military government in Latin America is more favourably disposed to the private sector than the junta in Chile. With representatives of big business filling key posts as ministers and advisers, two months have been sufficient to wipe out most of the worker “victories” of the three-year Allende regime.

Not surprisingly, businessmen and industrialists are bubbling with optimism. The reason for their delight is that the government is steadily recasting those sectors of the economy that had been socialized. Decentralization is the dominant theme.

The 250 or so companies made subject to “intervention” or “requisitioned” are to be returned to their original owners. Contrary to earlier indications, most of the 160 companies legally expropriated by the Allende administration... are also to be sold back to the private sector. The commercial banks, all of which had fallen under the control of the government since 1971, are to be sold to private interests.

Foreign private investment, which was largely taboo under President Allende, is warmly welcome. The new cliché, used by officials and businessmen alike, is that the country has been “vaccinated against communism,” making it the safest possible haven for foreign investors. Many foreign companies that left Chile following expropriation or difficulties under President Allende, such as Ford and Dow Chemical, are being actively wooed to return, and a host of US, European and Japanese companies are currently reviewing their policy towards Chile.

But if two months is too short a time to take major investment decisions, foreign banks have fallen over each other to open up new

lines of credit to Chile. The Foreign Minister, Vice-Admiral, Ismael Huerta, and his key economic adviser, Sr. Orlando Saenz, returned from the US with \$300 m. in new lines of credit. Representatives of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress are all to be found in Santiago, crowding hotel lobbies and bustling in and out of Ministries.

Unlike last year, when the US refused to roll over Chile's debt, Washington's support for the new junta in the Paris Club is a foregone conclusion.

The devaluation and the sudden release of most market controls... have given an extraordinary boost to prices. Everything has gone up dramatically, including bread, cooking oil, milk and sugar, which comprise the basic diet of the poor. The cost of public transport has tripled, the cost of petroleum has risen tenfold.

The freeing of prices was combined with a freezing of wages. While the working week rose from 44 to 48 hours, the annual October wage hike was cancelled.

Prices are way out of reach even of middle-class consumers, so that shops are empty and sales have plunged. One shoe factory reported that the sales of its outlets had dropped from 500 to seven pairs of shoes per day after the coup.

With labour unrest eliminated by the junta and foreign capital pouring into the country, the Chilean economy is certain to expand rapidly on paper over the next year. Officials and businessmen can now say: "Yes, regrettably, the workers will have to suffer during the period of economic recovery."

The newspaper "Mercurio" published in Santiago reported on March 6 that the military junta in Chile had returned 88 industrial enterprises earlier nationalized by the Popular Unity government to their former owners, most of them US citizens.

The Argentine newspaper "Noticias" wrote on March 16: A full-scale arms drive is under way in Chile. In the last 60 days the Chilean armed forces have purchased in the United States, Western Europe and Israel 500 million dollars' worth of materiel. The United States has supplied the Chilean armed forces with two rocket-carrying destroyers costing 50 million dollars each, two submarines costing 20 million dollars each, and an unknown number of aircraft.

The Santiago correspondent of France Presse reported on March 20: The Chilean junta has conferred a military order on a top officer of the US Air Force, Major-General Arthur Salisbury, who has come to Chile on an official visit. The decoration ceremony took place after negotiations between General Salisbury and General Augusto Pinochet, the junta leader. The talks were also attended by General Gustavo Leigh, Commander of the Chilean Air Force. General Salisbury is in command of the Southern Military District of the United States with headquarters in the Panama Canal zone.

"Washington Post" reported on April 2: The Inter-American Development Bank approved a 22-million dollar loan to the new go-

vernment of Chile. Contrary to accepted practice the United States "pushed through" the loan earmarked for agricultural revival without an analysis by experts as to how the funds would be used. It was the first loan granted by the Inter-American Development Bank to the military junta which overthrew Chilean President Salvador Allende last September. No loans had been granted to Chile by the bank after Allende took office.

An Associated Press correspondent reported on April 12: The Chilean military government and the General Motors Company have signed a contract on the resumption of automobile assembly in Chile.

A Reuter correspondent reported on April 15: The military government in Santiago applied to the US-sponsored Inter-American Development Bank for the first loan following the change in interest charged on debts incurred by Chile. Chile received 22 million dollars at a low, 2 per cent annual interest for a 30-year term.

In this connection, the Paris *Le Monde* noted: "The government that suppressed all political freedoms, political parties and trade unions, that executed thousands of people without trial, and daily resorted to tortures, has without difficulty received all that had been denied the legally elected government."

Since September, said a US official, the US Department of Agriculture has granted Chile a 50 million-dollar loan to purchase food-stuffs, and a group of US banks loaned that country about 150 million dollars.

US Bishops Denounce Tortures in Chile:

The Executive Committee of the US Bishops' Conference (which includes 28 Bishops), throwing off the reserve which they have shown regarding US foreign policy up until now, have just called on the White House to re-examine the political and economic support which Washington is giving to the dictatorial regime in Chile.

The Committee's statement particularly stresses:

"We are deeply upset by violations of human rights which are taking place in Chile. We are in solidarity with the Church in Chile in these troubled times. We are also worried by the fact that, in the face of these violations of human rights, our government is increasing its financial aid to the Chilean junta.

"Therefore, with the exception of humanitarian assistance which is necessary, we demand that the United States government should make financial aid and military assistance granted to Chile dependent on evidence that human and civil rights have been re-established in Chile."

According to the Director of the Latin American Department of the Episcopacy, "every word of this statement has been weighed with care."

TESTIMONY BY CHILEAN POLITICAL LEADERS

Crimes Elevated to the Rank of Official Policy

from the speech of Mr. Carlos Alfamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile

The members of the distinguished Commission of Inquiry will have noted, during the hearing, the dramatic and irrefutable testimony presented here of the insane, demented and massive terror unleashed by the fascist military against the men and women of our land and of other nations, irrespective of their outlook, social status, cultural level, be they civilians or in service, laymen or clergymen, militants of the popular movement or simply citizens respecting the democratic tradition of constitutional legality.

The savage violence, the accusations, the violation of fundamental human rights, the suppression of the political opposition, the violation of the basic norms of international law, are being elevated to the rank of official policy by the military junta. What is the main motive for such crime and excess which has destroyed the oldest democracy in Latin America and one of the oldest in the world, a bourgeois democracy and as such basically one-sided and discriminatory but even so the fruit of 150 years of struggle by the people and their organizations?

Never had Chile had more democracy and more freedom than under the government of Salvador Allende. Never were such deep-rooted transformations of the basic structures of society carried out with so much respect for political opposition. Never in the whole history of Latin America, with the honourable exception of Cuba, has a na-

tion held higher the banner of freedom for all men and all peoples. Never has Chile experienced such a display of fervour, enthusiasm and vitality on the part of the working class and never has this class radiated such optimism and confidence in its future. The people were the government. It was this which roused the hatred of imperialism, the great international corporations and the anti-patriotic big bourgeoisie they influenced. It was this they drowned in a blood-bath. Chilean democracy has been replaced by a savage and inhuman dictatorship.

The motives of imperialism are, as usual, to maintain its system of domination and exploitation, to resist the inexorable progress of the forces which are digging its grave. Imperialism is, however, able to adjust its methods. This is what it has done in Chile, introducing the new politico-military concept of a "state of war against an internal enemy," transforming the mission of the armed forces from that of defending territorial sovereignty, into that of repression and massive liquidation of those opposing its *diktat*.

Just as imperialism introduced into Asia the concept of "Vietnamization" of aggression, in the same way it is trying to "Chileanize" counter-revolution and the fascist military coup in Latin America. For all these reasons international solidarity with a small country like Chile, which does not have any great economic or strategic importance, in the world context, but which represents a great political and moral force, acquires new significance.

Mankind's most noble ideals find expression in solidarity with the Chilean people.

The Aim of the Coup—to Wipe out National Sovereignty of Chile

from the Statement of Armando Uribe*

To destroy the Chilean state, to deprive the country forever of sovereign independence was the aim of the coup of September 11, 1973. Two forces—the US imperialists and traitors from the Chilean army—had united to attain this aim. Without their concerted action there would have been no coup and the Head of State would not have been murdered.

* Armando Uribe, a prominent Chilean lawyer, economist and diplomat, belongs to the Left wing of the Christian Democratic Party. In 1968-70 he was Counsellor-Minister of the Chilean Embassy in the USA and under the Popular Unity government, Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. He was expelled from the PRC after the fascist coup in Chile and Peking's recognition of the junta. (Ed.)

The plan for intervention in Chile's internal affairs was engineered by the Pentagon during 1970. The Pentagon was also responsible for executing the operation. It was the Pentagon that decided to implement this plan before the presidential election in Chile in 1970 or to prepare a new one if it miscarried. The plan was kept in strict secrecy.

Prior to Allende's coming to office the United States had long been trying to retard the process of social development in Chile. Even before the election of September 4, 1970, it sent to the country a large group of high-ranking intelligence and counter-intelligence officers. When this became known to the Chilean Embassy in Washington US officials averred that the men in question were US navy representatives who were to take part in the *Unitas* (Unity) joint exercise. The Chilean Counsellor-Minister raised the objection that in connection with the forthcoming September 4th presidential election his government had called off its participation in the exercise, of which the United States had been notified several months ago. After some embarrassment the US officials began to assure that nothing more was involved than the brass band of the American naval forces taking part in the exercise which wanted to visit Chile as a token of friendship!

The Chilean diplomat declared that, first, such a manifestation of "friendship" had never been planned by the two governments and it was the first time he had heard about that musical undertaking; second, he had never before seen a military band which, in addition to the musicians, had so many senior officers and specialists of all ranks; and, third, he knew well the band in question, whose composition and numerical strength in no way corresponded to the list of persons applying for Chilean entry visas.

The United States officially set course for all kinds of interference in Chilean affairs as early as the middle of September 1970. A wide diversity of forms of subversive actions against Chile except for the landing of troops was carefully planned. The widely known International Telephone and Telegraph conspiracy was but part of a far-flung US plot against Chile. President Allende meant the US actions when he spoke about the invisible blockade to which imperialism had subjected Chile and when he recalled, in his UN speech in 1972, Pablo Neruda's phrase that "Chile is a quiet Vietnam."

Today one can judge the full extent of these systematic undertakings by the United States for destroying, through both economic and military subversion, the Allende government, the Popular Unity bloc, the state and the popular movement in Chile. In our country this US policy was dubbed the policy of the "overripe pear": the United States was waiting for the "Chilean fruit" to ripen. Through its actions it contributed to the creation of chaos, hoping that the Allende regime would collapse. Its aggressive moves were to hasten developments "with a stick," as a Spanish saying goes.

Before March 4, 1973 the United States and the reactionaries in

Chile had hoped that the parliamentary election would make it possible to depose Salvador Allende "legally." When it is a matter of elections imperialism usually relies on the deftness of its internal allies. But in 1973, just as in the presidential election of 1970, imperialism miscalculated. The results of the March 4 election caused a furor in the camp of enemies of the Chilean people.

The means theretofore used to topple the Popular Unity government proved insufficient. It was necessary to try a new tack and employ the crudest methods of interference, to go over to a direct collusion between the Pentagon and the Chilean military to prepare for a coup d'etat in Chile. The Pentagon's intelligence agency or, more concretely, the special services of the US navy were responsible for the organization of the coup.

The Chilean navy was chosen by the conspirators as their shock force. Why precisely the navy? Simply because of its relatively more conservative character and also because of the facility with which the realization of the plan could be synchronized with the joint US-Chilean naval exercise *Unitas*. The exercise would involve the presence of US warships in Chilean waters and harbours and necessitate strengthening the navy technically and increasing the number of specialists in it. Conditions would thus be created for direct and smooth cooperation between the navy and the land forces. The mere presence of US warships would buttress the Chilean rebels' confidence, on the one hand, and would confront the people and their political forces with a latent threat of armed intervention, on the other.

The immediate objective of the plan was to cut and disorganize all internal communications, along with sealing off the country from the rest of the world to the desired extent. The phrase "cut communications" is used here in the broadest sense. It implies not only disruption of telephone and telegraph communication, the railways, air transport and other services, but also the instant dismemberment of the structure of the entire country so that not a single governmental, party, trade union or other organization could act in contact with a lower or higher body.

The ultimate strategic objective of the plan was to instal a government friendly to and dependent upon the United States that would be vested with military, economic and political power. Such a government should be obliging towards the United States and the West and should protect the private interests of North Americans.

Yesterday it was merely a plan, today all this has already become a harsh reality.

(Note: In confirmation of his testimony Armando Uribe handed over to the International Commission a number of documents, including copies of some American documents testifying to the participation of certain US agencies in the preparation of the coup d'etat in Chile.—Ed.)

Chile Fights on and Will Go on Fighting Until It Regains Freedom

from the Statement of Representatives of Chile's Political Parties

We, representatives of different organized forces of the Chilean people who have assembled abroad to adopt decisions in a spirit of solidarity with the struggle of our people for liberation, express a growing concern at the reports about intensification of bloody fascist terror in Chile.

These reports tell of continuing daily executions, the victims being from the most diverse strata of the population living in the appalling atmosphere of civil war. Even military circles and persons and groupings who but yesterday were in opposition to the people's government of Salvador Allende have been caught in the web of brutal roundups. It has become an established practice to transfer political prisoners from one prison to another so as to apply to them the law on measures to be taken in the event of attempted escape.

In addition to concentration camps set up on the islands of Dawson, Santa Maria and Quiriquina, at the Nacional stadium, in Chacabuco, Pisagua and elsewhere, warships are being used as floating prisons.

The situation now obtaining in Chile is marked by the general onslaught against all progressive ideas, and also the use of torture. This shows an attempt to destroy with fire and sword everything progressive that has been created by the Chilean people and Chilean thought throughout their history. Book burning continues. Acts of hostility towards foreigners are being stepped up.

Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Anselmo Sule, Chairman of the Radical Party, Pedro Felipe Ramirez from the Christian Left and other prominent leaders have been transferred to the concentration camp on Dawson Island in the Strait of Magellan, where more than forty high-ranking officials of the legitimate government of the assassinated President Salvador Allende are already being held prisoner.

The prisoners live in constant fear of destruction by the junta.

The names of slain patriots make up a long list. They belonged to different parties and had different ideologies, but their life and their example constitute moral heritage of the whole people.

Leaders and rank-and-file members of Christian parties and groups also become victims of terror that has no mercy on people who do not wish to reconcile to the regime of genocide established by the junta.

In Chile there is no security even for a woman who is seriously ill or for an ambassador demanding respect for the right of asylum. The property of those who managed to find asylum somewhere is confiscated.

The standard of living of the people is falling. Imperialism is foisting its law of plunder and rapacity on the country. The banks and large companies are being returned to the monopolies, and the land, to those who formerly exploited the peasants. Blackmail, extortion, unpunished murder and larceny are widespread. The rights of man, social and economic rights and even the right to life have been abolished in Chile. The people have been deprived of all the benefits obtained during the Allende Administration.

The overwhelming majority of our compatriots reject fascism, which has also been condemned by world public opinion. This majority demand to put an end to the shootings, tortures and persecutions and to close down all concentration camps. They demand respect for human beings, the immediate release of all imprisoned patriots, and inviolability of the rights of foreigners. Moreover, our public insist that immunity be granted without delay to all persons who have found asylum in embassies.

They also demand the termination of dismissals, and the resumption of their pursuits by all whom the junta has deprived of the possibility of performing their usual duties, to all who have been deprived the inalienable right to earn an honest living.

Chile fights, and she will fight on until she regains the freedom she has lost as a result of the military coup conceived in Washington's Central Intelligence Agency with the collusion of internal reaction.

The Chilean people are rearranging their ranks. They are regrouping in order to fight in the harsh conditions of illegality. They are building the broadest united movement for mobilizing the vast majority of our compatriots.

The Chilean people are heading the anti-fascist Resistance movement in their country. It is they who will determine the character of this movement, its form, scope and composition. There is no doubt that the people will spare no effort to spur on this movement, being firmly resolved to win, striving for unity of action in order to strengthen further the broad stream of anti-fascist protest which has swept the country.

We, who are now living outside our country, are devoting all our efforts and energies to the common struggle which is directed from Chile by responsible bodies.

Our country, Chile, is not alone in this liberation struggle.

The Chileans are supported by all the peoples of the world. Never before has there been such a gigantic solidarity movement as the present movement of solidarity with our people. We are grateful for such a magnanimous and extensive manifestation of fraternal feelings. We address words of deep-felt gratitude to all the organizations, individuals, peoples and governments who have extended to us a helping hand in this most crucial moment in our history.

We call national and international organizations, anti-fascist leaders, regardless of the positions they take, to join this movement.

The people of Chile will never forget this magnanimous help which, they know, will grow ever more active with every passing day.

For their part, our people will unremittingly continue their difficult heroic struggle, convinced of the rightness of their cause.

Chile shall belong to the Chileans again. Our homeland shall become free and sovereign, and our people, the master of its destiny and its rights. The immortal motto of Salvador Allende—"We shall win!"—will forever be cherished by the country, by the people, by all of us.

Socialist Party of Chile

Radical Party

Communist Party

Party for People's Unitary Action (MAPU)

Christian Left

Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)

Party for People's Unitary Action—Workers-Peasants (MAPU-OC)

Rome, December 1973

Appeal of the Christian Left of Chile to All Christians of the World

Summary of a statement circulated in Santiago on March 18, 1974 by the Left Wing of the Christian-Democratic Party

The military junta of Chile, whose crimes and outrage to the human rights have scandalized the world, prepares a show of trials against important political, cultural and trade union figures of this country.

The world knows that thousands of Chileans are waiting to be judged by the satraps in Dawson Island, in Chacabuco, in Pisagua and in many other concentration camps that the dictators have set up all over the country.

Other more refined transgressions of human rights are being prepared and also being applied at this very moment. This affects thousands of prisoners in concentration camps. It constitutes a threat to the thousands of men and women that offer resistance to the fascist dictators.

We, Chilean Christians, as a part of the popular resistance, reiterate our firm purpose of action. In all concentration camps there are Christians that have been captured in industries, in farms and in schools.

No Christian anywhere should remain silent in the face of such atrocities. We, Chilean Christians, call for your solidarity with the Chilean people. We exhort you to act and stop the massacre of prisoners and to impede that new crimes be committed.

If these murders were to be committed, everyone of you will be equally responsible if you have not made your contribution to impede them.

May the Struggle for Justice Grow Throughout the World!

from the speech of Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile at a mass meeting held in Helsinki on March 24, 1974 in connection with the session of the International Commission

On behalf of the Chilean delegation, on behalf of our long-suffering people, on behalf of our country covered with bloodshed, I express gratitude to the Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile.

The first session of the International Commission has completed its deliberations in Helsinki today. The days of the work of the Commission have been days of struggle for justice, for truth, for man.

We Chileans shall never forget that here, in the heart of this country, a movement of solidarity with our people shot up like a flame only a few days after the fascist coup. Here was lighted the torch of struggle to stop the massacre in the country of Salvador Allende and Pablo Neruda. Here on September 29 and 30, 1973, the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Chile was held.

It was then, in September, that the decision was taken to also hold here, in March, in the capital of Finland, the first session of the Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile.

The results of the work that has been done have evoked widespread response the world over.

I thank the organizers of this stirring meeting and the President of the Republic, Mr. Kekkonen, who received the Chilean delegation and expressed the solidarity of his country, people and government with our people, the victim of a fascist coup d'état. We express our gratitude to the Finnish parties and organizations, to the Finland-Chile Committee, which worked with a will for the success of this undertaking.

We are wholeheartedly grateful to the International Commission. Tremendous work has been done. A great deal of energy has been contributed by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Minister

of Public Education Ulf Sundqvist, and the Chairman of the International Commission, ex-Minister of Justice Jacob Söderman, MP from the Social-Democratic Party. The Commission, consisting of more than fifty world renowned people, including distinguished lawyers and prominent scientists, people of highly diverse views who arrived here from five continents, thoroughly examined the evidence that had been furnished, heard testimony by witnesses, and analyzed numerous written statements and other documents.

And, last but not least, we express gratitude to the technical personnel, who ensured in Dipoli conditions necessary for successful work.

We were deeply moved by the speech of Comrade Stepan Shalayev, Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean democrats, who voiced the sympathy and solidarity of his people, government, and public organizations.

We thank the representative of a country neighbouring on ours, Argentine lawyer Losada, for the lucid and clear-cut statement made here.

Few undertakings can compare with this one in magnitude of emotional impact. None of us were indifferent. Life itself had come to this hall. Here resounded the voice of a widow whose husband had been murdered, together with thousands of other Chileans. There appeared before the commission a doctor who had been compelled to attend shootings and certify the death of his comrades, and a peasant who told about the mass killings of Mapuche Indians, whose bodies had been dumped into the Cautin River. The pictures described here were more terrible than those of Dante's Inferno. Accounts by victims of persecution or by their relatives told of the suffering of the entire Chilean people under the heel of the bloody fascist dictatorship.

The first witness for the prosecution was the widow of the assassinated President, Señora Hortensia Allende, who had come to Finland especially for this purpose together with her youngest daughter Isabel. Neither a complaint nor a lamentation, her testimony became an indictment of the butchers of her husband, the butchers of all patriots, of all the people. She levelled an accusation against the murderers of José Tohá and General Alberto Bachelet.

Here a call was issued again to the public of the world to fight for the liberation of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, now held, together with many other Left politicians, ministers of President Allende's government included, in the Dawson Island concentration camp, which has become notorious throughout the world.

In one of its documents the Commission in Helsinki reaffirmed the demand to stop encroachments on the life of Luis Corvalan as well as Clodomiro Almeyda, a Socialist Party leader; Anselmo Sule, Chairman of the Radical Party; Pedro Felipe Ramirez of the Christian Left, ex-Minister of the Mining Industry; ex-Minister Fernando Flores from the workers' and peasants' MAPU; the independent ex-

Minister Luis Matte Valdes; Juan Bautista von Schoven, leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); all patriots who have been imprisoned and are subjected to persecution.

The conclusions the Commission arrived at show that it is fully informed about the grievous position in which our country has found itself; they correspond to the real state of affairs and express the sentiments and aspirations of our people, who desperately need that the crimes against humanity being committed in Chile on orders from US imperialism be condemned from every rostrum, that the unlawful "state of internal war" be abolished and an end put to the reign of terror.

We fully agree upon the need to stand up for both civilians and servicemen whom the fascist junta persecutes for their patriotic convictions. We deem it imperative to send a stern warning to the prison and concentration camp officials, urging them to ponder on the responsibility they will have to bear for the unlawful acts which have already been committed or are in the making.

We consider it warranted and necessary to call upon the World Health Organization, the World Association of Physicians, the medical workers of all countries to fight the reprisals launched against medical workers in Chile, and to condemn those doctors who, acting in violation of all moral principles, denounce their colleagues, which has earned them the nickname of "Aesculapiuses of foul play."

Much attention was paid in Helsinki also to the grave state of affairs in Chilean culture, which has given the world two Nobel Prize winners. It has been hit by a hurricane of repressions; the new rulers regard learning, universities, the arts and culture as their dangerous enemies which have to be exterminated.

In view of this, we call on UNESCO, international and national cultural organizations, universities, writers' and artists' associations, students and journalists to take action for putting an end to this impermissible repression of culture and people in culture.

We attach tremendous importance to the appeal to the lawyers of all countries to expose to the whole world the lawless acts being committed in our country, and to demand that all the victims of brutal arbitrary rule in our country, which has for more than one hundred and fifty years regarded itself as a domain of legality, be granted the right to defence with the participation of foreign lawyers.

Helsinki is the beginning of important work which will be carried on until democracy and freedom again triumph in Chile.

Justice has set out on its way from Helsinki. Its tread is heard everywhere.

Its approach is already felt in Santiago and all over Chile.

News of the work of this Commission is reaching the Chilean people, who are fighting, forging broad anti-fascist unity and contributing to the isolation of the junta within the country. This news has been received with satisfaction by all the nations demanding the isolation of the junta in the international arena.

The best of luck! May the struggle for justice spread in the world. May it spread as long as there remains the need for it.

I do not know when the Commission will assemble for its last session. But I am positive that this session will not take place in Helsinki or Nuremberg. It will be held in Santiago, where the people of Chile will pass their judgement, just and without appeal.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the four days' work of its first session the Commission heard the testimony of more than thirty victims of arbitrary rule, statements by members of the Commission and experts, and studied a great number of documents. As a result of painstaking and unbiassed investigation the Commission, whose session developed into a forum of world public opinion, passed its moral verdict: the Chilean junta is guilty of the gravest crimes; of the organization, with the aid of external imperialist forces, of armed coup d'état, of the murder of President Salvador Allende, who had been elected by the people; of the abolition of elementary legality, norms of civilized society and the basic right of man, the right to life.

The result of the work of the Commission is reflected in the unanimously adopted documents, which are printed below. These documents contain an appeal to all individuals and all organizations, to the governments of all countries and all international organizations to condemn the junta's crimes, to actively assist the Chilean people in their struggle to restore the legitimate government, to insist on the abolition of martial law, the ending of terror, the closure of all concentration camps and the release of all political prisoners.

The peoples of the countries of the socialist community regard it as their prime internationalist duty to strengthen solidarity with the Chilean democrats. As is stated in the communique of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, adopted on April 18, 1974, "having discussed the situation in Chile, the meeting participants resolutely demand an end to the outrageous violations of human rights as stipulated in UN documents, and discontinuation of the persecution of Chilean patriots, and urge the other states and the world public to come out in support of the progressive forces in that country." The meeting adopted a special statement, "End Arbitrary Rule and the Persecution of Democrats in Chile," which reads, in part: "In their struggle the Chilean people can in the future as well count on steady support on the

part of the peoples of the socialist countries. The meeting participants insistently demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeyda, Anselmo Sule and all other imprisoned Chilean democrats and patriots.

"The states taking part in this meeting call upon the other states which cherish the cause of progress on our planet, to act in defence of human rights, of the dignity and worth of the individual in Chile. They call upon world public opinion to make still more widespread the campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle against terror, for the restoration of democratic rights and liberties in their country.

"The meeting participants express confidence that the Chilean people will win in the struggle for the restoration of democracy and Chile's genuine independence."

The work of the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile has seriously contributed to promoting the campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people. Therefore it is with profound satisfaction that progressives the world over have hailed its results, and the documents adopted by the Commission. On April 8, 1974 the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Chilean Democrats adopted a decision expressing unqualified support of the results of the Helsinki session of the International Commission. The Soviet public resolutely demand that all political prisoners be released, the terror and fascist arbitrary rule be ended, and democracy in long-suffering Chile be restored.

Documents of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile

Concluding Statement

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile has during its 1st session in Helsinki on March 21-24 considered the following topics:

1. Conspiracy against the people and the legitimate government of Chile, including foreign interference in Chilean affairs.
2. Violations of fundamental human rights.
3. Political prisoners and refugees.

The Commission, which consists of more than 50 members from all continents and with different political opinions, has scrutinized a very extensive and important body of material. It has heard a great number of witnesses, observers and experts. It has received reports, documents and other written items of proof as well as slides and films, all of which have been of great value.

Deeply disturbed by the information laid before it and agreed upon the need to expose and denounce the lawlessness and cruelty of the self-proclaimed military junta in Chile, the Commission wishes to make the following statement:

I.

On September 11, 1973, a handful of insurgent officers staged a coup d'état against the legitimate government of Chile. This coup was the result of a conspiracy, which had been in progress since early 1972, and cannot be considered to constitute anything less than high treason.

The military junta has attempted to justify the illegal takeover of power by accusing the government of President Salvador Allende of

being involved in a plot to instigate a civil war in complicity with foreign-trained guerillas. The junta has not been able to present any proof of this allegation.

The government of President Allende was democratically elected and consistently maintained its decision to abide by the Constitution of the country, whereas the military junta, which professes to uphold the Constitution, has in fact abrogated it and taken measures to impose a new Constitution which will most certainly suppress the democratic rights of the people.

It is quite clear that foreign interests exerted pressure on Chile with the intent to overthrow the government. Private and public financial institutions in the United States of America as well as US corporations acted, with the approval of the US government, to strangle Chile economically. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, one of the special agencies of the United Nations, refused all financial assistance to Chile under circumstances which strongly suggest US pressure.

Further, there is direct evidence that the ITT Corporation planned to create economic and political chaos to undermine the rule of the Chilean government. These plans were communicated to the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States (CIA). There are also claims which appear to be well-founded that CIA was involved in infiltration, sabotage, acts of political violence and the coup itself. In addition, the coup coincided with demonstrative manoeuvres and movements by the US Navy along the Chilean coast, separately and jointly with units from the Chilean Navy.

These circumstances suggest a rather consistent pattern of US involvement and collaboration in the military takeover in Chile. This conclusion can be supported by statements of high-ranking US officials before and after the coup. The purpose of such intervention was to prevent the government from gaining national independence in the economic field and making essential changes in the social and economic structure.

This type of interference in the internal affairs of Chile constitutes a serious violation of the political independence and sovereignty of the country, according to general international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

The evidence considered by the Commission has clearly demonstrated the strategy and modus operandi by which the anti-democratic and neo-colonialist forces usurp power by either creating or exploiting difficult economic conditions or crises in the developing countries. These forces constitute a threat to the self-determination of nations and to world peace.

II.

At the time of the coup arrests and killings without trial took place on a massive scale. People were arbitrarily and indiscriminately executed for no other apparent reason than to terrorize and to

subdue the population. The Presidential Palace, workers' quarters, factories and other installations were bombarded.

Large numbers of people, including many who were not engaged in political activity of any kind, were apprehended, interrogated and tortured, often with fatal results. Many people were forced to be present when members of their families were tortured. Wives and families of detainees were held as hostages and also abused. Women were raped; children were taken from their parents and placed under arrest.

Under the fictitious "state of siege in time of war" later proclaimed by the junta, military tribunals were set up to try and sentence persons accused of violating junta orders. These courts-martial maintain complete jurisdiction as long as the state of war exists. The principle of non-retroactive penalties has never been respected by these tribunals despite solemn assurances to the contrary given by the junta's Minister of Justice. The entire manhunt of members and sympathizers of the Allende government is designed to try and sentence people for the acts and policies of the past.

The military sentences, which are without appeal, have been irrationally harsh and quite out of proportion to the alleged crimes rendering as much as 30 years in prison or capital punishment. Such heavy sentences have now been demanded for members of the armed forces who refused to participate in the coup. The defendants have been offered no defence guarantees whatsoever when subjected to these extreme summary proceedings.

The dictatorship of the junta has completely destroyed all democratic structures and procedures with their correlated rights and freedoms. Thus, the junta has banned political activity and branded all political organizations associated with the government of President Allende illegal, thereby abolishing the fundamental rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. Further, freedom of information has been totally suppressed by closing down papers and imposing very heavy censorship. The mass burning of books stands out as a symbol of utter contempt for culture.

The suppression of the working class is a fundamental feature of the regime. The workers' right to organize has been eradicated by banning all free trade unions. Exploitation of the workers has been accelerated by means of wage freezes and demands for extra work without pay. Even the very right to work is taken from them by massive dismissals for political reasons only.

The military junta has been characterized by xenophobic outbursts against foreigners. Purely racist tendencies can be discerned in the persecution of certain ethnic minorities such as the Mapuche Indians and Gypsies.

The total picture which emerges from these facts is reminiscent of the rise of German fascism. In conclusion, it is then overwhelmingly obvious that the military junta has never intended to fulfil its solemn pledges before the United Nations to respect human rights and its obligations under international law. On the contrary, it has made a

mockery of such authoritative international instruments as the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, approved and ratified by Chile, and the American Convention on Human Rights of 1969.

III.

An extremely large number of political prisoners and detainees are still held in prisons, concentration camps and other places. Estimates of their number vary since the junta releases no information and it does not permit any international inspection. In general, the conditions for all of these prisoners are extremely harsh. Brutal treatment and torture are commonplace. Many of them have been provoked to escape and then been shot as fugitives. Besides being physically terrorized, they are forced to live in continual uncertainty by their undefined legal position and the lack of contact with spouses, families and lawyers. A major part of them are held in complete isolation. Only seldom are formal charges filed, and a great number are admittedly held for indefinite periods for purely preventive reasons. The imminent threat of execution is ever present, as demonstrated by the fact that it was recently announced that certain political leaders might be put to death.

Ever since the coup the situation of the foreign refugees residing in Chile has been very serious. At the time of the takeover large numbers of them were tortured and killed. Despite assurances given by the junta's Foreign Minister, many of them have been forcibly repatriated to their countries of origin. International humanitarian organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have been permitted to operate to some extent on terms laid down by the junta, which has totally disregarded its obligations under the Geneva Refugee Convention of 1951 and the additional Protocol of 1967.

Though many Chileans and foreigners have been granted diplomatic and territorial asylum by courageous governments and embassies, junta policy has been in poor agreement with long-standing practice and conventions in Latin America with respect to the granting of diplomatic asylum. Contrary to normal procedure, safe conducts have been refused to a large number.

In spite of the fact that the granting of diplomatic asylum is a peaceful and humanitarian action, junta authorities have not even hesitated to attack and intimidate members of the diplomatic corps who attempted to take such action. In flagrant violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, junta troops opened fire on the Cuban embassy and shot and wounded persons under the protection of the diplomatic mission.

* * *

The International Commission shall not be regarded as a court. It has neither the power nor the competence of a court. The only

sanction at the disposal of the Commission is the moral verdict of humanity.

Therefore, the Commission now urgently appeals to all individuals and organizations, to all governments and international bodies:

- to denounce the crimes against humanity committed by the junta and US intervention in Chilean affairs,

- to work for the isolation of the military junta from the international community,

- to end all support for the junta,

- to give active support to the struggle of the Chilean people to restore the legitimate government,

- to put pressure on the junta to lift the state of war, to stop the terror, definitely close all concentration camps and release all political prisoners.

The Commission will continue its work as long as it is needed.

Appeal to World Opinion in Connection with the Threat to the Lives of the Imprisoned Political Leaders and Their Families

During the 1st session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, news arrived from that country of a new and grave violation of human rights:

Lili Castillo has been arrested in Santiago, simply for the crime of being the wife of the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Luis Corvalan.

In addition, as this Commission is aware, Alberto Corvalan was brutally tortured and is at present a prisoner at the Chacabuco concentration camp, guilty of being the son of the political militant in question.

This demonstrates that in Chile they are practising barbarous reprisals against families, in contravention of all civilized legal norms.

This is only one example of the numerous cases affecting many Chilean families. With regard to Luis Corvalan and thousands of other citizens, normal legal standards have also been violated in the following manner:

- a reward was offered for his capture,
- he was subjected to inhuman treatment at the military school, where he was taken after his capture,
- he is being detained on Dawson Island where, as is well known, conditions cause death,
- the creation of a special criminal clause to ensure a death sentence on him was anticipated, should he manage to survive Dawson Island.

The civilized conscience of humanity cannot tolerate these new versions of fascist crimes. It is not possible to contemplate impas-

sively the way in which they intend to turn back the pages of history to its darkest eras.

From the Dawson Island concentration camp, Luis Corvalan has let the world know that he loves life but that he is not afraid of death if he must die for a just cause.

All those who love life and repudiate the anti-human manifestations of fascism must take a stand. United in their respect for human beings, for the free determination of the peoples and, consequently, in their repudiation of those who do not respect either, we call upon free men throughout the world to make their protest known today: Respect for the life of Luis Corvalan and the integrity of his family, as well as for the lives of the Socialist leader Clodomiro Almeyda, the Chairman of the Radical Party Anselmo Sule, the ex-Minister of Mines Pedro Felipe Ramirez of the Christian Left, the ex-Minister Fernando Flores from the workers' and peasants' MAPU, the independent ex-Minister Luis Matte Valdes, the MIR leader Juan Bautista Van Schoven and all the patriots who are in prison or being persecuted, is a synonym for the struggle to restore human rights in Chile and the fundamental rights of its people.

Let us save their lives!

We will save the lives of the persecuted Chilean patriots!

Statement in Connection with the Forthcoming Trial of a Group of Officers

During the coup d'état the junta assassinated many Chilean Army officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, simply because they remained true to their oath and to their duty towards their country, and refused to serve under the orders of officers who betrayed their country. It is known that at the beginning of April 1974, the junta will organize a trial of 64 Chilean Air Force officers. The death sentence hangs over these sincere and courageous people who took a stand in the defence of justice and refused to take part in the betrayal of their country.

We cannot permit this!

We are convinced that the soldiers and officers of the Chilean Army who cannot be indifferent to the interests of the people and to the lives of those who yesterday were among their ranks, must be concerned about the fate of their comrades. We call upon them to raise their voices in defence of the officers who will be put on trial.

We are convinced of the totally unjust nature of the accusations being made. We demand that the court should not apply the death sentence to those indicted. The future will prove that this demand is justified.

We demand that this trial should be held in public and that foreign lawyers, prepared to defend the accused, should be admitted to the trial. Our demands are based on the most fundamental and universally-recognized guarantees of democratic justice. These guarantees are also recognized in Chilean laws and proclaimed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Any refusal to satisfy these demands would only indicate the firm intention of the junta to execute the accused in all circumstances. This would be a mere farce, legally speaking.

We call upon world public opinion to take a stand in defence of the lives of the accused.

To the Governors of Concentration Camps and Prisons in Chile

Every day brings fresh news of cruel reprisals against innocent people being held in concentration camps and prisons in Chile. Here in Helsinki, at the sessions of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, we have received new testimonies of these savage crimes.

There is no doubt that the time will come when those guilty of these crimes will be brought to trial. In the meantime, we shall continue our efforts to investigate the crimes and we solemnly warn the governors of the concentration camps and prisons of their responsibility for the brutalities being committed; the pretext of acting under orders will not be accepted.

These people should not go on hoping that they will be able to escape. They will be sought out from the ends of the earth and handed over to the Chilean people for justice to be administered. We call upon them to consider their fate and to stop the crimes.

We call upon those who have not yet spilled innocent blood, so they may reflect upon their responsibility towards the people and the law and not allow the junta to make them accomplices in its crimes.

We demand an immediate and total end to the crimes being committed against the people of Chile.

Appeal to the World Health Organization, the World Medical Association and the Physicians of the World

The Commission has listened to testimonies, including evidence on what is taking place within the medical professions and in the public health system under the rule of the junta in Chile.

The Commission desires to draw your attention to the elimination of the public health services, which were established under the Allende government. Not only have a great number of medical personnel been dismissed but hundreds of doctors, medical administrators, nurses and other medical personnel have been arrested, tortured and even executed. Many others are constantly facing the danger of actual physical liquidation.

On the other hand, evidence is accumulating on the role of the leaders of the "Colegio Medico," both on the local and the national scale, and a number of individual doctors. Within the medical profession these doctors have served as agents of the military junta. Several of the doctors they have denounced were subsequently arrested and assassinated.

Some of the doctors in the military hospitals have even participated directly in the torture of anti-fascists, including their own colleagues.

Such atrocities were at least indirectly encouraged by the "Colegio Medico." This body had during the last months before the coup initiated strikes among hospital doctors in order to bring about the breakdown of the public health system. This contributed to the overthrow of the legal government. After the coup it published lists of doctors and other medical personnel who had refused to desert their patients and professional duties. By classifying all medical personnel in "A", "B" and "C" categories they indicated whom they

considered to be "reliable," indecisive or hostile under the junta's fascist rule.

The Commission concludes that it falls within the responsibility of the World Health Organization to act immediately to save the lives of those doctors and other medical personnel who are imprisoned or in danger of arrest in Chile.

It should also thoroughly investigate the criminal activities of the "Colegio Medico" organization and of those individual doctors who have trampled upon the ethical principles of their profession. We propose that the WHO sends a commission of inquiry to Chile.

It should never be forgotten that one major Nuremberg Trial after the defeat of German fascism dealt with the "doctors of infamy" who had committed crimes in some respect similar to those now perpetrated in Chile by the medical henchmen of the junta.

Statement on Defence of Cultural Values in Chile

September 11, 1973, marked a tragic date for world culture.

Chile, cradle of two winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature, a small country appreciated for its contribution to world culture, has been transformed into a centre for destruction of the works of the human intelligence, by the misfortune of the establishment and activities of the fascist junta.

From this date onwards, at breakneck speed, education, culture, sciences, arts and information transmitted through the mass media have been dealt devastating blows.

The death of Pablo Neruda, hastened by the terrible drama of his country, was not sufficient for the envoys of anti-humanism, who permitted the pillage of his house and the destruction of extremely valuable works of art, a true heritage of world culture.

The well-known folk singer Victor Jara was tortured and then assassinated.

Jorge Peña, conductor of the La Serena Children's Symphony Orchestra, was shot as a result of a visit to Northern Chile by Sergio Arellano Stark, known as "the General of Death."

In the university field, the situation takes on a formidable character. The eight centres of higher education in the Republic of Chile have lost their autonomy, have been interfered with by the authorities, who have put in as rectors members of the armed forces. Even the Pontifical Catholic University, where the prerogatives of the Holy See have been traditionally respected, has lost its independence.

Rectors Enrique Kirberg of the State Technical University, Edgardo Enriquez, former Rector of the University of Concepción, and Vice-Rector Galo Gomez, have been sent to concentration camps.

Some 25,000-30,000 students have been expelled from the univer-

sities. Many instructors have been dismissed and some of them have been imprisoned. Many others have been forced into exile. The universities are so deserted that *El Mercurio* of March 3 published several pages with advertisements from a number of universities to fill the huge number of vacancies.

Among others, the careers of sociology, anthropology and journalism have been eliminated and all the teaching programmes relating to social and political sciences, at all levels, have been suspended.

Another revealing case is that of Dr. Asenjo, a person of international repute in the field of neuro-surgery and holder of the National Science Prize, who was forced to go into exile because he was not allowed to practise in his own country.

As regards the mass media, the Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa has been forced to recognize that at present in Chile there is no freedom of the press.

Also on September 11, in Santiago alone, the military putschists silenced nine radio stations, even using planes of the Chilean Air Force to destroy the transmitters. Five newspapers, seven magazines and two printing houses were wiped out by putschist elements and their machines and records were largely destroyed.

All the TV channels have been controlled by the junta since the day of the coup. All sources of information are obliged to submit news for censorship by the regime.

The following figures bear witness to the junta government's repression of the Chilean democratic press and journalists. At least four journalists have been killed, among them Augusto Olivares, former Director of TV Channel 7. More than 50 are in concentration camps. More than a hundred are in exile, and nearly five hundred newspaper employees are without work, because they have been thrown out of their jobs by the military.

But the most characteristic symbol of this unrestrained barbarism, every aspect of which recalls nazism, is the book-burning by which the military junta decided to demonstrate its anti-cultural attitude. The books which were burned represent, in synthesis, the life of Pablo Neruda, of Victor Jara and of thousands of workers in the field of universal culture and art.

These facts bring before the conscience of humanity painful recollections and call for the utmost action.

The world has already lived through the experience of fascism and learnt that it cannot allow the finest works of humanity to be destroyed with impunity.

We call upon UNESCO, upon national and international cultural organizations, the universities and students' and journalists' organizations and, finally, on all men of culture throughout the world to raise their voices and to take action to ensure that this unacceptable repression of culture and of its creators will immediately come to an end in Chile.

e) a delegation of jurists to be sent to Chile to report on the conditions of imprisonment, on the respect for legal procedures, on the preservation of all the guarantees of defence and on the observation of universally-recognized national, customary and international laws.

Jurists' organizations, national and international, which recognize that the denial of human and legal rights is a threat to the accused are asked to join in this appeal.

Appeal to Lawyers the World Over

Jurists, magistrates, lawyers and professors of law from a large number of countries, gathered in Helsinki on March 22, 23 and 24, 1974, and considered documents, received information and heard witnesses regarding the present state of judicial proceedings in Chile. They concluded with certainty that Decree Law No. 5 published on September 22, 1973, established a purely fictitious "state of war" in Chile. This had the object and result of giving military courts provided for in "time of war" jurisdiction over all categories of arbitrarily determined deeds, without the normal constitutional guarantees of due process of law.

These military courts under direction of the junta are now construing as crimes acts which before September 11, 1973, did not constitute crimes. They thereby are instituting ex post facto application of the penal code.

Even Chilean lawyers well known for their opposition to the Allende government have denounced the fact that they have been placed in a position where they are unable to exercise their normal function as defence lawyers under the conditions which have been created and in the face of the intimidation to which they have been subjected.

The Commission calls upon lawyers in all the world, associations of lawyers and the judiciary, for:

- a) denunciation of this situation which is against all legal norms;
- b) an appeal to be made to the junta asking it to abrogate Decree Law No. 5 which established the fictitious "state of war" in Chile;
- c) support for the respective Chilean lawyers' petition;
- d) admission of foreign lawyers to the forthcoming trials and their participation in the defence of the accused;

Future Activities

Dissemination of Information about the Proceedings of the First Session

The Commission considers its first and urgent task to make all efforts to guarantee wider dissemination and publicity of documentary proof and other documents presented to its first session, as well as the findings and other decisions taken by the session. To this end, it is proposed:

- 1) to hold press conferences and hearings in the greatest number of countries possible;
- 2) to send out materials to governmental and non-governmental organizations, to the most authoritative individuals in public life, and to press agencies;
- 3) to publish a volume of documents containing the proceedings of the Commission and any other relevant documents that can be included;
- 4) to stimulate the preparation of a documentary film (or films) about the session, possibly in cooperation with film makers in a number of countries;
- 5) to make maximum efforts to use publication, TV, radio, newspapers and other mass media in order to bring the results of the Commission's inquiry to the knowledge of world public opinion.

Delegations

The Secretariat should be authorized to send delegations or find other ways of providing information about the violation of human rights and generally accepted principles of international law in

Chile to the forthcoming solidarity conferences and sessions, in particular:

- session of the UN General Assembly,
- World Health Conference (May 1974),
- meeting of intellectuals on the Pablo Neruda 70th anniversary (July 12, 1974),
- UNESCO General Session (September 1974),
- International Labour Organization's General Session (June 1974),
- General Session of the Economic and Social Council at the time when the UN Commission of Human Rights will report on its investigations concerning Chile,
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva,
- Conference on Improvement of International Humanitarian Law, now working in Geneva.

Further Investigations, Research Groups

Further steps should be taken to obtain new evidence about crimes which have been and are being committed by the military junta from Chile and from the countries where Chilean political refugees are now living. Special attention should be paid towards the violation of social rights of the working people—workers, peasants and intellectuals—and their professional organizations. Questions connected with foreign interference and support for the junta should also be a subject of further study. To this end the Secretariat is asked to define, in consultation with Chilean democrats, the most appropriate ways and means of getting authentic reports on the present and future situation in Chile, including the conditions on Dawson Island and in other prisons and concentration camps of political prisoners, especially leaders of the democratic and progressive forces of Chile such as Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeyda, Anselmo Sule, Pedro Felipe Ramirez and others, this being regarded as the primary task. It should also set up subcommittees or research groups:

1. *Juridical*: to follow the forthcoming political trials in Chile in order to present juridical analysis to the above-mentioned conferences and to the world public. This subcommittee, which must consist of internationally known jurists, should attempt to participate in these trials and its members should assume the task of defending the accused. The subcommittee should also start detailed examination concerning individual responsibility of the leading members of the junta and other high officials.

2. *Medical*: to study behaviour towards the sick as well as towards medical staff in Chile. On the basis of the results of the inquiry, the subcommittee should provide the International Red Cross organization with information concerning medicines, foodstuffs and medical personnel in Chile, which is necessary if practical aid is to

be given to those imprisoned, to the injured, the sick and the hungry. The World Council of Churches should also be asked to take steps to this end.

3. *Cultural*: to study the systematic destruction of the cultural values of the Chilean people and the undermining of the system of national education. This subcommittee should particularly propose measures to preserve Isla Negra and to obtain for it the status of a part of the cultural heritage of all mankind.

The Secretariat has to seek possibilities for such subcommittees to meet at the invitation of different organizations which are ready to cover the costs.

Composition of the Commission

Efforts should be made by the Secretariat to enlarge participation in the Commission by internationally recognized political figures, jurists, men of science and culture, particularly from the countries not yet represented.

Second Session

The Secretariat should study this question taking into consideration the political climate in the country where it is to be held, the possibility of getting appropriate dissemination of information to all sectors of international public opinion, as well as the financial side. One possibility would be Copenhagen, September 1974.

Finance

Organizations and individuals concerned about the situation in Chile are urged to help in raising funds to cover the rest of the costs for this session and for further activities of the Commission. Contributions should be paid to Post Cheque Account No. 1973 of the Postal Bank of Finland.

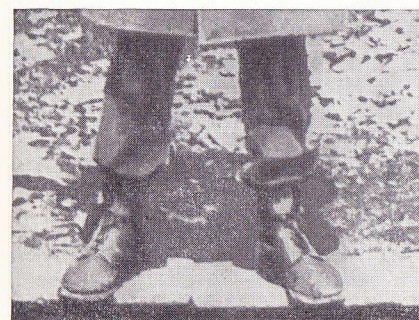
These photographs were taken in Chile after the fascist putsch. The impassive camera recorded violence and murder, tears and sorrow, blood and death. The pictures shown below are only a small fraction of what was screened at "Dipoli" Hall during the sessions of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile. Together with other documents and testimony they served as the basis for the moral verdict passed by the International Commission on behalf of all mankind.



Firing at the President
elected by the people.

Presidential palace La
Moneda, September 11,
1973.

Every cartridge in this
belt spells death.





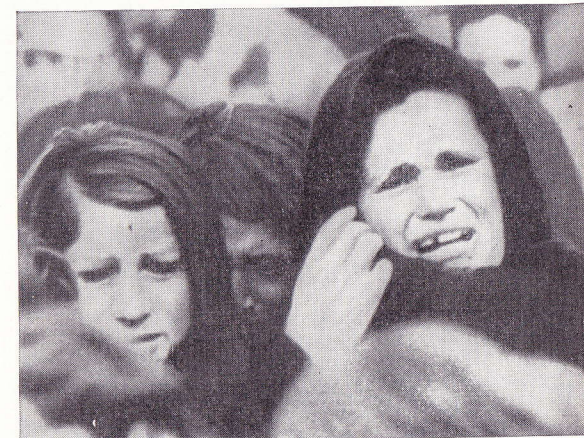
The faces of the junta.





According to the junta,
"Dawn has come to
Chile."

Anyone can be arrested,
imprisoned or killed.





Even cripples were not spared.

This is how they arrested José Tohá, Minister of the Interior and Minister of Defence in the Allende government. A few months later he was brutally murdered in hospital. ▶



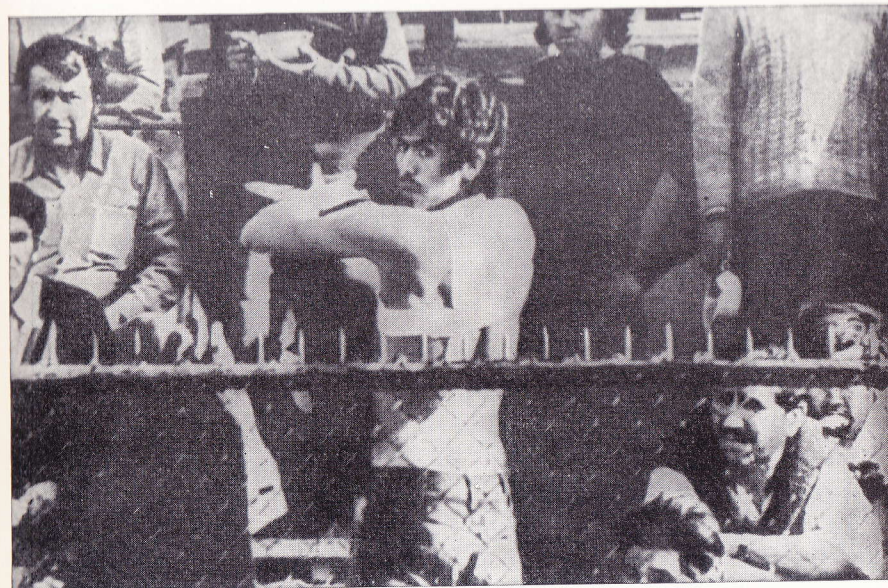
◀ Luis Corvalan in the concentration camp on Dawson Island.

Lists of the dead on the wall of a Santiago morgue. ▶





All records of cruelty and inhumanity pale beside the junta's actions at Nacional stadium, now a concentration camp.



Fascism means the destruction of culture. Hitler also started his career by burning books. Among the four hundred books forbidden by the junta are: *The Mexican* by Jack London, *Mother* by Gorky, *Ten Days that Shook the World* by John Reed, as well as the works of Pablo Neruda, Leo Tolstoy and Lenin.



Delegates to the World Congress of Peace Forces and Soviet young people demand "Down with the fascist dictatorship in Chile!"

The special Novosti Press Agency bulletin, entitled "Freedom to Luis Corvalan! Freedom to Chilean Democrats!"





Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa of Finland addressing the opening of the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile.

At a sitting of the International Commission. Top (from right to left): Kalevi Sorsa, Prime Minister of Finland; Hortensia Bussi de Allende, the President's widow; José Ramon Fernandez, Cuban Minister of Education; Isabel Allende, the late President's daughter. Bottom: Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee, and Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Chilean Socialist Party.



Massacre and terror will not bring
the people of Chile to their knees.



In his last message to the people President Salvador Allende said: "Working people of my country, I believe in Chile and Chileans. Some people will live through this sombre and bitter hour when traitors try to seize power. And you should know that the day is not far off when the wide road will be open again and the free man will march down it to build a better society..."



